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THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

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LABBAI — MADAGASCAR

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Corrections and Additions

Article LUR, p 41[b], line 71, instead of The clans (*gurūh*), read The tribes (*gurūh*)
p 42[a], line 28, instead of *mutaffarika*; read, *mutafarrika*; line 51, instead of southern, read northern
p 43[a], line 48, instead of village, read valley
p 43[b], line 62, instead of like, read as well as
p 44[b], line 11, instead of Būyid, read Ziyārid, line 63, instead of Mākām, read Mākīn

Abbreviations

Abh G W Gott = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Gottingen
Abh K M = Abhandlungen f d Kunde des Morgenlandes
Abh Pr Ak W = Abhandlungen der preuss Akad d Wiss
Afr Fr B = Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française
Afr Fr RC = Bulletin du Com de l'Afr franç, Renseignements Coloniaux
AMZ = Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift
Anz Wien = Anzeiger der philos histor Kl d Ak der Wiss Wien
Anth = Anthropos
AQR = Asiatic Quarterly Review
ARW = Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft
As Fr B = Bulletin du Comite de l'Asie française
BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum ed de Goeje
BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale au Caire
BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution
BTLV = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Ned -Indie
BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicorum
FC = L'Egypte Contemporaine
GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur
GGA = Gottinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
GJ = Geographical Journal
GMS = Gibb Memorial Series
GOR = Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches
GOW = Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke
HOP = Gibb, History of ottoman poetry
IG = Indische Gids
IRM = International Review of Missions
Isl = Der Islam
JA = Journal Asiatique
J Afr S = Journal of the African Society
J Am O S = Journal of the American Oriental Society
J Anthr I = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
JASB = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc of Bengal
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
JPHS = Journal of the Punjab Historical Society
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
KR = Kolonial Rundschau
KS = Keleti Szemle (Revue orientale)
Mach = Al Machriq
MDPV = Mitteilungen und Nachr des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins
MFOB(eyrouth) = Melanges de la Faculte Orientale de Beyrouth
MGG Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
MGMN = Mitt z Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften
MGWJ = Monatsschrift f d Geschichte u Wissenschaft des Judentums
MI = Mir Islama
MIÉgypt = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
MIFAO = Mémoires publies par les membres de l'Inst Franç d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
MMAF = Mémoires de la Mission Archeologique Franç au Caire
MO = Le monde oriental
MOG = Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte
MSL = Mémoires de la Societe Linguistique
MSOS Afr = Mitteilungen des Sem fur oriental Sprachen, Afr Studien
MSOS As = Mitteilungen des Sem fur oriental Sprachen, Westasiat Studien
MW = The Moslem World
Mitt DOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft
Mitt VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NE = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi
NGW Gott = Nachrichten d Gesellschaft d Wiss Gottingen
OA = Orientalisches Archiv
OC = Oriens Christianus
OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OM = Oriente Moderne
PLLOV oder P Ec Lang Or Viv = Publications de l'ecole des langues orientales vivantes
PRGS = Proc Roy Geog Soc
QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
RAfr = Revue Africaine
REJ = Revue des Etudes Juives
RHR = Revue de l'histoire des Religions
RI = Revue Indigene
RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman
ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chretien
RRAH = Rev dela R Academia de la Historia, Madrid
RRAL = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di sc mor, stor, e filol
RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
RT = Revue Tunisienne
SBAk Heid = Sitzungsberichte der Ak der Wiss Heidelberg
SBAk Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak der Wiss in Wien
SB Bayr Ak = Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBPMS Erlg = Sitzungsberichte d Phys medizin Sozietät in Erlangen
SB Pr Ak W = Sitzungsberichte der preuss Ak der Wiss zu Berlin
TBGKW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
TOEM = Tārikh-i ʿOthmānī Endjumeni Medjmūʿasi, Revue Historique publiee par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane
TTLV = Tijdschrift v Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
Verh Ak Amst = Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
Versl Med Ak Amst = Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
WI = Die Welt des Islams
Wiss Veroff DOG = Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift fúr die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA = Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie
Zap = Zapiski
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins
ZGErdk Berl = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin
ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u Iranistik
ZK = Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen
ZOEG = Zeitschrift f Osteuropäische Geschichte
ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik

LABBAI (LUBBAY) (Tamil, *ilappai*, said to be a corruption of *ʿarabī*), a class of Indian Musalmans, also known as Djonakas (Skt *yavana*, "Greek, western"), supposed to be descended from Arab immigrants who intermarried with native women, but now having nothing to distinguish them from the aboriginal people, except their mode of dress and manner of shaving the head and trimming the beard In 1911 they numbered 401,703, found chiefly on the E coast of Southern India Most of them are Sunnīs, of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, and their head-quarters are at Nagore, the burial place of their patron saint, Shāh al-Hamīd ʿAbd al-Kādir (ob 1600), commonly known as Kādir Walī or Mīrān Sāhib (see *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, p 243) They read the Kurʾān in Tamil translation, written in Arabic characters They are industrious and enterprising, especially as fishermen and traders

Bibliography E Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909, iv 198 *sqq*, Kādir Husain Khān, *South Indian Musulmans*, Madras 1910, p 29 *sqq*, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Madras 1893, iii 437 (T W ARNOLD)

LABBAIKA [See TALBĪYA]

LABĪD B RABIʿA ABŪ ʿAKĪL, an Arab poet of the pagan period, who lived into the days of Islām (*muhadram*), belonged to the family of Banū Djaʿfar, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir and therefore to the Kaisī Hawāzin According to Ibn Saʿd, vi 21, he died in 40 (660/661) in the night on which Muʿāwiya arrived in al Nukhaila to conclude peace with Hasan b ʿAlī Others, like Ibn Hadjar, iii 657, whom Noldeke (*Funf Moʿallaqāt*, ii 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A H, others again 42 He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sidjistānī, *K al-Muʿammarīn*, ed Goldziher, ch 61) In fact he makes several allusions to this in his poems The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed Even before 600 A D he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language As quite a young man he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū Kābūs Nuʿmān of al-Hīra (c 580—602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū ʿĀmir by his friend Abū Rabīʿ b Ziyād al-ʿAbsī (of the tribe to which Labīd's mother belonged), Labīd succeeded with a satirical *radjaz* (*Dīwān*, N⁰ 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū ʿĀmir A verse from Nuʿmān's answer to his courtier who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him became proverbial (cf al-Mufaddal, *al-Fākhir*, i 41 *sq*, al-ʿAskarī, *Amthāl*, on the margin of Maidānī, ii 117, 7—18, al-Maidānī, ii 33, *K al-Aghānī*, xv 1 94 *sqq*, 91 *sqq*, xvi 2 22 *sq*, 21 *sqq*, ʿAbd al-Kādir, *Khizānat al Adab*, ii 79 *sqq*, iv 171 *sqq*) In his later poems Labīd also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al ʿAshā But the coming of the Prophet Muhammad threw him out of the usual groove We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islām As early as Djumādā II of the year 8 the chiefs of the tribe of ʿĀmir b Saʿsaʿa, ʿĀmir b Tufail and Arbad b Kais, a stepbrother of Labīd, seem to have negotiated in Medīna about the adhesion of their tribe to the new constitution without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii 90 *sqq*) Both men are said to have soon after come to an untimely end ʿĀmir from plague and Arbad from a lightning stroke, the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labīd's lament for him (*Dīwān*, N⁰ 5) The accusation on the other hand that Arbad attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible, for in that case Labīd could hardly have composed several elegies on him and they would certainly not have been included in his *Dīwān* In the year 9 the tribe again sent a deputation to Medīna which included the poet and an agreement was reached Labīd is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim He later migrated to Kūfa where he died Of his family only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Maidānī ii 49, 13 *sqq*, al-Ghuzūlī, *Matālīʿ al-Budūr*, i 52, 7 *sqq*)

Labīd's poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs Al Nābigha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hawāzin, on account of his *Muʿallaka* He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imru 'l-Kais and Tarafa Al-Djumahī (*Tabakāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed Hell, p 29 *sq* places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābigha al Djaʿdī, Abū Dhuʾaib and al Shammākh I abid showed himself equally master of the *hidjāʾ*, the *marthiya* and the *kasīda* One of his *kasīda's* was adopted into the collection of *muʿallakāt* and is thought by Noldeke (*Funf Moʿallaqāt*, ii 51) to be one of the best specimens of Bedūin poetry Labīd uses the traditional pictures from the animal world — wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs — as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts He seems on the other hand to have only cultivated the *nasīb*, because it had been traditional He deals far less with the subject of womans's love than with the description of the *Atlāl* which he likes to compare with

Paris MSS Arab 4439, fol 94v, 152r, 243r, in van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, p 290, note 3, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subh al-Aʿshā*, iv 145, transl Gaudefroy–Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p 113 *sq*) The Arab geographers and historians mention many ancient buildings that had survived in the town, they also tell of two castles connected with one another on a hill which commanded al-Lādhiḳīya (Bahā' al-Dīn, in *Hist Or des Croix*, iii 110), a great city-gate, which it took a number of men to open (al-Balādhurī, *op cit*, p 132), and the splendid monastery of Dair al-Fārūs (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii, p 281, Dimashḳī, ed Mehren, p 209, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geogr*, transl Reinaud-Guyard, ii/ii 35, in Ibn Battūta, i 183 *al-Fārūs*) called after *Tall Fārūs* still the name of the eminence to the north of the town (M Hartmann, *Z D P V*, xiv, p 166 and map) A short description of al-Lādhiḳīya is given by Raoul of Caen (*Gesta Tancredi*, ch 144, Rohricht *Z D P V*, x 316 has put together a list of the buildings of the town known from Frankish sources) In spite of the earthquakes and frequent pillaging suffered by the town in course of centuries, it never seems to have been quite desolate and uninhabited The fine, high houses and the straight streets, paved with marble blocks, noted by Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma (*Hist Or des Croix*, i 720, iv 361) and which they say had suffered much when the town was sacked (cf also Yaʿḳūbī, ed de Goeje, *B G A*, vii 258), recall the description of Laodiceia in Poseidonius as a *κάλλιστα ἐκτισμένη πόλις* (Strabo, xvi, p 753), and of the modern town van Berchem says (*J A*, 1902, p 425, cf *Voyage*, i, p 289 *sq*) *la ville de Lattakieh a garde ses rues droites Il est curieux que ce plan, d'aspect tout moderne, existât au moyen âge, il remonte peut-être à l'antiquite, comme certaines rues droites de Damas et Jerusalem* The origin of the straight streets and the square plan of the town (cf Th Schreiber in the *Festschrift fur H Kiepert*, 1898, p 335—348) has been ascribed to architects of the Roman empire (A v Gerkan, *Griech Stadtanlagen*, 1924, passim), but more recently Cultrera has shown that they already existed in the early Hellenistic period and had been borrowed as early as by Hippodamos of Miletus (fifth century) from the architecture of the ancient east (*Architettura Ippodamea*, in *Memorie dell' Accad dei Lincei*, ser v, vol xvii, p 403, 433 *sq*, 473, Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos*, Paris 1916, xix, note 4, 25 *sq*, 483)

Bibliography al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed v Mžik in *Bibl arab Hist u Geogr*, iii, p 19, N° 267, al-Farghānī, *Element Astron*, ed Golius, p 38, al Battānī, *Opus astronom*, ed Nallino, *Pubbl del R Osservat di Brera in Milano XL*, ii, p 39, iii, p 237, N° 122, al-Yaʿḳūbī, *B G A*, vii 324 *sq*, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 132 *sq*, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 338, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, iii 1, al-Dimashḳī, ed Mehren, p 209, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud, p 257, Yahyā b Saʿīd al-Antākī, ed Rosen, p 16 *sq*, 30, 153 *sqq*, 237 in *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, 1883, xliv, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 281, Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfat al-Nuzzār*, ed Paris, i 179—183, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Moslem*, ed Reiske, i 226, iii 264, 464, iv 88, 108, 316, v 352, Maḳrīzī, *Hist des Sult Mamlouks*, transl Quatremère, ii/i, 30, 205, 221, Kamāl al-Dīn, in Freytag, *Z D M G*, xi 228 passim, al-Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister, in *Z D P V*, viii 23, Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Zubda*, ed Ravaisse, p 48, ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, p 182, in R Hartmann, *Z D M G*, lxx 35, al Djīʿān Abu 'l-Bakā' in R L Devonshire, *B I F A O*, 1921, xx, p 10, K Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii/i, p 927—932, Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, p 111 *sq*, 852, M Hartmann, *Das Liwa el-Ladhkije* in *Z D P V*, 1891, 151—255, with map, table vi, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 490–492, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, p 794, 799, 802, van Berchem, *J A*, 1902, p 425, van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, in *M I F A O*, 1913, xxxvii, p 289 *sq*, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p 113 *sq*, Probst, *Die geogr Verhaltn Syriens u Palast nach Wilh v Tyrus*, Leipzig 1927, i, p 25 *sq*, *Das Land der Bibel*, iv, vol 5/6, on the ancient town, cf my article *Laodikeia No 1*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl*, xii, col 713—718 (E Honigmann)

LAGHUAT, al-Aghwāt, a town and oasis in Southern Algeria, 250 miles south of Algiers in 2° 55′ East Lat, 33° 48′ N Lat, at 2,400 feet above sea-level In 1911 it had 5,598 inhabitants of whom 595 were Europeans Laghuat which forms part of the "Territoire" of Ghardaia is the capital of a mixed commune and a native commune of 6,650 square miles with 19,810 inhabitants

The town and the oasis lie on the right bank of the Wēd Mzi, which comes from the Djebel Amūr and finally under the name of Wēd Djedi enters the Shott Melghir in the south of the province of Constantine The houses lie in terraces on the slopes of two rocky hills, spurs of the Djebel Tisgarine, the European quarter on the north-west slope and the native quarter on the north-east slope It is defended by a wall and two forts on the summit The oasis extends in a semi-circle north-west and south east of the town The north-west part is the more extensive and contains palmgroves and fields of cereals A canal led by a dam from the Wēd Mzi called the Wēd Lekhier provides for the irrigation of the gardens The palm-trees to the number of 30,000 produce dates of mediocre quality, but they supply the food of the inhabitants The situation of Laghuat between the southern Oran and southern Constantine at the point where roads diverge to the west, to the Ūlād Sidi Shaikh, to the south of the Mzab and to Wargla, to the east to the Zīban and Biskra, makes this place a considerable centre of commerce

History In the tenth century A D there was already on the banks of the Wēd Mzi a little town, the inhabitants of which, after having recognised the authority of the Fātimids, took part in the rebellion of Abū Yazīd The country round was inhabited by wandering Berbers of the family Maghrāwa The Hilāli invasion brought other tribes of the same stock into this region, notably the Ksel, driven out of the Zab, who founded a village called Ben Būta Other Ksūr (Bū Mendala, Nadjal, Sidi Mīmūn, Badla, Kasbat ben Fotūh) were built by other refugees, some of Arab origin (Dawawida, Ūlād bū Zayan), others came from the Mzab These groups together took the name of al-Aghuat

We know very little of the history of this town down to the xviiith century At the end of the

xvɪth century it paid tribute to the Sultān of Morocco, in 1666 the Ksūr of Badla and of Kasbat Fotūh were abandoned In 1698 a Marabout originally from Tlemcen, Si al-Hādjdj ʿAissa, settled at Ben Būta, imposed his authority on the people of the three other Ksūr and on the neighbouring tribe of the Larba Under his leadership the people of Laghuat defeated the people of Ksard al Asafia but were forced to pay tribute to the Sultān of Morocco, Mūlāy Ismāʿīl, who camped under the walls of the town in 1708 After the death of Si al-Hādjdj ʿAissa (1738 A D) the history of Laghuat is reduced to that of the struggle between the two sof who disputed control of it, the Ūlād Serghine, of the south-west quarter and the Hallaf who inhabited the north-east quarter In the middle of these feuds which bathed the oasis in blood, the Turks made their supremacy recognised In 1727 the Bey of Titteri had imposed an annual tribute on the Ksūrians The Mzabīs driven from the oasis where they had acquired a part of the gardens, formed with the nomads of the south a confederation, over which the people of Laghuat triumphed with the help of the Larba Towards the end of the xvɪɪɪth century the Turks reappeared and enforced once more their suzerainty which the Laghuati had been gradually casting off The Bey of Medea fell in the first expedition (1784), but the Bey of Oran, Muhammad al Kabīr, seized the town and destroyed the quarter of the Ūlād Serghine (1786) His successor ʿOthmān then took the field against the Hallaf whom he scattered (1787)

The two enemy factions were not long however in reorganising themselves and civil strife began again until the chief of the Hallaf, Ahmad b Sālim, succeeded in making himself master of Laghuat and the neighbouring Ksūrs (1828) But peace did not last long The Ūlād Serghine supported by ʿAbd al-Kādir regained the upper hand in 1837 Their chief al-Hādjdj al-ʿArbī was appointed khalīfa by the Amīr He could not hold out and was forced to take refuge in Mzab His successor ʿAbd al-Bākī was no more fortunate, although he had 700 regular troops and a cannon In obedience to the Amīr's orders he tried to imprison the notables but this provoked risings and he had to leave Laghuat (1839) Al-Hādjdj al-ʿArbī, again appointed khalīfa, was defeated by Ahmad b Sālim in alliance with the Marabout of ʿAin Mahdī, Tīdjāni, and then taken prisoner Thus becoming again lord of Laghuat, Ahmad b Sālim placed himself under French protection who appointed him their khalīfa in 1844 A French column under the command of Colonel Marey-Monge on this occasion camped at the very gates of Laghuat The French came back again in 1847 but did not definitely install themselves till 1852, when the Sharīf Muhammad b ʿAbdallāh, already lord of Wargla, had gained entrance to the town with the help of a section of the Hallaf To retake it from him a column was sent under General Pélissier Laghuat was taken by storm after a desperate fight in which General Bouscaren and Commandant Morand were killed (December 1852) A permanent garrison was then stationed in Laghuat and it became the base of French operations in the south

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LAḤIDJ, a sultanate in South Arabia with its capital of the same name north west of ʿAden, bounded by the Hawshabī territory on the north, the Fadlī territory on the east, the ʿAkrabī land in the south and the Subaihī territory in the west The capital, called Lahidj or el-Hōṭa lies at a height of 350 feet above sea-level between the two arms of the Wādī Tuban, the Wādī Ṣaghīr and the Wādī Kabīr, in a fertile oasis which, occupying a wide valley, owes its existence to its irrigation by canals led from the mountain streams and wells of excellent water as much as 15 feet deep The town is surrounded by palmgroves and fields on which cereals are grown, notably *durra* (*holcus sorghum*) and different vegetables, in addition to date-palms there are all kinds of fruit trees, including citrons and cocoa-palms, this being one of the most northerly points in Arabia where the latter are found The town which was visited in 1503 by Ludovico di Barthema and in 1810 by V G von Seetzen and which Niebuhr still calls small, while on Wellsted's visit it had about 400 houses and 800 straw or reed huts with almost 5,000 inhabitants, owes its prosperity to the Russo-Turkish war in the course of which in 1878 England temporarily proclaimed a state of siege in ʿAden and evicted the Arabs and Sōmalīs from ʿAden The latter went to Lahidj where they built themselves thousands of huts close to the town, which now form extensive suburbs and considerably increased the number of inhabitants The sea of houses is dominated by the palace of the Sultān, built by Indian architects and four to five stories high with extensive subsidiary buildings, it is entirely built of clay and painted white The palace is surrounded by a clay wall, to the east of which lies the town with its numerous rectangular flat roofed houses, all built of sun-dried bricks made of a mixture of dung, clay, straw and dried grass and one or two stories high The monotony of the picture is broken only by the very simple, insignificant mosques which are outlined in white round the roof To the east of the palace in the shade of beautiful leafy trees and palms is a pleasant looking one-storied bungalow built by the Sultān for foreign guests Round the town are scattered little groups of low straw huts, made of *durra* stems and surrounded by a hedge which are inhabited by Sōmalīs and their families In addition to these there are also Sawāhilīs settled in Lahidj The great mass of the inhabitants however are Yemen Arabs, who live in the numerous houses and mud-huts, which form the town with its narrow, winding, dusty streets A part of the town is reserved for the Jews, who look wretched and are merchants and artisans There are also a few Muslim Jews who are traders All types of the population are met with in the bazaar street which is barely six feet wide Not far from this is the armourers' market where smiths, Arabs and Jews have erected their simple workshops in open booths The principal weapons made here are the fine *djembīyas* while the long cavalry lances, which are used by the Yemen Kabīlīs are made in Dathīna, Ansāb or Hawīr and brought for sale to the Lahidj market In

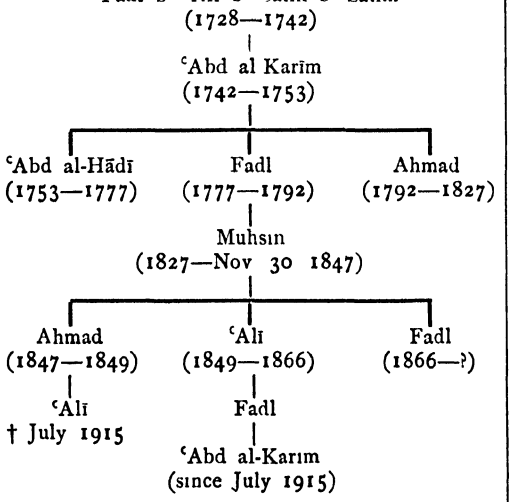
Wellsted's time there were also 30 silk-weavers here, who got their yarn from India The oasis is very well watered and the numerous little canals are fed by the perennial stream which passes not far from the town Lahidj which plays an important part in the caravan traffic is connected by a road with ʿAden and in 1907 was to have been linked up by a railway with ʿAden and Dālīʿ, part of which was actually surveyed but the plan was abandoned England took up the scheme again in 1915 during the war and laid a strategic railway of 1 metre gauge for 25 miles to Lahidj, in 1921 it was extended a few miles beyond the oasis of Lahidj and now reaches Habīl al-Hamrā, 8 miles N W of al Hōtā The continuation of the railway to Sanʿāʾ would open up Southern Yemen and increase the importance of Lahidj

History The name Lahidj (Lahdj) which means a damp low lying area intersected by water channels, a place-name that admirably suits Lahidj, is connected by the genealogists with the Himyar Lahdj b Wāʾil b al-Ghawth b Katan b ʿArīb b Zuhair b Abyan b al-Humaisaʿ and is applied by the geographers to a district in Yemen which forms part of the territory of Abyan north east of ʿAden Al-Hamdānī mentions it among the towns of the Yemen Tihāma and says that in his time the descendants of Asbah b ʿAmr b al-Hārith dhi Asbah b Mālik b Zaid b al Ghawth b Saʿd b ʿAwf b ʿAdī b Mālik b Zaid b Sadad b Zurʿa Himyar al-Asghar were alive Yākūt says the same for the district of Lahidj which included the towns and villages A number of poets, particularly South Arabians, are familiar with the town, e g Kais b Makshūh ʿAmr b Maʿdīkarib, Khudaidj b ʿAmr, Saiyid al-Himyarī, ʿAmr b al Sulaimānī and especially the famous ʿUmar b Abī Rabīʿa, who had property there

After Yemen had been won for Islām, Lahidj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire Lahidj thus passed with Yemen to the Umaiyads and then to the ʿAbbāsids until under al-Maʾmūn the bold ʿAlīd Ibrāhīm b Mūsā b Djaʿfar b Muhammad, drove his governor Ishāk b ʿĪsā al-ʿAbbāsī out of Yemen and made himself independent there In 203 (818/819) the Caliph made a partition of Yemen by which the coast lands from Mecca to ʿAden were put under the governor Muhammad b ʿAbdallāh b Ziyād al-Umawī who founded the town of Zabīd and became the founder of the Ziyādī dynasty which with one interruption (the capture of Zabīd in 293 [905/6] by the Karmatian ʿAlī b al Fadl al-Himyarī al Khanfarī, d 303 [915/16]) ruled over Zabīd until 402 (1011/1012) Lahidj with ʿAden, Abyan, Hadramōt and al Shihr passed into the hands of the Banū Maʿn in the time of the Abyssinian slaves, who ruled the Ziyādī kingdom when the dynasty died out In 439 (1047/1048) ʿAden came under the rule of ʿAlī b Muhammad al-Sulaihī (d 459 = 1066/1067) Zuraiʿ b al ʿAbbās (d 485 = 1092/1093) was installed as governor here and ruled in a practically independent fashion Ibn ʿUmar, the ruler of Lahidj, al-Shihr and Hadramōt, who later seized ʿAden and ruled jointly with his brother Masʿūd, made an alliance with him Their successors succeeded in conquering a great part of the Yemen, but internal discords soon weakened them and in 1152 A D, the caliph al-Mansūr took ʿAden with the help of treachery and was able to hold it until the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Tūrān shāh in 1173 A D conquered a great part of Yemen including ʿAden, with whose fate that of Lahidj was henceforth linked Tūrān shāh placed a governor in ʿAden, the brother of the Imām of Sanʿāʾ, Malik al Masʿūd, whose successor Sultān Nūr al Dīn (1233—1249 A D) was the founder of the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen He soon conquered the whole of the Yemen and ruled it under the nominal suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, with whom he quarrelled in 1249 so that Sultān al Malik al-Muzaffar Shams al-Dīn was sent against him and took ʿAden and Lahidj from him In 1251 al Muzaffar granted Lahidj and Abyan to his brothers Mufaddal and Fāʾiz as a fief Lahidj again changed its owner when in 1294 Ibrāhīm b Muzaffar took ʿAden and Lahidj but had soon to part with them again to Dāʾūd, Muzaffar's successor In 1302 Lahidj passed as a fief to the Sharīf ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs In 1307 the town was pillaged by the Djahāfil, in 1323 ʿUmar b Diwīdān rebelled in Abyān and Lahidj and besieged ʿAden as his son again did in 1325 In 1454 ʿAden with its hinterland passed to the Tāhirids who held it till 1507 The expeditionary force led by Husain al Mushrif which the Mamlūk Sultān Kānsūh al-Ghūrī sent at the request of the Tāhirid Sultān ʿĀmir b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks In 1538 the Turkish governor of Kulzum, Sulaimān Pasha, set out with a fleet and took ʿAden which belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen, which again became independent under the Imāms of Sanʿāʾ Quarrels among the claimants to the imāmate however soon shattered the kingdom and in 1728 the ʿAbdʿalī leader Fadl b ʿAlī b Fadl b Sālih b Sālim, the founder of the dynasty of Lahidj, made himself independent of the Imāms and made Lahidj the capital of his territory In 1735 he took ʿAden His grandson Ahmad b ʿAbd al-Karīm in 1802 concluded through Sir Home Popham a commercial treaty with England but his nephew and successor Muhsin came into conflict with England (1837) through the plundering of the Indian ship Doria Dowlut by his people and thus lost ʿAden, the fort of which passed to England by a preliminary treaty concluded on January 23, 1838, while the Arabs in the town were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Sultān of Lahidj who received in compensation a subsidy of 541 dollars a month On January 19, 1839 the English occupied ʿAden and by a second treaty of June 18, 1839, Captain S B Haines made an arrangement between Sultān Muhsin of Lahidj and England, by which the former agreed to guarantee the security and regularity of the caravan traffic with ʿAden and to maintain a loyal friendship with England, while Haines in return undertook to pay subsidies to the tribes of Fadl, Yāfiʿ, Hawāshib and ʿĀmir and to pay Sultān Muhsin and his descendants 6,500 dollars annually from Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1254 At the same time the contracting parties agreed to support one another in case of war between the ʿAbdʿalī and Lahidj, to put subjects of the Sultān coming to ʿAden under English jurisdiction during the time of their stay and those who came to Lahidj from ʿAden under that of the Sultān, further all goods belonging to

the Sultān, or his sons were to enter or leave ʿAden free of duty In spite of this treaty the Sultān, who was still sore over the loss of ʿAden, continued to intrigue against the English and supported the attack of the Arabs on ʿAden in 1840 and even had the English representative in ʿAden, Hasan Khatīb, murdered and regularly adopted a hostile attitude towards the English His constant failures however forced him to change his policy and on February 11, 1843 he concluded a new agreement with England which was renewed in a more stringent form on February 20, 1844, before his monthly allowance was again paid to him Muhsin b Fadl, who had again allowed himself to be involved in a war with England in 1846 in which he was defeated, died on November 30, 1847 His son and successor Ahmad maintained friendly relations with England as it was in his best interest to do so He died in 1849 and was succeeded by his brother ʿAlī who resumed a policy of hostility to England and roused the hostility of the tribes against ʿAden On March 7, 1849 a treaty was however concluded with the East India Company which was ratified on October 30, by Lord Dalhousie, but an attitude of constant friendship to England was not thereby secured The Sultān even cut off supplies and it finally came to open fighting in which the Sultān was defeated on March 18, 1858 at Shēkh ʿOthmān so that he had again to reconcile himself to a peaceful policy When in 1873 the Turks in their reconquest of the Yemen advanced on the hinterland of ʿAden, the English occupied Lahidj and the Turks had to retire as a result of English diplomatic negotiations with the Sublime Porte Whether these negotiations were instigated or approved by the Sultān who had lost his independence — only nominal it is true — by the Turkish occupation of his territory, is not known In any case in 1887, as E Glaser records, Sultān Fadl b ʿAlī was receiving a monthly allowance of 1,250 dollars from ʿAden

GENEALOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SULTĀNS OF LAHIDJ



In the World War Turkey assumed the offensive from the Yemen in June 1915 against the English sphere of interest and Turkish troops in conjunction with those of the Imām Yahyā b Hamīd al-Dīn, their ally, under the command of Muhammad Nasr reached Lahidj in their advance on ʿAden where there was a battle with the English and their allies In the course of the fighting the English troops evacuated Lahidj and Sultān ʿAlī b Ahmad was shot A counter-attack on July 21, 1915 restored Lahidj to the English but by August 21 they were again driven out of Lahidj which was occupied by the Turks who held it till the beginning of 1918 It was not till the collapse of Turkey on the Palestine front and the cutting of communications with the Yemen that the position became untenable for the Turkish troops and forced them to retire Since July 1915, ʿAbd al-Karīm b Fadl b ʿAlī has been ruler of the Sultānate of Lahidj

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LĀHIDJĀN. 1. A town in Gīlān to the east of the Safīd-Rūd and north of the mountain Dulfāk (cf. the ancient name of a people Δέρβικαι) on the river Čom-khala (Purdesar) which 8 miles higher up flows through Langarūd, the present capital of the district of Rān-i Kūh.

Lāhīdjān although unknown to the early Arab geographers is certainly one of the oldest towns in Gīlān. Its foundation is attributed to the legendary Lāhīdj b. Sām b. Nūḥ. The river Safīd-Rūd divides Gīlān into two parts. In ancient times the river formed the frontier between the Amardoi on the east and the Kadusioi or Gēlai on the west; cf. Andreas, *Amardos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*. In the Muslim period the part of Gīlān to the east of the river was called Biya-pīsh and that to the west Biya-pas (the word *biya* "water" [cf. Aḥmad Rāzī in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 100], corresponds to the Avestan *vaidhi*, "water-course"). According to Kāshānī the people of Biya-pīsh were ʿAlids (Zaidīs) and those of Biya-pas Ḥanbalīs or sectarians of ustād Abū Djaʿfar (= Ṭabarī).

The old dynasty of Biya-pīsh was that of the Kawtum or Hawthum (in the modern Rān-i kūh). Its founder was Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥasan ʿUtrūsh, a descendant of the Caliph ʿAlī, who preached Zaidī doctrines in Gīlān and died in 304 (917) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 61; Ṭabarī, iii. 2292). His descendants are known as Nāṣirwand. Later the family divided into two branches; in the reign of Uldjāitū the lord of Kawtum was Sālūk b. Sālār b. Kaikāwūs b. Shāhinshāh (the descent of this branch is not quite certain); the lord of Lāhīdjān, the most powerful of the princes of Gīlān (or of Biya-pīsh), was Naw-Pādishāh (or Shāh-i naw). When in 706 (1307) Uldjāitū arrived before Lahīdjān (via Tārom-Lowshān-Dailamān-Rustā) Naw Pādishāh submitted to him and thus kept his position.

Lāhīdjān became more generally known as the capital of the dynasty of Biya-pīsh called Kār-Kiyā. These saiyids came originally from the village of Malāt (in the district of Rān-i Kūh). About 769 during the civil war between the two lines of Nāṣirwand, the descendants of Sharaf al-Dīn of Lāhīdjān and those of Amīr Muḥammad of Rān-i Kūh, Saiyid ʿAlī b. Saiyid Kiyā seized Biya-pīsh, Dailamān and some districts of Māzandarān. The power of the Nāṣirwand was re-established in 791—792; in 908 (1502) the troops of Amīr Ḥisām al-Dīn of Fūman (Biya-pas) sacked the town and similar invasions were repeated in 910 (1504) and in 914 (1501) but, except for such interruptions, the dynasty of the Kār-Kiyā lasted till 1000 (1592). The Ṣafawīs had close connections with Lāhīdjān. In the village of Shaikhānbar on the road from Lāhīdjān to Langarūd is the tomb of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Zāhid (d. in 714 = 1314) who was the spiritual father (*pīr*) of Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn, the famous ancestor of the Ṣafawid dynasty. Shāh Ismāʿīl I, a fugitive from the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, found refuge with the Kār-Kiyā Mīrzā ʿAlī and studied under Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdjī (E. Denison Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismail*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 286). These friendly relations were broken in the reign of the Kār Kiyā Khān Aḥmad Khān (943—975 and 985—1000) who was at first imprisoned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and later driven from the throne by Shāh ʿAbbās, who was indignant at his intrigues with the Ottomans. Aḥmad Khān ended his days in Constantinople (Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 562, 576). In 1000 (1592) Shāh ʿAbbās came to Lāhīdjān and destroyed the garden in front of the castle. During their occupation of Gīlān (1724—1734) the Russians built two forts in Lāhīdjān. Lāhīdjān has now lost all political importance, but has retained its local importance as the centre of one of the largest and richest districts in Gīlān. The town has 2,260 houses with 10,000 inhabitants. There are many tombs there of members of the old ruling family. The district is divided into seven cantons:

	towns	houses
Kūhpāya	50	2,108
Pashmačāh	35	1,059
Kanār-Farīda	63	2,984
Rāh Shāh-i bālā	28	1,965
Gowka	21	656
Čārdeh	5	300
Lashta Nishā	29	775

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2. Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [q. v.]: Lāhīdj, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamākha [cf. SHIRWĀN]; Lāhīdjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Fārs; Lāhīdjān, a canton of Mukrī Kurdistān [cf. SAWDJ-BULĀḲ], which the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 280 calls Lārdjān. There is a village of Lāhīdjān near Ilkhiči, south of Tabrīz and a village of Lāridjān south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabīl (Ḳara-Ṣu). The forms *Lāh* and *Lār* may both come from **Laḍh* (cf. the old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar-kh* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (Vullers) the old name of the town of Lār [q. v.] was Lād/Lādh; the silk called *lādh* is also known as *lāh* (*lāh* however may equally well be explained by *lās*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is

attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tātī, in Māzandarānī we have the parallel forms *āzād/āzār*, Melgunof, p 221) The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdjān and Lārīdjān in the adjoining provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdj of Shīrwān represents an islet of Īrānian Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Daghistān, the country round Teherān, Ādharbāidjān, etc) Their present name has a rather general and vague character, cf TĀT The colony of Lāhīdj may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis The name of the silk *lādh/lāh* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf Yākūt, s v Lāhīdj) [Yākūt says that Lāhīdj produces the silk called "Lāhīdjī" which is not of high quality] With the suffix *-ic*, the word *Lāh ic* would mean the people of Lād It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdjān is not the ancestral home of numerous *Lāhīdj* colonies At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdjān — although with certain local peculiarities — the Gilakī dialect but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdj of Shīrwān As to Lāhīdjān of Kurdistān we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dimla" by which the Zāzā call themselves (north of Diyārbakr) is a metathesis of Dēlam (Dailam) The emigrations from Gīlān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west — [To the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Kal'a-i Lāhūdj in Khūzistān (?), cf *Tārīkh i Guzīda*, *G M S*, xiv/1, p 240] (V MINORSKY)

LĀHŌR, capital of the province of the Pandjāb, British India, situated on the river Rāwī, at 31° 35′ north latitude, 74° 20′ east longitude Population in 1911, 228,687, of whom 129,301 were Muhammadans The foundation of Lāhōr is traditionally attributed to a mythical Lava or Loh, son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar It is not mentioned in the chronicles of the invasion of Alexander the Great, nor is the town described either by Strabo or Pliny, but it may be the Labokla of Ptolemy, which Sir Alexander Cunningham (in his *Ancient Geography of India*) explains as Lavālaka, "the abode of Lava" In the *Mahābhārata*, the Pandjāb is called Tākadesa, or the country of the Tākas According to Huien Tsiang, Tākī was the capital of the Pandjāb in 633 A D He makes no mention of Lāhōr by any name capable of identification as such, though he traversed the entire province and stayed in it for quite two years Possibly the Lohkot of the *Purānas* is Lāhōr The *Deshwā Bhāgā* (a compilation from the *Purānas*) gives an account of a battle between Bānmal, Rādjā of Lavpūr, and one Bhīm Sen Kanēkson, the mythical ancestor of the solar Rādjpūt princes of Central India, is said to have migrated south from Lohkot, an event assigned by Colonel Tod to *c* 145 A D One of the city gateways is known as the Bhātī Gate, the Solankhīs and Bhātīs of Radjputāna point to Lāhōr as the seat of an earlier settlement The first distinct mention of Lāhōr occurs in the history of the campaigns of Subuktagīn, and of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, when the Brahman kings of the Kābul valley, being driven from Pashāwar and Ohind, established their new capital first at Bhēra on the Djhelam, and then at Lāhōr Both Djai Pāl, and his son Anang Pāl, the successive antagonists of the Ghaznī invaders, are called Kādjās of Lāhōr by Farishta, according to whom the Hindū dynasty was subverted in A D 1031, when Lāhōr became the residence of a Muslim governor under the king of Ghaznī A final insurrection of the Hindūs was quelled by Mawdūd in 1042, and the city was left in charge of Malik Ayāz, whom Muhammadan tradition regards as the founder During the reign of Mas'ūd III (1099—1114), Lāhōr became the capital of the Ghaznī dynasty, but was captured in A D 1186 by Shihāb al-Dīn, known as Muhammad Ghorī, the Muhammadan conqueror of India The town was sacked by the Mongols of Čingiz Khān, and of Tīmūr, and in the reign of Mubārak Shāh it was "a desolate waste in which no living thing except the owl of ill-omen had its abode" (Elliot-Dowson, iv 56, 57) Lāhōr remained insignificant throughout the period of the Pathān dynasties In 1436, Bahlol Lodī seized Lāhōr as a first step to power It was plundered by Bābūr's troops in 1524

Even at this time the Pandjāb was an almost uninhabited waste, except for a few walled cities in which the Hindūs could exist in some security from the frontier raiders "The Mongols of Balkh and Kābul every year used to make raids on the Pandjāb, and for this reason the province remained depopulated for a long time, and very little agriculture was carried on Rai Rām Deo Bahtī, of Patiāla, rented the whole Pandjāb from the governor of Lāhōr for 900,000 *takas* (£ 2,000)" (*Bābūr's Memoirs*)

Under the Great Mughals, Āgra, Dihlī, and Lāhōr were the three chief cities and mint towns of the Mughal Empire Akbar held his court here from 1584 to 1598, and repaired and enlarged the fort In the time of Djahāngīr, who made it a secondary capital, Lāhōr reached its zenith of wealth and splendour, the tombs of this emperor and of his famous consort Nūr Djahān, are on the opposite bank of the Rāwī The place fully shared in the misfortunes which attended the decline of the Mughal Empire Situated on the high-road from Afghānistān, it has been exposed to the visitation of every Western invader, and suffered from the successive conquests of Nādir Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, and other less famous depredators Lāhōr was a bone of contention between the Sikhs and the Muslims, and the great city of the Mughal princes and their viceroys was reduced to little more than a heap of ruins But the rising of Sikh power under Randjīt Singh (1798 A D) made Lāhōr once more the centre of a flourishing realm It relapsed into anarchy after Randjīt Singh's death Then followed the First and Second Sikh Wars, and annexation to British India in 1849 Since that time the capital of the Pandjāb has grown steadily, and a new town covers a large tract which was recently a wilderness

The native city is a walled town with thirteen gates It has been a municipality since 1867 The old crafts are moribund, but have been replaced by trades of a modern character There are power mills — cotton, flour, iron — and a large agricultural market The European quarter, or Civil Station, lies to the south and east of the city, and is a large administrative, educational, and business centre The older part is known as Anārkalī, and here are the buildings of the Government Secretariat,

University of the Pandjāb, Government College, Medical and Law Colleges, and Museum Anārkalī is connected with the newer Civil Station by a fine thoroughfare called the Upper Mall, on which are the High Court, Cathedrals (Anglican and Roman Catholic), Lawrence Gardens, and Government House Further out is the important military station of Lāhōr Cantonment, formerly known as Miān Mīr Lāhōr is a great railway centre, and the headquarters of a big system, the North Western Railway, with extensive workshops and a large railway colony

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(R B WHITEHEAD)

LAILA (A), night, *Lailat al barā'a*, *Lailat al-Kadr*, see RAMADĀN

LAILA 'L-AKHYALĪYA, an Arab poetess, daughter of ʿAbdallāh b al-Rahhāl(a) b Kaʿb b Muʿāwiya of the tribe of ʿUkail b Kaʿb She got her name from the fact that her father — according to other traditions one of her ancestors Kaʿb or Muʿāwiya — was known as al-Akhyal (= "the falcon"), perhaps it was a common name in her family and the phrase *nahnu 'l-akhyālu* in her verses glorifying her family may refer to this (*Aghānī*, x 80, *Hamāsa*, p 711) Laila is usually mentioned in connection with her fellow-tribesman Tawba b Humaiyir al Khafādjī, fragments of her laments for him are preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* She also wrote an elegy on the death of the Caliph ʿUthmān It is also recorded of her that she exchanged lampoons with Nābigha al-Djaʿdī Her conversations with Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd al-Malik and Hadjdjādj b Yūsuf are several times recorded She begged the latter, in her old age to take her to her uncle Kutaiba b Muslim in Khorāsān and she is said to have died on the way She must therefore have flourished in the second half of the first century A H

Bibliography *Aghānī*, x 67—84, Ibn Kutaiba, *K al-Shiʿr*, ed de Goeje, p 269—274, *Hamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 170, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, iii 312 *sq* , v 324, 389, cf Ruckert, *Hamāsa*, p 98 *sq*

(H H BRAU)

LAILĀ KHANĪM, with Fitnet Khanîm, the greatest Turkish poetess of the older school, at the end of the romantic and beginning of the modern period Born in Constantinople, the daughter of the Kādī-ʿAsker Moreli-zāde Hāmid Efendi, she received an excellent education ʿIzzet Mollā [q v] contributed most to her poetical development, she was related to him and always retained a grateful memory of him as is shown by her elegy full of deep feeling on his death In her case the lack of information about her is characteristic of the old Turkish conception of women about whom very little is spoken in public She was early married but divorced very soon afterwards She had the reputation of a Lesbian She cared very little about the opinion of the world She lived for her pleasures and her writing A few anecdotes relate to her infringements of the social code of Turkish ladies She joined the Mewlewī and was buried in the Mewlewī convent in Galata She died in 1264 (1848)

Lailā Khanîm left a regular *Diwān* entirely lyrical which was several times printed (Būlāk 1260, Constantinople 1267, 1299 etc) Although she is still completely in the purely Oriental conventional period of Turkish poetry, her place at the end of the old school is not to be denied Her verses are simple and clear and free from the affected bombast of the time and with their classically correct language much easier to understand than the majority of contemporary poets, wherefore admirers of the old school like M Nādjī can find very few "good" verses in her Her hymns (*munādjāt*) and elegies were particularly admired She was celebrated for her ready wit

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(TH MENZEL)

LAILĀ U-MADJNŪN [See MADJNŪN]

LAITH [See KINĀNA]

LAK, i the most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia According to Zain al ʿĀbidīn their name (Lāk, often Lākk) is explained by the Persian word *lak* (100,000) which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak The group is of importance as the Zand dynasty arose from it The Lak now living in Northern Lūristan are sometimes confused with the Lūr (Zain al-ʿĀbidīn), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnical point of view The facts of history however show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north The Lākki language, according to O Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lūrī dialects [cf LŪR] Čirikov, *Putewoi Journal*, St Petersburg 1875, p 227, says "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects and hate one another"

The Lak appear in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i 323 alongside of the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, subjects of Persia According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Lūristān by order of Shāh ʿAbbās who wished in this way to create some support for the new *wālī* of Lūristān, Husain Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, p 369) Of these tribes, the Silsila had formerly lived at Māhīdasht (S W of Kirmānshāh), the Dilfān take their name from Abū Dulaf [cf the article AL-KĀSIM B ʿĪSĀ] whose fiefs in the third (ninth) century lying in the north of Lūristān [cf SULTĀNĀBĀD], the Bādjilān of Zohāb [q v] as well as of Lūristān say they come from Mawṣil and are evidently one tribe The Lūristān branch seems to have exchanged its Kurmandjī dialect for

Lākkī during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās Even after Shāh ʿAbbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Lūristān Zain al ʿĀbidīn (beg of the xixth century) mentions among the Lak the Zand, the Māfī, the Bādjilān and the Zandī-yi kalā(?) To the last tribe (according to Houtum-Schindler Begele) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Parī about 20 miles from Dawlatābād on the Sultānābād road) When at Shīrāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Bairānwand In 1212 (1797) the Bairānwand and the Badjilān actively supported Muhammad Khān Zand in his attempt to take the power from the Kādjār (H J Brydges, *A History of Persia*, London 1833, p 46, 58, R G Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, p 116) Under the Kādjārs several Lak tribes were broken up The Zand have almost completely disappeared, in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bādjilān of Khānikīn (Khurshīd-Efendī, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Hudūd*, Russ transl, p 112, 221), there are still a few Zand families in the Dorā Farāmān district to the S E of Kirmānshāh (*R M M*, xxxviii, p 39), a section of the ʿAmala of Pusht-i Kūh claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe At the present day there are Māfī at Waramīn, Tihrān and Kazwin

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf *Fundgruben d Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii 85—98) there were considered as Lak the following tribes Kalhūr, Māfī, Nānakī, Djalilwand, Pāyrawand, Kulyāʾī, Sūfīwand, Bahrāmwand, Karkūkī, Tawallī, Zūyirwand, Kākūwand, Nāmīwand, Ahmadwand, Bohtūʾī, Zūliya, Harsinī, Shaikhwand

According to O Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Lūristān are as follows Silsila (9,000 families), Dilfān (7,470), Tirhān Amrāʾī (1,582 families), the Bairānwand (6,000 families) and Dālwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bālā-girīwa group, a total of about 15,000 tents The Bairānward and Dālwand live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town, the Silsila and the Dilfān occupy the beautiful plains of Alīshtar and Khāwa respectively while the Tirhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i e "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saimara and the lower course of its left bank tributary from Khurramābād The territory occupied by the Lak and including N and N W Lūristān is sometimes called Lakistān

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the Silsila, Dilfān and Tirhān were united under the authority of Nazar ʿAlī Khān of the Amrāʾī clan In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion for all the Dilfān and many of the ʿAmala of Tirhān belong to the extremist Shīʿa sect of the Ahl i Hakk (cf SULṬĀN ISḤĀḲ)

Bibliography E Beer, *Das Tarikh-i Zendye*, Leyden 1888, p xviii, xxvi, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al Siyāhat*, Tihrān 1315, p 522, O Mann, *Skizze d Lurdialekte*, *S B*, *Ak Wien*, 1904, p 1173—1193, O Mann, *Die Mundarten d Lur-Stamme*, Berlin 1910, p xxii—xxiv to the number of tribes speaking "Lākkī" the author adds the Kalhur of Kirmānshāh and the Mākī of the Pusht i Kūh, Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, *R M M*, 1916, Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Hakk*, *R M M*, xl 56

2 Name given themselves by the Ghāzī-Kumuk, a people living on the eastern Koi su in central Daghistān [q v and Erckert, *D Kaukasus und s Volker*, Leipzig 1887, p 248—257 and Dirr, *Die heutigen Namen d kaukasischen Volker*, *Peterm Mitteil*, 1908, p 204—212]

On the other hand the term Lēk in Armenian and Lek i (plural Lek-ebi) in Georgian means the Lezgi/Legzi of Daghistān (where the *e* may certainly name the value of *a/a* Lāgzi) This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kūrā, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Daghistān, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Legzi Marquart, *Beitrage z Geschichte und Sage v Eran*, *Z D M G*, 1895, xlix, has attempted to explain the Arabic al Lakz by the addition of the Persian suffix *-zī* to the name Lek (or Lak), cf Sagzī, "inhabitant of Sistān" (V MINORSKY)

LAKHM (BANŪ) With the exception of the Lakhmid clan in the ʿIrāk, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-ʾIslāmic history of this family is not well known and is full of legend Their traditional genealogical tree is given in the article DJUDHĀM According to it Lakhm was of Yemen origin and was the brother of Djudhām and ʿĀmila These genealogical tables may be taken for what they are worth for Djudhām As to Lakhm, Yemenis and Maʿaddīs claim descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of the ʿIrāk As to the reputed relationship of Lakhm with Djudhām and ʿAmila, it must correspond to facts sufficiently established in the century when Islām first appeared It shows that the three groups were then connected by community of aims and interests This forms a solid guarantee of a genealogical connection even if open to criticism in other respects

Of the three sister tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him But by the eve of the Hidjra, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the ʿĀmila [q v] and notably the Djudhām who under the ʿOmaiyads played a leading part, had increased in importance Two centuries before the Hidjra, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the Peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in ʿIrāk where they established the Lakhmid phylarchate of Hīra [q v and the article DJADHĪMA], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same cantons as the Djudhām Like the latter, they had adopted Christianity which had also become the official religion of the Lakhmids of Hīra

When Islām appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement In the first century A H the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm" we can hardly be wrong in thinking he also ruled the Djudhām The *nisba* Lakhmī becomes rare in comparison with Djudhāmī In the wars of Islām, during the conquest of Syria, at Yarmūk, at Siffīn, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I, against the sacred cities of the Hidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner "Lakhmī" became

practically reduced to little more than a title of honour Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of ʿIrāḳ, was very impressive in the "Burke" or "Almanac de Gotha" of the Arabs But as to the Lakhmids, they no longer have a separate existence from the Djudhām When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām It is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind

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(H Lammens)

LAKHNAU, former capital of the province of Oudh (Awadh), now secondary capital of the United Provinces of Āgrah and Oudh in British India, situated on the river Gumtī, at 26° 52′ N L, 80° 56′ E L Population at the 1911 census, 19,782, of whom 4,461 were Muhammadans Nothing is known of its history prior to the Muhammadan invasion, even the derivation of the name is uncertain, though the first syllable is a contraction of Lačman or Lakhman The oldest part is the Lačman Tila, which was colonised by Shaikhs at the close of the thirteenth century A member of this fraternity, Shāh Mīnā, who died in 1478, gained much saintly repute and his tomb is an object of pilgrimage Lakhnau's prominence began in the time of the Sūrī kings of Dihlī It was occupied by Humāyūn in 1526, and taken by Bābur in 1528, under Akbar it was the chief town of a *sarkār* The decay of the Mughal Empire enabled Saʿādat Khān (1724) to found the dynasty of the Nawāb-wazīrs of Oudh, who ruled as independent governors, and latterly as kings of Oudh, till 1856 Saʿādat Khān, a Saiyid from Persia, of the Shiʿa sect, a wazir of the Empire, destroyed the power of the Shaikhs of Lakhnau, but retained his capital at Faizābād He adopted the fish as the dynastic badge The grandeur of the city dates from the time of Āsaf al-Dawla (1775—1797), the fourth of his line, whose reckless munificence has passed into a proverb, and whose reign was the golden age of Lakhnau, which he made the capital of Oudh East of the beautiful Victoria Park (1887) is a fine group of buildings, the Rūmī Darwāza, the Great Imāmbāṛā, and a mosque, all built by Āsaf al Dawla The second and third are in the Mačhī Bhawan, or old fort, here also is the Lačman Tila, surmounted by the mosque of Awrangzēb The Great Imāmbārā is the chief architectural glory of the city To the same period belongs the Martiniere, built by General Claud Martin, first as a residence for himself, afterwards converted into a school

Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1797—1814) constructed the Dilkhushā palace and the Sikandra Bāgh He and his successors continued to adorn the suburbs with public monuments, parks, and country seats The meretricious style of the period marks the decay of Indian Muhammadan architecture

Ghāzī al Dīn Haidar assumed the title of king of Oudh He built the Čhattar Manzil palaces, and the mausoleum called the Shāh Nadjaf

Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837—1842) reformed the administration, and by his economic measures stayed the downfall of his house for two more reigns His name is associated with the buildings at Husainābād During the reign of his son Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh, all the old abuses returned, and the government of the country became utterly paralysed

Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh (1847—1856) was the last king of Oudh He built the Kaisai Bāgh palace, a florid structure of stuccoed and gilt brick

Mal administration by one of the most extravagant courts known to history led to the annexation of Oudh in 1856 during the viceroyalty of Lord Dalhousie Some of the fiercest fighting in the Mutiny took place at Lakhnau, the name of which will be ever remembered in connection with the gallant defence of the Residency

Modern developments have been stimulated and controlled by the wise generosity of the Local Government, and Lakhnau with its suburbs is regarded by many as the finest city in Northern India As a centre of Urdū culture, it is the rival of Dihlī itself and is a seat of learning with unusual facilities for female education The Canning College (1864) in the Badshāh Bāgh, King George's Medical College (1910), and the Isabella Thorburn College for women, are now included in the University Secondary establishments include the Colvin School, and the Reid Christian College The Provincial Museum is also in Lakhnau The Cantonment is the largest military station in the United Provinces The city is a great railway centre, and the head-quarters of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway are here There used to be an extensive native manufacture of gold and silver brocade, muslins, embroidery, brass and copper ware, but here as elsewhere indigenous arts have fallen on evil days

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(R B Whitehead)

LAKHNAUTĪ [See Gaur]

LAKĪT [See Lukatu]

LĀLEZĀNĪ [See Mehmed Lālezārī]

LĀM (Banī Lām), an Arab tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower course of the Tigris (ʿAlī Gharbī, ʿAlī Sharkī, ʿAmāra) According to the statistics of Khurshīd Efendi (middle of the xix[th] century) there were over 4,400 families of Banī Lām west of the Tigris (between ʿAmāra and Shatt al-Hayy) and 5,070 east of the Tigris, along the Persian frontier from Mandalī to the region of marshes (*khōr*) into which the Karkha disappears 17,450 families of the Banī Lām went over to Persian territory between 1788 and 1846 (the southern parts of the Pusht-i Kūh, the domains of the wālīs of Huwaiza), some columns were even established east of the Karkha and at Fallāhīya

The Banī Lām claim to come originally from

the neighbourhood of Mecca (Lyclama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, III 225) and their eponym was their chief Faradj Lām The Banī Lām, for the most part Shīʿīs, were on friendly terms with the wālīs of Huwaiza (the Mushaʿsha', Arab saiyids, q v) who played an active part in Persian politics in the time of the Safawids In 1678, 1715, 1742, 1748 the Banī Lām in connivance with the chief of Huwaiza rebelled against the pāshās of Baghdād Less happy were the relations of the Banī Lām with the Lūr wālīs of Pusht-i Kūh who deprived them of the villages of Bayāt, Deh-i Iurān and Baksāye, but as a rule the Banī Lām got on well with their Lūr neighbours

ʿAlī Ridā Pāshā (in 1836) and Nadjīb Pāshā (after 1843) inflicted heavy defeats on the Banī Lām The central Persian government also (expeditions of Muʿtamid al Dawla in 1841) drove the Banī Iām from the left bank of the Karkha but, protected by the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh to the north and on the east and by the *khōr* to the south, the Banī Lām kept till 1914 a position of autonomy between Turkey and Persia The presence of the Banī Iām and the Sagwand Lūrs between ʿAmāra, Pāy i Pul and Dizfūl had stopped commercial traffic by this direct route

The unity of the tribe was lost in the XIXth century, the section on the right bank and that on the left of the Tigris had each its own shaikh In 1821 the energetic Madhkūr (Matkūr), son of Djandil, succeeded the deposed Shaikh ʿArār but Layard noticed that he had already little authority over his rivals Lady Blunt speaks of Shaikh Mizbān and her son Boneye Shaikh Ghadbān, son of Boneye, at the beginning of the war of 1914 attacked the English force at Ahwāz but was soon disposed of

Bibliography cf also AL-BAṬĪḤA, Layard, *A description of the province of Khuzistan*, *J R G S*, 1846, p 45—48, A v Kremer, *Nachrichten uber d am linken Ufer d Tigris wohnenden Arabischtamm d Beni Lam*, *S B Ak Wien*, 1850, p 251—254 (excellent notice and specimens of popular songs *duwair*, *ʿitāba* and *tatwih*), Khurshīd Efendi, *Siyāhet-nāme i Hudūd*, Russ transl, St Petersburg 1877, p 76—81, Lady A Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881, II 113—223 (Baghdād-ʿAlī-gharbī-Dizfūl-Shushtar Bahbahān-Dilam), Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, Paris 1901, p 144, Adamow, *Irak Arabski*, St Petersburg 1912, index, Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925 (V MINORSKY)

LĀM, 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 30 For palaeographical details see the art ARABIA, plate I

LAMAS-SŪ (Turk "river of Lamas", Ar LĀMIS), a river in Cilicia, coming from the Taurus, a day's journey from Tarsūs between Ayāsh and Mersina, in ancient times it marked the boundary between the two Cilicias (of the mountains and the plains) On the banks of this river exchanges of prisoners with the Greeks and the payment of ransoms were several times made The first of these took place in the reigns of Hārūn al Rashīd and the emperor Nicephorus I in 189 (805), the second under the same caliph and emperor in 192 (808), the third in the reigns of the caliph al-Wāthik and the emperor Michael III the "Drunkard" in Muharram 231 (Sept 845), the fourth in 241 (856) and the fifth in 246 (860) under the same emperor and the caliph al Mutawakkil, the sixth in 283 (896) under the caliph al Muʿtadid and the emperor Leo VI, the seventh called "redemption from treachery" under the same emperor and the caliph al-Muktafī in 292 (905), the eighth three years later in 295 (907), the ninth took place in 305 (917) under the caliph al Muktadir and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the tenth took place in 313 (925) under the same rulers, the eleventh in 326 (938) under the same emperor and the caliph al-Rādī, the twelfth took place in 335 (946) in the caliphate of al Mutiʿ through the intermediary of Saif al-Dawla the Hamdānid, lord of Aleppo This river had at this place either a ford or a bridge which the ransomed prisoners crossed There was also a town of the same name (*Λάμος*, *Lamus*) on this river not far from the sea

Bibliography Tabarī, ed de Goeje, III 706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1426, 1449, 2153, 2254, 2280, Makrīzī, *Khitat*, II 191 *sqq* , Balādhurī, *Futūh*, p 198, Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, VI, p 486, 532 (in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed de Goeje, Leyden 1871), Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, VII 16, Silvestre de Sacy, *N E*, 1810, VIII, repr in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, IX 356—362, 375, N° 64–65, Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p 189—196 = transl Carra de Vaux, *Livre de l'Avertissement*, p 241, 255 *sqq* , Cl Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1913, II 118 *sqq* , Fr Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p 244 = French transl by Eyriès, *Caramanie*, Paris 1820, p 183 and 233, V Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861, p 105 (picture of the Roman aqueduct)

(CL HUART)

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district in eastern Afghānistān It is often referred to by Bābur, see W Erskine's translation of his "Memoirs", p 141 and P de Courteille, I 287 The name is fancifully connected with Lamech, the father of Noah (H BEVERIDGE)

LĀMIʿĪ, nom de plume (*takhallus*) of SHAIKH MAHMŪD B ʿOTHMĀN B ʿALI AL-NAKKĀSH, a celebrated Sūfī writer and poet of the early part of the reign of Sulaimān I, the era, not only of the greatest political development of the Turkish empire, but also that in which literature was most cultivated He was born in Brussa, the son of the *defterdār* of Sultān Bāyazīd's treasury His grandfather had been taken by Timurlenk after his invasion to Transoxania (Samarkand) where he learned the art of *nakkāshlīk* (embroidery and painting) there highly cultivated and on his return to Asia Minor introduced the first embroidered saddle On the completion of his theological studies with Mollā Akhawain and Mollā Muhammad b al Hādjdji Hasan-zāde, Lāmiʿī, who had an inclination to Sūfism, became *murīd* with the Nakshbandī Shaikh ʿĀrif bi-'llah Saiyid Ahmad al-Bukhārī He spent his whole life in the calm retirement of a Sūfī, free from external cares and favoured by the patronage of Sultāns Selīm and Sulaimān who frequently showed signs of their favour to him and his numerous family, he lived in Brussa writing industriously till his death in 938 or 940 (1532 or 1533) He was buried in the mosque built by his grandfather on the citadel in Brussa

The versatility and quality of his literary output in prose and poetry is really astonishing But his work was not so much original as translations and

adaptations, as was characteristic of the period which regarded slavish attachment to Persian models as the highest ideal He usually took as his model Djāmī, then the most celebrated poet of Persia with whom he had a further link in their both being Nakshbandis and therefore was called Djāmī i Rūm His prolificity is greater than that of any Turkish writer We have a cycle of nine romantic poems from his pen His importance to Turkish literature is considerable but is greatly exaggerated by von Hammer who devotes the longest monograph in his *Gesch d osm Dichtkunst* (ii 20—195) to him Lāmiʿī's style is still comparatively lucid and simple There is not yet any trace in him of the overwhelming turgidity of the later artificial classicism, yet it must be confessed that most that is beautiful in him is due to his Persian originals Ziyā Pasha in his *Kharābāt* has for this reason paid no attention to him

The list of his works as given in the *Sharaf al-Insān* numbers 24 but in reality there were more His prose writings are the translations of Djāmī's Sūfī works *Nafāhāt al-Uns* (biographies of Sūfīs with the sub-title *Futūh al-Mudjāhidīn li-Tarwih Kulūb al-Mudjāhidīn*) and *Shawāhid al-Nubuwwa* ("The witnesses of prophecy", printed at Constantinople in 1293), the *Sharaf al-Insān*, "The worth of man", considered by Lāmiʿī to be his masterpiece which is a Turkish version of Part 22 of the 51 Arabic tractates (*Rasāʾil*) of the *Ikhwān al Ṣafā*, the struggle between man and animal (ed and transl by Dieterici, Berlin 1858, Leipzig 1879 and 1881 *Thier und Mensch vor dem Konige der Genien*) His works of a religious character are *Muʿammā Asmāʾ al-husnā*, translation and commentary on the 100 verses of Mīr Husain Nīshābūrī on the 99 names of God and *Miftāh al Nadjāt fī Khawāṣṣ al Ṣuwar wa Āyāt* He also wrote a collection of letters, *Munshaʾāt*, a commentary on the *Dībādje-i Gulistān* of Saʿdī, and *ʿIbretnumā* ("Book of examples", a collection of tales and allegories, lith Constantinople, n d), a *Madjmaʿ al Laṭāʾif*, or *Laṭāʾif-nāma* (a collection of often very daring anecdotes, quite in the style of Boccaccio's Decameron, which received its final form from his son, ʿAbd Allāh Lemʿī, also known as a poet) Finally as a kind of transition to pure poetry he wrote two *munāzara* (disputations in the mixture of prose and verse later so popular), namely *Munāzara-i Behār ū-Shitā* ("Disputation between summer and winter", Constantinople 1290, with the title *Munāzara-i Sultān Behār bā Shehryār Shitā*) and *Munāzara-i Nafs ū-Rūh* ("Disputation between Soul and Spirit")

His very much more important poetical works include a large *Dīwān* of about 10,000 verses which contain much that is beautiful and original, besides *kasīda*'s, *ghazel*'s etc it also contains the *Shehr* in 1288, transl by Pfizmaier, *Verherrlichung der Engiu i Bursa* (separately printed at Constantinople *Stadt Bursa*, Vienna 1839)

His great *Mathnawī* poems were of permanent influence, some deal in a popular fashion with stories from Persian legends, namely *Salāmān ū-Absāl* (dedicated to Sultān Selīm), from Djāmī's original, *Wisa ū-Rāmīn* (dedicated to Sultān Sulaimān), from the original of Fakhr Djurdjānī (d 440 = 1048) and a version of Nizāmī al-ʿArūzī al-Samarḳandī, *Wāmik ū-ʿAdhrā* from the Persian original of ʿUnsurī (d 441 = 1050) translated at the express desire of Sulṭān Sulaimān (transl by von Hammer, Vienna 1833), *Farhād nāma* (transl by von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812), *Heft Paikar*, "The seven beauties" (based on Hātifī's *Heft Manzar*, which again goes back to Nizāmī's *Heft Paikar*) Besides the two allegorical dramas *Gūi ū Čawgān* ("Ball and Bat") and *Shamʿ ū-Parwāna*, "Candle and Butterfly", the latter probably from the Persian of Ahlī Shirāzī, he also wrote two *Mathnawī*'s of a religious nature, the *Maktal-i Hazrat i Imām Husain* recalling the Shiʿī *Tuʿziya* (illustrated MS in the ʿĀshir Library, N⁰ 249) and *Mankabat* (or *Manākib*) *Uwais al-Karnī*

Finally there are his political allegories *Husn ū-Dil* from the Persian original of Fattāhī Nīshābūrī and the Turkish version of Ahī (ed , transl and annotated and compared with Lāmiʿī's Turkish version by R Dvorak, *Husn u dil, persische Allegorie von Fattahi aus Nisapur*), the *Khirad-nāma* ("Book of the Intelligence") and the *Djābir-nāma*

Bibliography In addition to the works quoted cf Sehī, *Hasht Bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p 50, Latīfī, *Tadhkara*, Constantinople 1314, p 290—294, Tashkoprü-zāde, *Shakāʾik al-Nuʿmānīya*, transl by Madjdī, Constantinople 1269, p 431—433, 503, transl by O Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p 280—281, Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Guldeste-i Riyād*, Brussa 1302, p 176—180, M Nādjī, *Asāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p 270, M Thuraiyā, *Sidjill i ʿothmānī*, Constantinople 1315, iv 86, Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v 3973, Brusalī M Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, Constantinople 1333/1334, ii 492 , Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii , Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853, p ٣٧٩—٨١ and 305—308, Smirnow, *Obrazcovyya proizwedeniya Osmanskoy literatury*, St Petersburg 1903, p xiv and 238—241, Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p 45—46, the Catalogues of MSS in Berlin, Vienna, London, Munich, Gotha, Constantinople, etc , Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed Flügel, Leipzig 1835—1858

(Th Menzel)

LAMṬA, a large Berber tribe of the Barānī family Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Sanhādja, Haskūra and Gazūla, others give them a Himyarite origin like the Hawwāra and the Lawāta

The Lamta were one of the nomad tribes who wore a veil (*mulaththimūn*) One section lived on the south of the Mzāb, between the Massūfa on the west and the Tārga (Tuareg) on the east, they even seem to have extended as far as the Niger In the south of Morocco, in al-Sūs, where there were Lamta who led a nomadic life, in company with the Gazūla, the Lamta occupied the territory nearest to the Atlas On the coming of the nomad Arabs of the Maʿḳil family, the two sections of the Lamṭa were absorbed by the Dhawī Hassān, the remaining sections then joined the Shabānāt, another Maʿḳil tribe, to oppose the Gazūla who joined the Dhawī Hassān

In the territory of the Lamta of al-Sūs at the mouth of the Wādi Nāl (now Wād Nūn) lay the commercial town of Nūl or Nūl of the Lamṭa, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there

The jurist Waggāg b Zallū of Sidjilmāsa, a pupil of Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī, was a member of the tribe of Lamta, one of his pupils was ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, founder of the Almoravid empire

The country of the Lamta was noted for the *lamṭīya* bucklers made at Nūl with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, al-Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, indices, s vv Lamta and Nūl, Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed Schefer, iii 272, 437 (G S Colin)

LAMTŪNA, a large Berber tribe belonging to the ethnic group of the Ṣanhādja who lived in tents, and led a nomadic life in the desert to the south of Morocco with other tribes whose members veiled their faces with the *liṯhām* [q v] (*muʿaṯhthimūn*)

At first idolators, the Lamtūna embraced Islām and converted also the Negro peoples who lived around them After having had a series of independent kings, they fell into anarchy until Yahyā b Ibrāhīm al Gudalī took control of them, having gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 440 (1048—1049) he brought back from Naffīs the jurist ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn al Gazūlī, who after having instructed the Lamtūna in the principles of religion and Muslim law, made himself their chief, conquered their neighbours, the Gudāla and Massūfa, and led them to the conquest of Morocco He was the founder of the Almohad empire, also known as the empire of the Mulaththimūn or Lamtūna (cf ALMORAVIDS) At the fall of the Almoravid empire the Lamtūna disappear from the history of Morocco Their name is still borne by some tribes of Mauritania

Bibliography The first paragraphs of the chapter devoted by the Arab historians to the history of the Almoravid dynasty especially Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawd al-Kirtās*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al ʿIbar*, ed de Slane, i 235 and 237, al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, ed de Slane, 1911, p 164—168 (G S Colin)

LANKORAN (I ENKORAN), the capital of the district of the same name in the province of Bākū Lankoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name which was at one time written Langar-kunān (anchorage), or perhaps Langar-kanān (place which pulls out the anchors) which is pronounced Länkäran in Persian and Lankōn in Tālishī The ships of the Bākū-Enzelī [q v] line call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead but at 8 miles N E of the town is the island of Sarā, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdaean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded Certain statements (cf *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam ārā* under the year 940 [1533] in Dorn, *Auszuge*, IV, 283, and Shaikh ʿAlī Hazīn [about 1725 A D], *Tārīkh-i Ahwāl*, ed Balfour, p 157) suggest that the capital of Tālish was originally at Astārā, towards the end of the xviiith century Lankoran became the capital of this khānate The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Tahmāsp II and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf) but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732 Retaken by Count Zubow in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who fortified it On the 9th Muharram (*ʿāshūrā*) 1228 (Jan 1, 1813), Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarewski after a brave resistance of the Persians This event hastened the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistān (1813) by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tālish to the north of the river Astārā From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district The fortress was dismantled in 1865 Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the republic of Ādharbāidjān, a member of the Soviet Union

The population of the town, which was 3,970 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897 The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq miles and in 1840 had 30,200 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082 Later the district was reduced to 2,000 sq miles in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895 of whom 46 5% were Azarī Turks, Īrānian Tālish 46 2%, Russians 6 9% (in the north) and Armenians (0 2%) The district is composed of 3 zones to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mughān, to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation, to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabīl The district is rich in forests and has good fishing

Bibliography Cf the article TĀLISH, Zain al-Ābidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāhat*, Tihrān 1315, s v Lankarān, Bérézine, *Puteshestwiye po Daghestanu*, Kazan 1849, iii 113, Semenow, *Geogr -statist slowar Ross imperii*, St Petersburg 1867, *La Grande Encycl russe* (ed Brockhaus-Efron), G Radde, *Reisen an d persisch-russ Grenze*, Leipzig 1886, Radde, *Talysch, Pet Mitt*, xxxi, 1875, de Morgan, *Mission scient*, *Études geogr*, i 231—289, *Études archeol*, i 13—125, with an archaeological map, N Y Marr, *Talïsh*, publ by the Acad des Sciences Pétrograd 1922 (with a detailed bibliography), B Miller, *Predwar otčet o poyezdke w Talïsh*, Bākū 1926 (mainly linguistic) (V Minorsky)

LĀR 1 Capital of the district of Lāristān, to the southeast of Fārs Very little is known of Lāristān and its early history The country appears to correspond to the land of the dragon Haftān-bōkht which was killed by Ardashīr Pāpakān According to Persian legend, Ardashīr's adversary lived in the village of Alār in the rustāk of Kōdjarān which was one of the maritime rustāks (*rasātik al-sīf*) of the province Ardashīr-Khurra (Tabarī, i 820), Noldeke in his translation of the *Kārnāmak* (p 50) gives the variants Gulār (?) and Kōčārān, the *Shāh-nāme*, ed Mohl, v 308 Kudjārān Lastly the Armenian geography of the seventh century mentions a Khodjēhrastan in Persia (Khuzihrstan) (cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 44) The prefixing of an *a* to the name Lār is also found in the name of the island of Lār (cf below) Marquart identifies Kočihrān with the castle of Dēgdān near Sīrāf, on the other hand the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* mentions a village of Kudjar-Kūhčar in the canton of Galla-dār (the ancient Fāl /Pāl/ Bāl of Ibn Battūta Khundjbāl = Khundj + Bāl) immediately adjoining Lāristān According to a verse attributed to Firdawsī (cf Vullers, *Lexicon*, s v Lād) but not found in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāme*, the town was

originally called Lād (and fell to Gurgīn Mīlād, one of the heroes of the cycle of the Kayānid Kai Khusraw) This would be a very curious case of the changing of *d* to *r* found especially in Armenian and in the Caspian Tātī dialect (Darmesteter, *Ét.-Iraniennes*, i 73) The *Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣirī* mentions another legend according to which the people of Lār in Fārs had come from Lār in Damāwand (cf below) the cold of which they could not endure

The Arab geographers do not mention Lār, for apparently the old routes linking up the chief towns of Fārs, with Sīrāf and Kais, or Hurmūz (by Fasā and Forg) avoided the town of Lār (cf *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 185, 187) According to Hamdallāh Mustawfī, Lār is a wilāyet near the sea and Ibn Battūta alone talks of Lār as "a large town, with springs, considerable rivers and gardens"

Lār had a local dynasty Its princes, relying on the verse already mentioned regarding the presentation by Kai Khusraw of the town of Lād to Gurgīn, son of Mīlād, traced their descent from this hero They were even crowned with the crown of their ancestor and this treasure was among the booty taken by the Safawids in 1010

The first prince of Lār to be converted to Islām (about 100) was Djalāl al-Dīn Īradj The dates become more reliable from the time of the Amīr Kutb al-Dīn Muaiyid Pākūy (?) (594–648) Fourteen of his successors are known but their order is not so certain, when in 748 (1347), Ibn Battūta passed through Lār, the Sultan of Lār, of Turkoman origin, was called Djalāl al Dīn, while according to the genealogy of the Mīlādians, Bākālindjār II was ruling there between 731 and 753 The dependence of Lār on the Muzaffarids is shown by a gold coin of Shāh-Shudjāʿ (760—786) struck in Lār (S Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*, 1881, p 240) In 799 the troops of Muhammad Sultān, grandson of Timūr, ravaged the eastern part of Fārs on the lines Kārzīn-Fāl, Djahrom Lār, etc (*Zafar-nāma*, i 809) There are Timūrid and Čaghatai coins struck at Lār (O Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p 183) In the reign of the Mīlādian Djihānshāh (859–883), the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin, passed through Lār in 1469 on his way to Hurmūz and India and in 1472 on his way from Hurmūz to Shīrāz The Mīlādian Nūshīrwān "the just" (930—948) was a poet, musician and author, he died by the hand of a fidāʾī His successor Ibrāhīm Khān submitted to the Safawīs and received the title of *Amīr Dīwān* His son Nūr [Nawrʾ] al-Dahr lived in the time of Sultān Muhammad Safawī Under ʿAbbās I Mīrzā ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, son of Nūr al-Dahr, was authorised to take the name of Ibrāhīm Khān II The young Khān showed signs of independence and oppressed merchants and travellers This could not be tolerated at a time when Lār lay on the great road between the capital and the sea As a preparation for the occupation of Gombrūn (= Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī) in 1614 (?) and of the island of Hurmūz in 1622, the Beglerbegi of Fārs, Allāhwardī Khān, in 1009 and 1010 (1601) marched against Ibrāhīm Khān and seized his possessions Ibrāhīm II had to surrender to the mercy of Allāhwardī who treated him honourably and took him to Shāh ʿAbbās at Balkh, where he died during an epidemic The government of Fārs was then entrusted to Kādi 'l-Kāsim of Lār, a sincere Shīʿī (*tarīk-i "shāhi sewāni"* [q v] *paimūda*), *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam ārā*, Tihrān 1314, p 423—426 Buildings of the Mīlādīs are still to be seen at Lār — a mosque and a bazaar of hewn stone covered with stucco The bazaar was restored in 1015, by Kanbar ʿAlī Beg Djah-domi, wazīr of Lār

The memoirs of Shaikh ʿAlī Hazīn contain interesting notes on the domestic life of Lār at the beginning of the xiith (xviith) century (rule of the Afghān Khudādād Khān, passage through Lār of the routed army of Shāh Ashraf, etc) According to ʿAlī Hazīn (p 210) the people of a part of the Lār lands (*garmsīr*) of Lāristān were Shāfiʿīs They had prospered under the Afghāns but Nādir, wishing to reduce them, sent against them the *sardār* of Fārs, Muhammad Khān Balōč The latter met with difficulties at Lār and having come to terms with its inhabitants returned to Fārs In 1146, Muhammad Khān rebelled against Nādir and tried to raise the Shāfiʿīs of Lār The latter maintained a waiting attitude but by order of Nādir they were massacred and scattered Lār was later annexed by a certain Nāsir Khān, formerly a brigand in the *bulūk-i sabʿa* (a region between Lāristān and Kirmān) who received from the Shāh the title of Khān His family (the beglei begi) remained more or less autonomous till 1202 (1845) when the governor-general of Fārs sent troops to Lār and appointed a simple *kalāntar* there (*Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāsirī*)

At the beginning of the xixth century the Balōč Mihrāb Khān invaded Lāristān (Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, p 163) In 1256 (1840) Lār was occupied by the chief of the Ismaʿilīs, Ākā Khān who had rebelled against the Shāh (Schindler, *The Eastern Persian Irak*, p 94)

The town of Lār lying 57 farsakhs to the S E of Shīrāz was very frequently visited by European travellers in the xviith century when it lay on the direct route Shīrāz–Djahrom–Djūyum–Lār–Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī Figueroa (1617), Sir T Herbert (1627), J A Mandelslo (1638), J B Tavernier and Thevenot (1665), Struys (1672), Chardin (1673), Dr J Fryer (1676), Le Brun (1703) At this time there was a factory of the Dutch East India Co at Lār (Thevenot, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1727, iii 460—476) After the fall of the Safawids, Bandar i ʿAbbāsī became the port for the province of Kirmān only, while Būshīr became the principal port of the Persian Gulf Lār conducted a local trade with the ports of Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī, Linga [q v] and Tāhirī (the older Sīrāf, q v), cf especially Stiffe, *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf*, *G J*, 1895, p 166—173 In the xixth century, Lār has been described by Dupré and Stack

Of the 76 bulūks of Fārs, that of Lār called Lāristān is the most extensive (57 × 47 farsakhs, i e about 45,000 square miles) It is bounded on the N W by Baranū, on the S E the bridge of Lātitūn separates it from the nāhiya of Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī This latter had a separate dynasty (the Kalhātī princes of Hurmūz) To the south Lāristān is washed by the Persian Gulf (the ports of Kung, Linga, Mughū, Čārak, Nakhilū) In 1917 A T Wilson found Lār quite prosperous (*Notes on a Journey from Bandar-Abbas to Shiraz*, *Geogr Journ*, Series 1908, p 152—170) On the west it is bordered by the cantons of Mālikī, ʿAlā-marwdasht, and Khundj, on the north-west by the buluk of Djūyum, on the north by the buluk of Dārāb, on the northeast by the *Bulūk-i Sabʿa*

The country is full of mountain ranges running parallel to the shore of the Persian Gulf und has a torrid climate Water is scarce and brackish The river of Lāristān, variously known as Rūdkhāna-yi shūr-i Galladār, Shūr-i Hing, Rūdkhāna-yi Lamzān etc, runs from west to east and flows into the sea a farsakh east of Kung

The subdivisions (*nāhiya*) of the *bulūk* of Lāristān are as follows (their orientation from Lār is given and the distance from it is in farsakhs)

	Nāhiya	Capital	Number of villages
1	Central	Lār	34
2	Shīb-i Kūh-i Lāristān	Bandar-i Čāiak	29
3	Linga	Linga	10
4	Djahāngīriya	Bastak	?
5	Kawrastān	Kashshī	4
6	Mazā'idjān	Izad-Khāst	6
7	Bīkha-yi Ahshām	Bairam	10
8	Bīkha-yi Fāl	Ashkanān	10
9	Fūmistān	Gawbandī	16

Number	Orientation	Distance
2	south	25
3	south-east	45
4	south-east	7–21
5	east	30
6	north	15
7	west	20
8	south-west	22
9	south-west	35

The term *bīkha* in the local dialect means a valley shut in by two ranges of mountains Fūmistān is derived from the word *fūm*, corn

The population of Lāristān is thinly scattered The most important towns are Lār (Dupré 15,000 inhabitants, Stack 1,200 houses, 6,000 inhabitants) and Linga [q v] The majority of the population is Persian In canton N⁰ 6 there are some Bahārlu Turks and Nos 2 and 3 are inhabited by Arabs

Lāristān has Persian dialects of its own (O Mann, *Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p xxxiv 126—131) and there is even a local literature in them The *Fārs-nāma* mentions Ākhund Mullā Muhammad Bākir ("Suhbat") who was well acquainted with Arabic, Persian and "Darī" Romaskewič has collected some of the poems in the local dialect of the poet Mahdjūr as well as Persian quatrains by several popular poets, natives of Lāristān (Romaskewič, *Pers narod cetwerostishiya*, in *Zapiski*, 1916, xxiii 313, 340)

Bibliography Defrémery, *Voyage d'Ibn Batoutah dans la Perse*, Paris 1848, p 37, 81, Kadī Ahmad Ghaffārī, *Djihānārā*, British Mus Orient 141, fol 150 a—b (I am indebted for a copy of the text to the kindness of Muhammad Khān Kazwīnī), Iskandar-Munshī, *'Alam-ārā*, Tihrān 1314, p 423—426, Munadjdjim bashī, *Sahā'if*, ii 666 (following Fādil-i Nīshābūrī [?] and Ghaffārī), Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p 261, Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn, *Tadhkira*, ed Belfour, London 1831, p 89, 179—217, 246, Hasan Fasā'ī, *Fārs-namā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tihrān 1314, ii 181—291 (excellent book full of valuable data) For references to travellers of the Ṣafawid period, cf Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii 736, 749—757 and Curzon, *Persia*, ii 1[illegible] A Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, i 423, Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i 133—145 The map of Southern Persia 1 2,000,000 (International Series), publ in 1912 by the Survey of India

2 An island in the Persian Gulf now called Abū Shu'aib Nearchus had touched at it on his periplus but does not give the name, which according to Ptolemy was Σῶφδα (in Semitic = isle of seaweed) The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār Ibn Khurdādhbih calls the island Alār Other variants in the Arab geographers according to Le Strange are Allān and Lān The *Fārs-nāma*, ed Le Strange, p 241 makes it a dependency of the island of Ardashīr-Khurra Yākūt (iv 341) places it between the island of Kais and the port of Sīrāf The Portuguese called it Ilha de Lazão from the village of Lāz (should this be Lādh? — at the east end of it) It is 13 × 2½ miles in area To the east of it lies the little isle of Shitwār (Čitwār) Some ten miles north of Lār on the coast of Fārs lies the little harbour of Nakhilū We do not know if there is any connection between the names of the town and of the island Lār An island "I ārak" ("little Lār") lies south of the island of Hurmūz

Bibliography Tomaschek, *Die Kustenfahrt Nearchs*, in *Sitzber Wiener Akad*, cxxi, 1890, p 55

3 A high valley lying in Māzandarān, on the sources of the Haraz pei The altitude of Lār is from 8,500 to 6,500 feet It lies west of Damāwand The valley is deserted in winter In summer the nomads pitch their tents there The people of Tihrān also go there for summer quarters Stahl however (*Peterm Mitteil*, Ergänzungsheft N⁰ 118, 1869, p 619) found traces of ancient dwellings on the right bank of the river Lār The locality is sometimes called Lāridjān, which must be a plural of Lār-ič, "inhabitant of I ār" (on the suffix *īč*, cf Marquart, *Beitrage*, *Z D M G*, 1895, p 666) The same derivation explains the Arabic transcription al Lāriz (Balādhurī, p 8), one of the cantons of Tabaristān (not however found in the list in Ibn Rusta, p 146) Al-Lāriz formed part of the possessions of al-Masmughān taken in 131 (748) by Abū Muslim (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 127, 137) The term Lāridjān seems to have been applied especially to the place below the high valley of I ār near the modern bridge of Palūr, cf Dih-Falūl in Ibn Isfandiyār, transl Browne, *G M S*, p 67 I āridjān is said to have been the longest inhabited part of Tabaristān Its village Waraka was said to have been the birthplace of Faridūn In the villages lying on the slopes of Damāwand, Stahl saw a festival celebrated in memory of the death of Zohak (Aug 11, cf Morier, *Second Journey*, p 357) At Lāridjān there was a special *marzubān* under the ispahbahs of Tabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *ibid*, p 15, 183, 280) On the district of Lāhidjān (Lāridjān) cf LĀHĪDJĀN — Spiegel (*Varena*, *Z D M G*., 1876, xxxii, p 716–726) was inclined to suppose a connection between Warak (Ibn Isfandiyār, p 15 Waraka, native place of Faridūn = Thraētaona) and the Avestic country Varena The site of Waraka is unknown but in I āridjān there exists a village Wāna, on the disappearance of *r* in Persian dialects, cf *Grundriss d iran Phil*, i/ii p 559, 351

(V Minorsky)

LĀRANDA (also called Karamān from the name of the dynasty which reigned there in the XIVth century), a town in Asia Minor, capital of the kazā of the same name and of the sandjak of Konia, to the S E and 35 miles from this town It is 4,000 feet above sea level, has 2,000 houses, 7,500 inhabitants, 105 mosques, 21 Friday mosques, 4 dervish monasteries, 515 shops, 30 warehouses, 9 cafes, 4 caravanserais, 14 baking ovens, 7 baths, 5 mills, 1 military depot, 110 fountains, 1 barracks, 1 Greek school, 10 Muslim schools, 21 madrasas There are a ruined fortress, mosques and other monuments in ruins from the time of the Karamān-oghlu (mosque of Amīr Mūsā with pillars from ancient buildings) The town was annexed to the Ottoman empire in 1464 To the north is the Kara-Dagh covered with mediaeval monasteries now in ruins (*bin bir kilise* = 1001 churches)

Bibliography ʿAlī Djawād, *Djoghrāfiyā Lughāt i*, p 606, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Diihān numā*, p 616, Ibn Battūta, Paris, II 284, Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v 3644, s v *karamān*, Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p 658 (Cl Huart)

LARI MEHMED [See Mehmed Lari]

LARIN (P, *lārī*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries It takes its name from Lār [q v], the capital of Lāristān [q v], at which it was first struck, cf Pedro Texeira (*Travels*, Hakl Soc, 1902, p 341) "There is also the city of Lar whence are called larīs, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East" and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lar in 1627 (*Some Years' Travels*, London 1665, p 130) "near this byzar the larnes are coyned, a famous sort of money" The larin weighed about 74 grains (4 9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver It was worth ten pence in English money (Herbert) or one fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or 60 Portuguese reis

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of al-Basra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, Glasgow 1904, VI 12) "The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the juste halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indies and six of the larines make a ducat"

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by Shāh ʿAbbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, III 128), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the XVIth century issued larins as did the Shāhs of Persia at Shīrāz and the Ottoman Sultāns at Basra In India they were struck in the XVIIth century by the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr and other rulers and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there In the Maldive Islands in the early XVIIth century the king struck his own larins as we know from the *Voyage* of F Pyrard de Laval (Hakl Soc, 1887, vol 1, p 232 *sq*) In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo, in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the XVIIIth century A degenerate descendant of the larin still exists (Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, II 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Hasa where it is known as a *tawila*, i e the "long" (coin) It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription It is described by Palgrave (*Journey*, etc, London 1865, II 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Hasa *tawīl*", applied to any one who like the local currency is of no use away from home

Bibliography Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], s v, H W Codrington, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1914, p 162—164, do, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo 1924, Index, s v, O Codrington, *Journal of the Bombay Branch, R A S*, XVIII 36, 37, J Allan, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1912, p 319—324, H H Wilson, *ibid*, 1852, p 180, R Knox, *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Glasgow 1911, p 156, Chardin, Tavernier and other travellers (J Allan)

AL-LĀT, an old Arabian goddess The name (from *al-ilāhat*, cf Allah) means "the goddess" but was the proper name of a definite deity, according to the Arabs themselves (e g Ibn Yaʿīsh, ed Jahn, p 44, 23) the sun She is found as early as the Nabataean and Palmyran inscriptions and was later worshipped by various Beduin tribes (e g the Hawāzin, Ibn Hishām, p 849, 13) An oath by al-Lāt is frequently found in the poets, e g Abū Saʿd in Ibn Hishām, p 567, 7, Mutalammis, ed Vollers, p 2, 1, ʿAws b Hadjar, ed Geyer, p 11, 2, and even in al-Akhtal, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, VII 173 She had her principal sanctuary in the valley of Wadjdj near Tāʾif, where the Muʿattib (ʿAttab) b Mālik b Kaʿb were her priests and a white stone hung with all kinds of decorations was her symbol She is frequently mentioned along with al ʿUzzā (Ibn Hishām, p 145, 7, 206, 2, 871, 6, where Wudd also is mentioned, ʿAws b Hadjar, p 11, 2) and among the Kuraish, she, along with this goddess and Manāt, was held in such high esteem, that Muhammad once went so far as to recognise these three goddesses as intercessors with Allāh but soon afterwards withdrew this (Sūra, liii 15 *sqq*) According to Tabarī, I 1395, 3 Abū Sufyān carried al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā with him into the battle of Uhud After the capture of Mecca, al-Lāt was destroyed with her sanctuary in Tāʾif by al-Mughīra, who were related to her priests But she was not forgotten, for, according to Doughty, there are still in Tāʾif blocks of stone which the people call al-ʿUzzā, Hubal and al-Lāt, at which they secretly seek help in cases of illness

Bibliography Yāḳūt, ed Wustenfeld, III 665 *sqq*, IV 336 *sqq*, Azrakī, ed Wustenfeld, p 79, Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 55, 914 *sqq*, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, I 1192 *sqq*, Wāḳidī, transl by Wellhausen, p 384 *sq*, Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, I/I 137 *sq*, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p 219,

Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p 97 *sq*, 128, Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions semitiques*², p 76, 135, Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p 29—34, 61, Lammens, *Mel de l'univ Beyrouth*, viii 202 *sq*, Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, ii 511, 515 *sq* (Fr Buhl)

al-LaṭĪf (a), "the Kind", one of the names of Allāh [q v]

LaṭĪfĪ, properly ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Čelebi of Kastamuni, secretary to the office for administering pious foundations (*ʿimāret kātibi*) He was secretary in Belgrade, came in 950 (1543) to Constantinople to the *wakf* office of Eyūb, then went to Rhodes and Egypt He died in 990 (1582) on the voyage from Egypt to Yanbuʿ on the Red Sea

Laṭīfī was a good poet and an even better stylist He is famous for his collection of biographies of poets, *Tedhkere-i Shuʿarāʾ*, which he finished in 953 (1546) and like Sehī, whose example he was the first to follow, dedicated it to Sultān Sulaimān the Great His love for his native city tempted him to attribute to it a whole series of poets not born there so that his work was jokingly called *Kastamuni nāma* In spite of several inaccuracies, the book, which was printed in 1314 in Constantinople, is indispensable for our knowledge of the older poets of whom he deals with 302 from the time of Murād Khān to his own day His able critical remarks show that he had excellent insight into the nature of the poet's art, but the standard that he imposes on the poets for adoption into his work is not too strict He never published any continuation to his work although he lived for over 40 years after writing it, other works of his are a *Munāzara*, which was edited in 1287 by Tewfik Bey, a regular *Dīwān*, a collection wrongly attributed to Kemāl Pasha-zāde of 100 *hadīth*'s with paraphrases in Turkish verse, a *Risāle-i Ewṣāf-i Istambol*, also *Nathr al-Leʾālī*, *Rabīʿ al-Azhār*, *Anīs al-Fuṣahāʾ*, *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa* A translation of his *Tedhkere* was made by Thomas Chabert, Zurich 1800 *Latifi oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzuglichen turkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken*

Bibliography, Sehī, *Hesht Bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p 138, Ḥuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, Brusalī M Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, iii 134—135, Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii 286 and do, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Smirnow, *Ocerk istorii tureckoj literatury*, St Petersburg 1891 (Korš iv), p 456, Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire*, Constantinople 1910, p 50, the catalogues of the various collections of manuscripts (Th Menzel)

LAWATA, a Berber ethnical group, belonging to the family of Butr, whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the younger, son of Lawā the older, son of Zahīk Ibn Khaldūn disputes the view of certain Berber genealogists recorded by Ibn Hazm who consider the Lawāta as Saddarāta and the Mazāta as of Coptic origin Others say the Lawāta with the Hawwāra and the Lamta were of Himyarite origin In any case the oldest home of the Lawāta seems most likely to have been the eastern part of North Africa They were found in Egypt to the north between Alexandria and Cairo, to the south in the oases and in al-Ṣaʿīd Some Lawāta led a nomadic life in the region of Barḳa In the Maghrib they lived in the Djabal Lawāta (south of Gabes and Sfax) and it is probably this section that is mentioned by Corippus under the name *Ilaguaten* = Berber *Ilawāten*, others lived in the country round Bougie and in the region south of Tiaret (Tāhert) where they had adopted the Ibādī heresy In Morocco there were Lawāta in the Tādlā (the Zanāra section), in the south of Fās and in the land between Tangier and Arzila

Bibliography al Idrīsī and al-Bakrī, indices, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, ed de Slane, i 147—150, transl, i 171, 231—236 (G S Colin)

LAWH (a), board, tablet, the first meaning is found in the Kurʾān, Sūra, liv 13, where Noah's ark is called *dhāt alwāh* The second meaning is that of lawh as writing material, e g the tablets of the lawh (Sūra, vii 142, 149, 153, where the plural *alwāh* is used, see *Lisān*, iii 421) *Al-dawāt wa 'l-lawh* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, Sūra, iv, bāb 18) corresponds to our "paper and ink" The expression *mā baina 'l-lawhain* "what lies between the two boards" is found in Ḥadīth, to describe the whole Kurʾān (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lix, bāb 4, *Libās*, bāb 84), cf *mā baina 'l-daffatain* (Bukhārī, *Fadāʾil al-Kurʾān*, bāb 16) — In modern linguistic usage *al-lōh* also means a school child's slate

Al-lawh thus means the tablet kept in heaven which in Sūra, lxxxv 22 is called *lawh mahfūz* (cf ii 1066², 1076a) According to this passage, it is usually described as the "safely preserved" tablet But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected If we read *mahfūzun*, the word does not go with *lawhin* but with the preceding *kurʾānun* and the translation is "Verily it is a Kurʾān, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries), "preserved" i e against alteration

In the commentaries on Sūra, xcvii 1, the tablet is again mentioned "We sent it down (the Kurʾān) in the night of the decree", this refers either to the first revelation made to Muhammad or to the descent of the Kurʾān from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest

The tablet as the original copy of the Kurʾān is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb*

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the *lawh* with the pen *kalam* [q v] We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions

a The tablet as the original copy of the Kurʾān This idea is found in the pseudepigraphical literature In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbed (Leviticus xii) are written on tablets in heaven Jub, xii 28 *sq*, says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev, xxiii 40—43) and Jub, xxxii 15 of the law of tithes (Lev xxvii)

b The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees* In Jub, v 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven Enoch prophecies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii 2, cf lxxxi, ciii 2, cvi 19) The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x 21, the contents of which

Daniel announces in prophetic form These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate"

From these passages it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also the tablets in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawḥ* in Muslim literature

For other passages, cf the Index to Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, s v "Tablets", it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs

In mystical and philosophical literature *lawḥ* is given a place in the cosmic system and sometimes explained as *akl faʿʿāl* and sometimes as *nafs kullī* or *umm al-hūlī*

Bibliography The Kurʾān commentaries on the passages quoted, J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin Leipzig 1926, p 65 *sq* , *Dict of the Technical Terms*, II 1291—1293

(A J WENSINCK)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeast corner of the shores of the Black Sea

The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally, the same names in the course of centuries are applied to differents units (or groups) The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the Čorokh (the ancient Akampsis) and even to the sources of the Araxes also creates difficulties

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz The name Λαξοί, Λᾶξοι is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat Hist*, IV 4, *Periplus*, of Arrian, XI 2, Ptolemy, V 9, 5) The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Noworossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i e somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse Kiessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i e the Čerkes [q v]) who call themselves Adïghe (Adzïghe), the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe The fact is that at the time of Arrian (second cent B C), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum The order of the peoples living along the coast to the east of Trebizond was as follows Colchi (and Sanni), Machelones, Heniochi, Zydritae, Lazai (Λᾶξαι), subjects of king Malassus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome, Apsilae, Abacsi (cf ABKHAZ), Sanigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum)

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous Periplus, *Fragm Hist Graec*, V 180) According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Admin Imperio*, Ch 53, in the time of Diocletian (284—303), the king of the Bosporus, Sauromatus, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N Marr explains this last name by the Laz word meaning river) Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell Got*, IV 2 and 3) mentions the Abasgoi and the people of Suania and Skymnia (= Le čkhum) It is probable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the VIth century "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527–665) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, V 9) which must have been in existence for some time before this The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Proc , *Bell Got*, IV 2) In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors who gave investiture to their kings and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north On the other hand the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sāsānid Yezdegird II against the Romans Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium (Justinian) and Persia (Khusraw II)

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mochoresis) all lay to the north of the river while on the left bank which was desert land the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontics" which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings, from the ethnical point of view the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus Nicephoros Gregora (V 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazes" In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Iveria and of the lands beyond the sea" In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutlu ascended the throne with the help of the Laz The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makriali while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf the *Chronicle of Panaretes*, under the year 1376)

In 865 (1461) Sultān Muhammad II conquered Trebizond and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islām, which became their religion (Shāfiʿī) The stages of their conversion are still unknown The fact is that even in the central regions of Georgia (Akhaltsikhe) Islām seems to have gained ground gradually from the XIIIth century (N Marr in the *Bull of the Acad of St Petersburg*, 1917, p 415—446, 478– 506)

In 926 (1519) Trebizond with Batum was made a separate eyālet According to Ewliyā Čelebi who went through this region in 1050 (1640) the five sandjaks of the eyālet were Djanikha (Djanik = Samsun ?), Trebizond, Gümüya (Gonia), Lower and Upper Batum The modern Lazistān was governed from Gonia, for among the kādās of this fortress we find Atina, Sumla, Witče/Biče (= Witse) and Arkhawi (Ewliyā and the version of the *Djihān-numā* in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, *Abh d Bayer Akad*, 1846) Hādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian

names (as also was Vivien de St Martin) proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lezgi and Laz Ewliyā calls Trebizond "former Lezgi wilāyet" Hādjdjī Khalīfa after enumerating the peoples of the district (Lezgi) Mingrelians (Megril), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Čerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond To the S E of Trebizond in the Čepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*maʿbūd*) the Shāh of Persia (i e are extreme Shīʿīs) and are associated (*mushtarik*) with the Laz" Hādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond, Ewliyā only says that the value of the eyālet has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 nāhiye (*Djihān-numā*, p 429, Ewliyā, ii 81, 83—85)

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *dere-bey* of Lazistān was only struck at the beginning of the xixth century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond, but Koch who visited the country after his expedition still found most of the hereditary *dere-bey*'s in power, although shorn of some of their liberties He counted fifteen of them Atina (two), Bulep, Artashin, Witse, Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makrialı), Gonia, Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Čat The lands of the three latter lay however on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistān in the strict sense On the other hand among the *dere bey* of Lazistān was the lord of Hamshin, i e of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Furtuna inhabited by Muslim Armenians According to the Armenian historian Lewond, transl Chahnazarian, Paris 1826, p 162, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatuni family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780—797) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshem, "built by H") It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403—1406), ed Sreznewski, St Petersburg 1881, p 383, calls "tierra de Airaquiel" He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Ariaquiel (Aiakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Ispir The Hamshin are now Muslims and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze

With the institution of the wilāyets the sandjak Lazistān became part of the wilāyet of Trebizond Its capital was at first Batum but, after the Russian occupation of Batum in 1878, the administration of the sandjak was transferred to Rize (Rhizaion), detached for this purpose from the old central sandjak of Trebizond Lazistān lying to the west of the Ottoman Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad The kādās of the sandjak were Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 nāhiye (Samy-Bey, *Kamūs al-Aʿlām*, v 3966) Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 118—121, mentions Of as a fourth kādā and gives 8 (7) nāhiyas (Hamshin, Karadere, Mapawri, Wakf, Kurʿa-yi-sabʿa, Witse, Arkhawi) In 1880 there were in the sandjak 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of above 689 were orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkicised Laz, Turks and "Hamshin") The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the south-east country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two kādās of Khopa (between Kopmush and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer) Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the kādā of Atina To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of March 16, 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Čoroḳh) Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper

The Laz are good sailors and also practise agriculture (rice, maize, tobacco and fruit-trees) Before 1914 many of them earned a living in Russia as bakers and often came home with Russian wives, who became converts to Islām The Laz are known for their conversatism in religious matters Turkish proverbs and the marionette theatre (*kara goz*) are often very scathing about the Laz (*Lazlarñ tei monu musulman yemez onu*, "the Muslim does not eat Laz jelly", *termoni* from the Greek θέρμος)

The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian) but N Y Marr finds in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect In the Lazo-Mingrelian group he believes he can find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar) There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Čkhala) Laz is very full of Turkish words It has no written literature but there are local poets (Rashīd Hilmi, Pehliwān oghlu, etc) The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf Pisarew in *Zap*, 1901, xiii, p 173—201) in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf a specimen in N Marr, *Teksti i rozïskaniya*, St Petersburg, vii, p 55)

The Georgians call the Laz Č'an but the Laz do not know this name "Č'an" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sanni/Tzanni and it survives in the official name of the sandjak of Samsun (Djanīk) From the historical point of view the separation of the Laz and Č'an seems to have taken place in spite of the close relationship between the two of them In the time of Arrian, the Sanni were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond In an obscure passage in this author (cf the perplexed commentary of C Muller in *Geogr Graece Minores*, ad *Arriani Peripl*, 8) he places on the river Of the frontier between the Colchis (Laz?) and the Θυαννικὴ (?) Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own" and according to Marr, the people of Khoshnishin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language Procopius places the "Sanni who are now called the Tzanni" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Čorokh from the sea (the Parayadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parkhar/Balkhar) The researches of N Y Marr have shown that the Č'an (Tzanni) had at first occupied a larger area including the basin of the Čorokh and its tributaries on the right bank from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (Kharthli) The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tzanids (Τζανίδες) The latter in alliance with

the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348 and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor At this period the Izzanids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the sandjak of Djanik is to the west of this port) Thus the Georgian application of the name Č'an to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes, one of whom (the true Č'an living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond

Bibliography The principal Byzantine sources are found in Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder und Volkerkunde*, Leipzig 1912, i 52—58, Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris 1839, ii 73 and the Atlas, series i, pl xiv map of the theatre of wars of Lazikia, Vivien de St Martin, *Etudes de geographie ancienne*, Paris 1852, ii, p 196—218 *Etude sur la Lazique de Procope*, Hermann, *Lazai* and Kiessling, *Hemochoi* in *Real Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa², xxiii, p 1042 and viii 258—280, Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente*, Weimar 1846/1847, ii *Reisen im pontischen Gebirge*, Bianchi, *Viaggi in Armenia, Kurdistan e Lazistan*, Milan 1863 (the author did not visit Lazistān proper), Kazbek, *Tri mesiatza v turetskoi Gruzii*, *Zap Kawk Otd Geogr Obsč*, Tiflis 1875, x/i, p 1—140, Deyrolle, *Lazistan et Arménie*, *Tour du Monde*, 1875/1876, Vivien de St Martin, *Lazistan* in *Nouv Dict Geogr Universelle*, Paris 1887, Proskuriakow, *Zametki o Turtsii*, *Zap Kawk Otd Geogr Obsc*, Tiflis 1905, xxv, N Y Marr, *Iz poezdki v turetskii Lazistan*, *Bull de l'Akad Imp des Sciences de St Petersbourg*, 1910, p 547—570, 607—632, N Y Marr, *Gruzin pripiski grec Ewangelia iz Koridii*, *ibid*, 1911, p 217, N Y Marr, *Kreščeniye armian etc*, *Zap*, 1905, xxvi, p 165—171, G Vechapéli, *La Georgie Turque*, Bern 1919, p 1—52 (Georgian nationalist point of view)

On the Laz language cf G Rozen, *Uber die Sprache d Lazen*, *Abh B Ak W*, 1843, phil-hist class, p 1—38, Peacock, *Original Vocabularies of 5 West-Cauc Languages*, *J R A S*, 1887, xix, p 145—156, Adjarian, *Étude sur la langue laze*, *M S L*, 1899, x, p 145—160, 228—240, 364—401, 405—448, N Marr, *Grammatika c'anskago (lazskago) yazika*, St Petersburg 1910, xxviii 240 (Grammar, Chrestomathie, Glossary), Kipshidze, *Dopeln swědčniya o c'anskom yazike*, St Petersburg 1911

(V Minorsky)

LAZARUS is the name in the Gospels of 1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi 19—31), 2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John xi) The Kur'ān mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (Sūra, iii 43) Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus Tabarī (*Annales*) talks of these miracles in general According to him, Hām b Nūh is revived by Jesus (i 187) Al Kisā'ī only mentions Sām son of Nūh of those restored to life by Jesus Tha'labī relates, closely following St John's Gospel "al-'Āzir died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came 3 (in the Gospel 4) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-'Āzir to arise, children were born to him" In Ibn al-Athīr the resurrected man is called "'Āzir", the *el* of Ela'zar was taken for the article, as in al-Yāsa' (Elisa) and Alexander (al-Iskandar) or in Āzar in the Kur'ān, whose name Fraenkel derives from Eliezer In Ibn al-Athīr we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle, Jesus raises not only 'Āzir (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to him), and Sām (son of Nūh), the prophet 'Uzair and Yahyā b Zakarīya (John the Baptist)

Bibliography Tabarī, *Annales*, i 187, 731, 739, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, i 122, 123, Tha'labī, *Kişaş al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p 307 On the name El'azar, Eliezer, 'Āzar, see S Fraenkel, in *Z D M G*, 1902, lvi 71—73, J Horovitz, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1925, ii, p 157, 161, do, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p 12, 85, 86 (Bernhard Heller)

LEBARAN [See 'Id al-Fitr]

LEO AFRICANUS, al-Hasan b Muhammad al-Wazzān al Zaiyātī, called Yuhannā al-Asad al-Gharnātī, in Latin Johannes Leo Africanus, born at Granada in 901 (1465) was brought up in Fās Entrusted with three diplomatic missions to the South of Morocco by the Banū Wattās, he went to Mecca in 921 (1516) and then to Stambul Captured on his way home by Sicilian corsairs he was taken to Naples in 926 (1520), then to Rome where the Pope baptised him "Johannes Leo" At Rome he compiled the following works, only the first of which has come down to us in the original Arabic text 1 *Arabic-Hebrew-Latin Vocabulary* composed in 930 (1524) for the physician Jacob ben Simon (MS Escorial 598, cf H Derenbourg, *Cat mss arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris 1884, i 410), 2 *Descrittione dell' Africa*, which he translated into Italian on March 10, 1526 (divulged since 1531, publ by Ramusio, *Navigationi, viaggi*, Venice 1550, i 1—103ª, French transl by Temporal, ed Schefer, 1896, Latin by Florianus, English by Pory, ed Browne, 1896, Dutch by Leers, German by Loisbach), 3 *Libellus de viris illustribus apud Arabes*, finished in 1527, Latin transl, ed by Hottinger, then by Fabricius These works gave the west the earliest materials for a history of Islām, cf in the economic and social monograph on the city of Fās, *Descrittione*, Bk iv, Ch 23—54, a remarkable resumé from the Mālikī point of view of the historical development of theology Before 957 (1550) Leo returned to Tunis where he died, a good Muslim

Bibliography Widmanstad, *Evangelia syriaca*, 1555, introduction, Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, Madrid 1770, i 172 *sqq*, Schefer, *op laud*, Goldziher, ap *Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, *Az osnes ismeretek enciklopediája*, 1897, xi 426, Massignon, *Le Maroc d'apres Leon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906, p 4—11, 32—69 — According to H de Castries (in his *Sources*), Signora Angela Codazzi, of Milan, is preparing a critical work upon the Arabic materials of the "Descrittione"

(L Massignon)

LEPANTO, is the Italian form of the name of the Greek town Naupactos which the Turks call Ine Bakhtī This is how the Turkish form is transcribed, e g by Leunclavius (*Annales Turcici*, p 35) while von Hammer (*G O R*, iii 318) transcribes it as Aina Bakhtī, which he translates

"Spiegelglück", in view of the Greek form however it is very probable that the Turks originally pronounced it Ine Bakhtī The town is situated in the ancient Locris, north of the strait which leads from the Ionian Sea towards the Gulf of Corinth, known since the middle ages as the Gulf of Lepanto

After forming from the xiiith century part of the despoty of Epirus, Lepanto fell into the hands of the Venetians who made it one of the strongest places in Greece Muhammad II during his war with Venice therefore undertook an expedition to take the town by land In 1477 Khādim Sulaimān Pasha was given the task but did not succeed (*Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed Giese, p 115) It was Bāyazīd II who ultimately took the town in 1499 with the help of the Turkish fleet after the latter had defeated the Venetians near the island of Sapienza (Burāk Reʾīs Adasī) in July The town was already being besieged by Mustafā Pasha, beglerbeg of Rūm Ili, Bāyazīd joined the army later The commandei of the garrison had declared he would never surrender until Turkish vessels should enter the strait This happened after the battle of Sapienza, for the Venetians made a feeble resistance The Venetian commander capitulated on Aug 26, 1499 (cf *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, p 127 and ʿĀshīk Pasha Zāde, p 257—258, which gives the date as 3 of Muharram 905 = Aug 10, 1499) Immediately afterwards Bāyazīd built two forts to defend the entrance to the Gulf

Lepanto is particularly celebrated for the famous naval battle fought on Oct 7, 1571, between the Turkish fleet and the Christian fleet consisting of 108 Venetian galleys, 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese, 3 Savoy and 12 Papal in addition to 8 enormous Venetian galeasses (the figures given by the Turkish historians vary considerably) united under the command of Don John of Austria This great combined expedition of the Christian fleets had been provoked by the capture of Cyprus by the Turks under Lala Mustafā Pasha in 1570 and 1571 The Turkish fleet came for the most part from Cyprus with the *ser ʿasker* Pertew Pasha and the Kapudan Pasha ʿAlī and was joined by Uludj ʿAlī Pasha (Ochiali) beglerbeg of Algiers with 20 ships After raids on the coast of Crete and the Ionian Islands it had cast anchor off Lepanto, it was here the Turks learned of the approach of the Christian fleet The Turkish fleet consisted of 300 ships (so von Hammer, Hādjdjī Khalīfa speaks of 180), it was not at the top of its strength on account of the numerous desertions Against the advice of Pertew Pasha and Uludj ʿAlī, the Kapudan Pasha decided to leave the bay of Lepanto and to attack The Christian ships entered the Gulf on Oct 7, the battle which followed only lasted a few hours and ended in the complete destruction of the Turkish fleet, the Kapudan Pasha perished in the battle, Pertew Pasha escaped with difficulty and Uludj ʿAlī who commanded the left wing succeeded in saving 40 vessels This, their first great defeat at sea, is called by the Turks *sînghîn donanma seferi*, the "expedition of the destroyed fleet" The immediate results of this event were not considerable, for the Allies could not take advantage of their success and the Turks very soon succeeded in making good their losses in material, Muhammad Soḳollı [q v] was credited with saying that the empire was rich and powerful enough to make the anchors of the fleet of silver, and the ropes of silk and the sails of atlas (Pečewī, i 499) The moral results however were very great and justify the great importance attached in history to the battle of Lepanto

In June 1687 the Venetian and Austrian forces seized Lepanto, but they had to surrender the town to the Turks by the treaty of Carlowitz (1699), as Venice then held the whole of the Morea, Lepanto remained the only Turkish stronghold in this region The Turkish history of the town ended with the insurrection of the Greeks, as a result of which Naupactos was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece

The defence of Lepanto consisted of 3 successive lines of fortifications on a cone shaped hill, it was the residence of a *sandjak-beg* of the *eyālet* of the Kapudan Pasha (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, p 67a) Its great strategic and maritime importance is explained by Hādjdjī Khalīfa in *Rumili und Bosna*, transl by von Hammer, p 125

Bibliography von Hammer, *G O R*, ii 150, 318 *sq* , iii 592 *sqq* The battle of Lepanto is described by the historians of the xviith century Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1283, p 495 *sqq* , Selāmikī, *Taʾrikh*, Constantinople 1281, p 101 *sqq* , Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, Constantinople 1041, fol 42 *sqq* Among later descriptions Djawdat Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, i 119, Constantinople 1302, and the publication of several documents by Safwat Bey in *T O E M*, N° 9 (Aug 1911) A survey of the extensive European bibliography is given in *G O R*, iii 787, cf also the article by Awiam Galanti in *T O E M*, N° 78, Jan 1924

(J H Kramers)

LERIDA, the ancient *Ilerda*, the Arabic *Lārida*, a town in northern Spain, halfway between Saragossa and Barcelona, now the capital of the province of the same name, with a population of about 29,000 It lies at a height of about 600 feet on the right bank of the Segre (the *Wādī Shikar* of the Arabs, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s v, wrongly makes this another name of Lerida), and forms an important strategical point at the entrance to the plains of Aragon

Lerida, which is undoubtedly of Iberian origin, was taken by Julius Caesar in 49 B C in the first Civil War between him and Pompey In 546 a council met there and it was occupied by the Muslims in the first half of the eighth century It seems to have henceforth shared the fate of Saragossa and to have been an important point for the defence of the Upper Frontera (*al thughr al-aʿlā*) It was later part of the independent kingdom of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa At the division which took place on the death of Sulaimān b Hūd al Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh (1046), it fell to his son Yūsuf but was again taken by the ruler of Saragossa Ahmad al-Muktadir

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text, p 190, transl , p 231, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Takwim al-Buldān*, p 180—181, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, vii , p 313, Fagnan, *Extraits inedits relatifs au Maghreb*, cf Index, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, vol iii , ed E Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, cf Index

(E Lévi-Provençal)

LEWEND, the name of the members of an irregular militia, which formed part of armed forces of the Ottoman empire during the early centuries of its existence, they were chiefly

employed as soldiers on the fleet in the period when the Turkish navy consisted mainly of the corsair vessels, which the Sultāns employed for their naval expeditions The word *lewendī* seems to have been borrowed like many other naval terms from the Italian The Italian word would have been *levantino* (Sāmī, *Kāmūs-ı Turkī*) or *levantī* (Djawdat Pasha) and was originally used by the Venetians for the soldiers whom they recruited from the inhabitants of their possessions in the Levant, to defend the coasts or serve on the fleet It was the same category of men, i e Christian Greeks, Albanians or Dalmatians, living on the Mediterranean coasts that the Turks used at first After a time Turkish elements from Asia Minor joined them

The lewends were a soldiery almost without discipline whom it was impossible to make use of when the navy came to be regularly organised Even in the time of Muhammad II the use of *ʿazab*'s had been begun for the naval service and under Bāyazīd II, the first regular body of marines was formed, consisting of 400 *ʿazab*'s About the same time the *ʿazab*'s were employed on the galleys as *kurekdjī* in place of the less loyal Christians (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, p 10b) Thus the true lewends were gradually removed from the navy We find however that the word lewend is still used at a later period to indicate the soldiers of the navy, especially the riflemen (*tufenkdjī*, cf Djawdat Pasha), in Constantinople there were two barracks of lewends, belonging to the organisation of the arsenal In a figurative sense, the great naval captains of the XVIth century are also called lewend (e g by Safwat Bey in his article *T O E M*, N° 24)

The lewends after having been removed from the fleet still continued to exist as marauders, especially in Asia Minor where they were a scourge to the country The word lewend thus acquired the meanings of vagabond and rascal, this last meaning has even passed into Persian On the other hand, the Pashas in the province for long continued to recruit their bodyguard among the lewends (cf the picture of a lewend in the plate on p 416 of the third volume of d'Ohsson)

From the end of the XVIIth century, the government found itself forced to take steps to abolish the bodies of lewends still in existence Ordinances of 1695, 1718 and 1720 gave them permission to join the new corps of the *delī* and *gonullu* (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1282, v 13, 123) Finally a series of military expeditions in 1737, 1747, 1752, 1759 and 1763 exterminated the last bands of this turbulent soldiery, who still existed in different parts of Asia Minor (ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, p 25, 30, 78, 269, Wāsıf, *Taʾrīkh*, p 117, 234)

Bibliography Ahmad Djawdat Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1302, 1, p 128, Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p 379, d'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1825, III, p 416, 432, von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, II 234 *sqq*, 295, do, *G O R* 2, IV 417, 463, 509, 543, Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, III 307 *sqq* (J H KRAMERS)

LIʿĀN (A), an oath, which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof without becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and of denying the paternity of a child borne by the wife "In the language of the Sharʿa, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*laʿna* from this the whole process is *a potiori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allāh upon themselves, if they should lie, it frees the husband from *hadd* (the legal punishment) for *kadhf* (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons "of irreproachable character") and the wife of *hadd* for incontinence" (A Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musulmans, Bibl Indica*, Old Series, II, 1309) On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf the Arabic lexicons and Dozy, *Suppl aux Dict Arabes*, s v , al-Kastallānī, commentary on al Bukhārī, *Talāk*, 25, at the beginning, al-Zurkānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾ fi 'l-Liʿān*, at the beginning

I The following Kurʾānic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *liʿān* XXIV 6 *sqq* "As to those who accuse their wives (of adultery) without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allāh may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you"

These verses belong to a part of the Kurʾān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of XXIV 1—10, 21—26, verses 11—20, which certainly belong to the year 5 were inserted later, our verses must therefore be older (cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, I 210 *sq* , H Grimme, *Mohammed*, II 27, puts the Sūra between the battles of Badr [2 A H] and Uhud [3 A H])

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Kurʾān, XXIV 4 (cf also verses 23—25) for *kadhf* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have no affinities in Arab paganism in which an institution like the *liʿān* had no place at all (contrary to D Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, I 221 below) The word *liʿān*, which comes from the Kurʾān, is unknown to the pre Muhammadan poetry

The hadīths concerning *liʿān* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Kurʾānic verses in question, they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurkānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾ fi 'l-Liʿān*), systematised and unreliable (cf Noldeke-Schwally, etc , where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A J Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p 56 *sq* [to p 56 ult may be added, Tir 44, Sūra 24]) Four types may be distinguished among them 1 the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to Prophet in covert language whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form), 2 ʿUwaimir b Hārith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type), 3 Hilāl b Umaiya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *hadd*

for this, when Allāh saves him sometimes by the revelation of the verses (this type probably a development of the first, in which Saʿd b ʿUbāda also is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and not original appearance), 4) some one marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin while she disputes his assertion, the Prophet therefore orders *liʿān* (not exegetic) There are of course other transitional and mixed forms In so far as the hadīths yield nothing new about *liʿān*, this brief outline is sufficient, they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Kurʾānic institution

2 The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon in the Kurʾān, whether *liʿān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary In many hadīths this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *liʿān* The statement that al-Musʿab b al-Zubair is said to have held this view (Muslim, Nasāʾī) is however based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another hadīth, in which he appears as a contemporary, on the other hand that ʿUthmān al Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurkānī on the *Muwatta*ʾ) Among the oldest representatives of the other view which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *liʿān*, may be included with some probability ʿAbd Allāh b ʿUmar and with certainty al-Zuhrī in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*), the tracing of this opinion back to ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās, which we find in the hadīths, must however be regarded as unhistorical

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *liʿān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *talāk*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife or by the decision of the judge before whom the *liʿān* is taken or by the *liʿān* itself The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived, these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf the *Haaīth* of al-Zuhrī in al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr* and al-Bukhārī, *Talāk*, bāb 30 and *Hudūd*, bāb 43, the tradition in Ahmad b Hanbal, v 330 *sq* forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception, a polemic against the first view in al Tayālisī, N⁰ 2667) The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*, apart from the ample testimony to it in hadīth, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are ʿAbd Allāh b ʿUmar, al-Zuhrī, in whose time it appears as *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*), its ascription to ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās is again not historical For the third there is no evidence in tradition, it is only found after the rise of the *madhāhib* We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction

Other prescriptions about *liʿān* in tradition, going beyond what is laid down in the Kurʾān, are of less importance Thus, when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *liʿān* may take place during pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this hadīth), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance i e is considered illegitimate Other hadīths say that the *liʿān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *kādī* to the Prophet We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the later *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *liʿān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards Islām and freedom, a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī on *liʿān* are given in the *Kitāb al-Āthār* Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al Shāfiʿī bring us to the period of the rise of the *madhāhib* Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of al Madīna, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *liʿān* has taken place could never marry one another again and al-Shāfiʿī says that with *liʿān* divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet

3 The teachings of the separate *madhāhib*, develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e g from the *Muwatta*ʾ, it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *liʿān* which annulled the marriage [cf above], while his school later held the third opinion entirely) The most important regulations of the Fikh regarding *liʿān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *liʿān* If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed for him, he is punished with the *hadd* for *kadhf*, according to Abū Hanīfa, however, imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *hadd* If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *hadd* for adultery, according to Abū Hanīfa and the better tradition of Ahmad b Hanbal, however, imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to *hadd* On the question whether *liʿān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not ʿ*adl*, there is wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here, the same applies to the possibility of *liʿān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child On this point the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objects of *liʿān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity) which is only a result of later developments In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view The divorcing element in *liʿān* is, according to the Mālikīs (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question, cf above) and a tradition of Ahmad b Hanbal, the *liʿān* of the wife, according to al-Shāfiʿī that of the husband, according to Abū Hanīfa and the

better tradition of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal however the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *liʿān* of both Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *liʿān* by the husband, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and one tradition of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, according to Mālik al Shāfiʿī and the better tradition of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal it is not, among older authorities only Saʿīd b Djubair is in favour of the first view, while ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿAbdallāh b Masʿūd, ʿAbdallāh b ʿUmar, ʿAṭāʾ and al-Zuhrī are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical confirmation) which was also held by al-Awzāʿī and Sufyān al-Thawrī Finally it is a disputed question whether the *liʿān* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures, al-Bukhārī devotes chapter 25 of his *Kitāb al-Ṭalāk* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it

4 It is easy to understand that resort was only had to the *liʿān* in extreme cases Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the fourth century A H pronouncing the *liʿān* against his wife simply in order to revive this *sunna* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II 21) But it has not yet fallen completely into desuetude, as Muslim law has no other means of disputing the paternity of a child (cf Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p 217, note 2, Santillana, *Istituzioni*, p 222)

Bibliography In addition to the works already quoted the *fikh*-books and works on tradition, E Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p 73 *sqq* , Th W Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p 192, do , *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, p 216 *sq* , D Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, p 219 *sqq* , Th P Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, s v *Liʿān*

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

LIHYĀN, an Arab tribe, a branch of the Hudhail [q v]. Genealogy Lihyān b Hudhail b Mudrika b al-Yās b Mudar Settled like the other branches of the Hudhail in the country N E of Mecca, the Lihyān do not seem to have had in the period just before and after Islam a history independent of their brethren, it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e g in *Ḥamāsā*, p 34, a propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Laʾabbata Sharran, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, II 272, IV 104 (cf *Ḥamāsā* of al Buḥturī, p 80—81, Ibn al Djawālīqī, ed H H Biāu, N° 86 = *S B Ak Wien*, 203, 4, 1927, p 31), II 614 of a battle with the Khuzāʿa The poets of this tribe are as a rule reckoned among those of the b Hudhail — e g Mālik b Khālid al-Khunāʿī, al Mutanakhkhil al Khunāʿī, etc At the time of the preaching of Islām we find them like the rest of the Hudhail under the political influence of the Kuraish This explains their hostile attitude to Muhammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b Khālid b Nubaih by ʿAbdallāh b ʿUmais at the instigation of Muhammad This murder was cruelly avenged by the Lihyān who slew several Muslims in their turn (*yawm al Radjīʿ*, 4 A H , cf HUDHAIL) As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Lihyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the submission which the Hudhail made to Islām

After the triumph of Muhammad and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Lihyān and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe the grammarian al-Lihyānī, whose full name was ʿAlī b Ḥāzim (Khazim) or b al Mubārak, d in 222 or 223 (cf al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabakāt al-Nuḥāt*, ed Krenkow, *R S O* , VIII 145, N° 125, with bibliography, Flügel, *Die gramm Schulen*, p 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yākūt, *Irshād*, ed Margoliouth, V 229, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, X 324, 19) trace his *nisba* al-Lihyānī to the unusual length of his beard (*lihya*)

There was some reason to suspect that the Lihyān at a remoter period of Arab history had played a more important part than that almost unnoticed, which they did later this seems evident from a passage in Ibn al-Kalbī (*K al-Aṣnām*, p 57 = Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, III 181, 16) who assigns to the Lihyān certain priestly functions (*sadana*) in the cult of the Hudhailī idol Suwāʿ (cf Wellhausen, *Reste Arab Heidentums*², p 18—19), the discovery of several hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti in the north of the Ḥidjāz has not only confirmed this suspicion but revealed the existence of a Lihyānī state several centuries before the coming of Islām These inscriptions, first known from the imperfect copies of Doughty and Huber, were later collected in large numbers (over 900) by Euting and deciphered by D H Muller after preliminary work by J Halévy They are now available in still larger numbers and better known as a result of the discoveries and publications of Fathers Jaussen and Savignac They are almost all in the vicinity of the village of el-ʿOla (especially in the area full of archaeological remains, called *el-Khereibe* and in the rocky cliffs to the east of this) not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Ḥidjr [q v], Madāʾin Sālih, some have even been found here although in much smaller numbers Their epigraphy closely resembles that of the Minaean inscriptions (which are also found in very large numbers east of el ʿOla) of which the Lihyānī inscriptions represent a dependent or parallel form, but in any case of a decidedly later date (against D H Muller who wrongly thought them older) Their language on the other hand is quite like that of the Thamudaean and Safaitic inscriptions, in Northern Arabic and only differs from classical Arabic by several peculiarities (especially the use of *ha* in place of *al* for the article, and of a participle of the form *mfʿal* in contrast to the form *munfaʿil* of the classical Arabic)

From these inscriptions we learn that el-Ōla — the old name of which is given in the form *D D N* identical with the Dēdān of the Bible — was the capital of a "kingdom of (or of the) Lihyān", of which some of the kings were Talmai I and II (cf the name of Talmai, king of Geshūr, father in law of Absalom, II Sam III 3 and XIII 17), Takhmai, Lawdhān, Hanuʾāsh *M-SḤ-M*, Karibʾīl This kingdom seems to have been for a long period of remarkable size and importance, before it was formed or became quite independent el-Ola-Dēdān was a colony of the Minaeans and formed one of the stages on the great trade route which brought the merchandise of the Yemen and India to the ports of the Mediterranean After the fall of the Minaean kingdom (according to M Hartmann between 230 and 200 B C) the Nabataeans

replaced the Minaeans in the control of trade and settled in al-Ḥiḏjr, but at the same time the Lihyānīs, who had absorbed Minaean civilization formed an independent kingdom and arrested the southward advance of the Nabataeans, the frontier of the two states must have been between al-Ḥiḏjr and el-ʿOla It is probable that these Lihyānīs were simply a section of the Thamūd [q v] whom we find mentioned in the annals of Sargon of Assyria, while there is no ancient reference to the Lihyānīs until Pliny who mentions them (*Hist Nat*, VI 33, 3) under the name of Lechieni Their power must have increased after the fall of the kingdom of Petra (106 A D) and it seems that from this time onwards, they also held al-Ḥiḏjr, abandoned by the Nabataeans

When and how the Lihyān fell in their turn to the position in which we find them in the sixth century forming part of the tribe of Hudhail, and settled in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamūd with the Thamūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Ḥiḏjr a memory but a very vague one of the old kingdom of Lihyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Lihyān were "remnants of the Djurhum", who later became part of the Hudhail (Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, I 749, 11—12, [cf DJURHUM] following Ibn al Kalbī, *Ṭāḏj al-ʿArūs*, X 324, 1—2, following al Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iklīl* and the passage is not found in the text of the *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*) The Thamūdaean graffiti (which used to be called proto-Arab) are a development (later or parallel) of the Lihyānī script, the last stage of which is seen in the Safaitic graffiti, but we are completely ignorant of the historical relations of the peoples who used these similar scripts

The ruins of Dēdān-el-ʿÓla, although they have so far only been superficially explored give us some idea of the advanced stage of civilization to to which the Lihyānīs had attained, besides tombs, some of which are decorated with sculptures in high relief, Fathers Jaussen and Savignac have discovered a sanctuary with a central basin circular in form (for ablutions ?) and ornamented with large statues several important fragments of which have been discovered An inscription in this sanctuary mentions an *afkal* of the god Wadd this term, which certainly is the name of a sacrificial office is not unknown to Muslim Arab tradition (*Aghānī*, XXXIX 686, Ibn Duraid, *K al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p 197, 7) Among the deities worshipped by the Lihyānīs we find alongside of typically Arab ones like Allāh, al-Lāt, Wadd, Yaghūth and a god Dhū Ghābat of whom we know nothing definite, gods of Aramaean origin, like Balsamen, the god of the sky and, in a theophoric name, Salm, in these names as well as in the use of other Aramaic terms (among them *nafsh* in the sense of "tomb") there is apparent the influence of the Nabataeans, who undoubtedly contributed with the Minaeans to form the character of Lihyānī civilization The presence of Judaean elements, which Muller and Glaser thought they could recognise is on the other hand more than doubtful

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LIMNI, Turkish form of the name of the island of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea between Mount Athos and the mainland of Asia Minor about 50 miles S E of the entrance to the Dardanelles In ancient times a possession of Athens, in the middle ages it belonged to the Byzantine empire, in this period, in 901, the island was sacked by the Muslim inhabitants of Crete Towards the end of the middle ages Lemnos had passed into the hands of the Italians who called the island Stalimene (formed with the addition of the Greek preposition εἰς and the article) When the Turks took Constantinople the island belonged to the Genoese lords of Lesbos (Midillu), the Gatelusio Under Bāyazīd I, who had fortified the Dardanelles, Lemnos passed with the other islands under Turkish rule But when Constantinople became the Turkish capital it was inevitable that Lemnos, the largest of the three islands commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles (the others are Imbros and Tenedos, or Bozdja Ada) entered the direct domination of the Turks In 1456 took place Muhammad II's expedition against Ainos as a result of which the Conqueror became lord of the islands of Thasos, Samothrace and Imbros Negotiations had been going on between the lord of Lesbos and the Sultān regarding the payment of tribute But in the course of these negotiations the people of Lemnos, dissatisfied with the rule of Nicolas Gatelusio, brother of the lord of Midillu, voluntarily submitted to the Sultān who appointed Hamza Beg governor of the island and entrusted Ismāʿīl, beg of Gallipoli, with the task of installing him there Gatelusio succeeded in leaving the island before the arrival of the Turks The date of these happenings which are recorded only by the Byzantine historians Ducas (XLV 190) and Chalcocondylas (VIII 248) is not certain, but Ducas who was representative of the princes of Lesbos at the Sultān's court, may be considered a reliable authority In 1457 a Papal fleet drove out the Turks — the Pope had intended to establish an order of Knights on Lemnos — but some time afterwards the same Ismāʿīl Beg recovered Lemnos with the adjoining islands (Zinkeisen, II 235 *sqq*) In 1462 Muhammad became master of Lesbos also In the following year the Turkish possession of Lemnos was disputed by the Venetians whose Admiral Canale in 1467 (A H 872 in Neshrī and Saʿd al-Dīn, according to von Hammer) took Ainos and the islands in this part of the Aegean Sea (cf also Munedjdjim Bashī, III 384), these conquests resulted in Muhammad's great expedition against the island of Euboea or Negropont (in Turkish

ghribos) in 1468 Soon afterwards the Turks stook Lemnos and by the peace concluded with Venice in 1479 this island remained definitely a possession of the Turks In this last year the island of Tenedos was fortified by the Sultān so that the system of defences of the Dardanelles was completed

In July 1656 the Venetians won a victory over the Turkish fleet before the Dardanelles and as an immediate result took Tenedos, Samothrace and Lemnos These conquests were such a threat to the capital that the grand vizier Mustafā Koprulu took energetic measures and sent an army of 4,500 men under the Kapudan Pasha Topal Muhammad, the latter besieged the citadel of Castro for 63 days, after which the Italians capitulated on November 15, 1657 Tenedos was regained from the Turks by the same expedition (Naʿīma, II 578, 85, 633) Finally in 1770 in the Russo-Turkish war Count Orloff laid siege to Castro and after 20 days had obtained its surrender, when the Kapudan Pasha Husan attacked the Russian fleet in the harbour of Mudros (Turkish Munduros), forced the Russians to withdraw on October 24, 1770 (Wāsif, II 118)

Turkey lost Lemnos after the Balkan War By the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) it had been stipulated that the Powers should delimit the frontiers, and the Powers in February 1914 allotted all the Aegean islands to Greece except Tenedos, Imbros and Castellorizo Turkey, reinforced by a strong public opinion, would not accept this decision, but the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented the negotiations being brought to a satisfactory conclusion In the course of the war the strategic importance of the island for Turkey became manifest, after the failure of the naval attempt to force the Dardanelles, the Entente powers in April 1915 established a naval base in the Gulf of Mudros which lies on the south side of the island to serve as a base of operations for the forces which were to be landed at Gallipoli, to force a road to Constantinople This is how the British admiral's flag-ship in the Gulf of Mudros came to be the scene of negotiations which preceded the Armistice of Mudros between Turkey and the Entente powers on October 30, 1924

In the old administrative division of the Turkish empire the island formed part of the sandjak of Gallipoli which was the sandjak of the Kapudan pasha, after the reforms of the XIXth century Limni became a sandjak in the Bahr-i Safid Vilāyeti including the *kadā*'s of Limni, Bozdja ada (Tenedos) and Imros (Imbros) Castro, a little harbour on the west coast, was always the seat of the governor and had the garrison Cuinet gives 27,079 as the total of the population which has always been predominantly Greek Cuinet gives the Muslims as 2,450 One of the specialities for which Lemnos has always been celebrated since ancient times is "terra sigillata" (Turkish *tīn-i makhtūm*), a kind of earth found near the village of Kokkino on the south coast (where it has been thought to locate the site of the ancient Hephaestia) which is credited with medicinal virtues This bed of clay was unearthed once a year (August 16) to the accompaniment of certain ceremonies at which the Greek priest and the Turkish hodja both assisted (Naʿīma, II 586)

Bibliography Zinkeisen, *G O R*, I 169, II 231, 235 *sqq*, 315, IV 853 *sqq*, 943 *sqq*, von Hammer, *G O R* ², I 81, 186, 438 *sqq*, 494, 534, III 457, 482, IV 685, V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I 475 *sqq*, 480 *sqq*

(J H KRAMERS)

LINGA, a little seaport on the Persian Gulf which lies between Lāristān [q v] and the desert The old port was at Kung, 8 miles east of Linga, the Portuguese had a factory there where they ruled long after the loss of Hormūz (to 1711) In the reign of the Zand dynasty, 1,000 Djawāsim Arabs (Banī Djāshim, Djawāshim, Kowāsim) with their chief Shaikh Sālih came from Ras al-Khaima (ʿOmān) and took Linga from the *kalāntar* of the district Djahāngīrī In 1887 the Persian government took possession of Linga and deported to Teherān the last hereditary shaikh (Kadīb) The present population is very mixed (Arabs, Persians, Hindus, Africans) On the shore at Linga are wharves for building boats for local traffic and the port is fairly busy, but the mountains which rise from 3,500—4,000 feet behind Linga make communication with the hinterland difficult (Lār is 45 farsakhs from Linga)

Bibliography Cf article LĀR, Pelly, *Report on the Persian Gulf*, *Trans Bombay Geogr Soc*, 1863, XVII, p 32—112, Pelly, *A visit to Linga*, *J R G S*, 1864, XXXIV, p 251—258, [Constable and Stiffe], *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 3rd ed, London 1890, Curzon, *Persia*, II 407—409 (V MINORSKY)

LISĀN AL-DĪN [See IBN AL-KHATĪB]

LISBON, Portuguese Lisboa, a city at the mouth of the Tagus, now the capital of Portugal, with 435,000 inhabitants, tradition ascribes its foundation to Ulysses and it originally bore the Phoenician name of *Olisippo* Under the Romans it received the name of *Felicitas Julia* and formed a *municipium* It was under the rule of the Alans from 407, of the Visigoths from 585 to 715 when it passed into the power of the Muslims

For the Arabic transcription of the name of Lisbon we find the two forms *Lishbūna* and *Ushbūna* with or without the article (cf especially, David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, Lisbon 1911, p 58—59 and the references there given) The most usual ethnic is al Ushbūnī Lisbon was not a large town in the Muslim period but it was nevertheless frequently described by the Arab geographers Al Idrīsī speaks of its ramparts and its castle and of the springs of warm water which rose in the centre of the town It is built, he says, opposite the fort called al-Maʿdan (Almada), so called from the gold dust washed up on the bank by the Tagus It is also from Lisbon that this geographer followed by several authors makes the legendary expedition of the "Adventurers" set out (no doubt to the Canary Islands, cf above II, p 880, s v AL KHĀLIDĀT)

Lisbon very early (by 711) fell into the hands of the Muslims and under the Omayyad caliphs of Cordova formed a part of the district of Balāta, along with Santarem and Cintra The Arab chroniclers record several risings there which were quickly suppressed It was however from the Normans (*Madjūs*) that Lisbon suffered most in this period During their first invasion of al-Andalus in 229 (844) it was there that they disembarked for the first time According to Ibn ʿIdārī, their fleet consisted of 54 galleys and 54 vessels of less

importance, the alarm was given to the caliphs of Cordova by the governor of Lisbon, Wahb Allāh b Hazm Again during the invasions of 966—971, in the reign of al-Hakam II, the Normans began by ravaging the plains of Lisbon after landing at Alcacer do Sal (*Kasr Abī Dānis*) For further details, cf the article MĀDJŪS and the literature there quoted

After the fall of the Omaiyad caliphate of Spain, Lisbon formed part of the independent kingdom founded by the Aftasids [q v] with Badajoz (Batalyaws) as capital Under the Almoravids, it seems to have been taken for a brief period by the Christians and retaken at the end of 504 (1110) by the Emīr Sir b Abī Bakr, at the same time as Santarem, Badajoz, Porto and Evora It was only some 40 years afterwards, in 542 (1147) that it was finally conquered by Alfonso I Henriques of Portugal with the help of a body of Crusaders who were on their way to Palestine under Arnold van Aerschot

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text, p 183, transl, p 222, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s v Ushbūna and Lishbūna, Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p 172—173, E Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, index, Ibn ʿIdārī, *al-Bayān al mughrib*, vol III, ed Lévi Provençal, Paris 1927, index (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

LITHĀM (A) (sometimes also pronounced *liṯām*), the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Beduins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on Hariri, ed de Sacy, Paris 1821, p 374, 2) It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf Dhu 'l Rumma, N° 5, 43, also N° 39, 24, and 73, 16, and the commentaries on Mutanabbī, p 464, 27 and Harirī, p 374, 2) It also made the face more or less unrecognisable and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, *Z D M G*, xli 101) The *lithām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it, thus in the *1001 Nights* (ed Macnaghten, i 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*ibid*, ii 59) by a woman for similar reasons A denominative verb has been formed from lithām, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the lithām" (e g *Aghānī*, viii 102, 20, xxi 55, 19, *Aghānī*, ed Kosegarten, p 121, 13, Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, p 111, 2, Harīrī, *Makāmāt*², ii 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as lithām" is generally used only metaphorically (see below) *Talthīma* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau in *J A*, 1849, i 64), but *tal thīmat al-bayāḍ* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fātimids their chief kādīs wore it along with the *turban* and *tailasān* (de Sacy, *Chrest*, ii 92) In general however, the *lithām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers

The *lithām* has no considerable importance for Islām from the purely religious point of view, it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *muḥrim* (Bukhārī, i 390, below)

The custom of wearing a *lithām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhādja tribes [q v.] in N W Africa, who are therefore described as *lithām*-wearers, *mulaththimūn* or *awlād al-mutalaththima*, as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamtūna, the *lithām* thus came to have a certain political significance The custom of wearing a *lithām* (below the *nikāb*, see Bakrī, p 170) was found in other parts of Africa also, e g in Kānem (Makrīzī, i 193, 33 *sq*) and still prevails among the Tuareg These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islām, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher in *Z D M G*, xli 101), another story has it that after the fall of the Omaiyads, 200 Omaiyads escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *lithām* are descended from them (Wustenfeld, *Der Tod des Huseyn*, p viii) According to Bakrī (text, p 170 = transl, p 321), they never took off the *lithām* and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *lithām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *lithām* was put on him again, they also called other men who did not wear the lithām "fly mouthed" The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *lithām* (Goldziher in *Z D M G*, xli 102) Among further passages, where the term *mulaththim* occurs in this sense may be mentioned ʿAbdallatīf, ed de Sacy, p 483, note 48 (with other references), Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, ii 243 (discusses several passages), Marquart, *Die Beninsammlung*, Index, s v *Litāmträger*

The word *lithām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under their *lithām*" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, p 400, cf *mā tahta 'l-lithāmain* = the face in Mutanabbī, p 464, 27) develops the meaning of *l-th m* "to kiss" (ʿOmar b Abī Rabīʿa, ed Schwarz, p 6, 207, Ibn al-Fārid, *Dīwān*, Marseille 1853, p 125, l 5 from below) and especially *talāthama* = "to kiss one another", *malthama*, the place which is kissed (Farazdak in Dozy, *Supplément*) A girl is given a *lithām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii 52, 2), the camel has a *lithām* of foam around its mouth (Dhu 'l-Rumma, p 76, 17), the wolf is *ahammu 'l lithām* = black in the region of the muzzle (Tirimmāh, p 4, 35, of the wolf, we find it said in *Hamāsa*, i 762, 17 *lam yatalaththam*), the wine-jar has a *lithām*, i e a piece of cloth over its mouth (*malthūm*, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed Lyall, N° 125, 7, cf also Akhtal, ed Salhānī, p 85, 2 and ʿAlkama, ed Socin, ii 43, on jars), the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth veil (*iltathama*, Mutanabbī, p 601, 15), "as the day (*nahār*) doffed its *lithām*" [description of dawn in Ibn ʿArabshāh, ed Golius, p 64, 3 from below, cf the commentary on Harīrī, *Makāmāt*, p 240, 10 *kashafa ('l-ṣubḥ) al-lithāma*, many titles of books also begin with *Kashf al Lithām*, cf Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 659],

the *liṯhām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i e they are to be exposed (ʿImād al-Dīn, ed Landberg, p 65, 12), to doff the *liṯhām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (Harīrī, *Makāmāt*², ii 426, 3), the archangel Isrāfīl has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*iltaṯhama*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (Kazwīnī, ed Wustenfeld, i 56, below), a voice may be hidden, *malṯhūm* (Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, ed Ahlwardt, N° 5, 26 = Beirūt ed, 1886, p 10), a further metaphor is found in Ibn al Fārid in de Sacy, *Chrest*, iii 55, verse 25

Bibliography I owe most of the individual quotations above to Prof A Fischer and F Krenkow In general, cf Dozy, *Vêtements*, p 399 *sq* and *Supplement*, ii 516, on the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd*, *Verspr Geschr*, i 295 *sqq*

(W Bjorkman)

LIWĀʾ (a "flag", from *lawā* to "enrol") means in Turkish official terminology an administrative area, several of which form a *wilāyet* "province" and one is in turn divided into *kazā* "districts" It corresponds pretty much to the *departement* in France It is synonymous with *sandjak* (t "flag") and is used alongside of it The *liwāʾ* is governed by a *mutasarrif*, whence a third synonym *mutasarrif-lik* The institution of the *liwāʾ* goes back to the early days of the Ottoman empire but it was under Mahmūd II in 1834 that the present administrative organisation came into being

Bibliography Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*², Paris 1853, i 44, 50

(Cl Huart)

LĪWĀN (a, for *al-īwān*, Dozy, *Supplement*, ii 563) in eastern houses is a hall, enclosed by walls on three sides and open through an arch on the fourth, it is raised two or three steps and forms the focus of the house, all the rooms of which open on to this *atrium*, which is ornamented with plants and trees This is a type borrowed from the Sāsānian palaces, of which a specimen has survived to the S E of Baghdād, in the ruin called *Tāk-i-kisrā*, "vault of Chosroes", or *Īwān-kisrā*, "hall of audience" It corresponds to the *tālār* of the modern Persians It is open on the north side to get the cool air

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(Cl Huart)

LODĪ, the name of a clan of the Ghilzai tribe of Afghānistān A family of this tribe was established in Multān before India was invaded by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, for that district was ruled, in 1005, by Abu 'l-Fath Dāwūd, grandson of Shaikh Hamīd Lodī who had established himself there, but the importance of the tribe dates from the reign of Fīrūz Tughluk when some of its members entered India for purposes of trade, but soon occupied themselves with politics Dawlat Khān Lodī competed with Khidr Khān [q v] for the throne on the extinction of the Tughluk dynasty Malik Bahrām Lodī took service under Malik Mardān Dawlat, governor of Multān, and his eldest son, Sultān Shāh, served Khidr Khān at Multān After the battle on Nov 12, 1405, in which Khidr Khān defeated and slew Mallū (Iḳbāl Khān), Sultān Shāh received the title of Islām Khān and the fief of Sirhind, where he settled with his four brothers and assembled a body of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe His next brother, Kālā, had a son named Buhlūl (usually called "Bahlol" in India), whom Islām Khān adopted, to the exclusion of his own son, Kutb Khān, and married to his daughter Kutb Khān fled to Dihlī and entered the service of Muhammad Shāh the Saiyid, to whom he described his relations as a danger to the state Muhammad sent a force against them and they were defeated and fled to the hills, but almost immediately returned, recovered their possessions, and defeated the minister, Hisām Khān, near Sādhawra In 1442 Dihlī was threatened by Mahmūd Khaldjī II, of Mālwa, and Muhammad Shāh appealed to Buhlūl, who demanded, as the price of his assistance, the execution of his enemy, Hisām Khān and the appointment of Hamīd Khān as minister The feeble king complied, and Buhlūl marched to Dihlī with his contingent and took command of the army The battle with the army of Mālwa was indecisive, but Mahmūd was recalled by the news of a riot in his capital and Buhlūl was hailed as the saviour of the kingdom, and received the title of Khān Khānān and the government of the Pandjāb He shortly afterwards picked a quarrel with Muhammad and besieged him in Dihlī, but retired to Sirhind without capturing the city In 1443—1444, Muhammad died, and was succeeded by his son ʿĀlam Shāh, a feeble monarch who, after a brief and troubled reign in Dihlī, retired to Budāon, which he made his place of residence Buhlūl then marched to Dihlī and ʿĀlam Shāh abdicated in his favour Buhlūl ascended the throne on April 19, 1451, and reigned for thirty eight years He was succeeded, on July 17, 1489, by his son Sikandar, who reigned until November 21, 1517, when he died and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who was defeated and slain by Bābur on the field of Pānīpat on April 22, 1526

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(T W Haig)

LOJA (a, *Lawsha*), a little town in Andalusia, 35 miles S W of Granada, on the left bank of the Gemil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, Periquetes It has now rather less than 20,000 inhabitants but seems to have been more important in the Arab period It was the birthplace of the famous Ibn al-Khatīb Lisān al-Dīn [q v] who wrote an enthusiastic description of it One can still see there the ruins of the *hiṣn* which commanded the town in the Arab period It was repopulated in 280 (893) in the reign of the caliph ʿAbd Allāh b Muhammad This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1488 by the Catholic Kings who took it after a month's siege with the help of a body of English archers

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

LOMBOK (usually called by the natives Tanah Sasak), the second in order of the Little Sunda Islands lying east of Java, the Strait of Lombok separates it from Bali, the Strait of Alas

from Sumbawa A not very broad, rather flat, strip runs from east to west approximately through the centre of the island, which is in part extremely fertile and is shut in by hills on the north and south In the north is the volcano of Rindjani revered as holy by a large section of the population The island is one of the richest parts of the Archipelago, the main industries are agriculture and cattle-rearing, the first being on a particularly high level A quantity of the rice which is in part grown on fields excellently irrigated is exported

Even if we exclude the foreign traders settled on the coast towns (especially Buginese, Arabs and Chinese) the population is not homogeneous but consists of two groups which are sharply distinguished territorially also, the smaller western part is inhabited by Balinese, the centre and the east by the much more numerous Sasak The inhabitants of the western part are descendants of the Balinese, who came as conquerors to Lombok in the xviiith and xviiith centuries and gradually extended their power over the whole island, they intermarried very little with the native population, so that they do not differ very much from the people of their original home, their language is Balinese, and they profess the peculiar form of Hinduism and Buddhism which is found in their mother island, with a few exceptions (they have for example adopted a *dewa-slam* into their pantheon and the sacrifices to this Muslim god must not include pork)

The Sasak are the true aborigines of the island, they are quiet and industrious, in their physical features they most closely resemble the Sumbawanese and their language (not yet fully studied) shows a similarity in certain points with the Sumbawanese They have all adopted Islām except for the little group of the Bodha, who have remained pagans, they live quite apart from the rest of the island, especially in the northern districts of Tandjung and Bajan and on the south coast and engage in agriculture of a primitive type They claim to be the descendants of Balinese who immigrated hither in ancient times before the great invasion, there is however no ground for this assertion, physically and linguistically they are in no respect different from the Sasak around them and the name Bodha is also found in other parts of the East Indian Archipelago as an expression used by Muhammadans to indicate groups of people who have remained pagan

Of the earlier history of the island we only know that in the xivth century, it was a possession of the Javanese empire of Madjapahit, we have no really reliable information as to how and when it became converted to Islām Islām probably came to Lombok from Eastern Java at the time of the decline of the Empire of Madjapahit Evidence of a considerable Javanese influence can still be traced, and according to a chronicle in the Javanese language found in Lombok, it was Pangeran Prapèn, the son of Raden Paku (Sunan Giri) who converted Lombok by force to Islām

The Sasak are of course no more orthodox Muslims than any other people in the East Indian Archipelago, but Islām has so far influenced them that we may see in it the reason why, in spite of the long Balinese dominion, there has been no assimilation between Balinese and Sasak They are divided into two groups or sects Waktu lima and Waktu tiga (tĕlu) The former, who live mainly in the plain of Central Lombok are the Orthodox among the Lombok Muslims, their name shows that (in theory at least) they observe the obligations prescribed by Islām of performing 5 (= *lima*) *salāt*'s a day In keeping with this, the name of the *Waktu tiga* (who live mainly in the mountains) would mean that they are of the opinion that three (*tiga*, *tĕlu* = 3) prayers a day are sufficient This is however an improbable explanation Many are of the opinion that the name is to be explained by the fact that the *Waktu tiga* only know of three times of prayer, namely the *ṣalāt* on Friday (or at birth), at death, and at the end of the month of fasting, others say that the full name is *waktu-tĕlu datu*, which is said to be an expression indicating the old paganism (the religion of the time of the three kings, namely the kings of Selaparang, Sakra and Pedjanggi) There is no certainty on the point however In any case the Waktu tiga are regarded, and not without reason, by their countrymen the Waktu lima as half heathens There are few mosques in their country, they leave the performances of practically all religious observances to their religious leaders (*kjahi*) and they do not observe the ordinances regarding the eating of pork, fasting or pilgrimage to Mecca They only observe Muslim principal festivals and their marriage ceremony also shows that they wish to be regarded as Muslims At the same time pagan sacrifices and pilgrimages (which however can also be found among the Waktu lima) play a prominent part in their life In their villages, there is always in addition to the Muhammadan *kjahi* a *pĕmangku*, i e one who acts as an intermediary at the worship of all kinds of spiritual powers from the world of animism It is particularly among the Waktu tiga that we find the custom that the village headman keeps two coarse pieces of cloth woven out of different coloured threads (the one "male" and the other "female") to which offerings are made in cases of illness etc , every household makes a copy on the pattern of these pieces of cloth, which are also treated with reverence

Practically nothing is known of the early period after the conversion of Lombok to Islām, the island was divided into little principalities often at war with one another, the eastern part was under the influence of Macassar and Sumbawa, the western under the influence of Bali In 1674 the Dutch East India Company concluded its first treaty with the princes of Lombok Soon afterwards in 1692 took place the first serious Balinese invasion and about 1740 the king of Karangasĕm succeeded in bringing the whole island under his sway Four small Balinese kingdoms thus arose on Lombok which were frequently at war with one another until in 1838 the king of Mataram overthrew his opponents and ruled over the whole of Lombok Down to 1849 he regarded himself as a vassal of the King of Karangasĕm on Bali, he then placed himself under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies The Sasak repeatedly rebelled against their Balinese rulers until finally in 1894 the Dutch intervened with the result that they conquered Mataram, since 1895 Lombok has been directly under Dutch rule and administered jointly with Bali

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LORCA (A, *Lūraka*), a town in Eastern Spain between Granada and Murcia, with 26,700 inhabitants It is the ancient *Iluro* or *Heliocroca* of the Romans In the Muslim period it formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [q v] and was famous for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position Its *hisn* was one of the most substantial in Andalusia It is 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cano, and dominates the course of the river Guadalesitin Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia and became Christian again in 1266

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LUBNĀN (Lebanon) The Arabs have a somewhat confused, almost mysterious idea of Lebanon Here they place the sojourn of the *Abdāl* [q v] They do not distinguish it from the Anti-Lebanon for which they have no special name "Djabal Sanīr" means to the Arabs the section of Anti-Lebanon to the north of the valley of the Baradā [q v] The massif of Hermon has been known since the time of Hassān b Thābit as *Djabal al-Thaldj*, it is the *Djabal al-Sheikh* of modern writers Nor are the Arab geographers agreed about the northern boundary of Lebanon Some include al-Lukkām (Amanus) in it This confusion has been facilitated by the vague popular appellation *Djabal*, which has been applied from the Middle Ages to the present day to the range parallel to the Mediterranean running through Syria from the mouth of the Orontes to Galilee, from this comes the name *Ahl al-Djabal*, *Djabaliyūn*, "mountaineers", applied by the Muslim chroniclers to the Nusairīs, Mutawālis, Druses etc A hadīth tells us that stone from Lebanon was used in building the Kaʿba This tradition perhaps explains why the Arab geographers see in Lebanon the continuation of the long arête which separates the Hidjāz from Nadjd and Syria and Anatolia to the Black Sea The southern frontier of Lebanon is usually made to coincide with the lower valley of the Laitānī, the modern Kāsimīya Current usage, conforming to local tradition, makes the Lebanon lie between this river and the Nahr al-Kabīr (the ancient Eleutherus) on the north This is the region which our historical survey will cover The backward and the scattered population of the Anti-Lebanon has always gravitated in the orbit of the towns of Eastern Syria, while Lebanon with its towns opening to the sea and its flanks watered by the abundant rains yielded by the moisture from the sea, which it gives to the rest of Syria by its rivers, is in economic and political dependence on the centres of the ancient Phoenician country

Lebanon is rarely mentioned by the pre-Muhammadan poets, for example by Nābigha Dhubyānī, whose patrons were phylarchs of Ghassān The name becomes more familiar to their Muslim successors, e g Abū Dahbal al-Djumahī, Nābigha al Shaibānī and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Hassān, from their attendance at the Omaiyad court Its territory, covered with forests, of mediocre fertility, difficult of access, cut up by deep valleys and torrentuous rivers, from the Arab conquest has offered a place of refuge to several small nationalities, increased from time to time by the influx of all the oppressed and persecuted

The semi-independence which it has never ceased to enjoy has favoured its evolution on individualist lines and the local development of its communities, formed at the expense of orthodox Islām i e the Mutawwalīs, the Druses and the Nusairīs [q v], not to speak of the Christian sects, Malkites, Jacobites and Maronites, these last are nowhere mentioned by name by the Arab writers, when dealing with Lebanon The degree of autonomy won by these groups, religious in their origin but finally strictly national, enables us to follow the fluctuations of Arab penetration and Muslim power in Syria

Each sect, often each district, lived under the rule of petty native dynasties, supposed to be founded by suzerains in Damascus, Baghdād or Cairo They received grants of investiture and were in return liable to certain obligations and military service, when the actual authority was able to force them to it With a remarkable agility, the feudal chiefs of the Lebanon practised the art of manoeuvring through all the turmoils that saw successively installed in the east the rule of the caliphates, Saldjūk Sultānate, Ayyūbids, Franks, Mamlūks and Turkish pashas

Not realising its strategic importance, the Omaiyads and ʿAbbāsids did not think of occupying Lebanon, still thinly populated except in the districts on the coast, they were less far-seeing than the Crusaders, who built massive fortresses on the frontier of the "Mountain" Husn al-Akrād [q v] and Shaḳīf Arnūn This negligence enabled the Djuradjma [q v] to enter Lebanon The establishment of the Maronites in the upper regions of northern Lebanon must have coincided with the coming of these Anatolian invaders and have facilitated the organisation of this Christian group, which was destined to play a preponderating part in the Mountain At the end of the ninth century,

Arabs of Tanūkh, coming from the region of Aleppo carved out for themselves in southern Lebanon a principality, that of the "emīrs of al-Gharb" in the middle of peoples, partly Arabicised and influenced by Shī'a teaching The development of this emīrate was arrested in the eleventh century by the creation of the Frankish dukedoms of Sayâte (Ṣaidā) and Barut (Bairūt) The lordships of Gibelet (Djubail), Batron (Batrūn) and the county of Tripoli depended for support on the Christians of northern Lebanon

After the expulsion of the Franks, the Mamlūks of Egypt entrusted the defence of Bairūt to the Tanūkhids In the xiiith and xivth centuries, the rising against the Mamlūks followed by the extermination of the Mutawwālī and Druse rebels of Central Lebanon made it easier for the Maronites to occupy the lands south of the Nahr Ibrāhīm (Adonis) In the beginning of the xvith century the Tanūkhids joined the Ottomans who were conquering Syria Weakened by internal dissensions they had soon to yield place to the Banū Ma'n of whom Fakhr al Dīn [q v] was the most noteworthy representative In 1696 on the death of the last of the Ma'nids, their political inheritance passed to their relatives, the Banū Shihāb who came originally from the Wādī 'l Taim, on the western slopes of Hermon

The fall of Fakhr al-Dīn had opened Lebanon to Turkish intrigues They were not long in undermining the authority of the Shihabids, constantly struggling with the insubordination and encroachments of the Druse feudal chiefs In the interests of agriculture the Ma'nids had encouraged the immigration of Christians from the north into southern Lebanon This policy was intensified by the Shihabids who were on good terms with the Maronites The most famous of these amīrs was Bashīr [q v] a Christian by birth (b 1767) Resuming the scheme of the Ma'nid Fakhr al Dīn, he worked for half a century in forming a great state of Lebanon Deposed in 1840 he died in exile Direct Turkish rule in Lebanon (1840—1860) perpetuated anarchy and insecurity there and fighting between the Maronites and Druses This ended in the massacre of Christians by the Druses and the landing of French forces to restore order An international commission was appointed to elaborate a "Reglement Organique", the charter of a new autonomy for Lebanon, under the control of Europe At the head of it was a Catholic governor-general, appointed for five years with the approval of the Powers in whom was centralised all the executive power As a counterpoise to this authority, an administrative council was elected in such a way as to secure representation to the various communities From this "Règlement Organique" arose modern Lebanon which owes to it fifty years of prosperity and peace such as it had never before known

The Great War upset everything Turkish forces occupied the Mountain and a Turkish governor was appointed, famine and disease soon decimated the population On April 25, 1920, the conference at San Remo entrusted to France the mandate for Syria and Lebanon On Sept 1 of the same year, at Bairūt, General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic, solemnly proclaimed the creation of the "État du Grand Liban" with Bairūt as its capital In addition to the "Autonomous Lebanon" created in 1860, this new state included the districts of Tripoli, Saidā and Tyre It stretches from the Nahr al-Kabīr in the north to the borders of Palestine and is bounded on the east by the chain of the Anti-Lebanon Grand Liban is governed separately from the "Confederation Syrienne", with which it reserves the right to conclude agreements It is administered by a French official until a native governor is appointed A representative council of 30 members elected by vote discuss matters of general interest and the budget

According to the last census (1921—1922) the population is 629,000 The Christians number 330,000 of different sects of whom 200,000 are Maronites, 275,000 Muslims (125,000 Sunnīs, 105,000 Mutawwalīs or Shī'īs, 43,000 Druses etc), 3,500 Jews, 20,000 foreigners

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LUDD, a town in Palestine, SE of Yāfā, is mentioned in the Old Testament (only in the later books Chr ii 33, Neh vii 37, xi 35, I Chr viii 12) under the name of Lod, in the Greek period as Lydda, the Greek name of Diospolis given in the Roman period did not drive out the old name, the preservation of which was helped by Acts, ix 32 for example It was an important place in the early centuries of the Christian era, the capital of a toparchy, it had a rabbinical school and was the see of a bishop at quite an early date It was particularly famous for the alleged tomb of St George above which a church was built It was conquered with several other towns in Palestine by 'Amr b al-'Āsī and at a later date was the temporary capital of Sulaimān whom his brother, the Caliph Walīd (705—715), had appointed governor of Filasṭīn, until he rebuilt Ramla, after which Lydda began to decline In the tenth century, Mukaddasī mentions the splendid church of St George and the Muslim legend connected with that of the dragon-

slayer, according to which Christ will one day slay Antichrist at the door of this church After the church had been destroyed by the Fāṭimid Caliph Ḥākim (996–1020) and rebuilt once more, it was destroyed in 1099 by the Muslims on the approach of the Crusaders, so that the victors only found the splendid tomb when they arrived Under Christian rule Lydda again became the see of a bishop and a new church was built immediately adjoining the ruins of the old one but was destroyed by Saladin The town never recovered from its complete destruction by the Mongols in 1271 A mosque was erected on the site of the earlier church while the ruins of the church of the Crusaders were handed over to the Greeks who restored them in modern times

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(F Buhl)

LŪDHIĀNA, is the name of a district and town in the Djālandhar Division of the Pandjāb province of British India The tract is an alluvial plain bounded on the north by the river Sutlej and traversed by the old bed of that stream, the area is 1,455 square miles There is some irrigation from the Sirhind Canal The early history is obscure, Sunet is a site where ancient coins are found peculiar to the place The tract is prominent in the annals of the Sikhs In the year 1809 Lūdhiāna town became the British frontier cantonment, and the district assumed almost its present limits at the conclusion of the first Sikh War in 1846 The population of the district in 1921 was 567,622, of whom 30 per cent were Djaṭ Sikhs, fine men and excellent farmers Gudjars, Arains and Muhammadan Radjpūts come next in numbers

The town of Lūdhiāna stands on the Grand Trunk Road close to the Burhanullah, it is an important junction on the North Western Railway The founders were Lōdī Pathāns from whom it took its name After the first Afghān War the exiled family of Shāh Shudjāʿ domiciled here The population in 1921 was 51,880 Lūdhiāna is a busy market town famous for the manufacture of shawls and turbans, of furniture and woodwork, and for wool and silk dyeing Military contractors supply uniforms and accessories to the Indian Army The principal women's hospital of the Province is here, founded by the American Presbyterian Mission, which has its chief station in Lūdhiāna

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(R B Whitehead)

LUḤAIYA, a harbour at the southern end of the Gulf of Djāzān on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea The little, now unimportant, town lies on what was once an island but has become joined to the mainland in comparatively recent geological times and is separated from it at high tide, while the harbour is dry at low tide The town in Niebuhr's time had no wall around it, but there were ten or twelve towers on the land side at intervals of 250 paces with entrances at a height above the ground reached by a ladder The towers were armed with a few cannons When Ehrenberg visited Luhaiya in 1825 the town was enclosed by walls At the present day there rises behind the town a fort built by the Turks with one or two modern guns The houses of the town are for the most part wretched little straw huts, such as are usual in Tihāma, only a few are built of stone The harbour of Luhaiya is hardly worth the name, as the anchorage is bad and the entrance is made difficult by sunken reefs Even quite small ships have therefore to anchor far from the town and at low water even small boats cannot reach the shore if loaded The drinking-water is brackish and dear The coast around Luhaiya is dry and sterile The main industry of the population, who are mainly Arabs, but include a few banians was and still is fishing and trading Luhaiya owes its importance mainly to the trade in coffee, which is brought down from the highlands, stored, shelled and sold Near the town there are also a few coffee plantations, the produce of which is highly esteemed and used to be reserved for the Sultān of Turkey There was and still is a busy trade with Djidda, Hodeida and ʿAden, mainly conducted by Arab sailing-ships The principal article of export is coffee and corn is imported Luhaiya is connected with Djidda and Hodeida by a caravan road 621 miles long There is also a telegraph line to Hodeida The Eastern Asia Service of the Lloyd Triestino has a three monthly service to Luhaiya

Nothing definite is known about the origin of Luhaiya A Sprenger identified the town with the Μαμάλα κώμη of Ptolemy but this equation seems at best only possible The identification of Luhaiya with the old town of Sambrachate or the harbour of Laupas or Ναπηγοῦς κώμη which E Glaser supports, is very improbable Niebuhr supposes that the harbour only arose in modern times when the demands of the export trade in coffee from the interior required it Here also, as at Mokhā, the hermitage of a Muslim saint is said to have been the nucleus around which the admirers of the saint gradually collected and built the town A chapel was built over his tomb, the vicinity of which was considered auspicious for living and dead At the beginning of the xvith century the Portuguese who call the town Luya for the first time became acquainted with Luhaiya In 1513 Affonso d'Alboquerque entered the harbour on an expedition into the Red Sea Luhaiya then formed part of the territory of the Imāms of Sanʿā' to whom it paid tribute In the second half of the xviiith century Luhaiya suffered from the raids of the Ḥāshid and Bakil tribes, who on one occasion burned it down In spite of this the trade of the town must even then have been not inconsiderable, for about 1760 in Mawsim (April to July) it paid 3,000 dollars from the harbour revenues to the Imām of Ṣanʿā' At the beginning of the xixth century the governor of the Imāms of Sanʿā' made himself independent in Luhaiya, but when the Wahhabīs invaded the Yemen and defeated the *dōla* of Luhaiya, the latter went over to the victors and took from the Imāms of Ṣanʿā' the whole of Tihāma from Luhaiya to Bāb al-Mandab along with Bēt al-Faḳih and a considerable part of the coffee growing country Luḥaiya now seemed to

have a brilliant future before it, for it was to be the main harbour of export not only for the whole of this vast area but of the Wahhabī country also and negotiations were opened with the East India Company, who were invited to establish a factory in Luhaiya Luhaiya's prosperity was again interrupted by the invasion of Muhammad ʿAlī who occupied Luhaiya in 1833 In 1869 we find it in possession of the Turks under whom the port and its hinterland formed a *kadā* in the *sanǧak* of Hodeida Luhaiya was also used by them as a base of operations against the never completely pacified highlands of ʿAsīr, which obtained independence with the collapse of Turkey in the world war Saiyid ʿAlī b Muhammad al-Idrīsī, lord of ʿAsīr who is considerably under Italian influence, has held Luhaiya and Hodeida since 1918

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LUKATA (A), an article found (more precisely "picked up") The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Hanīfa, only if he is "poor", but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaka*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause in Abū Hanīfa and Mālik If the owner appears before the expiry of the period he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder, but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value, Dāwūd al-Zāhirī alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Ahmad b Hanbal (in al-Bukhārī also, cf his superscription to *Lukata*, bāb 1) As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of injured animals and more onerous when they are not injured Al-Shāfiʿī and Ahmad b Hanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *Haram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allāh in the *Haram* and articles found in it

These prescriptions of the *Fikh* are based on certain hadīths which have been handed down with several variants (cf al-Bukhārī, *Lukata*, Muslim, Constantinople 1329 *sqq*, v 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two or three year period In the conception of the primitive jurists the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*wadīʿa*), further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *zakāt*, finally there is a hadīth which forbids the Mecca pilgrims (*hādjdj*) to pick up articles found at all From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Lukata*, bāb 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over or used to be handed over to a government office, their retention in the finder's care is justified by quoting a special tradition

None of these traditions can be considered historical, at most the prohibition by the Prophet in his address after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *Haram* without advertising the index (cf above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology, *Lukaṭa* is not mentioned in the Kurʾān

Bibliography In addition to the pertinent sections in the *Fikh* and *Hadīth* collections cf Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*[3], p 386, E Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p 639 *sqq*, D Santillana, *Istituzioni di Diritto Musulmano Malichita*, 1, p 328—329 *sq* (J SCHACHT)

LUḲMĀN, a legendary figure of the period of Arab paganism, who was adopted into the Kurʾān and later legend and poetry The story of Lukmān shows three main stages of development I The pre-Kurʾānic Lukmān al-Muʿammar, the long-lived hero of the Djāhilīya, II The Kurʾānic Lukmān, the wise maker of proverbs, III The post Kurʾānic Lukmān, the writer of fables

I Luḳmān in the old Arab tradition

Even the earlier legends already show Luḳmān in several aspects 1 as Muʿammar, 2 as a hero; 3 as a sage — He is offered a long life He chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures, he brings up a vulture, when it dies, he keeps a second one and so on, for six vultures, which he survives, but he dies at the same time as the seventh, Lubad The vulture was by far the most popular emblem of longevity among the Arabs (Ps ciii 4, Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch Philol*, ii, p li *sqq*), R Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, p

xxvii—xxix) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidonius Apollinarius, for example, of Romulus's watching for birds Romulus sees twelve vultures, which means the twelve periods through which Rome will endure The *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn* of Abū Hātim al-Sidjistānī gives Lukmān second place for longevity Khidr was the longest lived man, and Lukmān the second, who lived seven times the length of a vulture's years, i e $7 \times 80 = 560$ years, but the figure is increased in different stories to 1,000, 3,000 or even 3,500 years The last of the vultures reared by Lukmān was called Lubad = endurance, when Lubad finally lets his wings droop, Lukmān stirs him up to fly again, but in vain, Lubad dies and with him Lukmān Luḳmān, as Damīrī noted, was already celebrated by Nābigha — Various adventures are ascribed to Lukmān such as the heroes of the Djāhiliya always had to go through, he was the first to punish the adulteress by stoning and the thief by cutting off his hand — Lukmān belonged to the tribe of ʿĀd Here we have the old Arab saga coalescing with the Kurʾānic legend ʿĀd, sinful like Sodom, is devastated by drought An embassy is sent to Mecca to pray for rain and Lukmān goes with it In the enjoyment of the hospitality given them the ʿĀdīs forgot the purpose of their journey Reminded of their duty, one of them obtains by prayer a black cloud This cloud brings to the tribe of ʿĀd the destruction which was to be their punishment for rejecting the Prophet Hūd

Lukmān was already known in the pagan period as a sage His wisdom is celebrated by pre-Muslim poets (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p 133) It is natural to suggest that the old stories refer to more than one person Lukmān's wisdom forms the transition from the Djāhiliya to the Kurʾān

II Lukmān, the maker of proverbs

In Sūra xxxi of the Kurʾān, Muhammad introduces Lukmān as a sage and makes him utter pious admonitions These latter do not bear the stamp of Lukman nor of Muhammad but belong to the common stock of proverbial sayings A characteristic example is the following "If all the trees in the earth were pens, and if God were to swell the sea into seven seas of ink, the words of God would not be exhausted" (Sūra xxxi 26) This great hyperbole is found in hundreds of variants (S Reinhold Kohler, *Und wenn der Himmel war' Papier*, in *Orient und Occident*, ii 546—559, *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*, i 311—323, 441—453) It is recorded that this saying arose out of a dispute with the *ahbār* of the Jews The *ahbār* insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law, and the saying is directed against them Does this really mean that Muhammad borrowed this hyperbole from the Jews, to whom it really belonged originally? In the admonition of Luḳman "Moderate thy pace, lower thy voice, for of all voices, that of the ass is most hateful" (Sūra xxxi 18) Rendel Harris has found the model in Akhikar "Lower thy head, speak quietly, and look down! For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build two houses in a day"

Once Muhammad had consecrated Lukmān as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him Wahb b Munabbih is credited with saying that he had read 10,000 chapters of Lukmān's wisdom The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably Maidānī) attribute much to Lukmān (see R Basset, *op cit*, xliv—liv) Thaʿlabī devotes a chapter of his *Madjālis* to the wisdom of Lukmān Many sayings seem to link up with the Sūra of Lukmān Sūra xxxi 14 advises reverence for parents but warns against being led astray by parents to worship false gods Thaʿlabī's authority makes Lukmān say "Be amenable to your friends but never so far as to act against God's laws" There is much that recalls Akhikar Lukmān teaches that the rod benefits the child like water the seed In Akhikar we have "Spare not thy son for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden" Lukmān says "When thou seest people who remember God, join them, hast thou knowledge it will be useful to you with them and they will increase it, if thou hast none, they will teach thee, when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them, for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee, and if thou art ignorant, they will increase thy ignorance" Akhikar says "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him" Lukmān gives excellent advice for one going on a journey and also adds that he should be armed, similarly Akhikar In Maidānī's Arabic proverbs Lukmān is credited with the following admonition "My son, consult the physician before thou fallest ill!" This corresponds to the first saying in Ben Sira's alphabet "Honour the physician before thou requirest him" On the other hand Lukmān's warning against hypocrisy is found in similar form in the *Disciplina clericalis*

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets But since Muhammad quotes Lukmān as a sage, the story was told that God offered Lukmān the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage Lukmān chose wisdom and became vizier to King David, who called him fortunate "Hail to thee, thine the wisdom, ours the pain!" Lukmān lived down to the time of the prophet Yūnus (Jonah) He is also called judge of the Jews Muslim legend sometimes also, although very rarely, makes Lukmān a prophet and even gives him the "Madjalla" (*megilla*), the roll of wisdom (Tabarī, *Annales*, i 1208)

III Lukmān, the writer of fables

Luḳmān was honoured by Muhammad and after him as a maker of proverbs A few centuries later he became a writer of fables also, perhaps because *amthāl* meant both proverbs and fables Lukmān thus became the Aesop of the Arabs Much was transferred to Lukmān that was told in Europe of Aesop The tendencies to this can be traced quite early While the very earliest legend saw in Lukmān the hero and Muslim legend makes him a sage, judge, vizier, or even a prophet, the later Oriental legend delights in describing him as a carpenter, a shepherd, a deformed slave, an Egyptian, Nubian or Ethiopian slave, a feature which is obviously modelled on the story of Aesop Lukmān's master orders him to set the best before his guests Lukmān gives them the tongue and heart of a sheep On another occasion his master tells him to set his worst before them Once again Lukmān sets a heart and tongue before them, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good

heart and nothing worse than an evil tongue and an evil heart (in Plutarch and in the *Vita Aesopi* of Maximus Planudes the tongue only is mentioned and not the heart) — Lukmān's fellow-slaves on one occasion eat their master's figs and accuse Lukmān At Luḳmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water Lukmān vomits water only, the other slaves figs and water — Lukmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea Sobered he asks Lukmān's advice The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam back all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries The latter is a widely disseminated motive in fairy tales of the type of the Emperor and the Bishop (Walter Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt, F F Communications*, N° 42, p 134—140, especially p 139 where reference is made to Lukmān, Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii 60—62) These anecdotes are also found in the *Vita Aesopi* of Planudes (xiv^th^ century), but they are known as early as Plutarch, *Convivium septem Sapientum*

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Lukmān They first appear in the late middle ages The Paris manuscript published by Jos Derenbourg belongs to the year 1299 and contains 41 fables These fables have often been published and thoroughly discussed in scholarly fashion especially by Derenbourg, R Basset and Chauvin Out of the 41 fables, N° 22 alone has no parallels the thornbush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits, the gardener waters it twice a day and the thornbush overruns the whole garden R Basset recalls the fable of Jotham of the thornbush which destroys everything (*Judges*, ix) All the others with the exception of the thirteenth (the midge and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by Landsberg All are found in Aesop except N° 9 (the gazelle in the well), N° 22 (thornbush), N° 24 (wasp and bee), N° 40 (the man and the snakes) It has been further observed that in these fables the very animals indigenous among the Arabs, the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel play no part As these fables first appear in the late middle ages there can now be no doubt that we have to deal with a selection of Aesop's fables translated into Arabic

IV Related legendary figures

Lukmān is a manysided figure he is *Muʿammar*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs, and writer of fables It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucian and Solomon Abu 'l Faradj makes Lukmān the teacher of Empedocles Three of these equations deserve closer examination 1) with Balaam, 2) with Aḵẖiḳar and 3) with Aesop The identification with Balaam is old Arabic legend gives the following genealogy Lukmān b Baʿūr b Nāhūr b Tāriḵẖ It is evident that the Kur'ān exegists sought for something corresponding to Lukmān in the Bible They found this in Balaam as the vowels *balaʿ* and *lakama* both mean the same "to devour" This then became a Muslim tradition, which entered the Hebrew *Mishle Sindbad* where Luḳmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed Cassel, p 220 *sq*) and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, where the correct text is "Balaam qui lingua arabica vocatus Lucaman" (ed Hilka Soderhjelm, p 3) The Kur'ān exegists had no doubt about this identity The question arises however did Muhammad himself see Balaam in Lukmān? — and next is Luḳmān really Balaam? Derenbourg, Basset and Eduard Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstamme*, p 378) answer in the affirmative But it is quite incredible The pre-Kur'ānic tradition about Lukmān, the Kur'ān Sūra, which shows deep reverence for Lukmān, have no single feature of the hated Balaam of the Bible and the Haggada This identification was only made later by Kur'ānic exegists, who wished to connect Lukmān with the Bible at any cost, and made him the son of Beʿor, i e Balaam, just as they sometimes made him the nephew or cousin of Job

Lukmān's similarity to Aḵẖiḳar was also noticed long ago, but it is only quite recently that the identification has found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes the chap vii of his *Story of Ahikar* to it He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra xxxi 18 with Aḵẖiḳar's warning about the voice of the ass, and on Arab hypotheses which compare Lukmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Lukmān, Aḵẖiḳar and Aesop The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Aḵẖiḳar The later legend of Lukmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus becomes like the Aḵẖiḳar story but in reality Lukmān is not directly connected with Aḵẖiḳar but with Aesop

The development of the Lukmān legend seems varied but clear Lukmān properly belongs to the legends or possibly the history of Arab paganism For even this period already knows the sage Lukmān With Muhammad he becomes the teacher of pious doctrines Incited by the Kur'ān the interpreters of the Kur'ān found Lukmān's sayings in many places and found Lukmān himself in the Balaam of the Bible He was credited with fables in addition to the proverbs and was thus made the Aesop of the Arabs

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

LŪLĪ, one of the names for gipsies in Persia, parallel forms are in Persian, *lūrī*, *lōrī* (*Farhang-i Ǧahāngīrī*), in Balūčī, *lōrī* (Denys Bray, *Census of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv 143, gives the popular etymology from *lōr* = "lot, share")

The name *lūlī* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahrām Gūr (420—438 A D) At the request of this Sāsānian King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king Shangal (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians Hamza (350 = 961), Berlin-Kaviani, p 38, calls them al-Zutt [q v], Firdawsī (Mohl, vi, p 76—77), Lūriyān, Tha'ālibī (c 429 [1037]), ed Zotenberg, p 567, says that from them are descended the black Lūrī (*al-Lūriyūn al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute the *Muǧmil al-Tawārīkh* (c 520 [1126]), transl Mohl, *J A*, 1841, xii, p 515, 534, confirms this origin of the Lūrī The Lūlī (plur *Lūliyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets Mīnūčihrī (Dāmghān–Djurdjān–Ghaznī, vth/xith century), Djamāl al Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk (d in 388 [1192], Isfāhān), Kamāl Ismā'īl (d in 635 [1237], Isfāhān), Hāfiz (d in 791 [1389], Shīrāz) say that the *lūlī*'s are "black" (like night), petulant (*shūkh*) and elegant (*shangūl*) that they play the flute, that their way of living (*bunagāh* "baggage") is irregular The Persian dictionaries explain *lūrī*/*lūlī* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc, cf Vullers [the quotation from Amīr Khusraw (d in 725 [1325] in India), *ibid*, s v Lur refers rather to the inhabitants of Luristān]

The origin of the name *lūlī* has not yet been investigated The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of Sind which the Arab authors call Arūr or al-Rūr (cf Aras > al-Rās, Alān > al Lān) This town had been conquered by Muhammad b al-Kāsim before 95 (714) (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 439, 440, 445) According to al-Bīrūnī, ed Sachau, p 100, 130, the town of Arūr (Aror) lay 30 farsakhs S W of Multān and 20 farsakhs above al-Mansūra In Elliot, *History of India*, London 1867, i 61, 363, the town is called Alor This town, the old capital of the Hindu rādjas of Sind, is now in ruins (on the Indus, in the *tāluka* of Rohri in the district of Sukkur, cf *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi 4 and xxi 308 Aror and Rohri) The change of *Arōrī/Rūrī into Lōrī/Lūlī is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r*'s especially after the change from Aror (Indian) to al-Rūr (Arabic) The descendants of the Indian musicians of Bahrām Gūr (i e the gipsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before them, the Sāsānians This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *lūlī*/*lūrī*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnical relationship of this tribe

The term *lūlī-lūrī* (unknown in Khorāsān, Ivanow 1914) is particularly found in the S E of Persia, in Kirmān and in Balūčistān *Lūlī* or *lulī* is also found in Turkestan Bābur, ed Ilminsky, p 358, 457, uses "Lūlī" in the sense of "player", Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed Desmaisons, p 241, 258, 276, 282, mentions in the xvth century a Shaibānid prince of Marw and Ābīward, son of a Lūlī woman Mayew, *Izwěstiya Ross Geogr Obshč*, xii, part iv, p 349, and *Geogr Magazine*, 1876, p 326—330 Lūlī in Eastern Bukhārā, Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *Miss scient dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii, p 308 Lūlī and Āghā in Chinese Turkestan, Valikhanow, *Sočineniya, Zapiski Ross Geogr Obshč po ethnografii*, St Petersburg 1904, xxix, p 43 Iulu (sic) and Multānī in Kashghār Lastly it has been suggested that the name of the gipsy tribe in Syria, Nūrī, plur Nawara is derived from Lūlī

The Lōrī/Lūlī gipsies (cf the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the Lur [q v] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an Irānian dialect with no trace of Indian elements The situation is however slightly complicated by certain minor points In the first place the use of the terms Lūlī, Lurī, Lur, etc is not always quite clear In the confederation of 'Arab tribes of Fārs there is a Lur clan, Sykes, *Ten thousand Miles*, p 330, Rittich, *Pojézdka v Belucistán*, *Izw Geogr Obshč*, 1902, xxxiii/1, p 69 speaks of a Lorī section (Persian pronunciation of Lūrī?) among the Lūlī of Kirmān Edmonds notes the existence of a Luri (?) clan in Luristān in the Dashēnān division of the Bairānwand group In Kurdistān there is a clan Lur-i Kulāhgar [cf SENNA]

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope dancers (cf Čirikow, p 277) As early as the xivth century, Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī mentions the talent of the Luris in these directions and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabrīz where there is a permanent colony of Karaci gipsies, professional actors and singers It is possible that the special qualifications of the Lur and gipsy players differ somewhat, the Sūzmānī of Kurdistān (cf SARPUI and SENNA) who excel in singing and dancing are not acrobats But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artistes belong

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into Luristān Whatever was the ethnical entity covered by the name Zutt (on the confusion of the Zutt with the Lūrī see above Hamza, Tha'ālabī) the existence of Zutt colonies in Khūzistān is known as early as the time of al-Hadjdjādj [q v] (cf Hawmat al-Zutt between Arradjān and Rām Hormūz, the modern town of Hindiyān ["the Indians"] may have a similar origin) According to Balādhurī, p 382, when in the second quarter of the first century A H the Zutt had apostacised from Islām, they were joined by the local Kurds, which provoked the punitive expedition of 'Abd Allāh b 'Āmir to Idhadj (= Mālamīr, the future capital of Lur i Buzurg) The alliance of the Zutt and Kurds (= Lurs, q v) at so early a date is curious Under al-Rūr, Yākūt, ii 833 mentions two places in Sind and a small district (*nāhiya*) under Ahwāz in Khūzistān Schwarz, *Persien im Mittelalter*, v 665, identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr (cf LURISTĀN) In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis [according to Ibn Hawkal, p 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in al-Lūr] the questions of the origin of the name al-Rūr in Khūzistān, of the identity of this al-Rūr with al-Lūr and of the remoter origin of the name Lur must for the present be left open In any case even if the name Lur came from the town of

al Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnical origin of this people

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān are as follows

in Khoiāsān Kirshmāl (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees *ghair-i shumār*, interpreted as "innumerable", in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *klrîshmal* means "vaurien", cf the comedies of Fath ʿAlī Akhundow, q v),

in Astarābād and Māzandarān Djūgī and Gāodārī,

in Ādharbāidjān Karačī (and čaghatai Turk means "faithful servant, person near the khān", Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p 145 and Bugadow, ii 45),

in Fārs (and elsewhere) Kāoli (= Kābulī)

The names mentioned may correspond to slight local distinctions not yet fully known Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia Sanādī (?), Kāsa tarāsh, "cup makers", Budāghi, Adenesīrī [Adhar-narsē ?], Zargar-i Kirmānī, „gold smiths of Kirmān", Shahriyārī (winter at Hamadān, summer near Damāwand), Karzī, Toāi-tabīb (*dawar* + *tabīb* "sheep-doctor" ?), Gāobāz, Bash-kāpān (in Turkish *bash* "head" + *kapan* "he who seizes"?), Gāodārī (bold hunters in Māzandarān, cf de Morgan), Kāshī, Badjumbūn According to Newbold the Persian gipsies fall into two classes Kāoli (or Ghurbatī) and Gāobāz

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general Gobineau gives Beshāwān/Peshāwān (cf the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the Bosho) and Odjūlī (?) The following names have a general and neutral character Ghurbatī, "living in a foreign land", according to Ivanow, the Persians who confuse *gh* and *k*, see in *kurbati* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*kurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused, the name is sometimes transcribed *kurbatī* and *kurbātī*, Fiyūdj (from the Arabic, *fuyūdj*, "couriers"), Ustākār, Aghā, Ghar bāl-band ("sieve-makers")

The number of gipsies in Persia may be estimated at 20,000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families are in Ādharbāidjān and 300—500 families in Kirmān (Sykes) The gipsies have an organisation of their own at the head of which is the chief of the Shāh's runners (*shātir-bāshi*) under whom are the provincial deputies (*kalāntar*) In western Persia the gipsies are very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow) In Khorāsān they play a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing sieves, chains, combs etc In Astarābād the Gāodārī are coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan) Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *īlāt* who must be gipsies It remains to be seen also if the Kurd tribes bearing names like Kharrāt ("turners"), Lurr-i Kulāhgar ("hatters") are not of gipsy origin (cf the article SENNA) In the towns, such as Sabzawār, Nīshāpūr and Tabrīz, the gipsies have quarters of their own There are troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia but they do not seem to be very popular Ouseley gives a description of the dances and of the marionette theatres of the Karačī (Tabrīz) The dancers and singers of the Sūzmānī tribe in Kurdistān have often been described by travellers, cf notably Lycklama and Nijeholt, *Voyage*, iv, p 30—70, Čirikow, *Putewoi Journal*, p 282, 299, 330, Khurshīd-Efendi, *Siyāhet nāme-i Hudūd*, Russian transl, p 119, cf T Thomson, *The Soozmanee are they Gypsies*, *Journ Gipsy Lore Soc*, ii, 1909, p 275—276

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian, its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf the lists in de Morgan), Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Romanī of Europe, the language of Kirmān and Khorāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 28 Persian and 52 of unknown origin He would regard this dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirms the fact that the Lōrī of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("is at any rate acquired naturally by Lōrī children, as a language for the home circle")

The Sūzmānī use Kurdish mainly According to Čirikow they are called Dummī, which must correspond to Dūmān (= Dōm, the name of a low caste in India from which comes the well-known name for gipsies *Rom*) The vocabulary of the Dūmān (Baghdād, Aleppo?) as collected by Newbold, *J R A S*, 1856, p 303 from an informant from Altun-kopru, is full of Kurdish words *kāwar*, "stone", *khoi*, "salt", *lāwak*, "boy" A Kurd tribe in the east of Bohtān bears the suggestive name of Sindī/Sindiyān (the "Sindians") According to the *Sharaf-nāma* the chief of the Kurdikān clan (of the Ziākī) had married a gipsy woman In discussing the relationships of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220 (835) a section of the Zutt settled in Khānikin, i e at the gate of Kurdish territory, cf de Goeje, *Memoire*, p 30, Tabarī, iii 1168

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *mediae* the one changes them into aspirated *tenues*, i e Prākrit, *bhāinī* > *phei* (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, *bhāinī* > *ben* (Persia, Syria, Egypt) The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānian period) In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system Ouseley for example found among the Karačī of Tabrīz the word *behn* "sister" which must be older than *phen* or *ben* (cf also *ghora* in Gobineau)

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(V Minorsky)

LU'LU', Badr al Dīn Abu 'l Fadā'il al Malik al-Rahīm, Atābeg of al-Mawsil Lu'lu', who had once been his slave, had great influence with the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I and when Nūr al-Dīn on his deathbed (607 = 1210—1211) confirmed the nomination of his son al Malik al-Kāhir ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd as his successor, he appointed Lu'lu' as regent of the kingdom, while the younger son Imād al-Dīn Zangī was given the two fortresses of al ʿAkr and Shūsh near al-Mawsil At the end of Rabīʿ I, 615 (end of June 1218) al-Malik al-Kāhir died after appointing his minor son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh his successor and Lu'lu' his regent When ʿImād al-Dīn seized the fortress of al-ʿImādiya in Ramadān of the same year (Dec 1218), Lu'lu' sent an army against him Lu'lu''s troops besieged al-ʿImādiya but had to return with nothing effected, whereupon the other fortresses in al-Hakkārīya and al-Zawazān surrendered to ʿImād al-Dīn when the latter made an alliance with the lord of Irbil, Muzaffar al-Dīn Kokburi Lu'lu' sought the assistance of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf, who ruled the greater part of Mesopotamia, and recognised his suzerainty, whereupon al-Ashraf sent an army to Nasībīn to help Lu'lu' if necessary In Muharram 616 (April 1219) ʿImād al Dīn was defeated by Lu'lu''s forces near al-ʿAkr and had to flee to Irbil Peace was however soon afterwards concluded through the intervention of al-Ashraf and the Caliph al-Nāsir, but when the sickly Nūr al-Dīn died in the same or the following year and his brother Nāsir al Dīn Mahmūd, who was some three years old, succeeded him, ʿImād al-Dīn and Muzaffar al-Dīn began to raid and plunder the district of al Mawsil whereupon Lu'lu', who had first sent his eldest son with an army to al-Ashraf to help him against the Franks, appealed for help to Arbeg, al-Ashraf's general in Nasibin Arbeg set out at once and joined Lu'lu' On Radjab 20, 616 (Oct 1, 1219) Lu'lu' was defeated near al-Mawsil, but while he was again collecting his followers around him Muzaffar al Dīn retired After the conclusion of peace, ʿImād al-Dīn occupied the fortress of Kawāshā, and Lu'lu' had again to appeal to Ashraf Muzaffar al-Dīn however induced a number of emirs, among them Ibn al-Mashtūb to secede from al-Ashraf and take up a position at Dunaisir to prevent the latter's passing The emirs however soon changed their views with the sole exception of Ibn al-Mashtūb who went to Irbil He was twice defeated, first by the garrison of Nasibin and then by the troops of Farrūkh Shāh, lord of Sindjār, who took him prisoner When he had been released, he collected a plundering horde around him and ravaged the country far and wide He was defeated by an army of Lu'lu''s and took refuge in the fortress of Tell Aʿfar The latter was besieged and Lu'lu' himself came up from al-Mawsil On Rabīʿ 17, 617 (June 21, 1220) he had to capitulate and Ibn al-Mashtūb was taken prisoner and brought to al-Mawsil After al-Ashraf had made peace with Muzaffar al-Dīn he handed over to Lu'lu' the fortresses of Djudaida, Nasībīn and the governorship of Mesopotamia, to which other fortresses were later added After the death of Nāsir al-Dīn (619 = 1222—1223 or according to others not till 631 = 1233—1234) Lu'lu' was recognised as Atābeg of al-Mawsil and assumed the name of al-Malik al Rahim In 635 (1237—1238) he became involved in war with the Ayyūbid al-Sālih Nadjm al-Dīn The latter took the Khwārizmians into his service and granted them Harrān and Edessa whereupon they seized also the town of Nasibin About three years later they were defeated by the ruler of Halab and Hims and Lu'lu' regained Nasibin with Dārā Lu'lu' had also to fight the lord of Halab, the Ayyūbid al-Nāsir Yūsuf In 648 (1250—1251) he was defeated and Nasibin, Dārā and Kalʿat Sirkiyā fell into the hands of the Aleppo forces Lu'lu' died in 657 (1259) aged over 80, after recognising the suzerainty of Hūlāgū [q v]

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xii 193 *sq*, 218—227, 247, 268, 275, 289—291, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, v 268—276, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 443, 449, 469, 480, *Recueil des histor des croisades*, *Histor orient* i 86, 90—93, 98, 115, 120, 128, 138, ii 362, 373 *sq*, van Berchem, in *Orient Studien*, *Th Noldeke gewidmet*, p 197 *sqq*, *Brit Mus Cat*, *Or Coins*, vol iii, p 200—238

(K V Zettersteen)

LU'LU', 1 A Mamlūk of Saif al-Dawla the ruler of Aleppo, vizier of his son Saʿd al-Dawla and his grandson Saʿīd al Dawla On the latter's assassination, he became guardian of his sons and from 394—400 (1003—1009) independent governor of Aleppo under Fātimid suzerainty, cf the article HAMDANIDS where the bibliography also is given

2 A eunuch and the trusted adviser of the Saldjūk Sultān Ridwān of Aleppo, on the latter's death in 507 (1113) he became Atābeg of his son Alp Arslān al-Akhras (lit "the dumb", so called on account of an impediment in his speech) Alp Arslān who left the government in the hands of Lu'lu' rendered himself hated by his court on account of his crimes and tyrannical conduct and fell a victim to a conspiracy in which Lu'lu' seems to have had a share To retain a firm hold on the reins of government, he appointed Alp Arslan's six year old brother Sultān Shāh his successor who reigned in name till 517 (1123) Anarchical conditions prevailed in Syria throughout the whole period (cf the art HALAB) To retain his power Lu'lu' had to steer a course between the Crusaders, Syrian Atābegs and the Great Saldjūk Sultan Muhammad He promised to hand over Aleppo to the latter but at the same time secretly sought the help of the Atābeg Toghtikīn [q v] of Damascus against him and of Ilghazī of Mārdīn and on the other hand to prevent them becoming too strong betrayed their movements to the Crusaders who were able to inflict damage on them He succeeded in retaining Aleppo with the help of Toghtikīn's cavalry To raise the necessary funds to pay these and his own troops he extorted the last farthing out of his viziers and the wealthier inhabitants of Aleppo He himself never left the citadel for fear of conspiracies When he was at last forced in 510 (1117) to make a journey, either to take his treasures to a friend's care or to get money stored with him, his Turkish bodyguard fell upon and killed him The latter seized his treasure and tried to take Aleppo by surprise but were defeated by the garrison and had to give up the booty Lu'lu' is a typical example of the anarchy in Syria, at the beginning of the Crusades which was only put an end to by the energy and ability of Nūr al Dīn

Bibliography, cf the art HALAB, Kamāl al-Dīn's *Geschichte von Aleppo*, transl by Silv de Sacy, in Rohricht's *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Kreuzzuge*, i, Berlin 1874, p 243, 245—251

(M Sobernheim)

LU'LU'A (A, "pearl"), a fortress near Tarsūs in Cilicia, which was besieged by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 217 (832) It was the strongest of the Greek citadels and the one that wrought most havoc among the Muslims, it had a large garrison and was well supplied with arms The caliph, not having succeeded in taking it, blockaded it for a hundred days with two forts, the troops of which routed the Emperor Theophilus, as a result of this defeat, the people of Lu'lu'a appealed to ʿUdjaif b ʿAnbasa who was their prisoner to negotiate for them and capitulated on obtaining safeguards (*amān*) granted by al-Ma'mūn

Bibliography *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, 3rd part, in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed de Goeje, Leyden 1871, p 375, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vi 297, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 371, Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, vi 4022

(Cl Huart)

LUR (in Persian *Lor* with *o* short), an Irānian people living in the mountains in S W Persia As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāsanī, Kūhgilū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Lurs proper) is that of language The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was iranicised from Persia and not from Media On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become iranicised or absorbed in different parts of Luristān, cf the latter article

The name Local tradition (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Mān rūd This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (Istakhrī, p 195 etc), the name of which survives in Sahrā yi Lur (to the north of Dizfūl) There are several other place names resembling Lur, namely Lī, a district of Djundai Sābūr (Schwarz, *Persien*, p 666, cf the Kūhgilū'ī tribe Lirāwī), which may be to Lūr what *pīl* in Luri is to *pūl* "money" in Persian, Lurdjān (Yāḳūt Lurdadjān, now Luidagān) according to Istakhrī, capital of the canton of Saidan (between Kūh Gilū and the Bakhtiyāris) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Loit) near Samara

Masʿūdī alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes, speaks of the Luriīya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur) In the xiiith century Yakūt uses the names Lūi, Lurr to mean the "Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khūzistān and Isfahān", he calls the country inhabited by it *bilād al Lur*, or Luristān

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Irānian) into an ethnical name If however we seek an Irānian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Luhr-asp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself According to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Luhr is explained by *rudhira* "red" The place-name Rūr in Yākūt may supply an intermediary form The *Ta'rīkh-i Guzida* gives a popular etymology *Lur* < *lir* "wooded hill" in Luri

Ethnology If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd According to the *Ta'rīkh i Guzida*, p 539, 547, there is in the *wilāyet* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd near which there is a defile The place called Lur is situated in this *kūl* (the word means in Luri a "little ravine", cf O Mann) The name Mān rūd much resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as mān/mūn in Lurī, Żukowski, iii 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Mūngaria (cf *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p 548 on the place lying between Mān rūd, Samhā and Māngarra) The clans (*gurūh*) of the natives of Kūl i Mān-rūd

were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Djangrū'ī (Čangrū'ī, Djangardī) and the Ūtarī (Aztarī) The governing family of the Atābegs of Little Lur belonged to the Djangrawī (the name of their clan, the Salbūrī, Salghūrī should be corrected from Salwīzī, ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p 369, Salīwarzī, ʿAlī Hazīn, *Tadhkira*, p 135 and Salawarzī in Houtum-Schindler) The *Ta'rīkh i Gusīda* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*thuʿab*) of the two principal *gurūh* and the 18 other tribes (*akwām*) of the Lurs

A few names (Māngarra, Anārakī, Djūdakī) correspond to modern names Finally 4 clans are mentioned Sāhī (Sāmī), Arsān (Asbān, Asān), Arkī and Bīhī, who, although speaking Lurī, are not Lurs, the people of the other villages of Mānrūd were peasants (*rūstā'ī*)

About 500 (1106), a hundred (or 400) Fadlawī Kurd families arrived from Syria They came by the north (Shuturān-Kūh) and settled at first on the lands of the Khūrshīdī wazīrs (cf the article LUR-I KŪČIK, cf *Nuzhat al Kulūb*, p 70 under the word *girdlākh*) At the beginning of the viiith (xiiith) century new tribes flocked to the standards of Hazārasp of the Great Lur Among them were two Arab tribes ʿUkaili (ʿAkīlī, cf the place of this name below Shūshtar), and Hāshimī and 28 different tribes (*mutafarika*) among whom we find the Bakhtiyārī (Mukhtārī), the Djawānikī (Marāsilī), the Gōtwand (cf the village near Shūshtar), the Djākī, the Līrāwī, the Mamāsatī (Mamāsanī?) etc According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i 26) all these tribes also came from Syria These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnical composition of the Great Lur It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Battūta (ii 21—30) found at the beginning of the xivth century near Bahbahān and Rām Hormūz when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur There has long been a village of Kurdistān on the Djarrāhī and it had even given its name to this river Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (*N E*, xiii, p 330—332) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (563—589), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (? return to) Luristān about 600 A H of numerous Īrānian tribes

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karkha (cf IAK, just to the north of Susa is a tree *dār-i Bābū*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of Djuzkān, celebrated in the history of the Hasanwaihids, cf Ibn al-Athīr, ix 146, 219) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf the desperate fighting of the Atābegs of the Lur-i Kūčik against the Bayāt and Aiwa [= Bahārlu?] Turks)

In the Safawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristān from the direction of the Kūh-Gīlū (where traces of them still exist) and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bakhtiyārī country On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Kadjars see below The ethnical situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the xixth century

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well known and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922 a comparison enables us to note the changes that have taken place meanwhile Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same

In 1881 (Curzon, ii 274) there were 421,000 Lurs of whom 170,000 were Bakhtiyārī, 41,000 Kūh-Gīlū, and 210,000 Feilī According to Rabino this last section numbered in 1904 31,650 tents (or 130,000 individuals) in Pish-Kuh, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pusht-i Kuh (this last figure seems too low)

The Mamāsanī (Mamassanī) group includes 4 main tribes the Bakash, Djāwīdī (Djāwī), Dushmanziyārī and Rustamī (cf the article SHŪL) The Kūh-Gīlū group (Kūh Gālū) includes 3 large tribes (Akādjarī, Bawī and Djākī) The first of these tribes (cf the name of the old Turkish tribe of Aghadjārī) is of a composite character, for of its 9 clans four (Afshar, Begdilī, Čaghatai and Kara-Bāghlī) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh Sewan to whom the government of Kūh-Gīlū had been given under the Safawīs) and a fifth clan (Tilakūhī) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Senna [q v] On the second tribe, Bawī, O Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz, but there is also a mountain called Bawī to the south of Khurramābād The third tribe, Djākī, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections Čārbunīča and Līrāwī with very many subdivisions This threefold composition of the Kūh-Gīlū group is typical of many of the Lur tribes

As to the Bakhtiyārī, Sawyer as long ago as 1894 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the Bakhtiaris may now be said to be known" But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student Of the two Bakhtiyārī groups Čahār-lang and Haft-lang, the latter is the more important at the present day The Čahār-lang, who used to be in the south are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between Burūdjird and Gulpāyagān)

The main groups of Lur are Tarhān, Dilfān, Silsila (cf IAK) and Bālā-giriwa The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions Dirīgwand, Sagwand etc It is possible that the Dirīgwand are the real nucleus of the Lur race Their chiefs are called *mīr*

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālā giriwa) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling The power of the hereditary families of khāns is based on their 'guard' (*kaitul*) but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*tushmāl*) The khāns are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds "uncouth headmen"), the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs The notes of Duhousset (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), *Études sur la popul de la Perse*, p 23, of Khanikoff, *Mém sur l'ethnogra-*

phie de la Perse, Paris 1866, p 15, 110 and 138, and of Damilow only touch the surface of the subject Duhousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Luis and the Laks, the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut coloured, very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs (The Persians call Luristān *maᶜdan i rīsh*, "mine of beards") The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Luis as among the Kurds According to Edmonds there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes But v Hammer (II 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Walī ᶜAlī Mardān Khān

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhtiyārīs have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs Bishop and Cooper, *Grass*, New York 1925 On the other hand the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf Edmonds, *Geogr Journ*, 1922 (*ibid* the speech of General Douglas who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904)

Bibliography for the Mamāsanī (cf the article SHŪL) and the Kūh Gilū, cf especially Hasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs nāma-yi Nāsirī* on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, *R M M*, 1913, xxii and B Miller, *Kočevŭye plemena Farsa*, *Wost sbornik*, St Petersburg 1916, II, p 213–218 Cf also the lists in Bode, Layard, Sheil, Baring etc (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, II 317) and those of O Mann, *Die Mundarten d Lur Stamme*, p xv–xxi For the Bakhtiyārī Rawlinson, *A March from Zohab*, p 102—106 (cf Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX 210—215), Layard, *Descrip of Khuzistan* and especially *Early Adventures*, Curzon, *Persia*, II 286—288 For the Lurs the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IV 215—219), Bode, Layard, Čirikow, Houtum-Schindler, O Mann, *l c*, p xxiii and especially the articles by Rabino, *R M M*, 1916, and Edmonds, *Geogr Journ*, 1922

Religion The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Kaikha since the Sāsānian period (cf MĀSABADHĀN) may have left some traces in the country A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhtiyārīs to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hanway, II 168) A mention in the *Taʾrīkh i Djahān gushā*, *G S M*, XVI/2, p 216 shows that in 650 the *mulhid* (Ismāᶜīlis) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh The Hurūfī heresy had probably also a following in Luristān, for the *murīd* of its founder Fadl Allāh who attempted the life of Sultān Shāhrukh in 1427 was called Ahmad Lur (Browne, *Pers Lit under Tartar Dominion*, p 366) In the Ṣafawid period the wālīs of the Little Lur claimed descent from ᶜAbbās, son of the Caliph ᶜAlī, whose tomb is shown near Sīrwān (Māsabadhān), cf Rawlinson in Ritter, IX, p 402 The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shiᶜa are wide spread in Luristān The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Hakk (ᶜAlī Ilāhī, q v) The Sagwand, Pāpī and Badrāʾī tribes are also followers of this secret religion In the belief of the Ahl-i Hakk, Luristān is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine manifestation who is called Bābā Khoshīn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Tāhir [q v] An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāde Ahmad (the alleged son of the *imām* Mūsā Kāzim), is in the district of Kūs near Bī-āw (territory of Kalawand) and is kept by Saiyids of the Pāpī tribe, these Saiyids wear red turbans which recalls the predilection for red of the old Muhammira = Khurramīya [q v] whose flags were of this colour

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox even from the Shiᶜa point of view that at the beginning of the XIXth century prince Muhammad ᶜAlī Mīrzā had to send for a *mudjtahid* to convert the tribes to Islām (Rabino, p 24) All the Lur and Lak tribes are officially Shiᶜīs (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunna orthodoxy)

Language Down to the beginning of the XXth century our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 88 words collected by Rich, to 4 Bakhtiyārī verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler As late as the *Grundriss d iran Phil*, I/2, 1898—1901, p 249, we find the thesis stated that Lurī is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects The materials of Żukowski (collected in 1883—1886) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d 4/1/1918) The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Lurī are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Lurī") is due to O Mann This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristān (cf the article IAK), the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the S W Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the N W group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects)

The Lurī dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish (cf KURDS) fall into two categories To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlu and Bakhtiyārī (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own), to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i e of the Feili Lurs

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian From the point of view of phonetics *-am* at the end of a word becomes *om*, *-um* (*mīkunam/ikunom*, *ādam/ādhom*), *ū* changes into *ī* *pūl/pīl*, intervocalic *d* gives *dh* (*y*) *midtham/idhim*, the combination *-kht -ft* give *-hdh* and *-ht* (*t*) *dukhtar/duhdhar*, *taft/taht*, initial *kh* becomes *h* *khāna/hona*, etc Peculiar to Bakhtiyārī are the change of intervocalic *m* to *v* *djūwa-djāma* and the occasional change of *sh* to *s* *īsā* = *ishān* It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Hamdallāh Mustawfī (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, p 537—538) He says that Luri (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *kh*, *sh*, *gh*, *f* and *k* Inflection Plural in *-gal*, *-yal*, *-al*, e g *ānhā*, *āngal*, accusative in *a*, *na* instead of *rā* *yūnd*, *got* = *inā guft*, formation of the present *i-* instead of Persian *mī-*, first Persian plural ending in *-īmū(n)* *ikharīmū(n)* = *mīkharīm* Lurī usually forms the preterite of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which

give the preterite a passive construction Vocabulary In the present and preterite stems Lurī usually follows Persian but we find stems and words unknown in Persian *ẖwanum*, *wandum*, "to throw", *tar-*, *ītarom*, "to be able", *tta*, "eye", etc From the Mongol period, Luri has kept several expressions like *tushmāl*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *tushumel*, "official", *kaitul*, "guard of the khān", in Eastern Turkī "camp, laager", cf Budagow, ii 102, *kūrān*, "encampment", in Mongol, *kuren*, "camp, tent"

As to the Feilī group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann "weiter nichts als ein stark abgeschliffenes Persisch")

There are in Luristān a few islands of Kurds of some importance Such are in the north the Lak tribes [q v] Among the Feilī, the Mahkī group (on the frontier of Kirmānshāh, at Hulailān, and farther south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur The Kurdishūhān group (to the south of Push-i Kūh) speaks a "kurmandjī" Kurdish Linguistic conditions in the Push-i Kūh still require further study

Bibliography Lerch, *Izslědowanija*, iii, p xi—xiv (German transl, *Forschungen*, ii), O Mann, *Kurze Skizze d Lurdialecte*, *Sitzungsb Berl Akad*, 1904, p 1173—1193, O Mann, *Die Mundarten d Lur Stamme im sud-west Persien*, *Kurd pers Forschungen*, Berlin 1910, part ii (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsanī, Kūh-galūʾī, Bakhtiyārī and Feilī texts), D L R Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari*, publ by the R Asiat Society, London 1922, Żukowski († 4 I 1918), *Materialě dl'a izuč pers narečij*, iii dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Čarlang and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883—1886, vocabularies Bakhtiyarī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī), Hadank in the preface to O Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, iii/1 On the Mamāsanī and Kūh gilūʾī materials of Romaskewič, cf *Bull Acad de Russie*, 1919, p 452

Literature The Lur tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārīs have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muhammad Taki Khān Čī-Lang and Hādjdjī Ilkhānī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*wāsinak*) and cradle-songs (*lālāʾī*) These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment, cf the collections by O Mann and Żukowski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī lullabies in the *Journ Min Narodn Prosweščě*, Jan 1889), D L R Lorimer and E O Lorimer, *Persian Tales*, London 1919, p 197—351, *Bakhtiari Tales* (translations only)

There are also Lurī poets writing in the established literary forms Husain Kulī Khān Haft-Lang (killed in 1882), Nadjmā Mamāsanī, Daftarī, Fāyid (still alive in 1902), Izadī (d 1905), ʿAlī Asghar Khān Nihāwandī (cf O Mann) A *Miʿradj nāma-yi Bakhtiyārī* by Shaikh ʿAlī Akbar Muʿammam was lithogr at Teherān in 1314 A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf ʿAlī Kurrānī was published by Y Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad de l'U R S S*, 1922, p 55—58, according to Y Marr a *tadhkira* of Bakhtiyārī poets compiled by ʿOmmān-i Sāmānī is in the library of Sālār-i Fātih Another similar tadhkira comes from the pen of Ahmadī-yi Bakhtiyārī

History On the participation of the tribes of Khūzistān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs and Persians in the early centuries of the Hidjra cf the article KURDS The Caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, especially in Lur-i Kūčik [q v] The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūzistān, at Shīrāz, Isfahān, Hamadān and on the Zagros the Saffarids, Būyids, Kākwaihids, Hasanwaihids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawk (cf the article KURDS)

We have coins of the Būyids struck at Idhadj (Codrington) In 323 the Būyid army marched through Luristān (Sūs – Shāpūr-khwāst – Kuradj) The Hasanwaihid Kurds whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Bīsūtūn) extended their dominions into the valley of the Karkha Shāpūr khwāst (= Khurramābād) formed part of their possessions about 400 (1009) (Ibn al Athīr, ix 89, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed Amedroz, ii 291, iii 451) The Kakwaihid Garshāsp sustained a siege by the Saldjūks in Shāpūr-khwāst (434 = 1042) The amirs of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristān the family of Zangī b Bursuk in Shāpūr-khwāst before 499 (1105), Hisam al Dīn Alpaghūsh at Diz-i Māhkī on the Karkha before 549 (1154) (*Rāhat al-Sudūr*, *G M S*, p 285) A Lurk Hisam al-Dīn Shūhlā or Aksarī is mentioned as lord of Luristān and of a part of Khūzistān between 547 and 570 A long inscription (Kūfic?) on a stele near Khurramābād is still undeciphered [cf a copy in von Bode, ii 298, Rawlinson thought he recognised in it the name of the Atābeg Shudjāʿ al Dīn but according to Curzon it has an earlier date (517 = 1123)]

In any case all attempts from outside to subdue Luristān or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Taʾrikh-i Guzīda* (730 = 1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Preussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, N⁰ 368 of Pertsch's Catalogue) The *Madjmaʿ al Ansāb* (c 743) is based on independent oral tradition but is less accurate The *Djahān ārā* although late (its author Kadī Ahmad died in 975) uses unpublished data The *Sharaf nāma* (1105 = 1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Taʾrikh-i Guzīda* According to these sources which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristān about 300 (912) was as follows

The Shūl [q v] — who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch — occupied a part ("half") of Luristān The wilāyet of Shūlistān proper (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, p 537 and 539, 13) had a governor named Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-Ansāb* the title Nadjm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shūl) while the Lur territory under the Shūl (probably Kūh-Gilū) had a pīshwā Saif al-Dīn Mākām whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sasanian period, he was of the Rūzbihānī tribe which the *Taʾrikh-i Guzīda* mentions among the Lur tribes The rest of Luristān was ruled by a family of Lur princes (independent of the Shūl) of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lur and his brother Mansūr in the Little Lur Their dates are uncertain Badr's successor was his grandson Nasīr al-Dīn Muhammad

b Khalīl b Badī (according to the *Madjma' al Ansāb*, Nasīr al-Dīn was a nephew of Awrang [Rang] b Muhammad b Hilāl) Nasīr al-Dīn was deposed by the Fadlawī Kurds who founded the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside Luristān (cf above under Ethnology) The same Fadlawī drove the Shūl out of their settlements

We know nothing of Mansūr, brother of the above mentioned Badr The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs and in the north were subjected to the invaders The founder (about 580) of the native dynasty of the Atābegs of Lur-i Kūčik [q v] had to dispose of a rival Surkhāb b 'Aiyār (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu 'l Shawk which was called 'Aiyar/Annaz, cf the article KURDS)

The history of the two dynasties of the Atābegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous The Atābegs built bridges and madrasas (Ibn Battūta) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf *Ta'rīkh i Guzīda*, p 550) The revenues of each of the two Atābegs were estimated at a million dīnārs while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 dīnārs only (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 70)

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Timūr, the two Atābegs were vassals of the Muzaffarids In 788 and 795 Timūr ravaged Little Lur but treated the lord of Great Lur more kindly In 795 Timūr passed through Kūh-Gilū and Shūlistān The Timūrids (cf the article BAIKARA) consolidated their power in Luristan and in 837 the last Atābeg of the Great Lur disappeared

Safawid period The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh After the execution of Shāh-wardī Khān, Shāh 'Abbās installed in his place a *wālī* descended from a lateral line of the old family The possessions of this Wālī, Husain Khān, were, however, somewhat reduced

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation Under Shāh Tahmāsp we find the title of Saidār of the local *ulūs* conferred on Tādj mīr, chief of the principal clan, the Astaraki Tādj mīr, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mīr Djahāngīr Bakhtiyārī (the Astarakī and Bakhtiyārī had come to Luristān after 600, cf *Ta'rīkh i Guzīda*) Djahāngīr under the guarantee of Shāh Rustam of the Little Lur pledged himself to supply annually to the Safawid treasury 10,000 mules In 974 the governor of Hamadān was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 48) Henceforth the Bakhtiyārī tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation

As to the Kūh Gilū territory, it was governed by Khāns of the Turkoman tribe (Shāhsewen) of Afshār settled among the Lurs In 988 (1580) a dervish impostor claiming to be Shāh Ismā'īl II had a considerable success among the Djākī, Djawānikī and Bandānī tribes who killed several Afshār governors In 1005 as a result of the excesses committed by the Afshār as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fārs, Allāh-wardī Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Kūh-Gilū (*Ta'rīkh i 'Ālam ārā*, p 198, 358)

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the Safawid dynasty (*Fārs nāma-yi Nāsirī*) the group of Mamāsanī tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600) occupied the ancient Shūlistān (cf SHŪL)

After the Safawids During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghāns before Isfahān, the wālī of Luristān, 'Alī Mardān Khān Feilī (a descendant of the Husain Khān appointed by Shāh 'Abbās), played a considerable part With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135 (1722) in the defence of the capital He was even appointed commander-in chief of the Persian troops but the other Khāns refused to take orders from him When the Turks invaded Persia in 1725 'Alī Mardān Khān abandoned Khurramābād (which was occupied by Ahmad Pasha) and retired to Khūzistān from which he undertook a diversion against Baghdād The Turks who had gone through the Bakhtiyārī country and reached Fīrūzān had to retire Cf 'Alī Hazīn, *Ta'rīkh-i Ahwāl*, ed Balfour, London 1831, p 115, 134, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events, Hanway, *The Revolutions of Persia*, ii 135, 159, 168, 238, Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii 60–61, von Bode, *Travels*, ii 281—283, Hammer, *G O R*, iv 227

About the same time several Bakhtiyārī khāns (Kāsim-Khān, Safī-Khān) are mentioned as resisting the Afghān and Ottoman invaders but they did not agree well with 'Alī Mardān Feilī In 1137 (1724) 'Alī Muhammad Husain Khān Bakhtiyārī recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince Safī Mīrzā The latter's headquarters were in Kūh-Gilū, he was not taken till 1140 (1727) (Hanway, ii 168, 238, Mahdī-Khān, *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān Gushā-yi Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, transl into French by Jones, London 1770, p xxvii) The Afghāns do not seem to have penetrated into the Bakhtiyārī country and their expedition in 1724 against Kūh Gilū was a fiasco (v Hammer, ii 210, Malcolm, *op cit*, ii, p 449) By the treaty of 1140 (1727) the Afghān Ashraf ceded Luristān to Turkey with other western provinces The Turks kept it (nominally) till 1149 (1736) when Nādir re-established the status quo (Hanway, ii 254, 347, von Hammer, *G O R*, iv 235, 317)

Under Nādir a certain Turkoman chief named Bābā Khān Čapushlu (Čawushlu) was appointed beglerbeg of Luristān-i Feilī On the other hand 'Alī Mardān II Feilī was entrusted by Nādir with diplomatic negotiations in Constantinople Nādir in 1732 passed through Kūh Gilū with his troops where Muhammad Khān Balūč (the claimant to Shīrāz) was defeated The local Afshars had to support Nādir, who was one of their tribe Several expeditions were sent against the Bakhtiyārī among whom a new chief 'Alī Murād Mamiwand (Čahārlang) had collected together the malcontents In 1732 Bābā Khān Čapushlu was sent against him for the first time In 1149 (1735) Nādir Shāh took the field against him in person going via Djāpalak and Burbuīūd The Bakhtiyārī country was several times invaded but the main blow was directed against the little explored country south of Shuturān-kūh 'Alī Murād was captured and executed The Bakhtiyārī were decimated and deported to Djām and Langar (in Khorāsān) A little later a Bakhtiyārī detachment distinguished itself in the assault on Kandahār (Mahdī Khān,

op cit, p 116, 134, contains interesting geographical details, transl Jones, i 185, ii 18, ʿAlī Hazīn, p 231, 253, Malcolm, ii 21)

The deported Bakhtiyārī returned from Khurāsān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd Nādiriya*, ed Mann, p 26) and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished the Bakhtiyārī chief ʿAlī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two Wālis of Luristān i Feilī) attempted to play a big part In 1163 (1750) along with Karīm Khān Zand he set up at Isfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Safawids (Āl i Dāwūd under the name of Ismāʿīl III) The career of "guardian of the sovereign" acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand, the troops of ʿAlī Mardān who included Lak of the tribes of Kalhur and Zangana were defeated in 1752, he escaped to Baghdād but died there by the hand of an assassin, cf Mīrzā Sādiḳ, *Taʾrīkh-i gītī gushā*, quoted by Malcolm, ii 61 and note *r*, Hammer, *G O R*, iv, p 475, 477, R S Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p xxxv, Curzon, ii 289

Karīm Khān [q v] who had disposed of his Bakhtiyārī rival was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān i Feilī On the movements of population in his time, cf the articles KURDS and LAK In 1200 (1785) when Djaʿfar Khān Zand had to fall back on Shīrāz a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Isfahān under former partisans of ʿAlī Murād Khān but the town was soon occupied by Āḳā Muhammad Kādjār who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyāris (ʿAbd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Zendīya*, ed Beer, p 29, Malcolm, *op cit*, ii 179 *sq*) which injured his popularity among the tribes

The Lur Bakhtiyārī country was never completely assimilated during the century and a half which the Kādjārs reigned A resumé of the history of the Bakhtiyārīs in the xixth century has been given by Curzon in Ch xxiv of his *Persia* At first the Kunurzī family, descended from the brother of ʿAlī Mardān Khān (cf above), came to the front but the expedition of the governor of Isfahān Manučihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Yenikolopow, he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Īlkhānī Muhammad Takī Khān and the family did not recover About 1850 the Bakhtiyārwand (or Baidarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Pāpī) rose to prominence in the Haft-lang group and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Husain Kulī Khān (Hādjdjī Īlkhānī) by order of prince Zill al-Sultān retained its wealth and its importance The Bakhtiyārī played a considerable part in the Persian revolution which ended in the deposition of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh Kādjār in 1909 The Bakhtiyārī country all this time enjoyed perfect autonomy under the rule of its *īlkhānī* and *īlbegi*

The centralising efforts of the Kādjārs had more effect in Luristān-i Feilī (formerly Lur i Kūčik) in as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muhammad ʿAlī at the beginning of the xixth century, the old family of the *wālī*'s of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pusht i Kūh (q v and Čirikow, p 227) The Pīsh-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā with troops and artillery marched through this province In 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrānī regiment After the famous expedition of Manučihr-Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaimān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khūzistān, maintained order in Luristān but for the second part of the xixth century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy It was not till 1900 that prince ʿAin al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province But in November 1904 two British officers (Col Douglas and Capt Lorimer) on their way to Khurramābād were attacked and wounded by Lurs A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Sālār al-Dawla (several times since 1905) In spite of the efforts of the Persian government Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burūdjird About the same time the Persian government conferred the rank of *wālī* of Pīsh-Kūh on Nazar ʿAlī-Khān Amrāʾī (cf the article IAK), cf Edmonds in the *Geogr Journ*, 1922

It is only since the accession of Ridā Khān (later Shāh Ridā Pahlawī) that the situation in the region inhabited by tribes of Lur origin changed radically and the authority of the Central Government enforced respect for itself through the whole of the south-western provinces

(V MINORSKY)

LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Atābegs which flourished in Eastern and Southern Luristān between 550 (1155) and 827 (1423) the capital of which was Īdhadj (= Mālamīr, q v)

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Fadlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Fadlōya His descendants (the *Dīthān ārā* mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Tāhir) migrated from Syria and passing through Maiyafārikīn and Ādharbāidjān (where they made an alliance with the Amīra Dibādj [?] of Gīlān) they arrived about 500 (1006) in the plains north of Ushturān-Kūh (Luristān)

Their (1) chief Abū Tāhir (b ʿAlī) b Muhammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunkur (543—556) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra [q v] As a reward Sunḳur gave him Kūh-Gīlūya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān He succeeded in this Abū Tāhir assumed the title of Atābeg and later quarrelled with Sunkur and made himself independent (c 550) (The *Madjmaʿ al-Ansāb* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Kāʾid ʿAlī, to whom it attributes the following successes the defeat of the Shūl [q v], the deposition of Nāsir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khūzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek)

Under the son of Abū Tāhir, (2) Malik (sic) Hazārasp (600—626 or 650?), Luristān prospered and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it Hazārasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shūl and invaded Luristān proper The Shūl migrated to Fārs Hazārasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Māndjasht (Mungasht, S W of Mālamīr) The possessions of Hazārasp were extended up to a distance of 4 farsakhs from Isfahān The Caliph

Nāṣir (575—622) confirmed to Ḥazārasp the title of Atābeg On the other side Ḥazārasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*Ḏj̲ihān-gus̲hā*, *G M S*, xvi/2, p 113, 204) [The *Ḏj̲ihān ārā* mentions two sons of Ḥazārap ʿImād al-Dīn (d 646) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalha (?d in 649), the former bought Zarda-Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred]

(3) Ṭikla (c 655—656), son of Ḥazārasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shūl from Luristān Ṭikla took from Ḥisām al-Dīn Khalīl (?d in 640) certain districts of Lur i Kūčik He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūzistān by the caliph During the Baghdād campaign of Hūlāgū Khān (655), Ṭikla accompanied him in Kitbuka-noin's division (*tuman*) He did not however conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims Hūlāgū took umbrage at this and Ṭikla fled to Luristān and shut himself up in Mānd̲j̲asht Hūlāgū pardoned him but later changed his mind and had him executed in Ṭabrīz Ṭikla was buried at Zarda-Kūh

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years He led a nomadic life His winter residence was at Īdhad̲j and at Sūs (probably Sūsan on the Kārūn above Shūshtar) and his summer one at Dj̲ūy-i sard (on the upper waters of the Zanda-rūd) and at Bāzuft (source of the Kārūn)

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with Abaka Khān (663—680) and even after appointed in his father's stead remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen He took part in the war against Burāk khān [q v] and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Dailamis To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh Abaka added Khūzistān, the region of Kūh Gilūya and the towns of Fīrūzān (7 farsakhs above Iṣfahān) and Djarbādhakān (Gulpāyagān) Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh-Gilūya and attacked the Shūl settled in the modern Mamassanī country east of Kūh-Gilūya After the death of Abaka, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against this will to go with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Aḥmad Takūdar The latter was defeated (683) and the Lurs retreated from Ṭabas to Natanz across the desert where the majority died of thirst After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khwād̲j̲a Shams al-Dīn who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf d'Ohsson, iv 5)

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Aḥmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān where he put to death the members of the former vizier family Their relatives having taken refuge in Iṣfahān, Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690) The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Iṣfahān Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Ḥamadān, Fārs and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf and even began to march on the capital The Mongol general Amīr Turak was defeated at Kūhrūd (Kohrūd, near Kāshān) Kaikhatu Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūčik Afrāsiyāb shut himself in Mānd̲j̲asht but after some time went to Kaikhatu who pardoned him Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables Ghāzān Khān (694—703) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb but in 696 on the complaint of the Amīr Ḥurkudak of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Mahāwand (?) of Farāhān

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad (from 695 to 730 or 733) who had spent most of his life at the court of the Īlkhāns According to the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*āyīn-i mogh̲ūl*) into Luristān Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Taʾrīkh̲ Muʿd̲j̲am fī Aḥwāl-i Mulūk-i ʾl-ʿAd̲j̲am* of Faḍl Allāh Kazwīnī The *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Ansāb* gives him the title of *pīr* According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa he built 160 madrasas ("hermitages") of which 44 were at Īdhad̲j and he had roads cut through the mountains

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733—740) was also a just ruler His lands (*Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Ansāb*) extended from Baṣra and Khūzistān to Lālalmūstān (?) and Fīrūzān He was buried in the madrasa of Ruknābād

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa his brother) (9) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelling via Mādjūl-Rāmuz-Ṭustar, visited the capital Īdhad̲j or Mālamīr He found the prince given to wine The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the 'sultān' The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shūshtar) and extended to Garīwā? al-Rukh (the modern Kahvarukh in Čarmahāll west of Fīrūzān) During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance he found shelter every night in a madrasa At the same time (740) Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Dj̲ābalak (apparently the district N E of Luristan and west of Gulpāyagān)

Next follows an obscure period According to the anonymous historian of Mirzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward ("rose-bud"), who ruled from 736 (?) to 756 and dissipated the treasures of his ancestors According to the *Ḏj̲ihān-ārā*, Muḥammad Muẓaffar of Fārs (713—760) learning of his dealings with Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū had him blinded at Sūs in 756 His cousin (the *Ḏj̲ihān-ārā* has nephew) (11) Shams al-Dīn Pashang b Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756 to 780 At this time Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muẓaffarids When Shāh Manṣūr, making Shūshtar his headquarters began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shud̲j̲āʿ (elder brother and rival of Manṣūr, d 786 = 1384) came to the help of Pashang We have coins of 762 and 764 struck at Īdhad̲j in the name of Shud̲j̲āʿ (S Lane-Poole, *Cat of Oriental Coins in the Brit Mus*, vol vi [London 1881], p 235, 237) After the death of Pashang a struggle began between his two sons (12) Malik Pīr Aḥmad and his younger brother (12*bis*) Malik Hūshang in which the latter was killed (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Aḥmad and Hū-

shang were sons of Nawr al-Waid and the former was the immediate successor of his father) Shāh Mansūr drove out Pīr Ahmad and appointed in his stead a notable named Malik Uwais When Timūr passed through Luristān in 795 Pīr Ahmad came to meet him at Rām Hormuz Timūr later received him graciously at Shirāz, confirmed him by a decree (*āl tamgha*) in his hereditary possessions and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shāh Mansūr In spite of this in 798, Timūr took as hostages to Samarkand the brothers of Pīr Ahmad Afrāsiyāb and Mansūr-shāh Timūr afterwards divided Lur i Buzurg (?) between Pir Ahmad and Afrāsiyāb After the death of Timūr, Mīrzā Pīr Muhammad imprisoned Pīr Ahmad in Kuhandiz He was restored in 811 but met his end in a popular rising The son of Pīr Ahmad (13) Abū Sa'īd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mīrzā Iskandar at Shīrāz, succeeded his father and died in 820 His son (14) Shāh Husain died in 827 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghiyāth al-Dīn b Kāūs b Hūshang (*12bis*) The latter seized the power but the Timūrid Sultān Ibrāhīm b Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Fadlawī family Later the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Bakhtiyārī tribes (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 48)

Bibliography Rashīd al Dīn, ed Quatremère, Wassāf, *Tadjziyat al-Amṣār*, Mudjallad II, history of Yūsuf-shāh and Afrāsiyāb, *Ta'rīkh i Guzīda*, with the history of the Muzaffarids in appendix, *GMS*, p 537—547, 723, 725, 745, based on Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī, Muhammad b 'Alī Shabānkārī, *Madjma' al Ansāb* (in 743) appendix [owing to the liberality of the Royal Asiatic Society I have been able to consult the MS Cat Morley, N° xv, which contains the appendix on the Lur-i Buzurg (fol 142—145), the author's statements are somewhat confused], *Zafar nāma*, i 438, 599, 619, 811, Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-Ṣafā*, vol iv , Kādī Ahmad Ghaffārī, *Nigāristān ārā* (in 972), MS British Museum, Or 141, fol 137—140 [I owe the copy to Muhammad-Khān Kazwīnī], contains some useful information, *Sharaf-nāma*, i 23—32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Ta'rīkh i Guzida*, Khusraw Abaikūhī, *Firdaws al-Tawārīkh*, passage on the Great Lur in the transl of the *Sharaf-nāma* of Charmoy, i/2, p 328—337, Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p 286 (cf Charmoy, *ibid*, i/1, p 100—116), Munadjdjim-bashī, ii 597—598, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii 24, 28, 230, 259, 400, 455, 589, iv 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169—170, 580, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii 140, 407, 751—754, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Timūr Mirzā Iskandar, written in 815, MS of the British Museum, Or 1566, MS of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad 566b c

(V MINORSKY)

LUR-I KŪČIK, a dynasty of Atābegs which ruled in Northern and Western Luristān between 580 (1184) and 1006 (1597) with Khurramābād as their capital The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Djangrū'ī (Djangaidī ?) The dynasty is also known by the name of Khurshīdī from the name of the first Atābeg (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muhammad Khurshīd, vizier of the former rulers of Luristān before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg) After 730 the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of 'Alid descent, at this time also the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*

The ancestors of the Khurshīdī had entered the service of Hisām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shūhlī or Shūhla) who ruled Luristan and Khūzistān about the end of the Saldjūk period (c 550—580 ?)

(1) Shudjā' al Dīn Khurshīd b Abī Bakr b Muhammad b Khurshīd was at first *Shihna* of a part of Luristān on behalf of Hisām al Dīn but after the death of the latter (in 570 or 580) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Kūčik He waged war on the Djangrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b 'Aiyār) and besieged their stronghold Diz-i Siyāh (in the district of Mānrūd and in the "wilāyet" of Samhā ?) The inhabitants handed all Mānrūd over to him but the caliph ordered Shudjā' al Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Māngarra (Mūngerre north of Kilab) In compensation Shudjā' received the district of Tarārak in Khūzistān Shudjā' al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristān He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Kirīt (in Bālā-Girīwa) and the winter at Dulur (Dih i Lurān in Pusht i Kūh ?) and at Malāh (?) He died a centenarian in 621 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Saif al-Dīn Rustam b Nūr al-Dīn who became Atābeg and was a good ruler Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Sharaf al Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) 'Izz al-Dīn Garshāsp The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malika Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaimān Shāh Aiwa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Musta'sim [*Abūh* should be altered to *Aiwa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Saldjūks, cf *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, *GMS*, p 346, *Djahān-gushā*, *GMS*, xvi/2, p 153, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, *GMS*, p 107, Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, *JA*, 1847, p 177] When (5) Hisām al-Dīn Khalīl b Badr b Shudjā' killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaimān shāh (Shihāb al-Dīn ?) The Lurs took Bahār (near Hamadān) but finally Khalīl was defeated and killed near Shāpūr khwāst in 640 (1242)

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd went to the court of Mangū and returned in the train of Hūlāgū This devout man, an authority on Shāfi'ī law, ruled till 658 He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaimān-shāh, when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdād The sons of Mas'ūd were executed by Abaka, who appointed Atābeg (7) Tādj al-Dīn b Hisām al-Dīn Khalīl (also executed by Abaka in 677)

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Mas'ūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Hasan ruled a part of Luristān (*dilār*, *wilāy*) and (*8bis*) 'Izz al-Dīn Husain ruled the crown domains (*indjū*) The number of their troops was 17,000 They chastised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadān and Shūshtar and between Isfahān and the Arab lands Both died in 692

Kaikhātū appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khidr b Tādj al Dīn, who was killed in 693 near Khurramābād by (10) Hisām

al-Dīn ʿOmar b Shams al-Dīn "Darnakī" b Sharaf al-Dīn b Tahamtan b Badr b Shudjāʿ who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristān The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Samsām al-Dīn Mahmūd b Nūr al-Dīn b ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp who slew a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Ilyās and in turn was executed by Ghāzān in 695

(12) ʿIzz al-Dīn Muhammad b ʿIzz al-Dīn (8*bis*) was a minor and his cousin Badr al Dīn Masʿūd (son of 8) obtained from Uldjāitū the title Atābeg and ruled over a part of Luristān (*dilār*) but later ʿIzz al-Dīn fully established his authority After his death (716 or 720) his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols Such was the state of affairs when Hamdallāh was writing his *Taʾrīkh i Guzida* (c 730) Later the *malika* (who according to the anonymous historian of Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) ʿIzz al-Dīn Husain who received investiture from Abū Saʿid and ruled for 14 years His son and successor (15) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Mahmud was killed by his subjects in 750

(16) The Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn b Shudjāʿ al-Dīn was only 12 when his father died The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Zafar-nāma* In 785 (1383) the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ with his army visited Khurramābād and married the daughter of ʿIzz al Dīn Another of his daughters was married to Ahmad b Uwais Djalaʾir When Timūr arrived in Persia in 788 he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of ʿIzz al Dīn Setting out from Firūz kūh, Timūr by forced marches reached Luristān Burūdjird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramābād razed to the ground The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of cliffs The fate of ʿIzz al-Dīn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atābegs of Luristān to whom in 789 Timūr granted an audience at Shīrāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mirzā Iskandar, ʿIzz al-Dīn was captured in 790 in the fortress of Rūmiyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burūdjird) and deported with his son to Turkestān At the end of three years both father and son were released In 793, ʿIzz al-Dīn played a part in the aggrandizement of the Muzaffarid Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, son of his old suzerain Shāh-Shudjāʿ When in 795, Timūr returned to Persia, he went from Burūdjird to Shūshtar Luristān was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mirzā ʿOmar but ʿIzz al Dīn escaped his pursuers In 798 prince Muhammad Sultān, governor of Fārs, extended his authority over all Luristān and Khūzistān In 805 we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armiyān (?) near Burūdjird ordered by Timūr and under 806 the *Ẓafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Bailakān from Nihāwand of a courier, bearing the head of ʿIzz al-Dīn, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed His son (17) Sidī Ahmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Timūr in 807, and ruled till 815 (or 825) (18) Shāh Husain ("ʿAbbāsī", i e descendant of ʿAbbās b ʿAlī b Abī Tālib), another son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, took advantage of the decline of the Timūrids to extend his territory He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāyagān, Isfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrazūr where the Bahārlu Turks slew him in 871 (or 873) His son (19) Shāh Rustam supported Ismāʿīl I, at this period the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of ʿAlid descent The son of Rustam (20) Oghur (or Oghuz) accompanied Shāh Tahmāsp on his campaign of 940 against ʿUbaid Allāh Khān and during his absence his brother (21) Djahāngīr seized the power He was executed in 949 The governor (*lala*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Tahmāsp Shāh who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muhammadī, another son of Djahāngīr, was hidden by the Lurs at Čangula An impostor in Luristān gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Tahmāsp, then released the true Rustam who recovered his fief but had to hand over a third of it (*do dang*) to his brother (22*bis*) Muhammadī At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muhammadī who was shut up in Alamūt The sons of Muhammadī plunged Luristān and the adjoining provinces into great disorder Ten years later Muhammadī escaped, and conquered Luristān while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh Muhammadī established good relations with Tahmāsp and Ismāʿīl II but after their death submitted to Sultān Murād III (982—1003), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh Mandalī, Djesān, Badrāʾī and Tursak But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained and Muhammadī became reconciled with the Safawīs

(24) Shāhwardī b Muhammadī, who had escaped from Baghdād where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Khudābanda after his father's death At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence In 1000 good relations with Shāh ʿAbbās were re established with whom Shāhwaidī made the most of his alleged descent from ʿAbbās b ʿAlī and his Shīʿism (*tashayyuʿ wa ʿAbbāsgīrī*) Shāh ʿAbbās married his sister and gave him a Safawī princess in marriage In 1002 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān Oghurlu Sultān Bayāt who was trying to levy taxes in Burūdjird Shah ʿAbbas, filled with wrath, left the Khorāsān front and hastened to Khurramābād Shāhwardī crossed the Saimara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdād Luristān was given to Sultān Husain b Shāh Rustam In 1003 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored but he was not long in relapsing In 1006 Shāh ʿAbbās took the field against him a second time Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangula (in Pusht i Kūh) Husain Khān b Mansūr beg Salwīzī (?) was given Luristān, except Saimara, Hindmas (?) and Pushti-Kūh which were given to Tahmāsp Kuli Inanlu This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of "wālis" of Luristān (later of Pusht i Kūh [q v] only) claims descent from Husain Khān who was a cousin of Shāhwardī

Bibliography *Tārikh-i Guzida*, *G M S*, XIV/1, p 547—557, 700, *Zafar-nāma*, i 305, 438, 587—588, 594, 788, 811, ii 515, 555, Anonymous history of Mirza Iskandar, grandson

of Tīmūr (utilised by Howorth), *Ḏiḥān-ārā* of Kādī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, *Sharaf-nāma*, i 32—55, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tihrān 1314, p 320, 342, 367—370, *Ḏiḥān-numā*, Munedjdjim-bashī, ii 598—600, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii 250—261, iv 171, Hammer, *Gesch d Ilchane*, i 161—163, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii 140, 406, 754 (V MINORSKY)

LURISTĀN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the SW of Persia In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes Since the Safawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kūh Gilū and Bakhtiyārī At the beginning of the xviiith century the Mamasanī confederation occupied the old Shūlistān [q v] and thus created a third Lur territory between Kūh-Gilū and Shīrāz

It is however only since the xvith century that Lur-i Kūčik [q v] has been known as Luristān (for greater precision it was called Luristān i Feilī) In the xixth century Luristān was divided into two parts 1 Pīsh-Kūh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i e east of Kabīr Kūh) and 2 Push-i Kūh (country beyond the mountains) i e west of Kabīr-kūh At the present day the term Luristān usually means Pish-kūh while Push i kūh means the Feilī country

The Mamasanī territory and the Kūh-Gīlū form part of the province of Fārs The capital of the Mamasanī is at Fahliyān (cf SHŪL) Kūh-Gilū (Kūh-Djilūya, Kūh Galū) stretches from Bāsht (west of Fahliyān) to Bihbahān, this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kūh-Gilū To the south the Kūh Gilū'ī tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf The mountains of Kūh Gilū and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyārī are not yet well known The chief rivers of Kūh-Gilū are the Āb-i Shīrīn which is formed by the junction of the Khairābād and the Zohra and in its lower course runs via Zaidān and Hindiyān, and the Āb-i Kurdistān or Djarrāhī, one branch of which later runs into the Karūn [q v] and the other towards Dawrak On Kūh Gilū see the valuable *Fārs-nama-yi Nāsirī* of Hasan Fasā'ī (Tihrān 1313), the itineraries of Stocqueler, Haussknecht (*Routen im Orient*, Map iv), Wells and Herzfeld and the general account in de Bode, i 251—289, ii 327—398, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix 132—144 is now very much out of date

The Bakhtiyārī lands stretch from Čahārmahāll (west of Isfahān) to Shūshtar, to the south the Bakhtiyārī march with the Kūh Gilū and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristān (Shuturān-kūh etc) They are found at Faraidan, Burbuīūd, Djāpalagh, and in the cantons around Burūdjird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muhammad Taḳī Khān Čahār-Lang) Roughly speaking the Bakhtiyārī occupy the upper basin of the Zanda-rūd and of the Kārūn [q v] above Shūshtar The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs Bishop, Curzon etc give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kūh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the water shed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau (It may be asked if the name Kūh-i Rang is not the Mongol *kuren*, "encampment, laager", found in Luristān)

The frontier between the Bakhtiyārī and the Luīs proper follows the western branch of the Āb i Diz, an important tributary of the Kārūn Luristān (Pīsh-kūh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Āb i Diz and the Kaikhā, while in the north the range of the Čihil-nā-bāligḥān, Garrū etc separates Luristān from Nihāwand and Silākhor (district of Burūdjird) To the west of Karkhā Pūsht-i Kūh begins In the northwest the frontier of Luristān runs to the southwest of the districts of Hulailān and Harsīn which belongs to the province of Kirmānshāh

The chief left bank tributary of the Kaikhā is the Kashgān (Rawlinson Kashaghan) which is formed by two arms The northern arms with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hūr rūd, Alishtar and Khāwa The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yāfta kūh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramābād [q v] near which it passes After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgān, running S W, receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kawgūn and Tāyīn, which flow from Kūh-i Haftād Pahlū (south of Khurramābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh i Gird These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Āb-i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Kaikhā On the right bank the Kashgān receives the Mādiyān rūd, "river of the mare" Above Kashgān the Karkhā receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rūbār etc) Below Kashgān and also on the left bank, the Karkhā receives the Fānī, Ceilum (Jehlum) and Āb i Zāl This last river with its tributaries Anārak etc rises in the southern slopes of the Kūh i Gird The topography of the right bank of the Āb-i Diz is not well known The sources of the Baladrūd and its right bank tributary the Kir āb lie a considerable distance to the north The Balad-rūd flows into the Āb i Diz between Dizfūl and Susa The Kir āb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kūl-i ab which come down from the high valley of Mūngaira, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural bastion and separate the basin of the Balad rūd from that of the Āb i Zāl The Sahrā-yi Lur plain formerly well irrigated lies north of Dizfūl and south of Kū āb ("pitch-water") whose naphtha spring has been known since ancient times It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix 201)

The interior of Luristān presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch N W to S E, the direction usual in Persia, and rise one behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet)

Ancient history The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Īrānians in them This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam, Susa where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millenium B C, lies just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lur The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east Just as the Atābegs of the Great Lur had for their capital Īdhadj (= Mālamīr) so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Anpir (Hapirti?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa had control at least of

the Kārūn valley The site of Mālamīr (cf de Bode, Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Deleg en Perse*, 1902, iii 133—143 and Husing, *Der Zagros u seine Volker*, Leipzig 1908, p 49—59) with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs is an important point The recent discovery by Herzfeld (*Reisebericht*, *Z D M G*, 1926, p 259) in the Mamasanī region of a bas relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1500—1000 B C) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains Kūh-Gilū lying between Susiana and Persis may correspond to the still unknown region of Anshan (Anzan) out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great On the survival of this name near Shūshtar, cf *Grundr d iran Phil*, ii 418 (according to Rawlinson Assān)

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two Sūsan, Luidagān, the mounds of Salm, Tūr and Iladj) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer) According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiyarī lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks"

For the west part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word see the articles MĀSABADHĀN and PUSHT I KŪH No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pīsh kūh except the caves (Median ?) of Se-darān between Mūngarra and Khurramābād, Čirikow, p 129 The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashshu = Κοσσαῖοι who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1650 B C The Achaemenids paid the Kossaioi for the right of passage by the Babylon–Ecbatane route These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great Antigonus, pursued by Eumenes, traversed the heart of the Kossaian country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i tang–Keilūn pass–Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p 335) The Kossaians (who should perhaps be distinguished from the Κίσσιοι = Οὔξιοι = Uwadja = Khūz) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European Cf E Meyer, *Gesch d Altert*, i/2, Berlin 1913, § 455, Husing, *Der Zagros*, p 24 and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, p 283 [The name Kashshu has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashgān]

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often mentioned by the Assyrians This region, which was considerably influenced by Media is now located in the province of Kirmānshāh Cf Andreas, *Alinza*, in Pauly-Wissowa², Streck, *Z A*, xv, 379, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1924, ii, cf map

We know very little about the Ματιηνοί people who (Herodotos, v 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublie Les Matienes*, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1894, vii, p 313—318)

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnical elements buried in the later strata of Iranian invasions In the name of Fārsān, a canton in the northeast of Bakhtiyārī, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Paraitakenoi (Herodotos, i 110) and of the province of Παραιτακηνή (Strabo, i, p 80) which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian Partakka, Partukka, cf Streck, *Z A*, xv, p 363) The Iranicisation must have been accelerated by the formation of the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sāsanian There are many Sāsānian towns in the valley of the Karkhā Many Sāsānian buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atābegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf the photographs in de Morgan, *Études Geogr*, ii and *Études Archeol*, Paris 1896–1897, p 360–374) and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang-i Saulak (between Bihbahān and Mālamīr) near the Sāsānian bas reliefs (de Bode, i 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālamīr (de Bode, i 390, ii 820 *djadda-yi atābakān*), between Dizfūl and Kirāb (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, p 93), to the south of Khāwa (*djadda-yi Khusraw*, Čirikow, p 216—221) All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration But since at the end of the fourth (tenth) century the inhabitants of the plain of Khūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hūz language (Mukaddasī, p 418) colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains The Lur highlands only assumed their present ethnical character under the Atābegs

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary although they describe the routes between Khūzistān and Fārs (cf Schwarz, *Persien*, p 173—180, Arradjān Shīrāz, p 190 Arradjān-Sumairam), between Khūzistān and Isfahān (the road started from Īdhadj, Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 57, Mukaddasī, p 401) and lastly between Khūzistān and Djibāl As to these last routes, Istakhrī, p 196, reckons from al-Lur to Shāpūr Khwāst 30 farsakhs, from there to Iāshtar (= Alīshtar) 12 farsakhs, from there to Nihāwand 10 farsakhs (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Balad-rūd) A few details of this route are cleared up by Mukaddasī, p 401, who gives the following eight stages Karadj (cf the article SUTŪNĀBĀD)–Wasiawand–Dārkan–Khurūdh (certainly = Hūrūd, Hūrūd, north of Khurramābād)–Sābur-khuwās (= Shapūr Khwāst = Khurramābād)-Krkūysh (?)–al Khān–Razmānān–al Lur Mukaddasī, p 418 also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Āb-i Diz from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Rāyagān one stage, from there to Gūlpāyagān 40 farsakhs through uninhabited country (*mafāza*)

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following the town of al-Lūr, 2 farsakhs north of Dizfūl (Kantarat Andamish) the site of which should be sought in the plain of Sahrā-yi Lur near Sālihābād, the town of Iāshtar, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alishtar and the town of Shāpūr-Khwāst The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the fifth (eleventh) century (Ibn al-Athīr, ix 89, 146, 211, x 166, *Ta'rīkh i Guzīda*, p 557) Rawlinson had identified Khurramābād with Shāpūr-Khwāst (cf Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc, p 202, p 668) The combined evidence of Istakhrī, p 196 and 201, of the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 70, 176 and particularly of the itinerary of Mukaddasī, p 401 fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange) The change of name, or moving of the site (cf Schwarz) must have taken

place in the xiiith century The *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340) which does not include Shāpūr-Khwāst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur is the first source to mention Khurramabād (a town in ruins) It is on the other hand not at all probable that the *wilāyet* of Mān rūd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near Khurramabād It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mān garra (= Mūngarra) Samhā, mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p 548, was in Mān-rūd, its fortress Diz-i Siyāh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mūngarra and was destroyed by the *wālī* of Pusht-i Kūh in 1895 (Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lurstamme*, p 117) Finally the stronghold of Girīt (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p 549, 552) is mentioned by Čirikow, p 133, among the encampments of the tribe of Pāpī (to the south of Khurramābād)

Economic conditions Apart from the Bakhtiyārī districts near Isfahān where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle-rearing But the future of the mountainous country which lies like an amphitheatre around the plain of Khūzistān is very promising The Lur lands are rich in minerals and especially in petrol The famous wells of Masdjid-i Sulaimān (Maidūn-Naftūn), belonging to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are in the middle of Bakhtiyārī territory (between Shūshtar and Mālamīr) The same Company whose concession includes all the petrol-bearing lands in the whole of southern Persia is putting into operation its claims in the Kūh Gilū region (to the north of the port of Ganāwa) etc (cf Schweer, *Die turkisch-pers Erdolvorkommen*, Hamburg 1919)

On the other hand the territories now occupied by the Lurs played a considerable part in ancient times, as they lay on the route between the great centres of the Persian empire Their southern part (Kūh-Gilū) may become of great importance for air and railway communication between Mesopotamia and India The Bakhtiyārī country is now traversed by the caravan route connecting Khūzistān with Isfahān and controlled by Lynch Brothers Finally Luristān proper seems destined to be crossed by the main line connecting the Persian Gulf (Mohammara or Khōrmūsā) with Teherān, and perhaps with the Caspian Sea Before the war of 1914 surveys had already been begun for making the Mohammara–Dizfūl–Khurramābād railway by the Persian Railways Syndicate (cf Litten, *Persien*, Berlin 1920, p 63, 88) Since the change of dynasty in Persia, the Persian government proposes to carry through this task itself, cf Millspaugh, *American Task in Persia*, London 1926, p 272

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LŪT, the Biblical Lot has in Muslim legend, even as early as in the Kur'ān, an importance which he does not have in the Bible or Haggada As his story is associated with the downfall of the sinful Sadūm (not however mentioned in the Kur'ān) he appears to Muhammad as a prophet of punishment along with Hūd, Sālih, Nūh and Shu'aib as predecessors of Muhammad When Muhammad is accused of being a liar he can console himself with the reflection that before him the people of Nūh, 'Ād, Thamūd, the people of Ibrāhīm and the people of Lūt also called their prophets liars (Sūra, xxii 43) Lūt's people (called *kawm Lūt*, l 13 *ikhwān Lūt*) are usually located between Thamūd and Madyan Lūt in the Kur'ān becomes a *mursal*, messenger of Allāh (xxvi 160, xxxvii 133), a *rasūl amīn*, a reliable prophet (xxvi 162), a participator in wisdom and knowledge (xxi 74) When Ibrāhīm warns his people, Lūt believes him (xxix 25) Lūt is sent to sinners who forbid hospitality (xv 70), waylay strangers and practise sodomy and cruelty such as no other people had before them They threaten him that they will banish those who lead such a moral life saying "if thou preachest right, bring God's punishment upon us" (xxix 28) God thereupon sends his angels of punishment, Ibrāhīm's intercession is in vain (xi 77, 78) The angels come to Lūt His people demand the visitors for sinful purposes In vain Lūt offers his daughters instead He feels himself helpless The angels calm him, saying "We shall save thee, only no one must turn round, thy wife will do it" The city was turned completely upside down (xi 84, xv 74), *sidjil* stones, marked by God, rained upon it

The Kur'ān mentions no other name in the history of Lūt The destroyed city is called *al-mu'tafika* (liii 54) of which the plural is *al-mu'tafikāt* (ix 71, lxix 9) corresponding to the Hebrew *mahpeka*, which is used in the Bible of Sodom

The Kur'ān commentators also know the Biblical story quite accurately (Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 346, 347) They are able to fill all the gaps and give all names The sins of Sodom are fully described Sadūm has a king of the line of Nimrod The inhabitants worship idols Lūt admonishes them for 40 years (al Kisa'ī) Then God sends three angels Gabriel, Michael and Israfīl (in al Kisā'ī also the soul taker Asriel) Ibrāhim intercedes "Will ye destroy a people among whom there are 300 believers?" No — 300, 200, 100 ? — No — 14 believers? No — This number is assured, Ibrāhim comforts himself, in the belief that Lūt's wife is one of the believers The angels must not destroy Sadūm until Lūt testifies four times to its sinfulness They at once meet Lūt, who testifies After meeting others they encounter Lūt's daughter She invites them into her father's house Lūt orders his people to be silent, especially his wife who has disobeyed him for 40 years (al Kisā'ī) But Lūt's wife deliberately makes a light to show they have visitors or she ostentatiously procures salt (this is why she becomes a pillar of salt) or she actually says "Young men have come to stay with us, with more beautiful cheeks and sweeter fragrance than I have ever seen"

The people demand the young men, Lūt offers his daughters "If we wanted thy daughters, we would know where to find them", they reply Lūt bars the doors At the bidding of the angel he opens them Gabriel blinds the intruders with a blow of his wing They tramp on one another "Save yourself!", they cry, "Lūt's house is bewitched!" As the hour of destruction is at hand, Gabriel (according to others the Angel of Punishment Michael) turns the town upside down, and lifts it up so high that the angels in heaven hear the crowing of the cocks and the howling of the dogs of Sadūm Sidjil stones fall, on each is marked whom it is to strike As Lūt's wife looks sympathetically on her people, she is struck by a sidjil-stone The number of killed varies between 4,000 (Tha'labī) and four millions (Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 342) All perished, except one who fled to Mecca, brought his sidjil-stone to the haram where it hung for 40 days between heaven and earth, until it finally slew the man who brought it there (Tha'labī)

The Muslim legend gives names to everything and explains them all Lūt takes his name from *lāṭa*, "to attach oneself", because Ibrāhīm's heart was affectionately attached to Lūt (Tha'labī) Lūt's wife is called Halsaka' or Wā'ila, his older daughter Rith (?), the younger Rariya (?) (Tabarī), Zughar (Yāḳūt), or Rawāya (?) (al-Kisā'ī) Not only is Sadūm mentioned, but also other four towns, in whose names may be recognised the Biblical

ʿAmōra, Admah, Sebaʾim and Soʿar Of Soʿar, Thaʿlabī says it was saved (Gen xix 20—22) "because it believed in Lūt"

The Muslim legend has a little in common with the old Haggada (Gen *Rabba*, xlix, 1, *Sanhedrin*, 109b), e g the fact that Abraham thinks he is sure of a certain number of devout people When *Pirke R Elieer* (xxv) describes the daughters of Lūt favourably, when *Midrash Hagadol* (ed Schechter, p 287) calls the angels sent to Sodom, Gabriel and Raphael, Muslim legend may have had some influence on the later Midrash

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LŪT B YAHYĀ. [See Abū Mikhnaf]

LUṬF ʿALĪ BEG Ādhar, a Persian poet and biographer of the xviiith century He was born in Isfahān on the 20th Rabīʿ I, 1123 (June 7, 1711) and spent his youth at Kūm and later at Shīrāz, where his father lived while governor of Lāristān and the coast of Fārs under Nādir Shāh After the death of his father, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and travelled in Persia, finally settling in Isfahān in the service of Nādir's successors He latterly adopted a life of seclusion and put himself under the spiritual direction of Mir Saiyid ʿAlī Mushtāk He died in 1781

Lutf ʿAlī Beg is best known for the collection of biographies of Persian poets which he compiled between 1760 and 1779 under the title of *Ātash-Kāda*, in it he gives biographies of poets in Persian in alphabetical order arranged according to towns and districts The last part deals with 60 contemporaries of the author and is followed by an autobiography The *Ātash-Kāda* was lithographed at Calcutta in 1249 A H and at Bombay in 1277 A H There is a Turkish translation printed at Constantinople in 1259 A H Among his poems was a mathnawī, *Yūsuf u-Zalikha*, from which the author quotes many verses at the end of the *Ātash-Kāda* Lutf ʿAlī Beg was held in considerable esteem by his literary contemporaries, he was particularly intimate with the poet Hātif of Isfahān

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LUṬF ʿALĪ KHĀN was the last member of the Zand dynasty in Persia He was born in 1769, the son of Djaʿfar, son of Karīm Khān Zand [q v] Djaʿfar, who had seized the throne in 1785, had continued the struggle against the Kādjār Agha Muhammad, who had forced him to retire to Shīrāz, where he died on Jan 23, 1789 from poisoning During the short period of the reign of his father, Lutf ʿAlī Khān had been entrusted with the conquest of Lāristān and Kirmān, which he had successfully carried through But after the death of Djaʿfar he was forced to flee from his own army to Kirmān to seek refuge with the Arab lord Būshirʿī With the latter's help, he was able to make himself master of his capital Shīrāz where a certain Saiyid Murād had proclaimed himself king It was chiefly through the efforts of his father's minister Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm who occupied the position of *kalāntar* (mayor) of the town that Lutf ʿAlī succeeded in getting himself again recognised as sovereign After his accession the character of the young man, whose nobility and generosity had hitherto been as much praised as his personal bravery seems to have changed His acts of tyranny and cruelty decided Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm to abandon the cause of the Zands and betray it to the enemy This he did in 1791 when Lutf ʿAlī Khān had set out against Agha Muhammad Khān Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm seized Shīrāz and stirred up Lutf ʿAlī's own troops to mutiny against him The latter fled to the coast and succeeded in collecting a small armed force with which he tried in vain to retake Shīrāz Then followed several years of guerilla warfare waged with incredible vigour by Lutf ʿAlī against the Kādjārs He went up and down the whole of southern Persia, being for some time supported by the lord of Tabas and even temporarily taking Yazd In 1794 being assisted by the chiefs of the district of Garmasīr, he even took Kirmān Here Agha Muhammad besieged him with a large force After four months the town capitulated, Lutf ʿAlī Khān succeeded in once more escaping and reaching Bam but here he was treacherously delivered over to his enemy who had him taken to Tihrān where he was blinded and mutilated and finally put to death Then came the terrible vengeance wreaked by the Kādjārs on the people of the town of Kirmān [q v]

Lutf ʿAlī Khān, the "last chivalrous figure amongst the kings of Persia" (Browne), probably had the sympathy of most of his contemporaries and it is recalled that even Agha Muhammad Khān openly recognised his bravery But as his history was written under the new dynasty of the Kādjars in Persia, the Persian sources could not show much sympathy for him European sources give a more faithful picture of the course of events The more modern Persian historians like Mīrzā Muhammad ʿAlī Khan (*Dawra-i Mukhtasar-i Taʾrīkh-i Īrān*, lith Tihrān 1326, reproduced in Beck, *Neupersische Konversations-Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1914, p 229—256) do not hesitate to describe the action of Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm as treason Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm who soon afterwards became minister tried to justify his conduct to Sir John Malcolm

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LUTFĪ PASHA, properly HĀDJDJĪ LUṬFĪ Pasha b ʿAbd al-Muʿīn, an important Turkish statesman, scholar and historian, grand vizier in the time of Sultān Sulaimān I al-Kānūnī He was of Albanian descent The date and place of his birth are unknown He was brought up in the imperial *serai*, which he had

appaiently entered through the *dewshirme* for the Janissaiies Much may be learned of his career from his own biographical references in the "History" and in the *Āsaf-nāme* Even in the *seiat* he devoted himself to theological studies, a fondness for which he retained thioughout his whole life

At the accession of Sultān Selīm (1512—1520) he passed from the ranks of the pages as a *čokadār* and filled in succession the following offices at the court *čashnigīr* (taster), *kapudjî bashî*, *mīr-i ʿālam* (bearer of the imperial standard) He then became *sandjak beg* of Kastamuni, beglerbeg of Karaman, of Anatolia and in 941 *kubbe wezīri* He spent a quarter of a century in the foreign service of the Sultan, according to his own account, he was through all the wars and battles in the reign of Sultān Selīm who was very favouiably disposed to him, usually in his train in Rumelia and Anatolia, in Arabia, Syria and Egypt, similarly in the reign of Sultān Sulaiman he took part in the campaigns against Belgrade, Rhodes, Hungary, Vienna, the Kïzïlbash, Baghdād, Corfu etc In 945 (1538) he took part in the campaign to Kara Boghdān as second vizier In 946 (1539) he succeeded as grand vizier Ayās Pasha, who had died of the plague, also an Albanian, at a period when the Ottoman empire was straining its strength to the utmost (The year 944, which was suggested by Kātib Celebi's *Takwim al-Tawārikh*, Constantinople 1146, p 176 adopted by all later historians and so handed down, is incorrect as is proved not only by Lutfi Pasha's own statement but also by an analysis of events) He proved his ability in high army commands, in the fleet and in administrative offices

He sought to carry through with a strong hand the reforms in internal administration which he had long recognised to be necessary, especially economies in the financial system, the abolition of oppressive institutions (*ulak*, privileges of couriers), the development and independence of the navy, the importance of which for Turkey his foresight recognised Earlier than anyone else he saw the beginning of the collapse of the externally so brilliant political system At the same time he conducted negotiations with Venice, Austria and France with great skill and firmness It is note worthy that he was the first to recognise the surpassing genius of Miʿmār Sinān, whom he appointed state architect He was a highly gifted statesman, an energetic inflexible personality, incorruptible and above all intrigue with high ideals and strong religious and scientific leanings In spite of his violent temper he was regarded as a "good natured Vizier"

He was a brother-in law of Sultān Sulaimān, whose sister Shāh Sultān he had married Nevertheless he was summarily dismissed in 948 (1541) when in his rage he used threats to his wife when she reproached him with his inhuman treatment of a Muslim slave-girl His eagerness for reform had naturally gained him few friends at court It is said that only his rank as a *dāmād* saved him from execution Whether the deeper reason for the matrimonial dissensions lay in his love for boys is not clear

Lutfī Pasha was banished with a pension to Dimotika where he had a *čiftlik* Here he gave himself entirely up to his studies, for which he was well qualified by his constant intercourse with theologians and scholars during his whole political career After his return from Mecca to Dimotika — his successor Rustam Pasha was successful in preventing a complete reconciliation with the Sultān — he used his enforced leisure to compose numerous works in Arabic and Turkish He died in all probability after 970 (1562) (so also Munadjdjim bashî), in any case after 961, in Dimotika The date 950 (1543) usually given is impossible as he continued his history down to Ramadān 15, 961 (Aug 14, 1554) and there is no reason to suppose that any other continued the history, on the contrary there are references in the text to events of the year 961 He only left one foundation, a *cesme* in Constantinople, after which the quarter and the Lutfī Pasha mosque take their names, its builder was a defterdār Ahmed Celebī

Lutfī Pasha is the author of 21 works, a list of which he himself gives in his "History", p 1—4 (cf also the list in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osman Reiches*[1], iii 703, Flugel, *Katalog der Wiener Handschr*, ii p 224, Tschudi, *Turkische Bibliothek*, vol xii, p xv—xvii) It includes 13 Arabic and 8 Turkish works, to which perhaps may be added the *Kānūn nāme* ascribed to him which he perhaps does not mention as his own because it was the result of his official activities

His theological works have not come down to us, so far as we know According to sources — not however specially biassed in his favour — he had only a moderate knowledge of the different branches of theological study and medicine, which he loved to display with a dilettante's exaggerated opinion of his powers This is not quite convincing however as not only his perhaps quite mediocre theological works but also his really important historical writings, except for the *Āsaf-nāma* have been almost unnoticed

As a poet he is praised by Sehī, who completed his *Hasht Bihisht* in 945 in the time of his grand vizierate But the numerous verses scattered through his history are not by him Verses certainly by him are very mediocre Besides, he does not show much sympathy with poets as the contemptuous attitude to ʿAlī Čelebi, author of the *Humāyūnnāme*, shows, to whom he makes the reproach that he had spent 20 years on this work instead of dealing with questions of *shiʿr*

His importance as a historian cannot however be too highly estimated His *Āsaf-nāma*, a kind of mirror for ministers, a textbook of ethics for viziers in which he sought to make available for his successors his wide experience of administration, obtained a certain success, as the not inconsiderable number of existing manuscripts suggests (ed and transl by R Tschudi, Berlin 1910, ed by ʿAlī Amiri, Constantinople 1326) But his history *Tawārikh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* is still more important It is now accessible in a, however, rather mediocre, edition (Constantinople 1341, Lutfī Pasha, *Taʾrikhi Turkiya Djumhūriyati Maʿārif Wakālati Nashriyātîndan*, N⁰ 28) from an incomplete copy found by M Tāhir in Brussa supplemented by the formerly unique copy in Vienna by ʿĀlī used by von Hammer (Flugel, ii 224, N⁰ 1001)

Lutfī Pasha not only models his title on those of the old Ottoman chronicles but he copies this primitive style of historiography in his matter and style, which forms a striking contrast to the elaborate Persianistic court style Down to Sultān Bāyazīd he is only a copyist Then however fol-

lows, and this is what makes his history so remarkable, a description of the events of which he himself was an eye-witness in the reigns of three Sultāns (Bāyazīd, Selim and Sulaimān) His account of the reign of Sultān Sulaimān is naturally the most valuable, especially the period of his grand vizierate In contrast to the *shahnāmadjī* and the official *wakʿa nuwīslar*, he gives an absolutely untouched picture of the situation although he is not absolutely free from bias in dealing with other statesmen His two historical works are one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the origins of the weakness and corruption of the Turkish empire in the xvi^th^ century

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LUXOR. [See al-Uksur]

M

MĀʾ AL-ʿAINAIN al-Shingītī, the name by which the famous agitator in Mauritania [q v] at the end of the xix^th^ century and beginning of the xx^th^ century is best known (several explanations of his soubriquet are given, the literal meaning is "the water of the eyes" but the most satisfactory seems to be that which sees in it simply a euphemism, like that in the expression *Kurrat al-ʿAin*)

Muhammad Mustafā Māʾ al-ʿAinain was the twelfth son of a chief and marabout of great fame in his own country, Muhammad Fādil b Māʾmīn, born at Walāta at the end of the xviii^th^ century and chief of the Moorish tribe of Galāgima in the district of al-Hawd in the south east of Shingīt group After breaking off from the Bakkāya whose religious head was the chief al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī [q v], he founded a new brotherhood affiliated to that of the Kādirīya [q v], to which he gave the name of Fādilīya derived from his own On the death of Muhammad Fādil in 1869, Māʾ al-ʿAinain left the district of al-Hawd to complete his Islāmic studies in Shingīt (on this flourishing Moorish centre, see the long and interesting monograph by a native of the place resident in Cairo, Ahmad b al-Amin al Shingītī, *al-Wasiṭ fī Tarādjim Udabāʾ Shingit*, Cairo 1329 [1911]) Māʾ al-ʿAinain then settled for several years in al-Adrār [q v] but afterwards went further north to the al-Sāḳīyat al-Hamrāʾ country, which was his usual residence from 1884 All this region, which now forms the northern part of Spanish Rio de Oro, was being desolated by murder and brigandage He succeeded in establishing security there, restored the land to cultivation, planted numerous palm-groves and encouraged trade by caravan to Senegal and Shingīṭ in one direction and to Morocco on the other He chose Smāra as his permanent abode and later built a *kasba* for himself there in the Moroccan style on the Wādi Tarzāwā Like the majority of religious leaders of the Saharan countries of North Africa, he practised commerce, politics and the proselytising activities of a marabout and was not long in gathering round him a considerable number of followers who became widely known throughout Morocco by their nickname of "blue men" on account of their costume, consisting of a *djallāba* of *khunt* (a cotton stuff from Guinea), a turban and a burnous, all blue in colour They were also called ʿAinīya, from the name of their master, and *al Shnāgta* (*Shanākita*), "the men of Shingīt"

Māʾ al ʿAinain very soon entered into regular relations with the Sultāns of Morocco He had already made a sojourn in the country on his journey to the holy places of Islām, in the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Hishām [q v] (1238—1276 = 1822—1859) Later and especially in the reign of Mawlāy al-Hasan [q v] (1290—1311 = 1873—1894) he travelled regularly to Marrākush and to Fās and was welcomed by the Sultān, whom he supplied with slaves (in which he also dealt) When the young Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q v] ascended the throne in 1311 (1894), he sent him his homage and went to visit him in 1896 in Marrākush The Sultan gave him a gift in his southern capital of a site for a *zāwiya* of his order and he hired him a steamer to take him with his suite from the Moroccan port of Mogador to that of Tarfāya, the natural harbour of the Rio de Oro for his capital Smāra This little port henceforth became of some importance German ships, Greek and Spanish sailing-vessels disembarked there merchandise from Morocco and considerable cargoes of arms and ammunition, all consigned to the agitator to enable him to supply

his followers and arm the Moorish tribes to enable them to fight French expansion beyond the frontiers of Senegal For several years Māʾ al-ʿAinain was able to maintain in all the vast area under his influence an atmosphere hostile to French penetration into Mauritania He was largely the instigator of the anti foreign outbursts, which after the assassination on May 12, 1905, near Tidjikdja of the explorer Xavier Coppolani decided France to occupy Tāgant in 1906

After these happenings, Mā' al-ʿAinain, having assembled the chiefs of the great Moorish tribes who were in alliance with him, took them to Fās to demand the alliance and assistance of Morocco against France in Mauritania He was favourably received by Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and succeeded in getting a cousin of the Sultān, Mawlāy Idrīs, sent to al-Adrār as representative of the *makhzen* At the same time Mā' al ʿAinain was authorised to install himself in the Moroccan *kasba* of Tiznīt, to summon to the holy war and to rally around him all the warriors of the Sahara from al Sūs to the region of Sākīyat al-Hamrā' The hopes that Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Aziz had based on the plans of Mā' al-ʿAinain were soon deceived After the occupation of Udjda and the destruction of Shāwīya by the French he had to disown Mā' al ʿAinain The latter had no longer a chance even in his own country, where a fatal blow was struck at his power as a result of the al-Adrār expedition in the course of which French troops led by Colonel Gouraud completely scattered his forces Mā' al-ʿAinain had however not lost all hope of regaining his former influence in his old territory He aimed even higher, when in May 1910 he did not hesitate to proclaim himself Sultān and to attempt the conquest of Morocco, which he thought had been sold to the infidels by the ʿAlawid sovereigns Having united around him all the tribes of the Anti Atlas and of al-Sūs as well as his own followers, he reached Marrākush and from this town tried to take Fās by surprise, taking the road through the Central Atlas But he was checked in his advance near Tadlā [q v] by a column under General Mounier which routed him completely on June 23, 1910 He just managed to escape and reach al-Sūs where he was abandoned by all his followers and had to sell his slaves and flocks in order to live He retired to the *kaṣba* of Tiznit, where he died on 17th Shawwāl 1328 (Oct 28, 1910)

Two years later, the son of Mā' al ʿAinain, Ahmad al-Hība, in his turn attempted to proclaim himself Sultān Proclaiming himself the Mahdī, he set out from Tiznit and entered Marrākush on Aug 18, 1912, where he had himself proclaimed, while his troops put the city to fire and sword But on Aug 29, al-Hiba was defeated at Benguérir by Colonel Mangin, who after a second encounter at Sidi Bū ʿUthmān entered Marrākush on Sept 7 following

Mā' al-ʿAinain, who had very many open or secret followers in Morocco has left in the country the reputation of a true ascetic and a great doctor in Islām "The hair shaved, the face veiled, always clothed in white, he only appeared in public on Fridays to go to the mosque Mā' al-ʿAinain led an austere life, lived exclusively on milk, dates and mutton A well read man, he composed many pious works, books on theology, mystic Sūfism, astronomy, astrology, books full of contemplative reveries, on theological and dogmatic controversies, on metaphysical theories, and of magical formulae to acquire riches and power by occult means Like his father and his brother, he loved to spread among his disciples a reputation as a worker of wonders and a thaumaturgist These magical practices much increased his prestige in Seguiet (al-Sākīyah al-Hamrā') and in Morocco (E Richet, *La Mauritanie*, Paris 1920, p 126—127)

Almost all the works of Mā' al-ʿAinain, alluded to, were lithographed at his expense in Fās He disseminated them widely for his marabout propaganda They are as follows 1 *Adab al-mukhālata maʿa 'l yatīm*, on the margin of *Mufīd al-samiʿ*, N° 20, 1321, 2 *al-Akdas ʿala 'l-anfas*, commentary on the *Wazakāt* of the Imām al-Haramain, 1320, 3 *Dalīl al rifāk ʿalā shams al-ittifāk*, 1321, 3 vol , 4 *Diwān* of mystical poetry, 1316, 5 *Djawāb al muhaklika fī Akhbār al-khirka*, 1302, 6 *Kitāb Fātik al-ratk ʿalā rātik al-fatk*, 1296, 2nd ed in 1309, 7 *Hidāyat al-mubtadi'īn wa-nafʿat al-muntahin*, *urdjūza* on the *nahw*, 1322, 8 *Hudjdjat al-murīd fī 'l djahr bi 'l dhikr ʿala 'l-marīd*, 1321, 9 *Ibrāz al la'āli 'l maknūna fī 'l-asāmi 'l-zāhira wa 'l-mudmara*, 1322, 10 *Izhār al tarīk al-mushtahir ʿala "smaʿ wa-lā taghtarir"*, 1321, 11 *al-Khalās fī hakīkat al-ikhlās*, 1320, 12 *al-Kibrīt al-ahmar*, also printed at Fās in 1324, 13 *Kurrat al ʿainain fī 'l kalām ʿala 'l rūʾya fī 'l-dārain*, 1321, on the margin of N° 10, 14 *Mā yataʿallak bi 'l-hasad*, on the margin of N° 36, 1320, 15 *Madjmaʿ al-durar fī 'l tawassul bi 'l-asmā' wa 'l āyāt wa 'l suwar*, 1309, 16 *al Makāsid al-nūrānīya*, 1306, on the margin of N° 29, 2nd ed in 1320, 17 *Mubsin al mutashawwif ʿalā muntakhab al-tasawwuf*, 1314, 2 vol , 18 *Mufīd al-hādira wa 'l bādiya bi-sharh hādhih al abyāt al-thamānīya*, 1316, 19 *Mufīd al rāwī ʿalā anni mukhāwi*, 1309, 20 *Mufīd al-samiʿ wa 'l-mutakallim fī ahkām al tayammum wa 'l-mutayammim*, 1321, 21 *Mughīt 'l nāzir wa 'l sāmiʿ ʿalā taʿallum al-ʿilm al-nāfiʿ*, 1294, 22 *Munīl al bashsh fī-man yuzilluhum Allāh bi-zill al-ʿarsh*, 1309, 23 *Munīl al-maʿārib ʿala 'l-hamdu li'llāh kifā' al-wādjib*, 1309, 24 *Muntakhab al-tasawwuf*, printed 1325, 25 *Muzhir al-dilālāt al maksūda fī alfāz al tahiyyāt*, 1321, 26 *Muzīlat al-nakad ʿamman lā yuhibb al-hasad*, on margin of N° 11, 27 *Nasihat al-nisā'*, 1321, 28 *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tawsīf al nihāyāt*, 1311, also publ in Cairo in 1324, 29 *Sahl al murtakā fī 'l-hathth ʿala 'l-tukā*, 1306, 30 *al Saif wa 'l mūsā fī kadīyat al-Khidr wa-Mūsā*, 1320, 31 *Saif al-mudjādil li 'l-kutb al-kāmil*, n d , 32, *Saif al-sakt li 'l-mutaʿarrid lanā fī awwal ul-wakt*, n d , 33 *al-Silāt fi fadā il baʿd al salawāt*, 1321, 34 *Silat al-mutarahhim ʿalā silat al rahim*, 1323, 35 *Tabyin al-ghumūd ʿalā naʿt al-ʿarūd*, 1320, 36 *Takyīd yataʿallak bi-hadīth "innama 'l-aʿmāl bi 'l niyāt"*, 1320, 37 *Tanbīh maʿāshir al muridin ʿalā kawnihim li-asnāf al-sahaba tābiʿīn*, 1321, 38 *Tanwir al-saʿid fī 'l-ʿāmm wa 'l-khāss*, 1320, 39 *Thimār al mushar*, collection of poems, printed 1324, 40 *Tibyān al hakk alladhī bi 'l-bātil sahk*, 1321

A short monograph was devoted to Mā' al-ʿAinain by his son Muhammad Takiy Allāh entitled *Mudhakkir al-mawārid bi sīrat Mā' al-ʿAinain dhi 'l-fawā'id*, Fās 1316 A notice of him is also given in the *Wasit* of Ahmad al-Shingītī, p 360—362

Bibliography In addition to that of the article MAURITANIA, cf the notice signed al-Moutabassir, *Mâ el Aïnîn ech Changuîty*, in *R M M*, 1907, vol 1, p 343—351 and *l'Afrique Française*, Bulletin du Comite et Renseignements Coloniaux, *passim*

(E LÉVI PROVENÇAL)

MAᶜADD, a collective name for certain Arab tribes, in the traditional usage for those of North Arabian origin (Mudar and Rabiᶜa) in contrast to the Yemen tribes This contrast said to be inherent in the name Maᶜadd seems already to be found frequently in the early poets, always presuming the genuineness of the passages in question Thus in a verse of Imru 'l-Kais (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 41, l 5) the term Maᶜadd is used apparently in the sense of excluding the ᶜIbād, Tayy and Kinda, and in Nābigha (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 18, l 1, 2), the Ghassān Tradition also records fighting between Maᶜadd and Yemen in the pre-Muhammadan period (cf Yākūt, II 434, Ibn Badrūn, p 104) At a later period the genealogical term Maᶜadd is even more sharply contrasted with South Arabia, when the rivalry between North and South Arabians had become the dividing political element in the fighting of the Omayyad and ᶜAbbāsid period (passages quoted in Goldziher, see below *Bibl*)

The fact that the name *Banū* is not found combined with Maᶜadd as well as the form of the word itself suggests that Maᶜadd may originally have been of similar foundation and meaning to *Maᶜshar*, a general name for "people", body of people Ibn Duraid (*Ishtikāk*, p 20) long ago suggested the derivation from the root "ᶜdd", "to count, number" not however without adding other very different attempts to interpret it The usual genealogical scheme of Arab tradition has inserted in it the name Maᶜadd as the name of an ancestor of an eponymous series, namely a son of the traditional founder ᶜAdnān Maᶜadd is brought into connection with the history of Mecca by the legend that he married Muᶜāna, a daughter of the Djurhumites From this marriage were born Nizār, father of the tribal eponyms Mudar, Rabiᶜa and ᶜIyād According to Abu 'l-Fidā', *Hist Ante-islamica*, ed Fleischer, p 72 Maᶜadd is even said to have been a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar

Bibliography Tabarī, I 671 *sqq*, Makdisī (Pseudo-Balkh), ed Huart, IV 101 *sq* On the origin and history of the feuds between North and South Arabia cf Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I 78 *sqq*, on the genealogy, *ibid*, p 179 (H H BRAU)

MAᶜARRAT MASRĪN or **MIṢRĪN**, capital of a nāhiya of Halab The name is also written Maᶜarrat Nasrīn which has been wrongly taken as an abbrevation of Maᶜarrat Kinnasrīn (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 497) In Syriac manuscripts of the eighth century, the town is called Meᶜarret Mesrēn (Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the Brit Mus*, p 454ᵇ, dated 745 A D, Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-mepharreshē*, London 1910 a palimpsest under a collection of biographies of holy women, written by a monk Yōhannan Stylites of Bēth Marī Kānūn, a monastery of the town of Meᶜarret-Mesrēn in the Kūrā of Antiochia)

In the year 16, Abū ᶜUbaida defeated a large Greek army which had assembled between Halab and Maᶜarrat Masrīn and then took this town, which capitulated under conditions similar to Halab (al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, ed de Goeje, p 149) In the reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil, ᶜAmr b Hawbar, a native of Maᶜāthā al-Buraidiya (cf Yākūt, *Mushtarik*, p 400) near Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, was governor of the town, Kamāl al-Dīn (Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Paris 1859, text p 24, transl p 18) quotes the beginning of a lampoon composed by him on the kādī of Halab, Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUbaid b Djannād (d 231) Nicephoros Phocas took the town in 357 (968) and deported its 1,200 inhabitants to Bilād al-Rūm (Kamāl al Dīn in Freytag, *Z D M G*, XI 228) After the truce of Safar 359 (969—970) between the Greeks and Karghūya, the town passed to the territory of the latter (*op cit*, p 232) In 415 (1024) the Kilābī leader Sālih b Mirdās on his march against Halab sent his follower Abū Mansūr Sulaimān b Tawk against Maᶜarrat Masrīn, the latter took the town and made its governor prisoner (J J Müller, *Historia Meidasidarum*, Bonn 1829, p 14, Rosen, *Zapiski Akad Nauk*, XLIV 378) Shortly before the death of Thimāl (454), the Byzantines took the town by treason (Kamāl al-Dīn in Muller *op cit*, p 52) While Mahmūd advanced on Baalbek (cf HALAB), his uncle ᶜAtīya advanced with the commander of Antakiya and a Byzantine army against Maᶜarrat Masrīn, burnt its outskirts and killed a large number of inhabitants In 491 Yaghi-Basān, prince of Antākiya, died in Maᶜarrat Masrīn, which was taken in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja of the same year or Muharram 492 by the Franks (*Hist Or des Croix*, III 483) They advanced on the town via al-Rūdj, slew all its defenders and destroyed the pulpit of the mosque (*minbar*) (*op cit*, III 579) After the capture of Baldwin of Edessa, the Franks in the district of al Djazr, in al-Fūᶜa, Sarmīn and Maᶜarrat Masrīn were surprised and slain in 497 by the inhabitants (*op cit*, p 592) In 507 (April 1114) a body of Ismāᶜīlīs (Bātinīya in Kamāl al Dīn) who lived in Fāmiya, Maᶜarrat Nuᶜmān and Maᶜarrat Nasrīn (so written here) tried to surprise Shaizar while the Christians were celebrating Easter But they were driven off by the Banū Munkidh (*op cit*, III 548) When Baldwin II approached in 513, the towns of Sarmin and Maᶜarrat Masrīn (*op cit*, III 623) capitulated Tughtakin and Ilghāzī in 514 besieged the Franks in this town into which they had retreated When Baldwin came to their relief, a treaty of peace was concluded by which the Christians were allowed to retain Maᶜarrat Masrīn, Kafartāb, al-Djabal, al-Bāra and other fortresses (Ibn al-Athīr, *Recueil Hist Or d Croix*, I 332, Kamal al-Dīn, *op cit*, III 624 *sq*) When Aksonkor of Mawsil in 520 invaded the country of Sarmīn, al Fūᶜa and Dānith, the Franks encamped across his path at the reservoir (*hawd*) of Maᶜarrat Masrīn, until they withdrew in the middle of Radjab for want of supplies (*op cit*, III 653) The Atabeg ᶜImād al-Dīn Zankī in 524 attacked the suburbs of al-Athārib and Maᶜarrat Masīn, when Alice, the daughter of Baldwin II and widow of Boemund II, rebelled in Antākiya against her father (*op cit*, III 661) Sawār (or (Aswār) of Halab in 527 made a raid on al-Djazr and the citadel of Zardanā, surprised the Franks at Hārim and invaded the territory of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān and Maᶜarrat Masrīn from which he returned to Halab laden with booty (*op cit*, III 667) In Djumādā I of the year 619 al-Malik al-Salih, the son of al-Malik al Zāhir, received the lands

of Shughr and Bakās, al-Rūdj and Maʿarıat Masrīn, which he exchanged about five years later for ʿAintāb, Rāwandān and Zūb (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl Blochet, *R O L*, v 64, 72, Abu 'l Fidāʾ, *Annales Muslemici*, ed Reiske, iv, Copenhague 1792, p 312)

The town has not been much visited by modern travellers Jullien describes Maʿarrat Masrīn as a large village, lying among sesame fields and olive trees in a rich plain Garrett is enthusiastic about the fertility of the country "the soil there is unusually fertile, fig trees are numerous and roses are growing by roadside" In modern times the name of the town is often written Maʿarrit il-Misrīn (with the article) e g by J B L J Rousseau (*Description du Pachalik de Haleb*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1814, iv p 11), Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xvii, p 1576), Garrett (*Publi cations of an American Archaeol Expedition to Syria*, New York 1914, part i, p 119) etc

Not to be confused with our town is Maʿarrat al-Ikhwān (also called Maʿarrat al-Akhwān) east of it, sometimes called simply Maʿarra, e g by Seiff (*Zeitschr f Erdk*, 1873, viii, p 24 Maarat), according to whom it is a large village, "which lies bare and exposed with its white sugar cone like roofs on a wide plain" According to al-Djibrīnī of Halab (d 843) and Ibn al Shihna (edited by Abu 'l-Yumn al Bathrūnī in the eleventh century), Maʿarrat Masrīn was earlier called *Dhāt al-Kuṣūr* (*Z D M G*, xxiii 182, Ibn al Shihna, ed Cheikho, Bairūt 1909, p 164 *sq*, Lammens, *M F O B*, 1906, i, p 240) But this statement is due to confusion with Maʿarıat al-Nuʿmān (cf Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie an tique et medieval*, Paris 1927, p 213, note 4)

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(E Honigmann)

MAʿARRAT AL-NUʿMĀN, a town in northern Syria, often called simply AL-MAʿARRA It is celebrated as the birthplace of the poet Abu 'l ʿAlāʾ Ahmad al-Maʿarrī [q v] According to al-Samʿānī (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, reproduced by D S Margoliouth, *G M S*, xx, 1912, fol 536v, l 4) the *nisba* from the place-name was *Maʿarranī* to distinguish it from that of Maʿarrat Nasrīn, *Maʿarnasī* The town probably lay on the site of the ancient Arra which is called Κώμη Ἄρρων οἰνοφόρος in an inscription Yaʿkūbī says that Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān is an old town in ruins Nāsir-i Khusraw in 438 (1047) found in the town wall a stone column with an inscription in some language not Arabic and Ibn al-Shihna also talks of old pillars being dug up in the town Van Berchem notes the remains of a Greek inscription in the Madrasa (*Voyage*, p 203, note 1)

The town received its new epithet, to distinguish it from the numerous other Syrian towns of the same name, from the Companion of the Prophet, al Nuʿmān b Bashīr, who was governor of this district under Muʿāwiya and whose son died there According to another tradition it is called after al-Nuʿmān b ʿAdī al-Sāṭiʿ of the tribe of Tanūkh An earlier name of the town according to Ibn Battūta and Khalil al-Zāhirī (ed Ravaisse, p 49) was *Dhāt al-Kuṣūṣ*, according to al Dimashkī *Dhāt al-Kasrain*, al Djibrīnī and Ibn al Shihna wrongly give this name to Maʿarrat Masrin [q v] The site of a citadel still bears the name Kalʿat al-Nuʿmān (see below) We have much earlier evidence from another older name, *Maʿarrat Hims* (al-Balādhuri, ed de Goeje, p 131, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslemici*, ed Reiske, i, Copenhague 1789, p 226 etc) The district of this town originally formed an *iklim* (κλίμα) of the djund of Hims (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A*, vi 75, cf also — but this is an anachronism, — al Kalkashandi, *Subh al Aʿshā*, iv 142, transl Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p 109), The Hims gate (see below) is probably also a memory of this It was only from the time of Hārūn al Rashid that the town belonged to the djund of Kinnasrīn, the capital of which at a later date was Halab (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 36, 39)

As early as 278 (891—892) we find Yaʿkūbī giving the Banū Tanūkh as the inhabitants of the town The district around it was one of the parts of Syria most strongly settled by Maronites (al Maʿsūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed de Goeje, p 153) As there was no running water near the town, its inhabitants had to collect rain-water in cisterns But the country round was rich in olive, fig, pistachio and almond trees, wine was also made here as in the ancient Arra According to Ibn Djubair the orchards stretched for nearly two days' journey from the town and formed one of the richest and most fertile areas in the world South of Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān, just beside the town wall was, according to local tradition, the tomb of Joshua son of Nūn, but Yākūt says his grave was really at Nabulus (cf Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Traditionen uber den Grabesort des Josua*, in *Z D P V*, ii, 13–17) The Djāmiʿ Nabī Allāh Yūshaʿ in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān still bears the name of Joshua and has an inscription dated 604 (1207—1201) (van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, p 202, note 4)

When Abū ʿUbaida came to Maʿarrat Hims in the year 16 (637), the people came out to welcome him and promised to pay *djizya* and *kharādj* (al-Balādhuri, ed de Goeje, p 131, Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iii, p 794 § 284) The Caliph ʿUmar II was buried in 101 in the monastery of Simeon (*Dair Simʿān*) at al-Nakīra (Νικέρται) not far from Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān (Honigmann, *Z S*, i, 1922, p 17, Dussaud, *Topographie historique de*

la Syrie, Paris 1927, p 184) ʿAbdallah b Tāhir appointed by the Caliph al-Maʾmūn in 207 as successor of his father in the governorship of Syria, destroyed the fortifications of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, while fighting against Nasr b Shabith and many small towns like Hisn al-Kafr and Hisn Hunāk (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Paris 1819, p 20) In 290 the Karmatians under Sāhib al-Khāl ravaged the country round Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Hims, Hamā and Salamīya, slew many inhabitants of these towns and carried off the women and children into captivity The Banū Kilāb in 325 (936–937) entered Syria from al-Nadjd and advanced on Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān The commander there, Muʿādh b Saʿīd, went out to al Burāghīthī (site unknown) to meet them but was captured there with the greater part of his army, and only later released by the Kilābī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b Saʿīd, governor of Halab The latter and the Kilābī Yānis in 332 were driven from Halab by al-Husain b Saʿīd b Hamdān, Saif al-Dawla's uncle and pursued beyond Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān as far as Hims Ikhshīd the governor of Egypt in 333, advanced against Saif al-Dawla as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which he took Muʿādh b Saʿīd whom Ikhshīd had again installed there as governor was slain in battle at Kinnasrīn by Saif al Dawla In 357 (968) the emperor Nicephoros Phocas took the town and destroyed its chief mosque and most of the walls When Karghūya seized Aleppo, Zuhair the governor of Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān joined the Hamdānid Saʿd al Dawla (358) and set out with him from Manbidj against Aleppo, it was only when the Greek Turbasī brought help to Karghūya that the pair retired to al-Khunāsira and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān In the treaty between Nicephoros and Karghūya (Safar 359) Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān was promised to the latter Saʿd al-Dawla held out in it for three years Bakdjūr had deposed and imprisoned Kharghūya in Halab and made himself sole ruler (364 = 975) Saʿd al-Dawla set out from Hims against him and with the Banū Kilāb whom he had won over to his side by promising them lands at Hims besieged Zuhair, who was an ally of Bakdjūr, in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān He forced his way with his followers into the town through the Hunāk gate, when they were repulsed, they burned the Hims gate Zuhair thereupon surrendered and was executed in the citadel of Fāmiya, the citadel of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was plundered by the conqueror When Rammāh, a Mamlūk of Saif al-Dawla ("al Saifī") rebelled in 396 in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān against Saʿīd al-Dawla, the latter with Luʾluʾ went to besiege the town but retired to Halab on the approach of Bandjutakin (Freytag, *Locmani Fabulae*, p 45, l 6), Luʾluʾ who had seized the power in Halab in 392, next year had Kafr Rūma in the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and the fortress in the Arwādj (the two districts of al-Rūdj, cf Rosen, *Zap Insp Akad Nauk*, xliv, p 237, note 200) destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of his enemies When the Hamdānid Nāsir al-Dawla in in 434 took the field against the Mirdāsid Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, he occupied Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān In 452 on his campaign against his nephew Mahmūd, Thimāl spent eight days in the town, the inhabitants suffered severely as the Arabs on account of the severe winter were billeted in the houses and did much damage there Mahmūd after occupying Halab in 457 allotted Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to the Turk chief Hārūn, on Shawwāl 17, 458, the latter entered the town with Turks, Dailamīs, Kurds, and men of the tribe of al Awdj, about 1000 fighting men besides camp-followers They pitched their camp before the gate at which public prayers were said Although excellent discipline prevailed among them and no one injured the olive-trees and vineyards or even took water for their animals without paying for it, the inhabitants breathed more freely when they left the town again to assist Mahmūd on his campaign against the Kilābīs In 462 Turks in large numbers came out of Byzantine territory against Halab, went via Urtik to al-Djazr, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Kafartāb, Hamā, Hims and Rafanīya, and laid Syria waste in dreadful fashion The Turk Tutush in 472 undertook a campaign from Damascus against the north of Syria, he burned the region of Djabal al-Summāk and Djabal Banī ʿUlaim, extorted enormous sums from the people of Sarmin and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and plundered the country east of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, he laid siege to Tall Mannas (*Θελμενισσός*) in vain and burned Maʿarratarīha (the ancient *Μαγαραταρίχων κώμη*) in the district of Kafartāb His son Ridwān in 488 gave the town of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān with its lands to Sukmān b Urtuk Soon after the taking of Antākiya (491) the Franks advanced on our town, supported by the people of Tall Mannas, and all the Christians in Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān itself but they were defeated between these two towns In the beginning of 492 they again besieged the town with a large army (then an *urbs munitissima*, Will of Tyre, vii 9) and took it, killing almost the whole population, 20,000 men, women and children (*Hist or des Croisades*, iii 482 *sq*) Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was, like Jerusalem in the same year, completely sacked and the walls and mosque destroyed During the siege the Franks had destroyed all the gardens round the town and the Kilābīs, who had come to the help of Ridwān consumed all the supplies of the district so that the country was completely starved In 496 Ridwān reconquered the lost fortresses At the end of 514, he concluded a treaty with the Franks by which the latter were allotted Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān, Kafartāb, al-Bāra and and a part of Djabal al Summāk etc In 531 (1137) the Atābeg Zangī regained Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān When the inhabitants asked to have restored to them the estates of which the Franks had deprived them, he demanded the original charters of ownership from them but they had been destroyed He therefore had search made in the books of the office of the financial department of Halab (*Dafātir Dīwān Halab*) and found from the old payments of *kharādj* what families had owned property and restored them (Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, xi 34 = *Hist or des Crois*, i 423, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslem*, ed Reiske, iii 470, v 274) Zangī razed the walls While King Fulco of Jerusalem was putting down a rising in Antākiya, Turkoman tribes entered the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Kafartāb but were driven out again by the Franks who thereupon conquered Kubbat b Mulaib (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist Or d Crois*, iii 667, where our town is meant by al Maʿarra, not Maʿarrat Masrīn as Rohricht, *Gesch d Konigr Jerusalem*, p 197 assumes)

The Byzantine emperor John II Comnenos in 532 (1138) invaded the district of Maʿarrat al-

Nuʿmān and then turned suddenly against Shaizar [q v.] which he besieged in vain The earthquake of 552 (1157—1158) wrought great havoc in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl Blochet, in *R O L* iv 529)

Ṣalāḥ al Dīn in 584 (1188) went from Halab to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān from which he made a pilgrimage to the Shaikh Abū Zakarīyāʾ al-Maghribī who lived at the tomb of the Caliph ʿUmar Towards the end of the reign of Salāh al-Dīn (c 1191) the town formed part of the Syrian possessions of Taḳī al-Dīn (*Hist Or d Croix*, v 14) Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān is several times mentioned in the wars between Salāh al-Dīn's sons About 589 it belonged to al-Malik al-Muzaffar b Taki al-Dīn ʿUmar Later we find its possession alternating between Hamā and Halab An old Shāfiʿī madrasa was built, according to the inscription on its gateway, in the reign of the Ayyūbid Sultān of Hamā, al-Malik al-Mansūr Muhammad I (plan in Creswell, *B I F A O*, xxi 13), it is by the same architect as the lofty square minaret of the great mosque Ibn al Mukaddam in 596 (1159) owned the towns of Fāmiya, Kafartāb and 25 estates in the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān In 597 the town was sacked by Sultān al-Malik al Zāhir Ghāzī of Halab and seems to have belonged to him for a period An inscription dated 604 (1207—1208) still bears his name Al-Malik al ʿĀdil in 598 went from Damascus via Hamā to Tall Safrūn where al Malik al-Mansūr of Hamā joined him His opponent al-Malik al Zāhir of Halab concluded a treaty with him by which he was to cede Kal at al-Nadjm to Afdal and the part of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān which he held to al-Malik al-Mansūr About 619 and 692 the town belonged to the lord of Hamā, al-Malik al Nāsir, it then passed temporarily to al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā of Damascus who placed a governor in it (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl Blochet, *R O L*, v 65, Maḳrīzī and Ibn Wāṣil, *R O L*, ix 497 *sqq* , Abu 'l Fidāʾ, *Annal Mosl*, ed Reiske, iv 312) During this fighting the lands of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Hamā were ravaged by a horde of Arabs under Mānīʿ (*R O L*, v 68) On the advice of Saif al-Dīn b Abī ʿAlī al-Hudhbānī, al-Malik al-Muzaffar of Hamā in 631 (1233—1234) had the citadel of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān rebuilt, but by 635 al-Malik al-Nāsir of Halab seized the town again and after a brief siege the citadel also The news of its fall was brought to Halab by a carrier-pigeon (*R O L*, v 100, 105, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *op cit*, v 404, 434, 596) The Khwārizmīs, routed by Čingis Khān, entered Syria over the Furāt and advanced via al-Djabbūl, Tall Aʿzāz and Sarmīn to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān which then belonged to Halab The geographer al Dimashkī also reckons the town to Halab

After the victory of Baibars over the Tatars at ʿAin Djālūt where the Mongol general Ketboghā who had been left behind in Syria by Hūlāgū fell, Khosrawshāh the Tatar lord of Hamā left Syria Sultān Kutuz thereupon restored this town along with Bārīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which had belonged for 23 years to Halab in 658 (1259) again to its original owner al-Malik al-Mansūr of Hamā

Henceforth with slight interruptions Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was in the possession of the lords of Hamā In the years 710 (1310) the Sultān granted Bārīn and our town to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ as a fief but he had to return them to Halab by 713 (1313) as the conditions of ownership had become extremely obscure on account of the frequent changes in the land-books and repeated grants by the Sultān (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslem*, v 274) A journey by the prince to Egypt in 716 resulted in the restoration of the town and citadel to him and a charter of presentation was prepared (*op cit*, v 302, 304) Abu 'l-Fidāʾ quotes a portion of a poem which the Aleppo secretary (*kātib al-inshāʾ*) Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd composed on the event (*op cit*, v 306) But by the end of the same year he had again to cede the town to Muhammad b ʿĪsā (*op cit*, v 310)

The district of Hamā was confiscated in 742 and placed under the Egyptian governor as a separate province (*djund*), henceforth Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān formed a wilāyet of this province (al-Kalkashandī in Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, p 233) In the Mamlūk period the town had seven gates (according to the *al-Rawd al-Miʿṭār fī Akhbār al-Aḳṭār*, quoted in al-Kalkashandī, Cairo, iv 142) the Halab gate, the great gate, that of Shith, called after the adjoining tomb of Seth, the garden gate, the Hims Gate and the like gate (*kadhā* probably a double gate of Hims) Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was a station of the Egyptian pigeon-post (al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, transl R Hartmann, *Z D M G*, lxx 501, al Kalkashandī, iv 393)

After the battle of Marḍj Dābik in 922 (1516) the town passed to the Ottomans Della Valle a century later found here (1616) a native chief under Turkish suzerainty and the Agha who lived there in Pococke's time while paying tribute to the Porte retained complete independence Troilo found in the town "zwey schone Wirths Häuser, das eine war ziemlich baufällig, das andere aber noch wohl zugerichtet, umb und umb mit breiten langen bleyern Taffeln bedecket" Seetzen describes Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān as the most northerly place in the Pashalik of Damascus (Sūrīya) Walpole was a guest of the mutasarrif of the town The district of the town later became a kadāʾ of the liwā of Halab When Sachau passed through it in 1879, a kāʾimmakām was living there, the frontier with Hamā was at Khān Shaikhūn After the world war the town was included in the territory under French mandate According to Sachau it has about 40 well built houses and with its well cared for gardens and fields looks a peaceful and prosperous country town, while van Berchem calls it "a large village of rather dismal appearance", it lies in a monotonous but well tilled plain at the foot of the eastern edge of the plateau of the Djebel Rīhā In the north-west it is commanded by the high hill on which stand the ruins of the mediaeval citadel (on the map by R Garett and F A Norris, in *Americ Archael Exp to Syria*, i 50 and *Princeton Exp*, Divis ii, Sect B part 3, Kalʿat in Nuʿmān is wrongly placed north-east of the town, cf however also van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 202 and Eli Smith in Ritter, *Erdk*, xvii 1067 and Sachau, *Reise*, p 94) Among the architectural features of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān the most notable, next to the great mosque, is the already mentioned Shāfiʿī Madrassa (built in 595) A notable building of the Ottoman period is a large square caravanserai on the south side of which is a fine gateway with an inscription of 974 (1566—1567) Sykes was shown by the Kāʾimmakām as one of the sights of the place the (alleged ?) tomb of the poet Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ

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(E HONIGMANN)

MAʿBAD, ABŪ ʿABBĀD MAʿBAD B WAHB, was one of the great singers and composers of the early Umaiyad period He belonged to Madīna and was a client of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Katan (cf *Aghānī*, i 19) of the house of Wābiṣa of the Banū Makhzūm He was a half-caste, his father being a negro In his youth he was an accountant, but having taken music lessons from Sāʾib Khāthir, Nashīt al-Fārisī and Djamīla [q v] he adopted music as a profession and soon made a name for himself During the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (65—86 = 685—705) he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Ṣafwān at Makka He sang at the courts of al-Walīd I (86—96 = 705—715), Yazīd II (101—105 = 720—724), and al-Walīd II (125—126 = 734—744), the second of these treating him with unheard of favour On the death of Ibn Suraidj [q v] about the year 107 (726), Maʿbad became the leading singer, and when al-Walīd II was called to the throne, Maʿbad, although an old man, was invited to his court at Damascus Here he was honourably treated and received a gift of 12,000 pieces of gold Shortly afterwards he was again commanded to appear at court, but he was very ill when he arrived Paralysis intervened, and although he was lodged in the palace itself, and had every possible attention, he died (125 = 743) At his funeral, the caliph and his brother al-Ghamr, walked in front of the bier, whilst the renowned songstress Sallāma al-Kass, one of Maʿbad's pupils, chanted one of his elegies

Maʿbad must undoubtedly be counted among the "four great singers" (*Aghānī*, i 98, 151, ii 127) whatever opinions may be held as to the others A poet of Madina said "Ṭuwais, and after him Ibn Suraidj, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Maʿbad" Ishāk al-Mawṣilī (cf ii 439) said "Maʿbad was a consummate singer, and his compositions reveal a talent superior to all his rivals" Poets like al-Buhturī [q v] and Abū Tammām [q v] have shown the worth of Maʿbad in Arabian musical history Among the compositions of Maʿbad his most famous were the seven known as the "Cities" (*Mudun*) or "Fortresses" (*Ḥuṣūn*), whilst five others were celebrated as the *Maʿbadāt* His fame was made by his adoption of a grandiose (*kāmil tāmm*) style of composition in the rhythms (*ikāʿāt*) called *thakil* or "heavy" Among his pupils were Ibn ʿĀʾisha, Mālik al-Ṭāʾī [q v], Yūnus al-Kātib [q v], Siyat, Sallāma al Kass and Habbāba

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(H G FARMER)

AL **MAʿBARĪ**, ZAIN AL DĪN wrote about the year 985 (1577) for Sultān ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjapūr (d 987 = 1579) a brief history of the spread of Islām in Malabar, the coming of the Portuguese and their campaigns against the Muslims from 908 to 985 (1498—1578) The work is preserved in Brit Mus MS, N° 94, India Office N° 714 and 1044, 5 and in Morley, *Catalogue of Historical MSS*, N° 13 and is entitled *Tuḥfat al Mudjāhidīn*, extracts were given by John Briggs in *Ferishta*, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, London 1829, iv 531 *sqq* and it was translated by M I Rowlandson, *Tohfut ul-Mujahideen, an historical work in the Arabic language*, London, Or Transl Fund 1833 and ed by D Lopez, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar, por Zinadim, manuscripto arabe do seculo XVI puchcado e traduzido*, Lisbon 1898

(C BROCKELMANN)

MACASSAR, an important seaport on the island of Celebes, on the Bay of Macassar, it is the capital of the administrative district of "Celebes en Onderhoorigheden" and also of the division of it of the same name administered by an assistant-resident By the native population the town which has made very great

progress in the last few years, is still often called by its original name of Udjung-pandang (Djum pandang) The Dutch gave it the name Macassar from the kingdom of the same name The heart of the Macassar country is the former principality of Gowa, which was put under the direct rule of the Dutch East India government in 1911 and is a remnant of the once very powerful kingdom of Macassar The area inhabited by the Macassars in the wider sense stretches over the whole southern part of the southwestern peninsula of Celebes, as well as over the island of Saleier and several groups of island in the neighbourhood The remainder of southern Celebes is inhabited by Buginese who are closely related to the Macassars and whose language, manners and customs are very similar

The Macassars do not differ much in physical appearance from the Javanese, they are of above medium height and in general well built Their mode of life, dress and dwellings are simple The main industry is agriculture which is very successful on the generally fertile soil in the plains rice is grown, often on wet fields, in the mountains maize particularly, but also vegetables and leguminous plants and cocoa-nuts The cattle-rearing also is not unimportant The native industries which are carried on in the houses of natives are not on a very high level, the work of the gold and silversmiths is relatively good An unfavourable verdict has often been passed on the character of the Macassars but this seems to be exaggerated, they find it difficult to submit to a regular life but for the rest they are not difficult to govern Among their vices are their fondness for dice and cockfighting Originally three classes were distinguished in Macassar society, the princes and nobles, the people, and the slaves Slavery has now been abolished even in the districts under independent rule

The population generally professes Islām and its laws are on the whole conscientiously observed and the Muslim principal feasts faithfully celebrated But one cannot of course say that Islām regulates the whole of their social and religious life The customs which survive from an earlier period are very numerous and form a striking contrast to the ideas of Islām In every village there is still to be found a little building which is used for the worship of the spirits of the animistic period (the chief of whom is Karaeng Lowe, i e the "great prince") and where heathen priests offer sacrifices There can therefore be no question of fanaticism and the very simple mosques are in general in disrepair The highest Muhammadan office is filled by the *kali*, usually a man of princely descent, who used formerly to be appointed and dismissed by the king He had control of all matters relating to worship and he also gave legal decisions in questions of inheritance and played an official part in marriages and divorces There were lower officials under him who acted as preachers and precentors, performed the offices of a sexton and gave elementary religious instruction Their knowledge of Islām is usually very slight The revenues of their clergy consists of the *sakka* (*zakāt*), the *pitara* (*fiṭra*) and of presents on all sorts of occasions at which they take part, and of a certain percentage (*tjuke*) on the division of inheritances The *sakka* is irregularly and unsatisfactorily paid, the *pitara* much better

No particulars are known of the earlier history of Macassar and of the regions inhabited by the Macassars in general In the middle of the xivth century they were under the rule of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit According to the native chronicles of the royal houses of Gowa and Tello, which, at least so far as the earliest period is concerned, are largely mythical, the Gowa originally consisted of an alliance of nine small districts each under a noble, after the government had passed into the hands of one man and the kingdom had expanded, to include for example the lands of what was later Tello, Gowa is said, after the death of the sixth king (at the same time the first whom the chronicles represent to us as an ordinary mortal), to have been divided between his two sons, the one became ruler of Gowa and the other of Tello It is certain that, so far as our knowledge goes, there were always close relations between these two kingdoms and that there was a certain degree of unity about them, they were known together to Europeans as the "kingdom of the Macassars" About the year 1512 Malays from Sumatra were given permission to settle in Macassar and it was perhaps they who first brought Muslim ideas to South Celebes When the Portuguese appeared there in the middle of the century, they found only a few foreigners there, who were Muslims, it was not till the beginning of the xviith century that the Macassars in general adopted this new religion During the reign of Tunidjallo (1505—90), Bābullāh, king of Ternate, came to Macassar, concluded a treaty and at the same time attempted to introduce the Muslim religion into South Celebes In 1603 Sultān ʿAlā uddēn and one of his brothers became converts to Islām, which thereupon spread rapidly over Gowa and Tello, chiefly through the influence of Karaeng Motawaiya, administrator of Gowa and prince of Tello We find traditions about the first preaching of Islām in South Celebes, similar to those of other parts of the archipelago There they are particularly associated with a certain Dato-ri-Bandang, a Minangkabau peasant from Kotatĕngah, who is said to have landed about 1606 in Tello and to have preached the Muslim faith, at the same time performing all kinds of miracles Next to him, the two main apostles of Islām are said to have been his contemporaries Dato ri-Tiro and Dato Patimang Their tombs are still much visited

In the first half of the xviith century the kingdom of Macassar extended very much, so that it brought under its suzerainty almost the whole of Celebes, Buton, Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok and the east coast of Borneo The Dutch East India Company, which had a good deal of trouble with the Macassars, did not succeed till 1637 in concluding a treaty with them which permitted freedom of trade but allowed them no permanent settlement But as Macassar caused the Company further difficulties in the Moluccas, a war resulted in which the town was burned By the peace concluded in 1660, the king lost a portion of his territory, the Portuguese were forbidden to remain in the kingdom while the Company were allowed to settle and trade freely in Macassar Peace was again broken in 1665, the Admiral of the Dutch East India Company, Speelman, sailed with a large fleet to Celebes, destroyed the Macassar fleet and forced the king to sign a treaty of peace ("Bongaaisch Verdrag", 1667, confirmed in 1669), whereby

the suzerainty of Macassar over Celebes was finally destroyed Even after this, the relations of the Company and later of the Dutch government with the kingdom were not good Tello was incorporated in the government territory in 1856 and leased to the prince of Gowa In 1905 an armed expedition was sent to Gowa, since 1911, it has been under direct rule

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(W H Rassers)

MADAGASCAR. With its area of 228,340 sq m, Madagascar is the third largest island in the world after New Guinea (234,770 sq m) and Borneo (284,630 sq m) Its area is a little greater than that of France (207,000 sq m), Belgium (11,373) and Holland (12,740) combined It is oriented from N N E to S S W and measures 1,000 miles in its greatest length and 350 in its greatest breadth with a coast line of 3,000 miles The latest estimates put the native population at three millions

The island was called *al-Komr* by the Arabs, *Bukini* (lit where there are (*ni*) *Buki*) by the Bantus of the neighbouring East African coast and by certain Malagasy tribes The Portuguese called it "Island of St Laurence" because they discovered it on that saint's day, August 10, 1506, and finally it became known as Madagascar from Marco Polo's name for it The orthography جزيرة القمر unvocalised gave rise to the false etymology *Djazirat al-Kamar* "island of the moon" with which the Portuguese historians became acquainted in the xvith and xviith centuries and which survived down to the end of the xixth century among the sailors of Southern Arabia

The name *Komr* appears for the first time in the *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard* of Muhammad b Mūsā al-Khwārizmi (d 220 = 835 or 230 = 845), in which mention is made of the famous "mountain of Komr", جبل القمر in which the Nile was reputed to rise But the interpretation by جبل القمر "mountain of the moon" was already old in the ninth century for it is found as early as the ὄρη σεληναῖα of Ptolemy which the majority of Arab geographers and notably al-Khwārizmī took as a model The mountain called "of Komr" or "of the moon" is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who deal with eastern Africa We shall see below how and to what degree the name of this mountain is connected with that of Komr = Madagascar

In my memoir entitled *Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interoceaniques dans les Mers du Sud* (*J A*, 1919, vol 13 and 14), I have endeavoured to trace the origin of the name Komr, the documents there utilised enable it to be connected with the name of the Kmers and of the 崑崙 K'un-lun of the Chinese The Chinese sources take us also to East Africa in which the *Cu fan če* of Čao Ju-kua (1225) reproducing word for word two passages of the *Lin wai tai ta* of Čow K'iu-fei (1178) locates a land of *K'un-lun ts'en k'i kuo* "land of the Zangs of K'un lun", which is close to a large island (= Madagascar) which is the regular home of the *p'en* or *rokh* of the Arabs, whose feathers are so large that they can be used for holding a half-*mudd* of water The old name of Madagascar has survived in modern geography in the name of the Comoro Islands, the little archipelago lying to the N W of the island

In his *Exploração portugueza de Madagascar em 1613* (*Bol Soc Geogr* of Lisbon, 7th series, 1887, p 313—356), Father Luis Marianno refers to the Malagasies as *Buque* (more correctly *Bûki*), which is also found in later travellers It is the name given by the Eastern Bantu to the large African island *Bûki*, or with the addition of the locative suffix *-ni Bukini Bûki* is to be connected with the Malagasy word *vâhuâki* "king-

dom, subjects" (phonetically *vāhwāka*), which is a plural Bantu form (*wa-Bûki*) malagasized *va-* < Bantu plural form, *wa* + euphonic intervocalic Malagasy *h* + *wāka* This radical is identical with the reduplicated form used by the Arab geographers, *Wakwāk* or *Wākwāk* [q v] and phonetically equivalent to the *Bûki* of the early travellers and the Eastern Bantu *wa-Bûki*, "the Malagasies" and *Bukini*, "Madagascar" This explanation seems preferable to that which I had proposed in 1904 in *J A*, vol III, p 496 *sqq* I think we must agree that the Malag *vāhûaka* comes from *wă Bûki* and recognise a Bantu substratum in the Malag word

The present name of Madagascar is given by Marco Polo in the form *Madeigascar* (cf *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed Sir Henry Yule and Cordier[3], II, p 411 *sqq*) Yule long ago pointed out that Marco Polo had not visited Madagascar and only knew it by hearsay, and that the information he gave about it really related to the adjoining east coast of Africa The origin of this name is as follows As I have already pointed out in studying once more this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madeigascar* is undoubtedly a slightly erroneous formation of the form *Zang bār* and should be corrected to *Madeigas-bār* = "land of the Malagasies", just as *Zang-bār* means "land of Zang or of the Zangs" (cf *Memoires Soc de Ling de Paris*, vol XIII, 1905—1906 *Trois etymologies malgaches*, p 418—422), where زنج بر should be corrected to زنجبار) This correction is justified by the following facts In the *Travels* already quoted, Father Luis Marianno mentions a kingdom of the S E of Madagascar which he calls *Mitacassi*, *Matacaci*, *Matacasi* (or *Matakasi*) Three years later in 1616, Father d'Almeida, travelling in the same country also mentions a kingdom of *Matacassi* Cauche in his *Relation*, published in 1651 by Morisot (*Relations veritables et curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar et du Bresil*, p 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), mentions a province called *Madegache* by some and by others *Madegasse*, the inhabitants of which he calls *Malegasses* and *Mallegasses* He also uses the term *Madagascarois*, but with the wider sense of the whole island and its inhabitants Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*, 1661, p 1) says "The island of Sainct Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, by the inhabitants *Madecase*, by Ptolemy *Menuthias*, by Pliny, *Cerne* , but its real name is *Madecase*" Later writers are all more or less inspired by the work of Flacourt and need not be discussed here All these different readings go back to two forms *Madagasi* and *Malagasi* which correspond exactly to two main categories of dialects those with dental *d* and those with liquid *l* It is the latter form that came to prevail over the whole island, sometimes with the sibilant *Malagâsi* and sometimes with the palatal *Malagâši* Both are paroxytons The modern vernacular frequently uses the abbreviated form *gâši* and even *gâš* These facts seem to justify the explanation suggested above for the name *Madagascar* which we owe to Marco Polo

The doublet, *Malagâsi-Madagâsi*, *Malagâsi-Mâdagâši* is obscure According to the morphology of the language it may represent a form * *mala* or * *mada* + *gâsi* which recalls nothing, whether we take the form with soft letters *mada-gâsi* or that with hard noted by the Portuguese *mata-kâsi* Nor do we know whether we have to deal with a western Indonesian root or a Bantu stem In any case it is probable that we have to deal here with a foreign tribal name, the eastern or western origin of which can no longer be explained from an ancient or modern language

In the Arab geographers the first detailed account of the island of Komr-Madagascar is found in the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāk fi Ikhtirāk al-Āfāk* (1154) of al-Idrīsī who included the large African island in the country of the Zangs "The people of the island of Zābag = Sumatra", he says, "in the seventh section of the first clime come to the country of the Zangs in large and small ships and use it as a centre for trading in their merchandise as they understand one anothers' language" (MS 2221 of the *Bibl Nat Paris*, f 29*a*, l 15) This passage is very important as it shows that in the XIIth century, Madagascar, wrongly located in the country of the Zangs, had been long before colonised by immigrants from Sumatra who had introduced their language into the island and Malagasy was derived from it In the eighth section of the same clime the island of Komr Madagascar is situated seven days' sail from the Maldives Its king lives in the town of Malāy This is an island four months' journey in length It begins near the Maldives and ends in the north opposite the islands of China The geographer of Roger of Sicily, as his map shows, has combined into one huge island Madagascar, Ceylon and a part of Sumatra In the ninth section, we are told that the people of Komr and the merchants of the land of the Mahārādja (= Sumatra) come to the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa and are welcomed by them and trade with them (cf my *Relations de Voyages*, Index, s v *Komr* and *Komor*)

Yākūt in his *Muʿdjam* (completed in 1224) says simply (vol IV, p 174) "al-Komr is an island in the centre of the sea of the Zangs, which contains no larger island than this It contains a large number of towns and kingdoms Each king makes war on the others Amber and the leaf *al-komāri* (sic) are found on its shores This is a perfume, it is also called betel flower Wax is also obtained from it" The *Kitāb al Mushtarik* of the same author contains identical information taken from the *Muʿdjam* (ed Wüstenfeld, p 358) but the latter text has more correctly "the leaf *al-komri*"

Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b Saʿīd al-Maghribī, best known as Ibn Saʿīd, was born in 1208 or 1214 near Granada and died at Damascus in 1274 or in Tunis in 1286 The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a copy catalogued as Ms n° 2234, a treatise on general geography which runs from f 1 to 117 and is entitled "The book collected and epitomised by ʿAlī b Saʿīd al-Maghribī the Spaniard of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy) in seven climes, and he has added to it longitudes and latitudes from the book of Ibn Fāṭima" This copy of the original manuscript is dated 714 (1314—1315) and belonged to the celebrated geographer Abu 'l-Fidā' The text contains in a few lines information of the highest importance to the following effect "The Komr who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa are brothers of the Chinese They originally lived with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the earth, i e

in the interior of the Asiatic continent Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Komr to these islands After a certain period of time, dissensions broke out among the Komr who had migrated into these islands, the king and his family migrated once more and went to the large island of Komr = Madagascar and the King settled in a town of this large island, called Komrīya These Komr immigrants to the large island increased in numbers and spread through the different centres of the island, but new dissensions broke out and provoked a new exodus and many of them went to settle in the south at the beginning of inhabited land along the mountain which bears their name" (cf *Relations de Voyages*, II 316 *sq*) If we translate these successive migrations into terms of modern geography, we get the following The Komr, related to the Chinese, originally inhabited Central Asia, migrated from the interior of the continent where they were neighbours of the Chinese to the adjoining maritime lands and islands (= Indo-China, Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, in Decade II, Book IX, Chap IV of *Da Asia*, p 352 of the little edition of 1777, the Portuguese historian Joan de Barros says that the Javanese claim to have originally come from China) They later migrated from Indonesia, more accurately from Sumatra (cf my *Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya* in *JA*, 1922, vol XX) to the large island which bears their name, the island of Komr = Madagascar and from there to the land of the mountain of Komr, the famous mountain in which the Nile was thought to rise = East Africa

The first migration, that from Central Asia to the coasts of trans Gangetic India certainly took place long before our era Several centuries must have passed between the departure of the emigrants from the plateaus of Eastern Tibet, their expansion in the region of the coast, from Burma to Indo-China and their crossing to Indonesia Ibn Saʿīd lived in the XIIIth century How then could he have known of events that took place several millenia before his time and are not recorded elsewhere? Neither the history nor legends of the Far East knows anything of such happenings The Indianists, Sinologists, and Indo Sinologists whom I have consulted cannot think of any text or inscription directly or indirectly referring to them I am surprised at such a question being raised by a comparatively late Arabic text and I know no satisfactory answer I was prepared by my studies on Madagascar to accept Ibn Saʿīd's statement that the large African island was colonised by Sumatrans whose ancestors had come from the Asiatic Continent, this is exactly what Ibn Saʿīd tells us The agreement between the Arabic text and historical events is striking, but this undeniable agreement is unexpected for we do not know as well as we ought, how and where such information could have been obtained in the XIIIth century I put forward the hypothesis (*Relations de Voyage*, II 320) that Ibn Saʿīd might have got the information at the court of Hūlāgū where he spent some time in the XIIIth century But we know from his biographers that the Spanish traveller lived in Baghdād, studying assiduously at the 36 libraries of that city and making extracts from manuscripts He may have found in these works the statements he has so fortunately preserved for us

A contemporary of Ibn Saʿīd, Damīrī or Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fath Yūsuf b Yaʿḳūb b Muhammad, better known as Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shaibānī of Damascus, prepared his *Taʾrīkh al Mustabṣir* (Cod *al-Mustansir*) in 1230 (MS 6021 of the Bibl Nat in Paris) In the 25 folios devoted to the history of ʿAden, 72 *a*, *b* deals with the voyages of the Komr from their original home to ʿAden and notably in 626 (1228) from Madagascar to the African coast and to ʿAden (cf *JA*, vol 13, 1919, p 469—483)

The following geographers Shams al Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Ṣūfī al-Dimashkī (d 1325), Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad al Nuwairī (d 1332), Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (1273–1331), Ibn Khaldūn (d 1375), Maḳrīzī (1365–1442) tell us nothing particular about the island of Komr The towns, which some of them locate in the great African island, are really in Ceylon or farther east or cannot be identified (cf *Relations des Voyages*, index, s v *Komor* and *Komr*)

In the XVth century Ibn Mādjid (cf SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AHMAD B MĀDJID) in his *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid* (cf my *Instructions nautiques et routieres arabes et portugais*, fol 1, p 68*a*, *b*) includes the island of Komr among the ten large islands of the world and mentions it after the Arabian peninsula "The island which is the second in size", he says, "is the island of Komr It is now an island (sic) The information I have collected orally does not agree about its length or breadth for it is quite apart from the world and the inhabited climes of the earth This is why there is doubt on the subject In the large books on geography it is said to be the largest of the inhabited islands Between it and the land of Sofāla and the islands dependent on it (= the Mozambique Channel) there are islands and reefs In spite of this sailors are able to pass among the islands and reefs The island of Komr takes its name from that of Kāmrān, son of ʿAmur son of Shem son of Noah To the south it has the sea which the Greeks called Okiyānūs, this is the ocean surrounding the world (*al-Muhīt* in Arabic) It is the beginning of the southern darkness, which is to the south of this island of Komr" Ibn Mādjid frequently mentions the island of Komr in his other Nautical Instructions also and it undoubtedly is Madagascar

With Sulaimān al-Mahrī (cf below) our information becomes more definite In his *al-ʿUmdat al mahrīya* in Chap IV, dealing with the islands and sailing routes along their coasts (cf *Instructions nautiques et routieres arabes et portugais*, vol II, f 22*a*), he says "Let us begin with the island of Komr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of Zang and Sofāla Its northern extremity is called Rās al-Milh (= Amber Cape), it lies in 11 *iṣbaʿ* of Naʿsh ($\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$ of the Great Bear = 8° 37′ South, the true latitude is 11° 57′) Its southern extremity which is called Hūfā (? = Cape Sainte Marie) is in 3 *iṣbaʿ* of Nash (= 21° 37′ south, the true latitude is nearly 25° 38′) according to some, in 1 *iṣbaʿ* of Naʿsh (= 24° 51′ south) according to others This latter latitude is the more accurate There is a difference of opinion about the direction of the sea-routes along its coasts, because this island is remote from the inhabited earth There are two opinions regarding the direction of the route along its east coast according to some one should sail S W ¼ W according to others S W There is a third opinion that one should go W S W from one end to the other of the island The last two are those of the older sailors

masters In my opinion, adds Sulaimān al-Mahrī, it is possible that the route should be W S W, then S W ¼ W, then S W and in another direction still for two reasons the first that it is a large island, that its coast is long and the route is also long The second reason is that the directions given have not been verified on account of the fewness of the voyages made to this island and the insufficient nautical knowledge of those who have been there Sailing masters (*muʿallim*) of Zang have told me that the route on the east coast from Rās al-Milh to the place where Naʿsh is 8 *isbaʿ* (= 13° 30′) south is to the south and from this place to the south end of the island is S–¼–S W I have recorded that the route on its west coast from Rās al Milh to the place where Naʿsh is 8 *iṣbaʿ* (= 13° 30′ S) is to the south, and from this place to the south end of the island S–¼–S–W On the west coast from Rās al Milh to the place where Naʿsh is 6 *iṣbaʿ* (= 16° 44′), the coast is perfectly safe, from 6 *iṣbaʿ* to its south end there is a *rikk* ("bank" or "shallow") about 2 *zām* (= 6 hours) sail or more in length to the neighbourhood of the coast Between the island of Komr and the coast (east coast of Africa) there are four large inhabited islands, near one another, to which the people of Zang go The first of these islands is Angazidya (= Great Comoro) It is in 11 *isbaʿ* ¼ of Naʿsh (= 9° S approx , Mioni, the capital of Angazidya, is in exactly 11° 40′ South) Between it and the African coast it is 16 *zām* (= 48 hours) sailing The second, Mulālī (our Mohali), is in 11 *isbaʿ* of Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ S, true Lat about 12° 20′), the third Dumūnī (capital of Anjouan) which is in 11 *iṣbaʿ* of Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ S, true Lat 12° 15′) is to the east of Mulālī, the fourth Mawutū (our Mayotte) is in 10 *iṣbaʿ* ½ of Naʿsh (= 9° 25′ S, true Lat 12° 46′ 55″) To the east of these islands lies a great reef of rocks, about 4 *zām* (= 12 hours) sail, usually called *ʿAin al-Bahr* ("eye" or 'source of the sea') The harbours of the west coast of Komr are Langāni (15° 17′ S), Saʿda [true Lat approx 13° 54′] and Manzalādjī (= the bay of Mahadzamba, whose west point is in approx 15° 12′ Lat) Those of the west coast are Bender Banī Ismaʿil (in the same latitude as Langāni on the west coast), and Bīmāiūh (= Vohemar in 15° 21′ 15″) All these ports are dangerous (for ships) except Langāni Know that between Rās al-Milh and the coast of Zang, there are 50 *zām* = (150 hours) sail, and 20 *zām* (= 60 hours) to the east of Rās al-Milh there is an inhabited island called Munawwarā (one of the southern Maldives?) To the southeast of the island of Komr lie numerous islands called Tīrakhā (the Mascarene Islands), they are 12 *zām* (= 36 hours) sail from the island of Komr"

In his *Kitāb al-Minhadj al-fākhir* (f 73*b* of the same MS), Sulaimān al-Mahrī gives another description of the island of Komr which does not differ from that given above Four pages earlier on f 71*b* he mentions several other harbours of the island of Komr with their latitude calculated from the altitude of the Great Bear

Island of Munawwarā by 11 *iṣbaʿ*, Bender Ismāʿīl or Banī Ismāʿīl on the east coast and Lūlangānī or Langānī on the west by 10 *iṣbaʿ*, Bīmārūh on the east coast, Anāmil on the west by 9 *iṣbaʿ*, the island of Amber (*Djazīrat al-ʿAnbar*) on the east coast and Bender al-Nūb on the west by 8 *isbaʿ*, Noshim (?) on the east coast and Malawīn (?) on the west by 7 *iṣbaʿ*, Manakāra on the east coast (true Lat 22° 08′ 30″) and Bender (al-)Shuʿbān, "port of the banks", by 6 *isbaʿ*, Bender Hadūda on the east coast and Bender Kūrī on the west by 4 *isbaʿ*, Wabaya (according to the Turkish text of Sidi ʿAlī, the name is illegible in MS 2559) on the east coast and Bender Hīt (or Hait) on the west coast by 3 *isbaʿ* Bender Hadūda (sic) on the east coast, no name known on the west coast in this latitude by 2 *iṣbaʿ*, Bender Kūs (or Kaus) on the east coast and the bay of Kūrī on the west coast by 1 *iṣbaʿ*, the majority of the names of harbours, which are sometimes found on both coasts recall nothing known elsewhere

Malagasy undoubtedly belongs to the western Indonesian group of the Malayo-Polynesian family Down to the adoption of the Arabic alphabet, the language was only oral and, so far as we know, never written down in any alphabet The lack of epigraphic material on the one hand and of ancient monuments on the other deprives us of any chance of regaining the past history of this vast island Before the XVIth century, a few Arabic and Chinese texts would constitute our only documents, if the linguistic substrata did not yield us some valuable information These substrata are of two kinds, Bantu and Sanskrit

These former are divided into three categories

1 The borrowings of relatively recent date from Swahili, which in turn got them from Arabic, of the type Malag *bahari*, "sea" < Swahili *bahari* < Arabic *bahr*, Malag *kamba*, "cocoanut fibre rope" < Swahili *kamba* < Arabic *kinbar*, *kanbar*, Malag *sukani*, "rudder" < Swahili *usukani* < Arabic *sukkān* These loanwords are practically only found in the maritime dialects of the N W and W coasts

2 The borrowings from Swahili of the type Malag *būzu*, "baobab" < Swahili *mbûyu*, Malag *bwāna*, "master", "sir" < Swahili *bwāna*, Malag *kibāba*, "measure for rice" < Swahili *kibâba*, "measure of about a quart", etc Like the preceding, these loanwords are found almost solely in the maritime dialects of the west coast, it may therefore be assumed that they also are of recent introduction

3 The following words are, on the other hand, used either in the old and modern coast dialects or in the dialects of the centre and east, that is outside of the zone frequented by the sailors of the east coast of Africa, Zanzibar and the Comoros They are found in manuscripts of the Bibliotheque Nationale and in old records of travel, they are not borrowings, but belong to an old substratum of the language

Malag *amb̂ûa* "dog" < Bantu *mbwa*,
Malag *akânga* "guinea-fowl" < Bantu *kanga*,
Malag *amp̂ûndra* "ass" < Bantu *punda*,
Malag *anômbi*, *aûmbi*, *ûmbi* "ox" < Bantu *ngômbe*,
Malag *angânu* "tale, fable" < Bantu *ngano*,
Malag *anôndri*, *aûndri ûndri* "sheep" < Bantu *nôndi*,
Malag *finêngu*, *fnnêngu* "green pigeon" < Bantu *ninga*,
Malag *gîdru* "kind of lemur" < Bantu *ngedere* "little black monkey",
Malag *kâzi* in the tribal name *Kazi-mambu* "madame" < Bantu *mkazi* "woman, wife",

Malag *kúnguna* "bog" < Bantu *kunguni*,
Malag *kūnku*, *kōnko* "mangrove" < Bantu *mkoko*,
Malag *kwēra* "parroquet" < Bantu *kwaru*,
Malag *múngo*, *mohúngo*, *mahógo* "manioc" < Bantu *muhogo*,
Malag *mushāvi*, *musávi* "sorcery" < Bantu *mshawi* "sorcerer",
Malag *mushungu* "poison" < Bantu *ushungu* "vegetable poison in which arrows are steeped",
Malag *úsi* "goat" < Bantu *mbuzi*,
Malag *papángu* "milvus aegyptius" < Bantu *panga*, *kipanga* "falcon",
Malag *sambu* "ship" < Bantu *čombo*,
Malag *vahíni* "stranger to the country or place where one is" < Bantu *wagéni* "foreigners",
Old Malag *vazāka*, modern Malag *vazāha* "stranger (means particularly foreigners of white race)" < Bantu *wuzúngu* "white strangers, Europeans", etc

The place names of Madagascar further show a certain number of names of villages on the coast and of rivers running into the sea which are also Bantu, some Swahili and others ordinary Bantu They are referred to in my memoir on *L'Origine Africaine des Malgaches*, *J A*, 1908, vol II

The Sanskrit substratum contains many words of various classes

1 Names of gods, spirits and of caste

Old Malag *Yana-hāri*, modern Malag *Zana-hāri*, "the supreme deity", lit "the sun god", cf *Čam Yan-harĕi* < Indonesian *yan*, "god", Sanskrit *hari*, "sun", the sun deified

Old Malag *taivadey*, "god of evil", *cam debata* < Sanskrit *devata*, "deity" (for the inverse semantic progress, cf Sanskrit *deva*, "god" > Zend *daēva*, Pahl *dēv*, Pers *dīv*, "evil spirit")

Old Malag *Rau* in the expressions *hanin rau vulan*, lit "eaten by Rāhu the moon" = eclipse of the moon, *alin-rau masuandru*, lit "obscured by Rahu the sun" = eclipse of the sun

Malag *andrián*, *andriana*, "noble", "of royal or noble caste" < Kawi *ārrya* < Sanskr *árya*, etc

2 Names of the months

The names of the months in the Indian calendar are found in the dialects of all the tribes of Madagascar They have not however been preserved in the original order and a month that is placed at the beginning of the year by one tribe is put at the middle or end by another On the other hand *śrāvana*, *āśvina* and *phālguna* are not found in the Malag lists, they are replaced by two *asāra*'s (large and small), two *fisāka* (large and small) and a month called *bita* (?)

Skr *pauṣa* > Malag *fāusha*, *fósha*, *fúsha*, *fúsa*,
Skr *māgha* > Malag *máka*,
Skr *caitra* > Malag *ashútri*, *asútri*, *shútri*,
Skr *vaiśākha* > Malag *fishāka*, *fisāka*, *shāka*,
Skr. *jyaistha* > Malag *tsihiá*, *hiahiá*,
Skr *āṣāḍha* > Malag *ashára*, *asára*,
Skr *bhādrapada* > Malag *vatravátra*,
Skr *kārttika* > Malag *hatsíha*, *hashíha*, *hashía*,
Skr *margaśirṣa* > Malag *shíra* in *vula-shíra* "the month or moon of shíra",
cf also Skr *varṣa* "season of the rains" > Malag *vāratsa*, *vāratra* in *faha-vāratsa*, *faho-vāratra* "season of hurricanes"

3 Common words

Skr *koṭi* "10 millions" > Malag *kéti* "100 miles" > old Malag *héti* > modern Malag *hétsi* "100 miles",
Skr *laca* "glass" > Malag *kāca* > old Malag *hátsa*,
Skr *alābu* "melon, pumpkin" > Malag *lábu*, Batak *tābu* > Malag *távu*
Skr *megha* "cloud" > Malag *mēga* > old Malag *míka*,
Skr *tāmbūla* "betel" > Javanese *tĕmbula* > old Malag *tambúru*,
Skr *tāla* "kind of palm-tree" > Batak *otal*,
Malag, Javanese, Sundanese *lontar* > Malag *dára* "kind of palmtree",
Skr *upavāsa* "fast" > Malag *puwāsa* > old Malag *afuče* "act of fasting",
Skr *catur* "four" > Atchinese *čato* "a square game played by women" > Malag *kátra*,
Skr *mandapa* "building erected on the occasion of a fête, a pavilion" > Mal *mĕndapa*, pavilion, building in which guests are received > Malag *lāpa*, in composition *dāpa*, "royal residence, court, palace, tribunal, a roof in the centre of the village under which business is discussed",
Skr *tantra* "manual, book, magic treatise" > Balinese *tantri* "story, fable, in which animals are the principal characters" > Malag *tantára* "story, legend, tale",
Skr *tamraka* "copper" > Malag *tĕmbāga* > Balinese *barak* "red copper" > Malag *varáhi*, *varáhin*, *varáhina*,
Skr *śringavera* "ginger" > Malag *shakarívu* and the form with metathesis *sakavíru*, etc

Introduced by Muslims speaking Arabic, Islām has left numerous traces in Madagascar, the first and most important is the Arabic alphabet The task of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was delicate and difficult It was however satisfactorily accomplished The Malagasy sounds *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, were transcribed by the corresponding Arabic letter The other sounds were rendered as follows Malag *g* by ع, guttural *n* by ع and sometimes by غ, the group *ng* also by غ, the sounds *dr* and *tr* which in Merina represent practically the *dr* and *tr* of the English *drive* and *travel* (they are pronounced a little farther back in the non-Merina dialects) generally by ڕ, sometimes by ر with a *tanwīn* (e g *antendri*, "date palm" is rendered by أڕ and the context alone indicates whether ڕ is to be read *dr* or *tr*), Malag *t* by ط with a point below, *ts* by Arabic ب, Malag *v* by و but the Arabic ص is also pronounced *v* Arabic رمضان *ramadān* > Malay *ramavá*, Malag *z* by ى pronounced *z* نى "little child", the sound *dz* by ڒ and in modern Arabic-Malay sometimes by ڎ The islāmicised non Semitic peoples, who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and who have to transcribe the occlusive *p* have employed various notations The Malays have rendered it by ڤ, the Persian and following them the Muslims of the Comoro archipelago by ب, the Swahilis of East Africa by ب, the Malagasies adopted an unexpected solution of the problem down to the xviiith century they rendered *p* by ڤ, i e ڤ,

surmounted by a vertical *tashdīd*, then by ب Contrary to Malay each letter is vocalised, which renders the reading of Malagasy-Arabic texts easy in spite of the variations in orthography, which are too numerous to be given here

The Arabic-Malagasy alphabet was once used over a very considerable area, at the present day, it is only used on the S E coast where very many natives were still using it at the end of the xixth century The Malag Muslims of the N W and W prefer to use the Arabico Comoro or Arabico-Swahili alphabet The latter renders by ﺐ a *tr* identical with the Malag *tr* but this form is only used in the island of Anjouan The dialect of this island which has a *ž* transcribes it by ﺠ, the *č* of Persian and Turkish The Arabic letters ب, ج, ح, د, ر, ص, ص, ط and ف are only found in Malagasy, when Arabic words are quoted and they are pronounced respectively *s*, *h*, *k*, *dz*, *z*, *s*, *v*, *z*, and *k*

Malagasy manuscripts in the Arabic character bear the generic name of *shura-be* "great writing", i e "sacred writing" They used to be difficult to obtain, the owners gave them an esoteric character which did not allow their contents to be communicated to a stranger I was able to get some copied and to acquire a few others between 1890 and 1894 The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has ten, of which eight are undoubtedly old MSS 2, 3, 4 and 5 came from the old Abbey of St Germain des Prés, N° 6 is also old, although it was only acquired in 1820 Thanks to an interlinear transcription and Latin translation by a European, which can be dated on palaeographical grounds between 1595 and 1620, it may be presumed that N° 7 reached Europe in the second half of the xvith century and must therefore have been written before that date According to an MS note by Langlès, "MS 8 seems to have been brought to France in 1742", the MS 5132 wrongly classed with the Arabic manuscripts is also an old Malagasy manuscript MS N° 1 given by the Duc de Coislin to the Abbey of St Germain des Prés has coloured drawings, coarsely executed of men, animals, trees, and cabalistic figures but not a single line of text MS N° 13 is a copy of four short modern manuscripts With the except of 1 and 13, all the manuscripts are on native paper, written with the *kalam* with native ink Flacourt gives a detailed description of them in his *Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar* (p 194 *sqq* of the edition 1661) The subject matter of the manuscript is very varied There does not seem to have been a *shura-be* prototype out of which all the others proceeded In an apparent disorder, the result of the fancy of the author or the copyist, we find collected sūras of the Kur'ān, interminable lists of the names of Allāh, and of names of angels, Arabic religious texts with interlinear Malagasy translations (cf the facsimile publ in *N E*, vol xxxviii, 1904, p 457), Arabic-Malagasy glossaries, magic texts, and invocations in large numbers, magic squares and formulae, texts showing the magic influence, good or bad of the planets, signs of the zodiac, lunar mansions, months, and days of the week, of the male and female character of the twelve Muhammadan months (Muharram is male, Safar is female, and so on, in MS N° 2 *sq*, 26b), of patterns for amulets (*hirizi* < Arabic حرز)

The sūras of the Kur'ān are not reproduced in the order which was settled at the revision ordered by the Caliph ᶜOthmān MS 6 gives them in the following order *fātiha*, cxiv, cxiii, cxii and so on to xcvii (f 2a etc) Then come verses 1—4 of Sūra xciv, verse 256 of ii, verse 16 and beginning of verse 17 of iii The same MS also contains Sūra xxxi (f 136b) and f 136b—138b, verses 158—159, 137, 256—259, 284—286 of Sūra ii and verses 25—26 of Sūra iii

Here we may mention several texts of particular importance, one of which is certainly unexpected MS 3 contains a bilingual glossary of 36 common words, Malagasy and Dutch, the two languages being transcribed into Arabic characters It was published in *B T L V*, vol lxi, 1908 I have suggested that it must have been compiled by the interpreter of Frederik de Houtman, "who had spent four years with the Dutch and spoke their language well" He had supplied Houtman with "his collection of Malagasy words"

MS 5 contains from f 85a to 88a an Arabic poem with Malagasy translation in honour of a certain Laila (I have not yet been able to ascertain if this is the lover of Madjnūn, or of some Lailā in Arabic literature) The piece begins "The poets said" and ends "the girl who possesses beauty and kindness" The Arabic verses are of an unusual inaccuracy and show that whoever reproduced them had a very superficial knowledge of the language and poetry

MS 8 (f 52b to 56b) preserves a *khutba* in Arabic entitled اَلدُّعَا لِلْخَطِيب (*sic*) pronounced *Aladua ra lakatibu* (*ra* is the Malagasy article), "the Khatib's prayer" Not a line in it is correctly written and some words are absolutely unrecognisable Under the transformations they have undergone however we still find the formulae used in this sermon The following are successively mentioned in the *khutba* the Prophet and his family, the first four caliphs, ᶜĀ'isha, Fātima, her sons Hasan and Husain, the two uncles of the Prophet, Hamza and al-ᶜAbbās, then the Caliph Abū Ahmad ᶜAbd Allāh al-Mustaᶜsim bi'llah (the text has *bi-l-dīn Allāh*) Amīr al-Mu'minin Further on there is a reference to Sultān هَاهَا هَد, son of Sultān ᶜOthmān The mention of the last of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs seems to indicate that the Malagasy converts to Islām, among whom this *khutba* was in use, had been converted by Arabs who had left Baghdād or a country under al-Mustaᶜsim in this caliph's reign, i e between 640 and 656 (1242—1258) We cannot explain otherwise how his name appears with the title "Commander of the Faithful" in a *khutba* used in Madagascar As to the Sultān هَاهَا هَد (perhaps we should read هَاهَا هدا and translate "Sultān هَاهَا who is here", the *khatib* then indicating the Sultān in question), I have not been able to identify him As it is written, the name is neither Arabic nor Malagasy MSS 7 and 8 contain two identical versions of a religious text which I published in *N E* (xxxviii 449 *sqq*) In a passage devoted to the glorification of the month of Ramadān, the anonymous author succes-

sively invokes the prophets of the Old Testament, Jesus and Mary, the Prophet Muhammad, the first four caliphs, Hasan and Husain and finally Abū Hanīfa al-Nuʿmān, the great Sunnī Imām, and Muhammad b Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, the founder of the Sunnī school which bears his name The mention of these two learned men and the *khuṭba* already mentioned are evidence of the orthodox character of certain Muslims of Madagascar and perhaps one may say of the generality of Muslims on the southeast coast But the same manuscript N⁰ 8 contains a Persian text which prevents us putting forward this conjecture This latter text which is still unique is found on ff 25*a*—27*b* The last lines invoke the *ʿashara mubashshara*, then, the first eight *imām*'s of the Shiʿa sect of the "Twelvers" (cf ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYA) to whom the author has added ʿAlī Akbar ("ʿAlī the elder"), son of Husain and half-brother of ʿAlī Zain al ʿĀbidīn The mention of these *imām*'s of whom the last named, ʿAlī al-Riḍā, reigned from 183 (800) to 202 (818) is valuable, for it implies that the writer of this text belonged neither to the schismatic sect of the Zaidīya founded in 695 A D nor to the schismatic Shiʿa sect of the Ismāʿilīs which dates from 765 A D, but to the orthodox Shiʿa sect of the "Twelvers" This is important, for the Persians whom historical tradition makes come from Shīrāz and colonise Kilwa on the east coast of Africa and the island of Anjouan in the Comoro Archipelago were Zaidīyas (cf G Ferrand, *Les Sultans de Kilwa*, in *Memorial Henri Basset*, in the press) who cannot come into consideration in the present case The Imāmīya, whose presence in Madagascar is evident from MS N⁰ 8 thus form a separate group different from that of the Persians who had immigrated to the adjoining coast of Africa

The Arabic-Malay manuscripts which I possess, those of the University Library of the Faculty of Letters in Algiers and the others which I have been able to see are, as a rule, similar in contents to those of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the exception of the *khutba* and the Persian text, which so far as I know are found nowhere else Quite a considerable number of manuscripts like MS 13 contain genealogies of kings of the Southeast, from which all these documents come, and local histories One of them gives details of I a Casa's campaign in the Imuru of 1659—1663 (cf *N E*, 1907, xxxix)

The majority of the religious texts which are found in the Arabic Malagasy MSS of the Bibl Nat are translated into Malagasy The Arabic part is very incorrect and the Malay translation shows that the exegists of Madagascar understood very little of it The illustrious and lamented Goldziher, to whom nothing Islāmic was foreign, was interested in the texts which I published Comparing three translations of the Malagasy text with the Arabic text he concluded that "the meaning of the fundamental ideas was most gravely misunderstood" (*L'École supérieure des Lettres et des Medersas d'Alger au XIVe Congres des Orientalistes*, in *R H R*, 1905)

The borrowings of the Malagasies from the Arabs who converted them to Islām are many and are found through all the tribes of the island without exception The most notable are the names of the days of the week *alatsinainy*, *talata*, *alarubia*, *alakamisy*, *zuma*, *asabutsy*, *alahadi* We may note that the Arabic article has been retained for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday but dropped for Tuesday and Friday The names of the days are here given in the Merina dialect, the forms of the other dialects show the regular phonetic variations

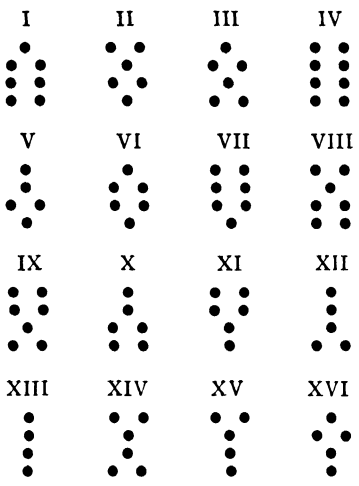
2 The names of the twelve months in Merina and in the dialect of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac *alahamadi*, *adauro*, *adizauza*, *asurutani*, *alahasati*, *asumbula*, *adimizana*, *alakarabu*, *alakausi*, *adidzadi*, *adalu* and *aluhutsi* in which we can readily recognise *al-ḥamal*, *al-ṯaur*, *al-ǧauzāʾ*, *al-surṭān*, *al asad*, *al sunbula*, *al-mīzān*, *al-ʿakrab*, *al-kaus*, *al-ǧadi*, *al-dalū* and *al hūt* Quite a number of tribes do not know the Merina series, but still use the names of Sanskrit origin given above (p 68, col *a*)

3 The names of the 28 days of the month (the S E Malagasies however once had a year of 366 days) which are recorded by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, p 174) recall those of the 28 lunar mansions of the Arabs According to the empirical method adopted by al-Ṣūsī and other writers, i e dividing the 28 mansions by 12 the latter are evenly distributed among the signs of the zodiac "Know", says al Sikli, "that each of the signs of the zodiac has two mansions and a third" (A C de Motylinski, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes, texte de Mohammed al-Moqrī*, transl and annot, Algiers 1899, p 68) In Madagascar to get rid of the fractions, three mansions have been attributed to the first fourth, seventh and tenth signs, and two to each of the eight others

Signs of the Zodiac		Lunar Mansions	
I	Alahamadi	1	Asharatain < al-sharatain
		2	Alabutain < al-butain
		3	Azuriza < al-thuraiā
II	Adauru	4	adabara < al dabarān
		5	alahaka < al-hakʿa
III	Adizauza	6	alahana < al-hanʿa
		7	azira < al dhira
IV	Asurutani	8	anasara < al-nathra
		9	atarafi < al-tarf
		10	alizaba < al-ǧabha, etc

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy months Mentioned along with the day of the week, they take the place of the ordinal which the Arab-Malagasy texts rarely indicate by a figure This method seems to have now fallen into disuse for ordinary purposes and is hardly used except in sorcery

4 The *shikili* (dialectical variants *sikili*, *sikidi* < *shikl*, "figure") is the art of divination, its object is to find out what is not known and the means of discovering a remedy against it Used throughout the island with slight variants from one tribe to another, *sikidi*, to take the form generally used, is a direct derivative from the *ʿilm al-raml*, lit the science of sand or Arab geomancy (cf the *Kitāb al Fasl fī Uṣūl ʿIlm al-Raml* of Shaikh Muhammad al-Zanātī, lith Cairo, n d) Shaikh al-Zanāti's table from which is derived all those in use in Madagascar comprises the following 16 figures



Each figure of the table bears a name of its own and is composed of a certain number of dots, maximum eight (IV) and minimum four (XIII) Four figures have five dots (V, XII, XV and XVI), six have six dots (II, III, VI, X, XI, XIV) and four have seven dots (I, VII, VIII, IV) Each figure governs (حكم) a certain number of things or beings, according to the question put to the diviner, the latter considers very carefully the figure relating to the question asked The influence of each of the figures comes from the sign of the zodiac, planet, day, Arab month and from one of the four elements to which it corresponds It is also lucky or unlucky, male or female, *tālib* (applying to the person consulting the fates) or *matlūb* (applying to the question asked), it is more or less strong and powerful سرعة in such and such conditions, and it also shows in what state the thing asked shall be realised The 16 figures of the table are divided into different groups each bearing a particular name

the *dawākhil*, "those who enter" which number three (XI, II, XV) If they are present in a large number in the *sidiki* effected by the diviner, it is a very auspicious sign and the questioner will certainly obtain what he seeks If one of the *dawākhil* proves to be the first figure, the object sought enters, i e is obtained,

the *khawāridj*, "those who go out" are three in number (III, X, XII) If they are several times represented in the *sidiki* effected by the diviner, it is an unlucky omen and the object sought will be unobtainable If one of the *khawāridj* proves to be the first figure, the object "goes out", i e is lost to the seeker,

the *munkālib*, "those who return" (IV, V, VI, IX, XIV, XVI) are sometimes lucky, sometimes unlucky, according to circumstances If one of the *munkālib* is the first figure, the operation will remain without a definite result,

the *thawābit*, "those who are fixed, who do not vary" are the figures I, II, X, XI, XIII, XV They are lucky and assure that the seeker will gain his end,

the *manāhis*, "the dismal" are figures III, VII, VIII, XI If the first figure is one of the *manāhis* the questioner will not obtain what he asks, or will not escape the misfortune he fears

The figures I, IV, VII, X are called *awtād* "the pious" If the four figures found in it are similar, success is assured

Figures II, V, VIII, XI are called *mādiali al-awtād*, "what concerns the pious" If the four figures found in it are similar the desire expressed, will be realised

Figures III, VI, IX, XII are called *zailat al awtād*, "the end of the pious" If the four figures found in it are similar, the object desired is coming and will arrive or the desire is completely realised at the moment of consulting the diviner

The sixteen figures are also divided into two groups of eight, one is called *shikl al-ṭālib*, "figure of him who asks", these are the eight who represent him who is consulting the fates, the other *shikl al-matlūb*, "figure of the thing sought", i e those who have to answer the request If the first figure of the *sikidi* is among the eight *tālib*, and the seventh among the eight *matlūb*, it is a very good omen If on the other hand, the first figure is *matlūb* and the seventh *tālib*, it will be impossible to avert the evil fate It must also be enquired if the fifteenth figure of the operation of the diviner is *tālib* or *maṭlūb*, if *tālib*, it is lucky and if *matlūb*, unlucky

If the *sikidi* is consulted on behalf of a sick man the presence of figures VIII, VI, V, XIV, IX, IV, XIII indicates his approaching end

The four first figures of the table are also called *buyūt al-aiyām*, "hours of the days" Repeated several times they indicate that the thing sought will be realised in the course of a day The four following (V—VIII) are called *buyūt al djumʿāt*, "houses of the weeks" and indicate an interval of a week, the four others (IX—XII) *buyūt al-shuhūr*, "houses of the months" indicate an interval of a month and the last four (XIII—XVI) *buyūt al-sinin*, "houses of the years" indicate an interval of one or several years If one of the houses of the days occupies a position other than the first four, the interval increases in proportion as it is remote from the first four places On the other hand if one of the houses of the weeks, months or years is found before its place, the interval diminishes in proportion to its nearness to the first figure

The figures I, III, V, and X mark the direction of the east, VIII, XII, XIV and XV, the direction of the west, II, IV, VI and VII, the direction of the north, and IX, XI, XII and XVI, the direction of the south

Figure I of the preceding table is called *al-haiyān* or *dāhika* The first of these names has passed into Malagasy in the form *alahizani* It represents the person who comes to consult the diviner, its zodiacal sign is Pisces, its planet Jupiter, its day Thursday and its element, the sea The corresponding figure is the fifteenth It is lucky, male and *tālib*, i e it is one of the eight figures representing him who consults the fates Its month is Dhu 'l Hidjdja If in the preparation of the *sikidi* it occupies the first place, the thing demanded will be realised after an interval of three days The amount of happiness and success which it brings will be greater if it occupies the first place

Figure II (*kabdat al-dākhila*, Malag *alakausi*) is that of wealth, riches, possessions and estates, and merchandise of all kinds Its sign of the Zodiac is Sagittarius, its planet, the Sun, its day, Sunday, its element, fire The corresponding figure

is the tenth It is lucky, feminine and *maṭlūb*, i e it is one of the eight figures which represent the thing sought Its month is Djumādā al-Awwal If it occupies the fourth place, the desire of the seeker will be accomplished after an interval of 55 days, if it is in the fifth place, it is still propitious, if in the fourth it indicates greatness

Figure III (*kabḍat al khārid̲ja*, Malag *adalu*) is that of the family, especially brothers and sisters Its sign of the Zodiac is Rās Djawzahīr (< Pers *gaw-i-zahr* "the head of the Dragon"), its planet Saturn, its day, Saturday The corresponding figure is the tenth It is unlucky, male and *tālib* If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval necessary for the accomplishment of the desire formulated is 150 days It reaches the maximum size in the ninth place and strength in the third Its metal is gold

Figure IV (*al-d̲jamaʿa* > Malag *dzama*, *zuma*) is that of the country, gardens and burners of the dead Its sign of the Zodiac is Virgo, its planet Mercury, its day, Wednesday The corresponding figure is the fourteenth, its element black earth It is good or bad according to circumstances and *maṭlūb* Its month is Djumādā al-Ākhir If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the realization of the desire expressed is 20, 55 or 150 days It is large in the sixth place and strong in the fifth and tenth Its metal is silver

Figure V (*al kawsad̲j* < Pers *kūsad̲j* or *al-farah*, Malag *adzkasadzi*) is that of children and bearers of news Its sign of the Zodiac is Libra, its planet Venus, and its day, Friday The corresponding figure is the twelfth The south wind is its element It is neither good nor bad, it is *tālib* and female Its month is Radjab If it occupies the fourteenth place the desire expressed is satisfied the day following It is large in the twelfth place and strong in the fourth, eighth and eleventh Its metal is gold

Figure VI (*al-t̲hikāf*, Malag *alikula*, *alukula*) is that of the sick, of cries, of war, of slaves, of loss of property, of remedies and of ships (sailing ships of the Western Indian Ocean) Its sign of the Zodiac is Aquarius, its planet, Mercury, its day, Saturday The corresponding figure is the seventh Its element is the west wind It is good or bad according to circumstances, *tālib* or *matlūb* Its month is Dhu 'l-Kaʿda, it is female If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before accomplishment of the desire expressed, will be fifteen days It is large in the ninth place and strong in the eighth, eleventh and twelfth Its metal is silver

Figure VII (*ankis* > Malag *alikisi*) is that of husband and wife, of women and of sexual relations Its sign of the Zodiac is Capricorn, its planet, Saturn, its day, Saturday and its element earth The corresponding figure is the sixth It is unlucky, *tālib* or *matlūb*, and male or female according to circumstances Its month is Shawwāl If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 36 days before an answer to the question asked the diviner is obtained It is large and strong in the second, ninth and twelfth Its metal is silver

Figure VIII (*homrā* > Malag *alahumura*, *alaimura*) is that of death and removal Its sign of the Zodiac is the Ram, its planet Mars, its day, Tuesday Its corresponding figure is the sixteenth, its element, fire It is unlucky, *tālib* and male Its month is Muharram If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 21 days It is large in the first and strong in the fourth Its metal is iron

Figure IX (*bayād* > Malag *alibiava*, *adibidzadi*) is that of departure and of those who clothe the dead in white linen Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer, its planet, the moon, its day, Monday Its corresponding figure is the thirteenth and its element is water It is neither lucky nor unlucky but may be one or other according to circumstances It is *ṭālib* and female, its month is Djumādā al-Ākhir In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of ten days for the accomplishment of the desire expressed It is large in the ninth and strong in the eleventh Its metal is copper

Figure X (*nasrat al-khāridja*, Malag *asuralahi*) is that of strength and of rulers Its Zodiacal sign is Leo, its planet is the sun, its day, Sunday, its element fire It is male, *tālib* and very lucky Its month is Dhu 'l-Kaʿda In the fourteenth place the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 32 days It is large in the tenth and strong in the thirteenth Its metal is gold

Figure XI (*nasrat ad dākhila* > Malag *asuravavi*) is that of life in towns, of return to the domestic hearth, of ambition, friendship and of children Its sign of the Zodiac is Taurus, its planet Venus, its day Friday, its element, black earth The corresponding figure is the fifth It is male, lucky and *tālib* Its month is Ramadan If it is in the fourteenth place, ten months will have to pass before the realization of the desire It is strong in the fourteenth place and large in the eleventh Its metal is copper

Figure XII (ʿ*otbat al khāridja* > Malag *karidza*) is that of enemies, cunning and ambushes Its sign of the Zodiac is Dhil al-Djawzahir, "the Dragon's tail", its planet Saturn, its day Saturday The corresponding figure is the third, its elements are water and terra firma It is unlucky, *matlūb* and feminine If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 66 days It is large in the twelfth and strong in the thirteenth Its metal is iron

Figure XIII (*tarik* > Malag *taraiki*) is that of the road which leads to the house of death, to the cemetery Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer, its planet, the Moon, its day, Monday The corresponding figure is the ninth, its element is water It is lucky, *matlūb* and female Its month is Dhu 'l-Kaʿda If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire will be 50 days It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth Its metal is copper

Figure XIV (*id̲jtimāʿ* > Malag *aditsima*, *aditsimai*) is that of learned men, of remedies, of knowledge, aims and medicine Its sign of the Zodiac is Gemini, its planet, Mercury, its day, Wednesday The corresponding figure is the fourteenth Its element is the wind It is lucky or unlucky, male or female, *tālib* Its month is Djumādā al-Ākhir In the fourteenth place which is its own, it indicates an interval of 6 months before the accomplishment of the desire It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth Its metal is iron

Figure XV (ʿ*otbat al-dākhila*, Malag *alihutsi*) is that of the judge Its Zodiacal sign is Pisces, its planet is Jupiter, its day, Thursday and its element, water The corresponding figure is the

first It is lucky, male or female and *ghālib* Its month is Shawwāl In the fourteenth place the interval before accomplishment of the desire will be 55 days It is large in the fourth and strong in the eleventh Its metal is iron

Figure XVI (*nakī al khadd* > Malag *kizu*) is that of the end of all things and the last of the *sikidi* Its sign of the Zodiac is Scorpio, its planet Mars, its day Tuesday and its element water The corresponding figure is the eighth It is lucky or unlucky, male or female and *matlūb*, its month is Djumādā al-Awwal In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of seven days before the realization of the desire It is large on the fourteenth and strong in the sixteenth which is its own Its metal is copper

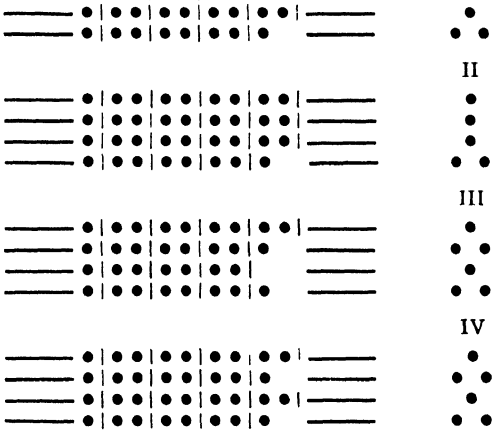
These are the sixteen figures of the *sikidi* and the signification given them in Madagascar

As its Arabic name shows, this "science of the sand" was first practised by tracing lines or dots on the sand, in Arabic one says *darab al-ramī* "to strike the sand", to describe the preparation of the *ʿilm al-raml* On the east coast of Africa in Swahili the same operation is called *kupiga bao*, lit "to strike the planchette" (which implies that the dots forming the sixteen figures are inscribed on a planchette) or *ramli*, a Bantuised form of the Arabic *raml* "sand" At the first the lines or dots were traced on the sand, then on a planchette of wood and lastly as in Madagascar on paper According to another Malagasy method, the diviner also uses grains of sand, or seeds, especially those of the *fanu* tree (*Piptadenia chrysostachys*, Bth)

When requested to consult the fates by the *sikidi*, the diviner first of all pronounces the invocation "Awake, O God, to awaken the Sun! Awake, O Sun, to awaken the Cock! Awake, O Cock, to awaken Man (*olumbeluna*)! Awake, O Man, to awaken the sikidi, not that it may lie, not that it may lead us to error, not that it may make a laughing stock, not that it may say foolish things, not that it may deal with any matter of no importance, but that it may search out secrets, that it may see what is beyond the mountains and the other side of the forest that it may see what no human eye can see Arise! for thy skill which comes from the Muslims with long hair (sic! *silamu be vulu*), from the high mountains, from Raburubuaka, from Tsipelaketsiketsika, from Zafit simaitu (eponym of a tribe of the south-east converted to Islām), from Andriambavitualahi, from Rakelihuranana, from Ianakara (eponym of another south-eastern tribe, converts to Islām), from Andrinoni-Sulanatia, from Vazimba (a dwarf tribe, of African origin as the name shows, the old owners of the soil), from Anakandriananahitra, from Rakelilavavulu (lit the little man with long hair)! Arise! for we do not have thee for nothing, for thou are dear and cause expense! We have taken thee in exchange for a fat zebu cow with a large hump And for money on which there was no dust (i e coins which are still circulating) Awake! for thou hast the confidence of the ruler and thou expressest the judgment of the people If thou art a sikidi that can speak, a sikidi that can see and that does not repeat (only) the gossip of people, the hen killed by its owner, the ox killed in the market, the dust which clings to the feet (i e a *sikidi* who does not repeat what everyone knows), awake, on the mat which is on this very spot!"

(cf *Antananarivo Annual* and *Madagascar Magazine*, 1886, p 221) If the diviner operates with seeds, he takes up a few at random and counts them two by two until at the end he has one or two which are placed at the top of the figure The operation is repeated four times which gives the four rows of dots of the first figure

When the diviner works on paper, he traces with the *kalam* a line in the form of the arc of a circle, the centre of which is indicated by a dot The sum of the dots and initial and final curves (each of which counts as a dot) must not exceed 14, although the *mpisikidi* is understood to make the dots without counting them He then draws three other concentric curves in the same way This done, the dots are counted two by two and line by line from left to right A vertical line separates the groups of two dots from one another After the last vertical line there remains either the final curved line which counts as a dot, either a point or a line, i e two dots This or these are written opposite each line and given figures I, II, III, IV



The four first figures are called in Arabic, *ummahāt* "the mothers"

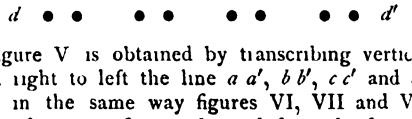


Figure V is obtained by transcribing vertically from right to left the line *a a'*, *b b'*, *c c'* and *d d'* give in the same way figures VI, VII and VIII These four new figures derived from the four first are called *al banāt* "the daughters"

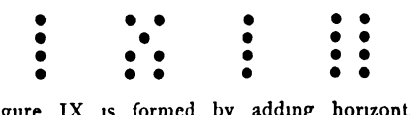
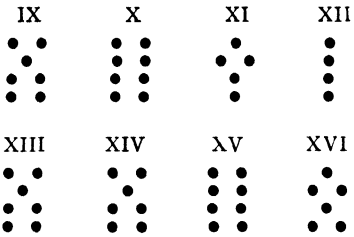


Figure IX is formed by adding horizontally the dots of I and II (in the addition ● + ● = ●●, ● + ●● = ●, ●● + ●● = ●●) All the other figures are similarly formed III and IV give X, V and VI give XI, VII and VIII give XII, IX and X give XIII, XI and XII give XIV,

XIII and XIV give XV, and XV and I give XVI The eight last figures are called *banāt al-banāt* "the daughters of the daughters"



These sixteen figures contain the fate of the inquirer and the diviner has to give him the meaning of each of them by interpreting them from the table of Shaikh al-Zanātī, which was given above (p 71*a*) We may therefore imagine what a high place the *sikidi* occupies in Malagasy life, and the very numerous circumstances in which recourse is had to it The diviner was and undoubtedly still is the true manager of it In practice it is consulted for every act of private and public life whether of the individual, family, clan or tribe I have not been able to learn how one becomes a *mpisikidi* It is the speciality of certain individuals without distinction of sex or birth A diviner or a sorcerer may be man or woman (I have never known a woman sorcerer but have heard that there are such) The sorcerer may be of royal birth, noble or freeman (I have never heard of a sorcerer or diviner who was a slave, although slaves have been executed on charges of sorcery) The diviner or the sorcerer is very often the son or daughter of a diviner or a divineress, which assures him an extensive clientèle, for he or she is supposed to inherit the paternal (or maternal) secrets The sorcerer or diviner may be either native or foreigner I was taken for a diviner during a stay of forty months at Mananjary (S E coast) by the Muslim *mpisikidi*'s of the district, who treated me as colleague after I had shown them my knowledge of Islām It was in this way that I was enabled to be initiated gradually into the practice of *sikidi* and appeal was sometimes made to it

The area of dissemination of the *ʿilm al-raml* in Africa is considerable It is found in Dārfūr and the *Travels* of Burton in Dahomey reveal the existence of practices closely allied to *sikidi* among a West African people who are however not Muslim (cf G Ferrand, *Musulmans a Madagascar*, III, p 141 *sqq*)

5 The great annual festival of the *fandruana* or the bath is only a survival under another form of the old *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [q v] On this identification cf G Ferrand, *Note sur un Calendrier malgache et le fandruana*

According to the evidence of the Portuguese discoverers and especially of Flacourt, the Muslim Malagasies of the S E of the XVIIth century fasted during Ramadān, recited the obligatory prayers, read the Kur'ān, but drank fermented liquors and raised and ate pork There were *khaṭīb*'s in the S E so that assemblies of the faithful took place, but there is no mention of the existence of mosques in the early travellers and Flacourt says definitely in his preface that "the nation of which he is going to speak has no idols or temples" As in Siam [q v] the success of Islām was only mediocre in Madagascar Malagasy does not readily assimilate foreign beliefs and customs and the latter do not profoundly modify native beliefs and customs His whole philosophy is contained in the proverb *mami ni aina*, "life is sweet", he thinks it good to be alive the strict observation of the Kur'ānic prescriptions would have upset too much his usual life and customs Allāh proscribes fermented liquors, standing stones, games of chance and consulting the fates as abominations invented by Satan But these abominations are particularly dear to the Malagasies, they are particularly devoted to alcoholic liquors and to gambling, believe firmly in soothsaying and standing stones (*tsangambatu*) are held in honour throughout the whole island No doubt they veneiate Allāh, the Kur'ān, the Prophet and saints of Islām but it is a purely verbal reverence and they are not really islāmised to the degree, that for example are the negroes of the adjoining east coast of Africa

The conversion of the Malagasies to Christianity was also a failure At the time of the conquest of the island in 1895 they were quite disposed to be converted en masse to Roman Catholicism, thinking it would please us, they had to be warned that the French goveinment only attached importance to iespect for the laws and respected the religious convictions of every one whatever they were This fact of which I was a witness is more eloquent than any other and throws an illuminating light on the past

The evidence quoted above and especially that of comparative philology enable us to draw up the following scheme of the settlement of Madagascar so far as our knowledge at present goes

I Many legends give the old Vazimba, now disappeared, as *tumpu-n tani* or ancient masters of the soil i e the autochthons The name which is found in East Africa is clearly Bantu and represents an older *wa zimba* Malag *vazimba* They are said to have been of small stature They were perhaps negrillos

II There was an important immigration of African Bantus prior to our era of which we have an evidence in a certain substratum of African words which has survived in the modern language

III There was next an important immigration of Hinduised Indonesians from Sumatra (cf G Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya*) in the second—fourth centuries A D A word like the Malag *hētsi* < old Malag *hēti* = 100,000 < Malav *kĕti* 100,000 < Sanskrit *koṭi* 10,000,000 is over many others testifying to this fact These Indonesians modified the somatological, cultural and linguistic type of the negritic Bantus who peopled Madagascar

IV Arrival of Arabs in the sixth–ninth centuries and conversion of the Malagasies to Islām These Arabs probably came from the Persian Gulf and belonged to the Sunna

V Another immigration of Sumatrans at the end of the tenth century I consider the Wākwāk to be western Indonesians, as I shall explain in the article WĀKWĀK The *Book of the Wonders of India* (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, ed by van der Lith and transl by M Devic) mentions a piratical campaign by these Wāḳwāk in 334 (945) in the Western India Ocean It is probable that we have here a reference to the migration led by Ramini the

"Sumatran" or Ramınıa "the Sumatran" (fem) His elder son Ra-Hadzı was the ancestor of the tribe of Zafin-d-Ramını, "the descendants of Ramını", of the S E coast of Madagascar The younger son, Ra-Kuka, went into the interior of the island, reached the plateau of Imerina where he married a Vazimba woman Ra Kuba was the ancestor of Huva who bear his name

VI Coming of Persians of the sect of the "Twelvers" later than the reign of ʿAlī al-Ridā (183—202 = 800—818)

VII Coming of other Arabs in the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿsim, in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era

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AL-**MADĀ'IN**, a mediaeval Arab town or rather a group of towns in al-ʿIrāk (Babylonia) about 20 miles S E of Baghdād lying on either side of the Tigris in two almost equal portions The name al-Madā'in (plur of *al-Madīna*) „the towns" is explained from the fact that the two capitals situated opposite one another, Seleucia on the west, the Greek city founded by Seleucus I between 312 and 301 B C , and Ctesiphon on the east (the first reference to which is in 221 B C), the winter residence of the Parthian and Sāsānian kings, with several other places close at hand were regarded as forming a whole The Semitic Aramaeans who formed the bulk of the population under the Arsakids and Sāsānians comprised the whole group under the name *Māhōzē* or *Medīnāthā* "the towns", which latter word the Arabs adopted in the plural form al-Madā'in peculiar to their language Following the Sāsānians, the Arabs reckoned seven towns in al-Madā'in, the official names of which they partly arabicised

On the west bank lay Weh-Ardeshīr, corrupted by the Arabs to Behrasīr (often wrongly read Bahurasīr and Nahr Shīr or Sīr, cf Streck, *Babylonien*, p 262, note 3) The name does not mean "good (is) Ardeshīr" as it is often explained but "house (i e foundation) of Ardeshīr" (cf thereon, Noldeke, *W Z K M*, xvi , 1902, p 7 *Weh* = Aram *Bē*) In Syriac and Talmudic literature Behrasīr is usually called *ʾōkhē* (= Koche of the late classical writers) and *Māhōzā* (= "the town") It occupied the lower southern half of the former Greek town A parasang (c 3 miles) north of it was the village of Darzanīdān (also Darzīdān), arabicised to Darzīdjān On the east bank stood Ctesiphon The Arab historians and geographers usually reproduce this name, which is not Greek but very probably indigenous (Iranian?) by *Taisafūn*, but we also find Tusfūn and Tusbūn corresponding exactly to the presumed Pahlavi form (Tosfōn, Tosbōn) On these placenames cf the very full discussion by Streck in Pauly-Wissowa, *l c* , Suppl vol iv 1102 *sq* Not uncommonly the town on the east bank, much more important for the Muslims, is called al-Madā'in (e g in al-Istakhrī, *B G A* , i 87, 1) About an hour's journey away, south of Ctesiphon stood Weh Antiokh-i Khosraw (= Antiocha, house of Khosraw) The Arabs usually called this city founded by Khusraw I Anusharwān, which was settled with the deported inhabitants of Antioch ad Orontem destroyed in 540 and is said to have been planned on the model of the Syrian capital,

Rūmīya = Rome or (New) Rome or Byzantium The Syriac sources distinguish this new foundation from the older towns by the name *Māhōzā ḥᵉḏattā* = "New town"

We know nothing further about the three other towns of al-Madā'in, which made up the number seven so popular in the east and was here no doubt deliberately chosen The exact forms of their names are not even known

As early as the Parthian period there was a stone bridge to convey the traffic between the two thickly populated banks of the Tigris, which the historian Hamza al-Isfahānī (cf his *Ta'rīkh*, ed Gottwaldt, p 31, 10) describes as a marvel, but already in his day (beginning of the fourth = tenth century) there was no longer any trace of it Under the Sāsānians a second bridge (of boats?) was erected In the Muslim period however there was still only a bridge of boats

In Taisafūn-Ctesiphon two main quarters are distinguished, the northern "old town", Arab *al Madīna al-ʿatīka* and the southern, Asfānabr (Asbānabr, Asfābūr, and other variants of the name)

The "old town" probably represents the oldest settlement on the east bank, the foundation of the Parthian period In it was a royal palace which the Arabs called *al-Kasr al-abyad* = "the white palace" (there were other palaces of the same name elsewhere, cf the article KAL'A-I SEFID), probably the residence originally of the Sāsānian kings built by one of the last Arsakids or first Sāsānians The southern quarter Asfānabr also included a royal residence, the *īwān* (= pillared hall, palace), usually described more definitely by the Arab authors of the middle ages as *Īwān Kisrā* (= Pers Khosraw, Chosroes the general title of the Sāsānian kings among the Arabs, cf Streck, *Seleucia u Ktesiphon*, p 37, note 1) Its builder is known with certainty to have been Sapor (Sābūr) I (241—272 A D) It may be noted that later Arab historians often confuse the "white palace" and the Īwān

It can hardly be supposed that the site of al-Madā'in, so favoured by nature, at the point where the Euphrates and Tigris most nearly approach each other, was without any considerable settlement until the time of Seleucus I There is on the contrary every indication that the town of *Akshak* (written ideographically *Uḥ-ki*) dating back to remote antiquity like its successor *Upi*, the *Opis* of the classics, cannot well be located anywhere else than on the site of the sister towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon or in the immediate neighbourhood What the Arab writers say about the founder of al-Madā'in is worthless They ascribe the foundation to mythical kings of the old Īrānian epic like Djamshīd and Tahmūrath or other celebrated rulers of the east (like Nimrūd or Iskandar-Alexander, for Nimrūd see Abu 'l-Faraj-Barhebraeus, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar*, Beirūt ed, p 20, 5)

For the pre-Muhammadan history of al-Madā'in which does not fall within the scope of this work cf Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon*, and the pertinent articles in Pauly-Wissowa The Arabic sources contain much valuable information for the Sāsānian period, the most notable is Tabarī's history (cf Noldeke, *Gesch der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879) We may here mention that under the later Sāsānians, Ctesiphon, to some extent, lost its popularity as the winter capital, for they, especially Khosraw II Parwēz (599—628), preferred Dastagerd to it, three days journey to the north on the very old "royal road" [cf DASTADJIRD]

We have fairly full information about the conquest of al-Madā'in by the Arabs, especially the great chronicles of Tabarī (1 2426—2456) and Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg, III 396—403, cf also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, III 732 *sq*, Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI 68 *sqq*, and Streck, *Seleucia u Ktesiphon*, p 38—41) After the glorious battle of al-Kādisīya, which made the Arabs masters of 'Irāk west of the Tigris (cf above, II, p 612b), the Caliph 'Omar ordered Sa'd b Abī Wakkās, who was then in command of the Muslim troops operating in the 'Irāḳ, to march on the Persian capital Sa'd advanced, fighting several battles on the Tigris and appeared before Behrasīr in the first half of January 637 (= end of 16 A H) The strongly fortified town which was bravely defended was besieged and stormed in vain for two months In the end the Persians whose supplies were exhausted fled by night unnoticed over the river so that when the Arabs stormed the town soon afterwards they found it quite deserted A few days later the invaders were able by using a convenient ford to cross the Tigris, much swollen by the spring floods This almost miraculous crossing effected without any loss is a much celebrated event in Muslim history, it is one of the famous "days" of the period of the conquest The Persians had not expected that the Arabs would win their way across The king had taken refuge with his family and court in Hulwān [q v], the army had retired to Djisr Nahrawān (about 24 miles north of Ctesiphon) Only a few regiments remained at the palace in the capital At the end of March 637 Sa'd made his triumphal entrance through the deserted streets The progress of the Arab operations had not given the Persians sufficient time to carry off the vast treasures accumulated in Ctesiphon These all fell into the hands of the victors The Arabic sources give many interesting details of the very valuable objects which were captured not only in Ctesiphon but in the pursuit of the Persian army The total value of the booty taken in Ctesiphon was estimated at 900 million dirhems (of a nominal value of nine pence but it varied a great deal)

The occupation of the Sāsānian capital, the greatest royal city in nearer Asia, may be said to be the most important event of the period of Islām's splendour, the period of the great campaigns of conquest In the "Old town" the victorious Sa'd built the chief mosque — the first Muslim place of worship to be built in the 'Irāḳ

Al-Madā'in was not destined to be the residence of the Arab governor of the 'Irāḳ, on the contrary it sank under Muslim rule to be a mere provincial town It was soon overshadowed by the newly founded Arab military colonies of Kūfa, to which the gates of Ctesiphon were transported — a symbolic custom found elsewhere in the Arab east — Basra and Wāsiṭ Basra and Kūfa now became the political and intellectual centres of Mesopotamia until the Caliph al-Mansūr built Baghdād and the political and cultured centre of gravity of the land gravitated thither The foundation of Baghdād dealt al-Madā'in its death blow it was now called upon to yield the building material necessary for the new capital of the caliphate,

just as Babylon had done for Seleucia centuries before

In the history of the Umaiyad and ʿAbbāsid periods al Madā'ın was as a rule no longer of any prominence It only played a part of some importance ın the cıvil wars of the first two centuries of Islām, those provoked by the Khārıdjıs as well as those provoked by the ʿAlıds The Muslım ınhabıtants of al-Madā'ın were, ıt seems, always strong supporters of the Shīʿa They were also hostile to the Khārıdjī movement As early as 658 there was fightıng around al-Madā'ın be tween ʿAlī and the Khārıdjīs An attempt by the latter (ın 664) to seize Ctesiphon from Behrasīr was thwarted by the commander there who had Shīʿa sympathies, by destroyıng the brıdge of boats The Khārıdjīs however later succeeded ın twice gaınıng temporary possession of al-Madā'ın, e g ın 688 when the Khārıdjī group of the Azrakiya [q v] wrought great slaughter among the Muslıms who dıd not belong to their party The second occupatıon of al-Madā'ın ın 696 was achieved by the Khārıdjī leader Shabīb b Yazīd On these events cf J Wellhausen, *Dıe religıos-polıt Oppositıons-parteıen ım alten Islam* (= *Abh G W G*, N F, vol v, N⁰ 2 [1901]), p 21, 36, 43, 45, R Brunnow, *Dıe Charıdschıten unter den ersten Omaıyaden*, Leyden 1884, p 22, 92 Wıth the death of Shabīb b Yazīd, the power of the Khārıdjīs was broken, but as late as 751 ʿAbbāsid troops had to be sent to suppress a leader of these rebels, cf A Muller, *Der Islam ım Morgen- und Abendlande*, ı 440

As regards the ʿAlıd wars ın the ʿIrāk the most ımportant campaign was that of Hasan to al-Madā'ın ın the year 661 Hasan lıved there ın the "white palace" Cf on thıs expedıtıon, the Arabıc accounts of whıch dıffer not ınconsıderably Weıl, *Geschıchte der Chalıfen*, ı 244, Flügel, *Gesch der Araber*, Leıpzıg 1867, p 158—159, A Muller, *op cıt*, ı 336 and especıally J Well hausen, *Das arabısche Reıch und sein Sturz*, Berlın 1902, p 67—68 In the latei Shīʿa troubles al Madā'ın appears ın 684—686 and 744 as supportıng the ʿAlıds, cf Wellhausen, *Dıe religıos-polıt Oppositıonspart*, p 72, 73, 80, 98 The ımportance of al-Madā'ın as an objectıve ın these cıvil wars ıs evident from the fact that ın those days the mılıtary road from Basra to Kūfa dıd not go through the desert along the Arabıan bank of the Tıgrıs but went across the canals to the Tigrıs at al-Madā'ın and from thence over further canals to the Euphrates, cf Wellhausen, *Dıe religıos-polıt Opp*, p 85, note 3

The Calıph al-Ma'mūn was repeatedly forced to lead an army against al-Madā'ın ın 811, when ın the troubles that arose over the succession on the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd the Barmecıde ʿImrān b Mūsā defended the town against Ma'mūn (cf ı, p 665ᵃ) and ın 815 when an ʿAlıd rebel Abu 'l-Sarāyā (al Sarī b Mansūr, cf ıv, p 170) who had seized the town was besieged ın ıt For the rest we do not hear much more of al-Madā'ın ın the ʿAbbāsid period, ıts two maın components, Taısafūn and Behrasīr, contınued for several centuries more to enjoy the modest exıstence of small country towns As regards Rūmīya whıch was ıncluded ın the system of towns formıng al-Madā'ın, the Calıph al-Mansūr had temporarıly held hıs court there ın 754 and had caused Abū Muslım [q. v] to be treacherously murdered there (Yāḳūt, ıı 867, 2, Streck, *Babylonıen*, ıı 268) But about the mıddle of the tenth century thıs place accordıng to al Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Paris, ıı 200) was already completely deserted the wall round ıt built of thick brıcks was the sole relıc of ıt left When Yāḳūt wrote ın the early decades of the xıiıth century (cf hıs *Muʿdjam*, ı 768, v 447, 7) the whole of the east sıde of al-Madā'ın, ı e Taısafūn ın particular was already completely deserted, on the west bank still stood Behrasīr, a small town, practically a vıllage, ınhabıted by peasants who practised only agrıculture It was now known as al-Madā'ın

When Hūlāgū with hıs Mongol hordes was advancıng to conquer the Calıph's capıtal ın 1257, he pıtched hıs camp ın the ruins of the Īwan and ın the followıng year, after he had been joıned by the troops of the Mongol prınces, he marched on Baghdād, cf Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hıst des Mongols de la Perse*, ed Quatremère, Paris 1836, p 266

The author of the *Marāsıd al-Ittılāʿ* (ed Juynboll, ıı 62) who wrote an epıtome of Yāḳūt and dıed ın 1338 ıs also acquaınted with Bahrasīr as a lıttle town ınhabıted exclusıvely by Shīʿıs, as ıs also Bākuwī who about 1403 prepared a synopsıs of the geography of al-Kazwīnī [q v], cf the French translatıon of the latter *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār* by de Guignes ın *N E*, ıı, 1789, p 424 When Bahrasīr became deserted ıs unknown Presumably the dısastrous ınvasıon of the Mongols under Tīmūr at the begınnıng of the xvth century whıch was so fatal to so many once flourishıng towns of the lands of the Euphrates and Tigrıs also caused the collapse of thıs last settlement ın the territory of al-Madā'ın

It was not tıll the xıxth century that a modest vıllage arose on the sıte of Ctesiphon, a lıttle north of the ruins of the *Īwān Kısrā*, ın sıght of the hıghly venerated sanctuary of *Salmān Pāk* and called after hım Thıs consısted on my vısıt ın 1927 of a sıngle street of mud-houses and Khāns where the numerous Shīʿī pılgrıms who pass through here are put up The buildıng materıal ıs maınly supplıed by the ruins of the *Īwān* especıally of the north wıng of ıts great hall whıch collapsed ın 1888, cf Herzfeld, *op cıt*, ıı 63

In the Great War the sıte of al-Madā'ın was the scene of desperate fightıng, momentuous ın ıts results Thıs ıs usually called the Battle of Ctesiphon When the Anglo-Indıan army under General Townshend ın the late autumn of 1915 began an advance from the fortress of Kūt al-ʿAmāra along the Tigrıs to the north to try to take Baghdād, ıt was defeated on the 22nd and 23rd November 1915 ın the dıstrıct of the ruins of al-Madā'ın by the Turks The fightıng took place maınly on the east bank, the Brıtish lıne of battle ran on the east of the ruins of the Īwān and the lıttle vıllage near ıt Thıs reverse forced Townshend to retire to Kūt al-ʿAmāra, whıch was soon afterwards surrounded by the Turks and capıtulated after a five months' sıege on April 29th 1916 For further partıculars of thıs battle, the greatest on the Mesopotamıan front ın the world war, see the works on thıs subject, cf especıally General Townshend's *My Campaign ın Mesopotamıa* (London 1919), p 193 *sq*, 171—184, with plan of the battle (map 7)

In connectıon with thıs brıef sketch of the hıstory of al-Madā'ın ıt may be mentıoned that one of the most dıstınguished scholars ın the

field of Arabic history was born here, namely ʿAlī b M al-Madā'inī [cf the next article], born 753, d between 830 and 845 His work itself has not survived but may be partly reconstructed from the numerous extracts in Balādhurī, Tabarī, Yāḳūt, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* etc so that we have an idea of its contents, cf Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 140—141 and J Heer, *Die hist und geogr Quellen zu Ǧāqūt's Georgr Worterbuch* (Strassburg 1898), p 5—6, 67—68 (on the chapter al-Madā'in in Balādhurī) Darzanīdān (Darzīǧān), already mentioned above and included in the heptapolis of al-Madā'in, was the birthplace of the famous traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb al Baghdādī (d 463 = 1071) on him cf vol II, p 929 *sq* and Bergstrasser, in *Z S*, II 207—208 In the introduction to his biographical lexicon he gives a brief sketch of the history of al-Madā'in, making a special point of noting the companions of the Prophet who came to this town and took part in its conquest, cf G Salmon, *al-Ḫaṭīb al-Bagdādī, Introduction topographique à l'hist de Bagdad* (Paris 1904), p 13, 25, 175—181, or p 85—93 of the Arabic text

As to the mint history of al-Madā'in, neither the name al-Madā'in, nor as we might perhaps expect, Taisafūn or Behrasir is found on the coins of the Muslim period, on the other hand we have a considerable number of pieces with the inscription *al-Bāb* "the gate" which undoubtedly belong to our city The Arabs adopted the custom of the Sāsānians who gave their coins struck in Ctesiphon the mint name *Bābā* = "the gate", which is to be interpreted like "Sublime Porte" as an official epithet of their royal capital (cf the official designation of Constantinople as *Dar-i Seʿādet* "Gate of Bliss") We have not only a series of Arabic coins with the mint name al-Bāb down to the end of the Umaiyad period but also a few pieces of Sāsānian type with the legend Bābā, on the latter (specimens of the year 67—68) cf Nutzel, *Katalog der oriental Munzen in den kgl Museen zu Berlin*, I (1898), p 102 Coins are also found occasionally with the mint *al Madīna al-ʿatīka*, the name of the northern quarter of Ctesiphon (with the Sāsānian Royal palace cf above) For the Arab coins of the mint al-Bāb cf articles of various writers in *Z D M G*, XIX 394, XXXI 148 *sq*, XXXIII 691, XXXIX 25, 38, XLIII 702, cf also Streck, *Sel und Ktes*, p 37—88 and the references there given

Here we can only refer briefly to the important part which al-Madā'in played in the church history of the east independent of Rome, especially Nestorian Christianity The see of Seleucia, said to have been first erected in the time of the apostles, was the premier diocese in the east As supreme head of all the Nestorian bishops, in the Sāsānian period as well as in that of the Caliphs as patriarch of the east the occupant of the see of Seleucia bore the title Katholikos A number of important synods were held at his official residence in the course of centuries The episcopal cathedrals were in Behrasīr (New Seleucia) which the Syriac sources usually called Kōkhē (cf above) hence the official title of the patriarchate, "Church of Kōkhē" Besides the official church of the bishop there were in al-Madā'in in the quarters on either bank a whole series of other Christian churches, the names of which are occasionally found in Syriac and Arabic texts From Seleucia the Nestorian church developed considerable missionary activity, extending even to the Far East and reached its zenith in the period from the sixth to the ninth century Under the ʿAbbāsids 25 metropolites — the first in rank after the Katholikos was the bishop of Kaskar [q v] — each of whom in turn had 6–12 suffragans under him, acknowledged the authority of the see of Seleucia All the metropolites received their investiture in the cathedral of Kōkhē Soon after the foundation of Baghdād (762) the Katholikos also moved from Behrasīr (Kōkhē), now declining politically and commercially, to the new capital of the empire in order, as religious and political head of the Christian community, the more effectually to champion their interests there at the court of the Caliph, where he usually enjoyed considerable prestige But each new patriarch continued to be ceremonially installed in the mother church at Kōkhē (probably down to the end of ʿAbbāsid rule) For further information on the significance of al-Madā'in in oriental church history cf Streck, *Babylonien*, II 274—275, do, *Sel und Ktesiph*, p 42—7, 64 (sources in Syriac literature), J Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, Paris 1904

That al-Madā'in was also for some time an important centre of the gnostic sect of the Manichaeans may be mentioned here, but it is doubtful whether their founder, Mānī (Manes), as is often supposed came from Ctesiphon itself, cf thereon most recently Schaeder, in *Isl*, XIV 23

Finally it may be briefly recalled that al-Madā'in possesses considerable interest for the history of Judaism, especially for the Talmudic period of it As in the Hellenistic period, the Jews under Sāsānian and Arab rule had also their main settlement on the west bank in Behrasir which in Jewish sources is usually called Māhōzā, "the town" There, as in the Greek Seleucia (cf Streck, *Sel und Ktes*, p 10, 21), they formed an exceedingly high percentage of the inhabitants, indeed at times they seem to have been in the majority That they are described as very rich is not surprising in view of the great importance of al-Madā'in as a trading centre down to the time of the rise of Baghdād At the same time their character is unfavourably described by the Māhōzenes, it differed from that of the other Jews of Babylonia which is perhaps mainly to be explained by the fact that there were many proselytes among them They also had a famous college, which was however only the intellectual centre of Babylonian Judaism under Rabā bar Yoseph (b 229 A D), a native of Māhōzā, and at other times was inferior to the other Jewish centres of learning in Babylonia, Nehardea, Sura and Pombeditha For further Jewish accounts of al-Madā'in, cf A Berliner, *Beitr zur Geogr und Ethnogr Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1883, p 19, 23—24, 39—43, 61—62, see also Streck, *Sel und Ktes*, p 27, 63 and 64 (Bibliography)

Apart from the wretched little modern village of Salmān Pāk the whole of the area of the town of al-Madā'in measuring about 60 square miles is quite uninhabited It is only from the middle of the XVIIIth century that we have more or less full accounts of it by European travellers cf. Streck, *Sel und Ktes*, p 47—8 The first systematic topographical and archaeological examination of the extensive ruined site was made by E Herzfeld, who visited it five times between 1903 and

1911 He dealt fully with the results of his examination in 1914 in the second volume (not published till 1920) of his and Sarre's *Archaologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, cf II, p 46—76 and the pictures on Plates xxxix—xliv (Vol III) and cxxii—cxxviii (Vol IV) Herzfeld gives (II 51) the first plan of the whole area prepared by him in 1911, cf this reduced to ¼ of the original also in Streck, *Sel u Babyl*, p 50 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *op cit*, Vol IV, 1106

Of the towns on the west bank, notably Seleucia, there has survived from the Hellenistic period only remnants of the old city wall (*al-sūr*), a double wall of gigantic dimensions, on the north and (less considerable) south side The whole west side of the old city is now sunk in a permanent swamp (*hōr*) formed since 1900 of the annual inundations Within the south half of the ancient city walls, there now rise from the otherwise flat plain two mounts of rubble about 15 feet high (*djaraʿa*, which in the ʿIrāk is practically synonymous with *tell*), namely the *Djaraʿat al-Bārūda* and the *Djaraʿat bint al Kādī* The former which takes its name (powder-millhill) from a powder-mill which used to stand there to supply the Turkish troops, may, from the finds of pottery, conceal an important part of the Sāsānian foundation of Behrasir The second hill with the legendary name *Djaraʿat* (or *Kaṣr*) *bint al Kadi* = "hill or castle of the Kādī's daughter" may very well mark the site of the several times mentioned citadel of Seleucia-Kōkhē Beyond the above mentioned permanent swamp, further hills and walls may be seen — Tell ʿUmair (or Djaraʿat ʿUmar), Khusāf or Abū Hulaifīya, al-Sūsfīya, al Khiyamīyāt and Tell al-Dhahab They perhaps all fell within the area of Seleucia, and probably come from suburbs of it

The ruins on the east bank, those of Ctesiphon, begin about a mile above the village of Salmān Pāk After isolated wall-like ruins of walls and canals, the first considerable unit we reach is a large quarter of the town running for a mile along the Tigris opposite the Hellenistic Seleucia averaging 400 yards in breadth enclosed by a primitive much destroyed wall of clay — hence the name *al-Tuwaiba*, "the little clay-wall" Within this area lie a few fairplaces with palmgroves, mulberry trees and fields Al-Tuwaiba with its immediate vicinity must mark the site of Madīna al-ʿAtika, the northern quarter of Ctesiphon A second area filled with ruins is found around the village of Salmān Pāk and around the *Īwān*

The village street of Salmān Pāk leads in a straight line to the much veneiated tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī (Salmān the Persian) or, as it is usually called locally, of Salmān Pāk, "the Pure" He is said to have been the first Īrānian to have adopted Islām and as "Apostle to the Persians" is one of the most popular Shiʿī saints According to Muslim tradition he died at an advanced age in 656 or 657 in al-Madā'in, where the Caliph ʿOmar appointed him governor, it should be noted however that the Arab stories of Salmān's share in the conquest of the ʿIrāk and in the government of al-Madā'in are little credible Cf on Salmān vol IV, p 116 and Streck, *Sel und Ktes*, p 53—54 The mausoleum with the alleged grave of Salmān which is crowned by a dome (it used to be shown in the vicinity of Isfahān!) stands on the south side of a court enclosed by a high white turreted wall and in its present form may date from the first half of the XVIIth century, when it was renovated by Sultān Murād IV (1623—1640) In 1904—1905 the building was restored A description of the interior by Kāzim al-Dudjaili is given in Herzfeld, *op cit*, II, p 262, note 1

South-west of Salmān Pāk about 1,000 yards from it close to the bank of the Tigris is a second Muslim tomb with a dome, that of Hudhaifa b al-Yamān, one of the "councillors" of Muhammad The latter, an ardent champion of the ʿAlid cause, obtained, we are told, great merit by building the first mosque in al-Madā'in and died in 657 in Kūfa, on him see Balādhurī, p 289, Tabarī, I 2452, Streck, *Babylonien*, II 262, Herzfeld, *op cit*, II 59

The tradition that these two companions of the Prophet are buried here is old and goes back to the third (ninth) century — the earliest reference is in Yaʿkūbī, *B G A*, VII 320 Of the thousands of Persian pilgrims who annually visit the great Shīʿa shrines of the ʿIrāk (Kerbelā', Nadjaf, Kāzimain and Sāmarrā) many chose to visit Salmān Pāk as one of the stages on the way out or home

K Niebuhr (cf his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1778, II 306) heard of a tomb of a third companion of the Prophet in al-Madā'in, namely that of ʿAbd Allāh b Salām, [*q v*] a Jew of al-Madīna The latter — a strenuous opponent of ʿAlī — never came to the ʿIrāk so far as we know The *Sālnāme-i Baghdād* of 1317 (1906), p 256 (according to Herzfeld, *op cit*) mentions in addition to Hudhaifa a certain ʿAbd Allah al Ansārī, buried in al-Madā'in, but I think his statement like that of Niebuhr (or rather his informants) is not to be relied upon There is possibly some confusion with ʿAbd Allāh b Sabā, who is said to have been of Jewish origin and accompanied the Caliph ʿAlī to the ʿIrāk, but was there banished by him, as his extravagant enthusiasm for him made him a nuisance, to al-Madā'in, where he may have died Details of his end are not known Herzfeld suggested ʿAbd Allāh b Hubāb, who, according to Masʿūdī (IV 410), was murdered by the Khāridjis in 38 (658) while acting as ʿAlī's representative in al Madā'in As the interior of Salmān's sanctuary is said to contain two graves, the second may be claimed as that of this uncertain ʿAbd Allāh and not as that of the last Caliph Mustaʿsim executed by Hūlāgū, as Mignon, *Travels in Chaldaea*, London 1829, p 78 says he is followed by W Ainsworth, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1888, II 276 For the existence of a tomb of a Caliph at al-Madā'in there is no literary authority

As to the second area of ruins, which begins south of Salmān Pāk, its centre is formed of the great hall of Tāk-i Kisrā ("arch of Kisrā"), the glory of the celebrated Īwān, which will be dealt with briefly below In the immediate vicinity of the Tāk, four groups of ruins may be distinguished of which the most notable is an oblong mound 20 feet high in the south, called locally *Harīm-i Kisrā* = "the harem of Kisrā" or *al-Dbāʿi*, "the hyena-hill" It certainly conceals a single building All these groups of ruins which fringe the Tāk on the four sides undoubtedly belong to the palace of the Īwān, which must have covered an area about 400 yards long and 300 broad Some 500 yards S E of the ruins of al-Tāk, behind an irrigation canal the surface shows fewer but continuous remains

came into use, first, I believe, in Rashīd al-Dīn (*Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, p. 266) Yāḳūt (i. 425), as well as Bākuwī (c 1400) after him, know only the arched hall flanked by two wings as remains of the Īwān The building remained in this state practically unaltered till 1888 when on April 5th on the occasion of a high flood the northern front wing collapsed, probably undermined by the ruthless robbery of bricks. An attempt was made a few years ago to save the threatened south wing by securing its foundations. Pictures of the Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā before and after 1888 may be found in Fr Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāk* (Dresden 1911), p 16

The *Ḳaṣr al-Abyad*, the "White Palace", has completely disappeared At the capture of Ctesiphon it was spared by the Arabs like the Īwān The Muslim general Sa'd took up his quarters in it It met its fate in the reign of the Caliph al-Muktafī (902–908) who had it destroyed to provide building material to complete the al-Tādj palace on the east side of Baghdād, cf Streck, *Babylonien*, i 122, ii 259, Herzfeld, *op cit*, ii 63

Systematic excavations have never been conducted on the site of al-Madā'in The antiquities found here come from isolated chance finds, for a list of these see Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl iv, p 1166–1167 The Deutsche Orientgesellschaft has just (the autumn of 1927) begun excavations here and it is to be hoped that this enterprise, which is on a considerable scale, will yield valuable results for the archaeology, history and topography of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, especially on disputed points which can only be decided by the spade

Bibliography *B G A*, ed de Goeje, Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wüstenfeld, Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), see the Indices to these works under al-Madā'in, Behrasīr, Īwān, Kasr al-Abyaḍ, Rūmīya, Taisafūn, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, indices by Guidi, s v — There is valuable material for the Christian history of al-Madā'in in the *Kitāb al-Midjdal*, a history of patriarchs by Mārī b Sulaimān of the xiith century and in the abbreviation of the work continued to the xivth century by 'Amr b Mattā and Ṣalībā b Yūhannā, see H Gismondi, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorian commentaria* (text and Lat transl), 3 parts, Rome 1888–1899 Of late mediaeval Oriental works may be mentioned Hamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (*G M S*) p 44–46 or 50–52 (transl) and the already mentioned Bākuwī (cf *N E*, ii., 1789, p 424) A naive description of al-Madā'in is given in a Turkish account of the end of the xviith century entitled *Kitāb Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj*, Bianchi translated this into French in *Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires, publ par la Société de Géographie*, ii., p 81 *sq* (or p. 131) On the references, which contain minor errors, in Firdawsī's *Shah-nāma*, see Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, p 49 (in the *Grundr der iran. Philol*, Vol ii). — For further information from Oriental authors s G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p 33–35; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab Geographen*, ii. (Leyden 1901), p 246–279 and do, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (= *Der alte Orient*, vol xvi, Heft 3–4), Leipzig 1917 See also the articles KOCHE by Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl der klass. Altertumswiss*, xi. 943–944; KTESIPHON by Streck and Honigmann, *op cit.*, Suppl. vol. iv. 1102–1119 and SELEUKEIA by Streck, *op. cit*, ii. A, col. 1148–1184 and cf thereon also V. Tscherikover, *Die hellenist. Städtegründungen* (= *Philologus*, Suppl vol xix, 1927, Heft 1), p 90–92 — A historical topographical sketch of al-Madā'in from the earliest times to the present day is given by the Baghdād Carmelite Father Anastase in Arabic, in *al-Machriq*, v. (Beirūt 1902), p 673–681, 740–746, 780–786, 834–840 (giving extracts mainly from Arab authors and European travellers), J. M Patchatchy, *Le palais de Chosroes*, in the Arab. periodical *Lughat al-'Arab* (Baghdād), 1914, No 8 — In Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, xi (1844), p 852–865 the accounts of various early European travellers are utilised For the modern topography of al-Madā'in and the questions of archaeology and history of art arising out of the buildings there, the main authority is now E Herzfeld's *Seleukeia und Ktesiphon* in the already mentioned *Archaol Reise*, ii 46–76, 262, note 1 (suppl) For further bibliography cf Streck, *Babylonien*, *loc cit*, do, *Sel u Ktes*, p 64 and Herzfeld, p 46, note 1 and p 49, note 1 (M STRECK)

MADĀ'IN ṢĀLIḤ [See AL-HIDJR]

AL-MADĀ'INĪ, 'ALĪ B MUḤAMMAD B 'ABD ALLĀH B ABĪ SAIF ABU 'L-ḤASAN, an Arab historian and writer, a client of the Kuraish family of the 'Abd Shams b 'Abd Manāf, was born in 135 (752) in Basra, where he was a pupil of the theologian Mu'ammar b al-Ash'ath, but he became interested in *Adab* and history, he lived for a time in al Madā'in but moved from there to Baghdād, where he was closely associated with Ishāk b Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī in whose house he died in 225 (840), according to the *Fihrist* in 215 (830), according to others not till 231 (845) His literary activity was very extensive and included works on the history of the Prophet, of the Kuraish, of the conquests and the caliphate as well as the history of poets and lighter literature (*adab*) The *Fihrist* gives 239 titles of works from his pen but this includes the *Kitāb al-Diawābāt* twice and many of the works may have been quite short On the other hand this list is not complete Although later writers using his works only rarely give their titles, we can add the following to the list in the *Fihrist* Among historical monographs omitted is the *Kitāb Akhbār Zufar b al-Hārith* used by Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, iv 369) following a MS of Sukkarī (cf Heer, *Die hist und geographischen Quellen in Yāḳūts geogr Wb*, Strassburg 1898, p 5) Among *adab* works is omitted especially the *K al-Faradj ba'da 'l-Shidda* (cf Wiener, *Isl*, iv 276 *sqq*), often used by al-Tanūkhī, also the *K al-Samir*, cited ii 174, 2 by the same, the *K al-Mugharribīn* used by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (cf *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii 109, 1). The titles of his works seem to have varied often Thus the *K al-Nisā' al-Fawārik* cited by 'Abd al-Kādir, *Khizānat al-Adab*, i 408, 11, is doubtless identical, one may say, with the *K al-Nisā' al-Nāshizāt* cited *ibid*, iv 366, 5 below and 479, 15 and the *K. al-Nawākih wa 'l-Nawāshiz* of the *Fihrist*, 102, 1, as doubtless is the *K Zakan Iyās* in al-Maidānī, i 220, 12 with the *K. Akhbār Iyās b. Mu'āwiya* in *Fihrist*, 104, 15 and the *K. Akhbār al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ* in Mas'ūdī, ii 70, 2 with the *K. al-Ḳiṣṣāṣ wa*

'l-Akrād of the *Fihrist*, 103, 14 There still exist only parts 1 and 2 of the *K al-Ta'āzī* (*Fihrist*, 104) in the Zāhirīya of Damascus (cf Habīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khaza'in al-Kutub fi Dimashk wa-Ḍawāhīhā*, p 28, N° 1, 3) Of his historical works his *K Akhbār al-Khulafā' al-Kabīr* seems to have been the most comprehensive It came down to the reign of al-Mu'tasim Tabarī's account of the end of the reign of the caliph Hishām in 125 and the beginning of the reign of al-Walīd seems to be based on it, although for Umaiyad history he generally prefers Abū Mikhnaf The *K al-Dawla al-'Abbāsiya*, according to Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v 315, 8, consisted of several books, some of which were still available to him in Sukkarī's manuscript He is wrong however in thinking that this work was unknown to Ibn al-Nadīm, for it is evidently the *K al-Dawla* of the *Fihrist*, 103, 12, but it was omitted in the copy used by him Of his historical monographs, the one used most copiously by Tabarī was his history of Khurāsān, the title of which *K Futūh Khurāsān* already given in the *Fihrist*, 103, 10, made its subject plain, it is a most important source for the history of Central Asia in the period of the Muslim conquest His history of Basra (*Fihrist*, p 103, 6) seems also to have been Ṭabarī's main source for his account of this town As his authority Ṭabarī gives 'Umar b Shabba, in one passage he definitely mentions the latter's *K Akhbār Ahl al-Baṣra* (II 168, 10), perhaps he knew Madā'inī's work through the intermediary of 'Umār b Shabba Lastly Madā'inī's work on the Khārijīs was used not only by Tabarī but also by Balādhurī in the *K al-Ashrāf* (Ahlwardt's *Anonymus*), by Mubarrad in the *Kāmil* and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī in the *K al Aghānī* His separate work on the battle of Nahrawān may have been used by Tabarī for the year 38 From his history of Madina (*Fihrist*, p 103, 23) al-Balādhurī seems to have taken his statements in the *K al-Futūh*, p 11, 2, 13, 6, 47, 17 and he seems to have been acquainted with Madā'inī's numerous other monographs on the history of the conquest Among al-Madā'inī's pupils, al Zubair b Bakkār was the best known continuer of his work, which was however rendered obsolete in the next generation by the systematic works of Balādhurī and Tabarī

Bibliography *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p 100–104, Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed Margoliouth, v 309–318, Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, N° 47, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 140

(C BROCKELMANN)

MADĀR [See GHĀZĪ MIYĀN]

MĀDDA (A), a philosophical term = *hayūlā*, Gr ὕλη is, like its correlative *ṣūra*, Gr εἶδος, a word of varied significance In general it means that which can possibly exist (*δυνάμει*) but which really is not (has no form) but may become something through the adoption of opposed determinatives (forms). As the realisation of the possible is conceived as advancing by stages, a lower stage of form may again be conceived as material for a higher form of development The question is further complicated even in Aristotle by the distinction between a physical and a logical material (this consists in the conception of species, which is formed by the specific differentia) and by the division of the physical into a heavenly and an earthly material In addition there were further different, especially neo-Platonic, influences among the Arab philosophers

The fourfold division of matter is very common, e g in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* I prime matter, either directly or indirectly an emanation from the divine being, i e an intelligible matter conceived, according to Pseudo-Empedocles, as the first emanation but usually explained as in neo-Platonism as the last in the series (spirit, soul, nature), often defined as the efflux of light from the light of God, 2 the matter of the universe as a whole, especially and permanently, of the heavenly spheres, which first of all adopts the indefinite form of corporeality (extent) or at once the three definite dimensions, 3 the matter of the four earthly elements, fire, air, water and earth, 4 energy, which is already formed in some way, but can be used for definite purposes, e g wood, stone etc

In agreement with Aristotle the philosophers regard God as pure immaterial form Only an extreme mystic like 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, can call Him the *hayūlā* of the world As regards the lower spirits (spirits of the spheres, angels etc) opinions differ, but most thinkers find it easy to assume an intelligible matter, and even to recognise in the first created, the highest world spirit, a material principle, next however they are fond of distinguishing this intelligible matter as receptive and the earthly sensual matter as passive — Different opinions are expressed regarding the *principium individuationis* in the comparatively speaking purer Aristotelians we find the tendency to seek it in matter and in those who are more inclined to Platonism in form All insist, although with varying emphasis, upon the desire of matter for form more than the love of form for union with matter

As to logical matter, it may be noted in conclusion that the three modalities of judgment (necessity, possibility and impossibility) are described as "matters" (Ibn Sīnā) — Cf also the article 'UNSUR (TJ DE BOER)

MA'DHANA [See MANĀRA]

MADHHAB. [See FIKH]

MADHḤIDJ, an Arab tribe of Yemen origin, traced by the genealogists to Mālik b Udad, who is said to be descended in the fourth generation from Kahtān and to have received his name Madhḥidj from a hill of this name on which he and his brother Taiy were born His sons are said to have been Sa'd al-'Ashīra, Djald, Yuhābir called Murād, and Zaid called 'Anz The Madhḥidj whose tribal lands are said to have lain near Tardj "on the road to Yemen" (Yāḳūt, s v) and whose brother tribes were Khath'am and Murād, were, according to tradition, at war with the 'Āmir b Sa'sa'a about the time of the appearance of Muhammad, in the course of this war was fought the battle of Faif al-Rih In the Muslim period, families of the tribe of Madhḥidj were predominant in Kūfa along with those of Kinda and Hamdān

Bibliography Tabarī, *Indices*, Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 237, al-Bakrī, ed Wüstenfeld, p 721, cf Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* I and *Register*, Wellhausen, *Sturs des arab Reiches*, p 248 (H H BRAU)

MADĪD, the second metre in Arabic prosody, very little used on account of a certain heaviness in its rhythm In theory it consists of four feet in each hemistich and the prosodists quote in support of this several anonymous verses In practice there are only three

There are three *ʿarūd* and six *darb*

First *ʿarūd*	*fāʿilātun*	*fāʿilun*	*fāʿilātun*	*fāʿilātun*	*fāʿilun*	*fāʿilātun*			
Second *ʿarūd*	*fāʿilātun*	*fāʿilun*	*fāʿilun*	*fāʿilātun*	*fāʿilun*	*fāʿilān*			
	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃	*fāʿilun*		
	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃	*fʿilun*		
Third *ʿarūd*	〃	〃	*faʿilun*	〃	〃	*faʿilun*			
	〃	〃	〃	〃	〃	*fʿilun*			

Fāʿilātun may become *faʿilātun*, it only changes into *fāʿilātu* (without *n*) if *fāʿilun* which follows it retains its long vowel *Fāʿilun*, except in the second *ʿarūd* with its third *darb*, only changes into *faʿilun* when *fāʿilātun* preserves its *n*

(MOH BEN CHENEB)

AL-MADĪNA, a town in Arabia, the residence of Muhammad after the Hidjra, and capital of the Arab empire under the first caliphs The real Arabic name of the town was Yaṯhrib, Jathrippa (this is the correct reading) in Ptolemy and Stephan Byzantinus, Jthrb in Minaean inscriptions (M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p 253 *sq*) Al-Madina on the other hand is a descriptive word "the town" and is taken from the Aramaic, in which *Medinta* means strictly, "area of jurisdiction" and hence town (of some size) In the Meccan sections of the Kur'ān it is found as an appellative with the plural *al-Madā'in*, while in the Madīna Sūras al-Madīna is used as a proper name for the new residence of the Prophet (IX 102, 121, XXXIII 60, LXIII 8) The old name Yaṯhrib on the other hand is found only once (XXXIII 13) It is evident from these references that the usual explanation of the name as "the town" (of the Prophet) is a later one It is rather to be supposed that it was a result of the existence of a strong Jewish element in Yaṯhrib that the Aramaic loan-word became the regular name of the town It is analogous to the originally South Arabian Hadjar [q v] "town", which is applied to the capital in Baḥrain Of the Madīnese poets, Kais b al-Khaṭīm uses the name Yaṯhrib exclusively while Hassān b Thābit and Kaʿb b Mālik use both names, which is also the case with Muhammad's ordinance of the community (Ibn Hishām, p. 341 *sqq*)

Madīna is situated in the Hidjāz on a plain sloping very gently towards the north, the boundaries of which are marked in the north and north-west by the hills of Uhud [q v] and ʿAir about four miles from the town, two outer spurs of the range which forms the boundary between the Arabian highlands and the low lying coastlands (Tihāma) West and east the plain is bounded by the Harras or Lābas, barren areas covered with black basalt but the eastern Harras lie at a greater distance and leave between them and the town room for more fertile patches so that the eastern frontier of the plain is really formed by a row of low black hills In the south the plain stretches away farther than the eye can reach Its noteworthy feature is a richness in water unusual in Arabia All the water-courses come from the south or from the Harras and flow to the north, where they combine at Zaghāba and then take a westerly course to the coast in the wādī Idam As a rule they only contain water after rain but they keep the level of the subterranean water fairly high so that there are a considerable number of wells and springs After heavy rains the open square of al-Munākha (see below) forms a lake and considerable inundations are not rare and may even be dangerous to the buildings in the southern part of the town One such flood was particularly threatening in the reign of the Caliph ʿUthmān so that he had a dam built as a protection against it (Balādhurī, p 11) and even worse were those of the years 660 and 734 A H, when the wall created by the great volcanic outburst was broken through by the water (Samhūdī-Wustenfeld, p 23) The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and different governors of the town have made aqueducts to bring to the town good water from wells of sweet water farther to the south The water courses have different names in the west al-ʿAkīk with W Buthān and Ranūnā, in the east W Kanāt with Mahzūr and Mudhānib (or -nīb) The soil is of salty sand, lime and loamy clay and is everywhere very fertile, particularly in the south Datepalms flourish exceedingly, also oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes The winters are cool and wet, the summers hot but rarely sultry Modern travellers say the air is pleasant but not very healthy and fevers are and always have been a plague, especially for newcomers as Muhammad's followers had frequently to learn (Balādhurī, p 11, Farazdak, ed Boucher, p 9, 13, Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p 482 *sqq*, 605, Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, p 176 *sq*, Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p 31, H Lammens, *Fāṭima*, p 54, Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II 243) The Umaiyads called the Town "the filthy" in contrast to the honorific *al-ṭaiyiba* which the Prophet is said to have given it (Goldziher, *op cit*, II 37)

The way in which Madīna is favoured by nature forms a striking contrast to Mecca which lies in a rocky valley where corn does not grow (Sūra XIV 40) From the very beginning it was not a regular town but a collection of houses and cottages which were surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields, the inhabitants of which were devoted to agriculture and therefore contemptuously called "Nabataeans" by the Beduins These scattered settlements only gradually became consolidated to a townlike agglomeration, which however lay farther north than the later town, as the name Yaṯhrib according

to Samhūdī (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p 37) was especially associated with a place west of the tomb of Hamza where the Banū Hāritha settled The town which arose in this way was not surrounded by a wall so that its defences were the thick groves of palms and the orchards which surrounded the houses As they were less thick on the north and west sides, these were most exposed to hostile attacks The little forts (*ṣ.tum*, plur *āṭām* or *uḏjum*, plur *āḏjām*) which were built in considerable numbers formed a substitute for a wall and the inhabitants could retire into them in times of trouble

There were in later times no reliable traditions regarding the origin and earliest history of Madina and the historians endeavoured to fill the gap themselves and as elsewhere made the Djurhum (q v and also Krauss, in *Z D M G*, lxx 352) and the quite unhistorical ʿAmalekites play a part in it (cf also Hassān b Thābit, ed Hirschfeld, N⁰ 9, verse 6) It is only with the coming of Jews to Madīna that we are on surer ground, but the historians know so little of the exact period of these settlements that they connect them sometimes with Moses, sometimes with the deportation of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and sometimes with the conquest of Palestine by the Greeks or by the Romans According to various references in the Talmud there were Jews in Arabia in the early centuries of the Christian era and this certainly means North Arabia in the main (see Hirschfeld, *Beitrage zur Erklarung des Koran*, p 49 *sq*) and that they were numerous is evident from the existence of Jewish communities in Taimāʾ, Hiḏjr (Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, p 150, 242), Khaibar, Wādi 'l-Kura, Fadak and Maknā, to which may be added that in Madina Everywhere in these oases they took over and developed the cultivation of the soil, and it was probably due to them, that these scattered settlements each developed into a kind of town, evidence of this is found in the Aramaic name Madīna for Yathrib According to the definite statement of Hassān b Thābit (N⁰ 9, verse 8 in Hirschfeld) they built a number of small forts in this town But that they were not the first to do this may probably be concluded from the fact that the earliest inhabitants were not pure Beduins (according to Lammens, *Tāʾif*, p 72, these forts were built after the model of those of the Yemen) The Jewish tribe of Kainukāʿ played a prominent part in the immigration, as at a later period one of the principal markets in the western part of the town was called after it But gradually the tribes of Kuraiza and Nadīr came to be the leading ones in Madīna Jewry The former dwelled with the Bahdal on the W Mahzūr, the Nadir on the W Buthān (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xix 95, where the Jewish tribes and the judaized Arab tribes are detailed) While in this passage, as usual, the Kuraiza and the Nadīr are numbered among the pure Jews, according to a notable statement in the historian Yaʿkūbī (ed Houtsma, ii 49, 52) they were not pure Jews but judaized clans of the Arabic tribe of Djudhām, which Noldeke has repeatedly emphasized as a genuine tradition Now it is historically certain that at that time there were many Jewish proselytes (cf Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, p 299) but in spite of this there are decisive reasons for believing that the Jewish element in Madīna did not arise in this way It is of special significance that the Kuraiza and Nadīr are frequently called the *Kāhināni*, the "two (tribes of) priests", which shows that the Jews knew their genealogy and laid stress upon their descent (cf e g Ibn Hishām, p 660, 18 "thou revilest the pure of the two tribes of priests") The same thing is seen from the fact that Nadīrī Safiya married by Muhammad is described as belonging to the family of Aaron (Ibn Saʿd, viii. 86, 1) But the decisive fact is the way in which the Prophet speaks in the Madina sūras to the Jews there He apostrophises them as sons of Israel and reminds them that God has raised them above all men (ii 44, 116), he brackets them with the ancient Israelites as if they had taken part in the Exodus from Egypt (ii 46 *sq*), Allāh gave Moses the scriptures so that they might be rightly guided (ii 50), they break the laws which he bound them to observe at the treaty of alliance (ii 77 *sqq*) etc Such expressions suggest as clearly as possible that he regarded them as true descendants of the ancient Israelites There must therefore have been in addition to the judaized Arabs a stock of true Jews, and indeed it is obvious that without such there could have been no proselytes Wellhausen moreover has aptly pointed out that the Arabian Jews by their language, their knowledge of the scriptures, their manner of life, their fondness for malicious mockery, secret arts, poison, magic, and cursing, and their fear of death, make an unusual impression which cannot be explained simply by the judaizing of pure Arabs But on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the Jews in Arabia were very much influenced by their surroundings and had assumed a character of their own For example we find among them the division into tribes and families, characteristic of the Arabs, with the obligations associated with this The names of these tribes cannot be traced to old Jewish names but are thoroughly Arabic in appearance, which is also true of their personal names among which true Jewish names like Samawʾal and Sāra are rare The arabicisation of the Jews is particularly notable in the poems which are ascribed to Jews, most of which might have been equally well written by Beduins (see Noldeke, *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, p 52 *sqq*)

While the Jews were supreme in other places like Khaibar, al-Fadak etc, the position was changed in Madina as a result of a new immigration which the Arabs associate with the bursting of the dam at Maʾrib [q v] and the migrations of South Arabian tribes produced by it In this way the two so-called Kaila tribes, Aws and Khazradj [q v], came to Madīna No particulars of their coming are recorded, but from an interesting verse in Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, vi 128) and Yākūt, iv 460, it is evident that they were for a long time subject and tributary to the Jews and that this part of Northern Arabia was at this time under Persian rule, in keeping with the usual Jewish policy of maintaining friendly relations with Persia Later the Kaila Arabs however succeeded in casting off the Jewish yoke and bringing the Jews under their rule According to tradition the occasion of this was that a powerful Jewish king named Fityaun, who exercised the jus primae noctis, was murdered by a Khazradjī Mālik b al-ʿAdjlān to save his threatened sister — a widely disseminated motif (cf. K

Schmidt, *Jus primae noctis*, 1882, and also *R E J*, 1883, p 156 *sqq*) on which too much stress should not be laid As to later events there are two different traditions some make Mālik after his deed seek the help of a Ghassānid ruler, Abū Djubaila (cf the name Djabula among the Ghassānids), others of a South Arabian Tubba', As'ad Abikārib (c 430, M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p 482, 497) In this second story, Wellhausen finds some support in some old verses and assumes that Tubba' is here an erroneous popular name for a later Abyssinian viceroy There is however nothing in these verses about an attack of the South Arabians on the Jews of Madīna alone but on the inhabitants of the town together, so that Wellhausen further supposes this attack may have so weakened the Jews hitherto predominant that the Arab inhabitants succeeded in breaking their supremacy, but this is of course no more than an attractive hypothesis In any case the name Abraha in Kais b al-Khatīm, N° 14, verse 15, cannot be used as a basis for further hypotheses for it is certainly not the celebrated Abraha [q v] who is meant Besides, these stories contain legendary allusions to Muhammad's future appearance in Madina, which betray at least a later recasting by Muslims

The new lords of Yathrib took over the forts occupied by the Jews and built several more (Samhūdī, p 37) They also learned "Nabataean" arts from them and began to cultivate palms and pursue agriculture The Khazradjīs, whose principal family was Nadjdjār (or Taim al Lāt), as the most powerful tribe assumed the leadership and occupied the centre of the town where the modern Madīna lies West and south of them lived other Khazradjī tribes while the territory of the Hārith ran to the east The Awsīs, who also comprised several families, settled south and east of their brethren, the Nabīt in the northeast separated by the Hārith from their kinsmen The two principal Jewish tribes Nadīr and Kuraiza preserved a certain amount of independence and retained their lands under the Awsīs while the Kainukā' retained their lands in the southwest although their main industry was practising the goldsmith's art Further details of the parts occupied by the tribes and families are given in Samhūdī (Wustenfeld, p 29 *sq*, 37 *sq*) but these can only now be partly identified Besides there were in Madina, in addition to the Jews and the immigrant Kaila tribes several Arab tribes, some of which were already there when the former came They were closely connected with the Jews and were partly judaized The settlement of affairs reached in this way gave the town a period of peace, which was however gradually broken as an increasing enmity arose between the two Kaila tribes, as was not infrequently the case with Arab brother tribes At first it was individual families that fought one another but the conflagration gradually spread until the existence of the whole town was threatened The quarrel began with the feud of Sumair, so-called after an Awsī named Sumair This was settled by an arbitrator but it was not long till renewed friction led to renewed hostilities, of which the so-called feud of Hātib was the most serious We are introduced to this second period by the poems of Kais b al-Khatīm of the Awsī family of al Nabīt The fighting throughout ended unfavourably for the Awsīs and the Nabīt were finally driven from their possessions In their need the Awsīs appealed for help to the two principal Jewish tribes They at first refused it, but when the Khazradjīs had foolishly slain some Jewish hostages, they concluded an alliance with the Awsīs and declared themselves ready to assist them It was no longer a fight between a few families but a struggle between the two great rival tribes in their full strength and other inhabitants of Yathrib, even the Beduins of the country round also took sides At Bu'āth [q v] after long preparations a decisive battle was finally fought It at first looked as if the Awsīs were again to be defeated The tables were turned and the Khazradjīs suffered a severe reverse It is interesting to note that 'Abdallāh b Ubaiy of the Khazradjīs on this occasion displayed the same irresolution that he did later in his opposition to Muhammad, he took the field with the others but did not enter the battle On the day of al-Sarāra he actually ran away The battle of Bu'āth restored the equilibrium between the principal tribes, but the continual fighting had sapped the strength of the town and the bitter feeling which continually revealed itself made the lives of the inhabitants more and more unendurable Then a momentous change took place when the people of Madina, who required a leader with a strong hand, and Muhammad, who had only to a slight extent succeeded in winning over the Meccans to his religious views, came into contact with one another

The Kaila tribes at the time of their immigration to Yathrib had been heathens like the great majority of the Arabs The principal deity they worshipped was Manāt [q v], after whom the Awsallāh were originally named but they also reverenced among others al-Lāt (cf the name Taim al Lāt already mentioned) Through living alongside of Jews they became influenced by their religious and moral ideas, but unfortunately we know very little of their spiritual outlook before the coming of the Prophet The poet Kais deals in the Beduin style mainly with the quarrels between the tribes and families and rarely refers to religious matters He nowhere mentions the local deities but refers to Allāh (No 6, verse 22) whom he calls the creator (5, 6, cf Goldziher, *Z D M G*, lvii 398), which is in itself sufficient to prove Jewish or Christian influence Of him he says in N° 11, verse 8 "Allāh will only what he will", verse 13, 12 "Praise be to Allāh, the lord, the lord of the building" refers to the Ka'ba in Mecca, the *masdjid* covered with carpets (5, 14) The three days in Minā are mentioned in 4,4 which shows that they then as later in the Muslim poets gave the young men an opportunity for love-affairs with women of other tribes In rejecting a life after death, 6, 22, he is quite on a level with the pagan Meccans Alongside of such representatives of a mixed religion there were others whose conceptions had developed farther through contact with Jews or Christians, so that they were reckoned hanīfs [q v] as they definitely rejected the popular deities and had assumed a tendency to asceticism Abu 'l-Haitham and As'ad b Zurāra for example professed monotheism before they became acquainted with Muhammad (Ibn Sa'd, III/II 22, 139) A Khazradjī, Abū Kais Sirma b Abī Anas, wore sackcloth and laid stress on levitical purity, he actually thought of becoming a Christian but gave up the idea and adopted Islām when an old man (Ibn Hishām, p 347 *sq*) A man of the Awsī tribe,

Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd ʿAmr b Ṣaifī was known as "the monk" from his ascetic mode of life, he later became an enemy of the Prophet, left Madīna and fought against him on the side of the Meccans, he is also said to have supported those who built a rival mosque at the time of the Tabūk campaign (Ibn Hishām, p 411, Ibn Saʿd, III/II 90, 7, Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 310) In evidence of such influence of Christians in Madīna one might quote a verse of Hassān b Thābit (ed Hirschfeld, p 133, 17), but this probably refers to a later period and opportunities of mixing with them were to be found in many places in Arabia One result of living alongside of Jews in Madīna was that the art of writing was quite well known there (cf Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, p 132 *sq*, 166, Balādhurī, p 473 *sq*, Ibn Saʿd, III/II, *passim*)

The spiritual influence of the Jews on the Arab inhabitants of Madīna became an important factor in the relations between them and Muhammad, for it made them receptive to his religious ideas with which they became acquainted by visits to Mecca and in other ways How finally a treaty was concluded between him and several representatives of the Madinese, by which the latter pledged themselves to take him into their community and to defend him as if he were one of themselves and how he and those of his followers who were still faithful to him thereupon migrated to Madīna is related in the article MUHAMMAD After a brief stay in the southern suburb of Kubāʾ he entered the town and took up his abode with a Khazradjī, Abū Aiyūb Khālid b Zaid, with whom he lived till a dwelling was arranged for him He is said to have left the choice of the site to the movements of his camel — if the story is true, a very clever move not only from the religious but also from the political point of view In any case it is certain that hardly anything ever showed so clearly his gift, based on his unshakeable belief in his prophetic call, of leading men to follow his will, as the fact that he succeeded in a very short time in bringing some kind of order into Madina, hopelessly split up by feuds, and making a kind of unity out of the heterogeneous elements in the town, the earlier Arab inhabitants of Yathrib, the later immigrants, now predominant Kaila tribes, the Muhādjirūn from Mecca and the Jews or judaized Arabs We get a glimpse of the first step towards this goal from the ordinance of the community preserved in Ibn Hishām, p 341 *sqq* ("Book of the fines", cf Tabarī, Glossary s v *ʿkl*) which Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV 67 *sqq* and following him Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I 395 *sqq* and Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p 78 *sqq* have discussed It is most interesting for its omissions and it lacks to a marked degree clear and logical fundamental ideas, because Muhammad was content temporarily with what could be attained and avoided everything that might cause strife In it he calls himself the messenger of Allāh, but there is no reference to his divine inspiration His object is to form a unified *umma* out of the inhabitants of Madīna and this is defined from the religious side as the community of believers from Mecca and Yathrib But the non-believers are not excluded, for the *umma* coincides rather with the town of Madīna which included also Jews and heathens, of whom it is not demanded that they should adopt Islām The tribes retain their autonomy as regards blood-vengeance and ransoming of prisoners, but against the rest of the world generally the affording of protection was obligatory on every member of the community without exception and no one could conclude peace separately with the enemies of the community (particularly the Kuraish) All important matters, out of which misfortune might befall the community, were to be brought before Allāh and Muhammad The valley of Yathrib was to be *haram* (or *harām*) for all who were bound by this ordinance The whole document thus alternates continually between religious and purely political clauses in a very opportunist fashion It never became of great importance and it soon fell into oblivion as it was rendered obsolete by the rapid progress of events, certainly not against the wish of Muhammad whose plans went far beyond what was laid down in it The main cause of its loss of importance was the breach which soon occurred between Muhammad and the Jews, which the latter provoked by their scornful criticism of Muhammad's revelations, especially of the weak points revealed in his reproduction of stories from the Old Testament This meant a serious threat to his authority and in addition the Jews endeavoured to destroy the agreement reached in Madīna by endeavouring to revive the old hostility between the two Kaila tribes (Ibn Hishām, p 385 *sqq*, cf Sūra, III 114 *sqq*) To meet these difficulties, which of course were very welcome to his enemies in the town, Muhammad worked hard to unite his followers for a common object, the war with the Meccans, by which he could at the same time avenge the resistance offered him there It was at first difficult for him to arouse enthusiasm for this war among the Muhādjirūn and even more the Ansār but finally, when a fortunate accident occurred to help him, he succeeded in bringing about a war with the Meccans which led to the momentous victory at Badr On the further fighting of this campaign, the battle of Uhud and the war of the ditch, cf the article MUHAMMAD The latter campaign gets its name from the ditch (*Khandak* q v) which Muhammad on the advice of a Persian (Salmān) had dug around the unprotected parts of the town and which, in spite of its modest dimensions (it is said to have been a fathom broad), formed a serious obstacle to the enemy Ibn Djubair in the XIIth century still saw traces of it, an arrowshot west of the town On its further course cf Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p 26, 31 The Meccans in this fighting gave him very material assistance by their lack of warlike ability and energy, and the war contributed to consolidate his position in Madina, aided not a little by the lack of resolution among the Munāfikūn who never managed to seize opportunities favourable to them He was thus not only in a position to continue the war against his native city but also to repay the Jews in ruthless fashion for all the annoyance they had caused him After the battle of Badr, the Ḳainukāʿ were driven out of the town and after the battle of Uhud, which went against the Prophet, the same fate was meted out to a Kāhin tribe, the Naḍīr But the worst lot was that of the Kuraiza, whom in spite of the intercession of the Awsīs he had massacred These events however do not show the Jewish tribes in a favourable light as they made no attempt to help one another but left each other

in the lurch in most cowardly fashion The Ḳuraiẓa alone at the massacre showed a courage which to some extent atones for their previous attitude In this way Muhammad succeeded in disposing of the danger that threatened him from the Jews, for the Jews who were left in Madīna were of no importance and caused him no serious difficulties

With the treaty of Hudaibiya in the year 6 A H [cf MUḤAMMAD] the war with the Kuraish was practically finished, for in it his genius for diplomacy succeeded in bringing them to recognise Madīna as a power equal in importance to Mecca The official conclusion of the struggle was the bloodless occupation of his native city in 8 A H However great a triumph this was for the Prophet, it produced a new feud which was to prove fateful for Islām after the death of Muhammad Even before the decisive turn in the struggle with Mecca, in the campaign against the Banū Mustalik, the ill feeling between the emigrants and a section of the people of Madīna came to a head in threatening fashion and ʿAbdallāh b Ubaiy delivered several boastful speeches and threatened to expel the troublesome intruders (cf Sūra, lxiii 8), which he naturally denied when the Prophet later took him to task But when Muhammad had entered Mecca, his faithful followers in Madīna became anxious, as they feared he would now abandon their town and return to his native place He calmed them however and declared that he would live and die with them (Ibn Hishām, p 824) But when he began to treat the Meccans with great clemency and after the battle at Hunain was striving to win them over to his religion by rich gifts, the Anṣār with justice felt themselves slighted and once again feared that he would abandon them But he delivered them a speech in which he reminded them how he had united them when they were living in hostility to one another and declared his gratitude for all that they had done for him, and when he concluded by asking them to be satisfied if others went home with captured herds but they with the messenger of Allāh, they burst into tears and withdrew satisfied (Ibn Hishām, p 885 *sq*) While in such stories there may be an echo of the later antagonism between the Anṣār and the Kuraish, they undoubtedly give a not inaccurate idea of the feelings which found expression at this time It is all the more remarkable that according to various indications there must have been an opposition to Muhammad at the time of the Tabūk campaign in Madīna His orations against the Munāfiḳūn in the ninth Sūra sound unusually excited and recall those of the Meccan period with their threats of punishment There is also the notable, but unfortunately not quite clear story of the Masdjid al-Dirār (cf also Lammens) which some men had built south of the town in the land of the ʿAmr b ʿAwf and which he sanctioned until he saw that its object was to provoke dissension among the believers for the benefit of his former enemies (Sūra, ix 108 *sqq*), wherefore he had it destroyed According to one story, the already mentioned Hanīf Abū ʿĀmir was the moving spirit in it, (Ibn Hishām, p 906 *sq*, Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 410 *sq*, Ṭabarī, i 1704 *sq*, Ibn Saʿd, III/ii 36, 8, 96, 13) In any case Muḥammad succeeded in again restoring peace, probably assisted by the fact that the leader of the Munāfiḳūn died soon afterwards

Faithful to his promise, the Prophet remained in Madīna till his death on June 8, 632 According to a reliable tradition (Tabarī, i 1817, Ibn Saʿd, II/ii 57, 2, 58, 28, 59, 1, 71, 6), his corpse lay unburied for a whole day, so that its putrefaction was far advanced when it was finally buried under ʿĀʾisha's house, apparently a result of the great confusion into which his death had thrown the town The unity created by his strong hand at once fell to pieces, the Anṣār assembled and chose the Khazradjī Saʿd b ʿUbāda as their chief, while others proposed that the government should be shared between the Anṣār and the Muhādjirūn ʿUmar's rapid and vigorous intervention however succeeded in thwarting these plans so threatening to Islām and carrying through the election of Abū Bakr as Caliph He and his two successors resided in Madīna which thus became the capital of the rapidly growing empire Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, like the Prophet, were buried under the house of ʿĀʾisha, while ʿUthman's body was brought in the darkness on a door to the Jewish cemetery amidst objurgations and stone-throwing In this period no one thought of strengthening the defences of the capital, not even during the *ridda* after the Prophet's death and still less later when the holy wars were waged exclusively in foreign lands ʿUthmān had the forts taken down, but remains of them could be seen as late as the tenth century (Masʿūdī, *K al-Tanbih*, *B G A*, viii 206)

ʿAlī's reign brought a complete change for Madīna When the great civil war broke out between him and his rivals and the decisive battles were fought in the provinces, the Caliph recognised that the vast empire could not possibly be governed from the remote corner of the world in which Madīna lay While the earlier caliphs had remained in the capital and sent out armies of conquest from it, ʿAlī placed himself at the head of his troops and set out from Madīna in Oct 656, never again to see it He made Kūfa his capital and after Muʿāwiya's victory Damascus took its place Madīna now sank, like its old rival Mecca, to the rank of a provincial town, unaffected by the current of the world's events What pious old folks thought of this change is reflected in a characteristic tradition (Dīnawarī, p 152 *sq*) according to which several prominent Anṣār tried to induce ʿAlī to abandon his plan of leaving Madīna "What thou dost lose in the form of prayers in the mosque of the Prophet and the course between his tomb and his pulpit is of more value than what thou expectest to find in the ʿIrāḳ, reflect how ʿUmar used to send his generals to war, there are still just as capable men amongst us as then!" But the Caliph replied "The wealth of the state and the armies are in the ʿIrāḳ and attacks threaten from the Syrians, and I must be near them"

Madīna with its venerable associations and the tomb of the Prophet could not of course become quite unimportant, on the contrary, its sanctity increased in the eyes of Muslims, the more the figure of Muhammad became important in their conceptions, but the life of the town became more and more remote from the real world in which actual history was being unfolded Hither retired all who wished to keep aloof from the turmoil of political happenings, like ʿAlī's son Hasan, after he had abandoned all his claims (Tabarī, ii 9, Dīnawarī, p 232). Husain also went there from Kūfa, but left it again to make his desperate attempt to gain his rights, and it is significant that none of the Madīna Anṣār

went with him (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionsparteien*, p 69) When he was slain, his wives and son were brought to Madīna, where they lived in peace and took no further part in the fighting ʿAlī's son, Muhammad b al-Hanafīya, resided in Madīna (Dīnawarī, p 308) It was not however only relatives and ardent followers of the Prophet, who preferred to live here in his city, but several of his former enemies, the Umaiyads, also felt attracted thither by the quiet and easy life and would not go to Damascus (Lammens, *Études sur le califat de Moawiya*, p 35) In this way Madīna gradually became the home of a new population, consisting of people who wished to enjoy undisturbed the great wealth which the wars of conquest had brought them Life there became more and more luxurious until finally the holy city became so notorious (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi 197, 19), that during a rising in the year 127 (745) the last Umaiyad Caliph Marwān II could ask one of the participants in it how it was that the wines and singing-girls of Madīna had not held him back from taking part in it (Tabarī, ii 1910) Such stories remind us of Doughty's description of the present inhabitants of Madīna (*Travels in Arabia*, 3rd ed , p 151 "carding, playing, tippling in arak, brutish hemp smoking, ribald living") This was the golden period of Madīna about the glories of which the poets sang Flourishing, well-watered gardens and meadows surrounded the town, and there were a number of splendid palaces built by wealthy Kuraish, especially in the Wādi 'l-Akīk of which traces can still be found (cf Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p 261 *sq* , Lammens, *Moawiya*, p 228)

Another section of the people of Madīna was attracted thither by the quiet life, although for other reasons Their object was not worldly enjoyments but they devoted themselves to the memories in the town of its sacred past, by collecting and studying the legal and ritual enactments dating from the Prophet, in so far as they were based on the *sunna* of Madīna and the *iḏjmāʿ* there The most distinguished representative of this group was Mālik b Anas (d 179 = 795), the author of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, who as founder of the Mālikī school gathered many pupils around him (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii 213 *sqq*) One of them, Ibn Ḥabāla, composed the first history of the town of Madīna (199 = 814) but it has not survived

Madīna was now ruled by governors appointed by the Caliph, lists of whom are given by Tabarī and Ibn al-Athīr The town was however not entirely unaffected by the wars of the first centuries after Muhammad In the reign of Yazīd, feeling in Madīna, even among the Umaiyads, was more or less hostile to the Caliph and many took the side of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b Zubair in Mecca The expedition of the governor ʿAmr b Saʿīd, which Yazīd ordered, was a failure In 63 (682/3) the Madīnese rebelled openly, appointing ʿAbd Allāh b Hanzala as their leader and building a wall with a ditch to defend the town on the north The Caliph sent an army under the leadership of Muslim b ʿUkba which took up its quarters on the Harra N E of the town and fought the battle of the Harra, which ended in the defeat of the Madīnese — according to the usual story, a result of the treachery of the Banū Ḥāritha That the inhabitants were abandoned to the ill-treatment of the Syrian troops is probably a malicious libel (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p 98 *sq*). Towards the end of Umaiyad rule, in the year 130(747/8), the Khāridjīs under Abū Ḥamza defeated the Madīnese at Kubaid, but he was surprised by Marwān's troops and slain (Tabarī, ii 200 *sqq* , *B G A* , viii 327) When the ʿAbbāsids became supreme, two ʿAlid brothers, Muhammad and Ibrāhīm, sons of ʿAbd Allāh, made an attempt to fight for their rights Muhammad who called himself al-Mahdī appeared in Madīna in 145 (762/3) where he found not a few adherents, among them Mālik b Anas and Abū Ḥanīfa He endeavoured in various ways to imitate the example of the Prophet, used his sword, had the ditch dug by him round the town restored (see above) etc The Caliph sent his relative ʿĪsā b Mūsā with 4,000 men against him and when he bridged the ditch by throwing a couple of doors over it and entered the town, most of al-Mahdī's followers lost heart, as was usual with the supporters of the ʿAlids, and when he renewed the hopeless struggle, he was mortally wounded About 20 years later (169 = 786) another ʿAlid arose, Husain b ʿAlī, against the ʿAbbāsids After ravaging Madīna he was driven out and slain at Fakhkh near Mecca In spite of the harm he did to the town of the Prophet, he was celebrated by the ʿAlid party as a martyr (Tabarī, iii 551 *sqq* , Ibn al-Athīr, vi 60 *sqq*) In the caliphate of Wāthik, Madīna suffered severely from the attacks of the Sulaim and the Banū Hilāl Bogha the elder [q v] came to their assistance in 230 (844/5) and imprisoned the Beduins When he left the town again, the latter succeeded in breaking out of prison, the Madīnese however discovered their escape and put them to death (Ibn al-Athīr, vii 12) Their love for Wāthik was shown by their lamenting him every night after his death (*ibid*, vii 21)

In the centuries that followed, Madīna is only rarely mentioned by the historians, and what they tell us about it is of little interest as a rule When the Fāṭimids became lords of Egypt and were threatening the holy cities in the Ḥiḏjāz, a wall was at last built round Madīna This was erected in 364 (974/975) by the Būyid ʿAḍud al Dawla but enclosed only the central part of the town It was restored in 540 (1145/1146) by a vizier of the sons of Zangī But as a considerable proportion of the inhabitants lived outside the wall without protection from the attacks of the Beduins, the Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd b Zangī, in 557 (1162) built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways The present wall, 35–40 feet high, was built by the Ottoman Sultān Sulaimān b Salim the Magnificent (1520—1566) of basalt and granite (Samhūdī-Wustenfeld, p 126) A trench was dug around it The same Sultān brought a covered aqueduct from the south into the town Finally the wall was raised to a height of 80 feet by Sultān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which height it has retained

A feud between the governors of Mecca and Madīna with a battle at Dhu 'l-Hulaifa is recorded for the year 601 (1203) The Meccan leader who had set out to besiege Madīna was put to flight but obtained support from other amīrs, whereupon the Madīnese abandoned further hostilities (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 134)

In 654 (1256) Madīna was threatened by a volcanic eruption, known as the fire of Ḥiḏjāz It began on the last day of Djumādā I with a

slight earth-quake which increased in vigour each succeeding day Then a glowing stream of lava burst forth which, as the chroniclers tell us, devoured rocks and stones but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then continued its way northwards The inhabitants sought protection in the Mosque of the Tomb, praying and confessing their sins The belief in the latter's inviolability, which was thus strengthened, was soon to be shattered by the conflagration described below

Under the rule of the Turks Madīna continued to lead a quiet life, little heeded by the outside world, and it is rarely mentioned, a circumstance much facilitated by the fact that the holy city could not be entered by non Muslims Radical changes only came about in the xix^th century In 1804, the Wahhābīs took the town, plundered its treasures and prevented pilgrimages to the Tomb of Muhammad An attempt to destroy the dome over the tomb failed, but the great treasures in pearls, jewels etc, presented by pious visitors to the mosque were carried off It was not till 1813 that Muhammad ʿAlī's son Tusūn succeeded in retaking the town and at the treaty of peace in 1815 ʿAbd Allāh b Saʿūd recognised Turkish suzerainty over the holy places in the Ḥiḏjāz Muhammad ʿAlī however paid no attention to this, but sent another son Ibrāhīm to continue the war against Ibn Saʿūd and in 1818 he took Darʿīya and razed it to the ground, whereupon he returned to Madina The sacred cities once more belonged to the Turks and the Grand Sharīf of Mecca even forbade pilgrims from Ibn Saʿūd's territory to enter Mecca This restoration of Turkish rule brought at least one important innovation the building of the Ḥiḏjāz railway from Damascus to Madīna in 1908 It was primarily intended for pilgrims but was also of military importance and therefore suffered severely in the world war Through the intervention of the Grand Sharīf Husain b ʿAlī b ʿAbd al-Muʿīn, the fighting and the intrigues in North Arabia became more and more involved He first posed as a faithful servant of the Turkish Sultān but later he rebelled and on Nov 6, 1916 had himself proclaimed king of the Ḥiḏjāz and joined the English After the peace which ended the world war the Turkish troops evacuated Madina in 1918 In the meanwhile a stronger opponent to Husain had arisen in ʿAbd al-Azīz b Saʿūd, who had once more raised the Wahhābīs to a position of supremacy Husain's bold move in assuming the title of caliph found no support among the Arab chiefs, and the people of the Ḥiḏjāz forced him to abdicate Ibn Saʿūd seized this opportunity, entered Mecca in October 1924 and forced Husain's son ʿAlī to leave the town The two holy cities are therefore now both in the hands of the Wahhābīs, who are however now more tolerant and permit visits to the Mosque of the Tomb and other holy places and only forbid actual worship there

In spite of the inaccessibility of Madīna to all non-Muslims the reports of various modern travellers enable us to form a fairly clear picture of it, which can only be briefly outlined here In keeping with the configuration of the ground, the plain on which Madīna lies is divided into an upper southern part and a lower northern part, *al-ʿālīya* and *al-sh̲āfila*, names found even in the earliest writers Al-ʿālīya is reckoned to run to the above mentioned village of Kubāʾ, 3 miles away, al-sh̲āfila to the hill of Uhud The older wall encloses the town proper, the already mentioned later wall which is now partly in ruins encloses the western rather large suburb of al-ʿAnbarīya and "camp of the camels", *barr al-munāk̲ha*, 400 yards broad lying between it and the town Here is pointed out the traditional site of the *musallā*, the Prophet's place of prayer, a tradition probably worthy of credence, as otherwise it would have been natural to locate it in the great mosque mentioned below Along the south side of the wall runs the road of the funeral processions, *Darb al-D̲janāza*, which leads to the old general burial-place, *Bak̲īʿ al-G̲harkad* (so called after the plant *nitraria retusa*) in the east of the town Among the thousands who are buried here are the little son of the Prophet, Ibrāhīm, his wives (whether also his daughter Fāṭima is disputed see below), many of his companions, al-ʿAbbās, Muhammad al-Bākir, D̲jaʿfar al-Ṣādik, the already mentioned jurist, Mālik b Anas, and many others At the north-west corner of the town stands the castle built on to the town wall There are several gates in the walls, including the Bāb al-S̲hāmī in the north, the Bāb al-D̲jumʿa in the east, and the Bāb al-ʿAnbarīya in the west From a spring of fresh water in the village of Kubāʾ an aqueduct runs into the town, first laid by Marwān when governor of Madīna It frequently fell into disrepair and was restored for example by several Ottoman sultāns, on the last occasion by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd after the Wahhābīs had destroyed it The damage not infrequently done by floods has already been mentioned In 734 the Madinese were prevented for six months by an inundation from visiting the grave of Hamza The streets of Madīna are clean but narrow and only the main streets are paved The houses are well built of stone and a number have two stories Several of them are surrounded by gardens, but the houses with gardens are mainly found outside the north and south wall, especially towards the south where vegetable gardens and orchards alternate with palmgroves and cornfields The dates of which there are 70 varieties are, as in ancient times, one of the principal products The pilgrim traffic is however the most important source of revenue for the inhabitants, who let their dwellings to the strangers and guide them to the sacred places and instruct them about ritual duties The *muzawwirūn* here play the same role as the *mutawwifūn* in Mecca Burton (ii 189) gives the number of inhabitants as 16,000–18,000, in addition to 400 men in the garrison Wavell (p 63) in 1908 put it at 30,000, excluding soldiers and pilgrims, while Batanūnī gave 60,000 including many foreign visitors The results of the world war have of course altered these conditions in many ways The population used to increase gradually by visitors settling often permanently in the sacred city Of descendants of the old Anṣār there are very few left in Madīna, according to Burckhardt there were only ten families in his time There are a number of S̲hiʿīs in the suburbs

Madina possesses no sanctuary venerated from remote times like the Kaʿba, on the other hand it possesses compensation for this of inestimable value in Muslim eyes in the mosque which encloses Muhammad's grave and is the goal of countless pilgrims Some teachers even put this sanctuary higher than the Meccan one, but this view is not general, and the visiting of this mosque is not obligatory like the pilgrimage to Mecca

and also may be undertaken at any time According to unanimous tradition the Prophet was buried under ʿA'isha's house, where also the two first caliphs found their last resting-place Further, all the earlier stories agree that Muḥammad soon after his arrival in Madīna had a mosque built, which he enlarged after the taking of Khaibar, and they are also agreed that the dwellings of his wives were close by so that ʿĀ'isha's house with the grave could easily have been taken into the mosque That there is nothing improbable in itself in a mosque having been built in the time of the Prophet is shown by the mention of a rival mosque, Sūra ix 108 *sqq*, cf xxiv 36 But Caetani, *Annali*, i 432 *sqq*, has disputed with important arguments the correctness of the tradition and from various statements drawn the conclusion that originally on the site of the later mosque there was more probably only the *dār* of Muhammad with a courtyard and various dwellings If this is right, it is not known who built the mosque, but probably it was erected not long after Muhammad's death, for the rapidly increasing reverence for the Prophet must very soon have aroused the desire to bring his resting-place into touch with his religion To this mosque, early built, can then be referred what tradition tells us of Muhammad's mosque — a simple building of brick with pillars of palm stems and a roof of branches According to the same tradition, ʿUmar had it extended and after him ʿUthmān who replaced it by a building of stone and mortar with a roof of teak When Marwān was governor of Madīna, he had a *maksūra* of coloured stones erected, but no important advance was made till the reign of Walīd, who commissioned the then governor, afterwards caliph, ʿUmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in 87 (706) to adorn the building in greater splendour For this ʿUmar used Greek and Coptic builders, and the Byzantine emperor is said to have contributed 1,000 *mithkāl* of gold and a large quantity of mosaic stones towards it On this occasion four minarets were placed at the corners of the sanctuary and the roofs covered with plates of lead The mosque remained unaltered till the reign of al Mahdī After this Caliph had visited Madīna, it was rebuilt and extended in 162 (778—779) and its length was now 300 and its breadth 200 ells In the following century another restoration was necessary and was carried through by al Mutawakkil in the year 247 (861—862)

Of the mosque which thus came into existence there are very full descriptions by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d 328 = 940), Mukaddasī (375 = 985), Ibn Djubair who travelled in the east in the years 578–581 (1182/83—1186/87), and also Yākūt Of the many details given by these authors only a few can be quoted here As is quite evident from several of these descriptions, the mosque had the form, always retained later, of an open court-yard covered with sand or gravel, *ṣaḥn*, which was surrounded on all four sides by rows of pillars In the eastern part of the southern pillared hall was the holy of holies, the tomb of the Prophet, with the tombs of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar It is described by Yākūt (iv 458) as a high building, separated at the top only by a space from the roof of the pillared hall Regarding the relative positions of the three graves there were in his time different views North of them, according to some traditions, was the tomb of Fātima while according to others this was in the general burying ground The part of the pillared hall lying west of the graves bore the name *al-Rawḍa*, the garden, from an alleged utterance of the Prophet The total number of pillars is said to have been 290, those in the southern part were stuccoed, with gilded capitals, the others were of marble The walls were adorned with marble, gold, and mosaic Along the southern border of the *Rawḍa* ran a barrier, with which several highly venerated relics were associated — the remains of the trunk of a tree, on which Muhammed used to lean, and especially his *minbar* or pulpit According to tradition Muʿāwiya wished to remove this, but immediately a vigorous earthquake began and he abandoned the idea and instead raised it by an upper structure five steps higher Al-Mahdī later wished to remove this addition, but he was dissuaded from doing this as the nails had been driven into the old *minbar* (Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 283, Tabarī, iii 483, Muḳaddasī, ed de Goeje, p 82) According to the descriptions it had 8 steps and there was a slab of ebony over the seat which visitors might touch The remnants of the tree-trunk were kissed and stroked with the hands, an interesting imitation of ancient Arabian religious customs Among the various treasures of the mosque was the Madīna standard manuscript of the canonical text of the Kur'ān prepared by ʿUthmān The mosque had 19 doors of which only four, two in the east and two in the west, were opened There were three minarets, two at the corners of the north side and one at the southern corner

While the Mosque of the Tomb escaped the volcanic eruption already mentioned (654 = 1256) it suffered in the same year from a fire due to the carelessness of a caretaker, which destroyed a part of it An appeal to the caliph of Baghdād for assistance to rebuild it remained unanswered as the ʿAbbāsid dynasty was then tottering before its fall, which was to take place two years later Only the roof was repaired in the year after the fire in makeshift fashion, the rubble was not even cleared away from the tombs but remained there for over two centuries Several of the Mamlūk Sultāns showed some interest in the sanctuary, among them Baibars I, who, according to Muḏīr al-Dīn (Cairo 1283, p 434), placed a railing round the tomb of the Prophet and had its roof gilt, while others sent workmen and materials, and notably al-Mansūr Kalā'ūn in 678 (1279) to mark the site of the tomb built a dome over it covered with plates of lead Ashraf Ṣaif al-Dīn Kā'it Bey (873—890 = 1468—1495) was however the first to deal with the mosque in really energetic fashion and he had the minaret at the southeast corner, al-Rā'isīya, taken down and rebuilt A great calamity then fell upon the mosque for, in a terrible thunderstorm in 886 (1481), it was struck by lightning and partly destroyed, and the library with its valuable manuscripts of the Kur'ān perished Samhūdī, who lost his own library on this occasion, gives an account of the conflagration The indefatigable Sultān however sent a large number of workmen with tools and materials, and in 889 (1484) the building was restored and among other alterations the dome over the tomb was enlarged, he also presented the brass railing which surrounds the *maksūra* On this occasion, the Sulṭān also presented to the town baths and a hypocaust for

them, an aqueduct and a water mill, as well as a large number of valuable books to replace those destroyed Its misfortunes however were not at an end for in 898 (1492) it was again struck by lightning, the Rā'isīya at the southeast corner was destroyed and had to be rebuilt The mosque received its present form by an extension to the north, made by ʿAbd al-Madjīd in 1270 (1853—1854) which Burton saw before its completion The many inscriptions which cover the walls, include various Sūras and formulae and the mystic prayer *al Burda*

In modern times we have descriptions by Burckhardt (unfortunately incomplete, as he was ill during his stay), by Burton (1853), a brief one by Wavell in 1908—1909 and a good one by al-Batanūnī (1910) In their main outlines they give much the same picture as the older ones The mosque stands in the centre of the town proper, a little to the east Al-Batanūnī gives the length from north to south as 385 feet, the breadth on the north side as 285 feet and on the south side as 220 feet The court (*al-ṣaḥn* or *al-haswa*) is covered with sand or gravel and enclosed on all four sides by pillared halls, of which the largest on the south side encloses the actual *masdjid* The pillars in this part are covered with marble with gilt ornamentations All the pillars in the mosque, 327 in number, support arches on which rest little domes like divided oranges Of the pillars 22 are in the eastern part of the southern hall (the *maḳṣūra*), the sanctuary proper with the tomb of the Prophet "The Garden", i e the area between the tomb and the *minbar*, is 70 feet long and 50 broad The *maksūra* is enclosed on the south, where the mosque is extended by a row of pillars, by a brass grille with the relics already mentioned and the beautiful *miḥrāb* of the Prophet with an indication of the direction of prayer The present *minbar* is of marble with gilding, a gift of Murād III in 998 (1590) The *maḳṣūra*, the holy of holies of the mosque, a quadrangle 50 feet long from north to south and 47 feet broad, is surrounded by a green polished brass railing through which a door, Bāb al-Rahma or Bāb al-Wufūd, leads to al-Rawda It encloses an area which is called *al hudjra*, in allusion to ʿĀ'isha's house It cannot be accurately described as it is covered with green silk and is not seen by visitors The covering, which recalls the covering of the Kaʿba, is said to have been first presented by the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd Nūr al-Dīn Zangī is said to have cleared a new area around the older *hudjra* to protect the tomb In the *hudjra* are the tombs of the Prophet and of the first two caliphs, according to the usual belief in the following order the most southern is the tomb of Muhammad with the head to the west, next him Abū Bakr with his head beside Muhammad's feet and on the north ʿUmar with his head beside Abū Bakr's shoulders A fourth, empty grave is said to be intended for Jesus after his parousia On the north side of the large *maḳṣūra*, another smaller one adjoins it, which, according to an assumption still disputed by many, contains the tomb of Fāṭima Two doors on the east and west side connect it with the large *maksūra* 106 hanging lamps are placed in this, the most sacred part of the mosque, and in addition in the Rawḍa there are candelabra of crystal In the court of the mosque, approximately east, is a quadrangular area shut off by an iron grille, which is called Fāṭima's garden Of the 15 palms which grew there in the time of Ibn Djubair, Burton saw only 12, al Batanūnī mentions several small palms planted round a high one Behind the boundary is the so-called "Prophet's well" The mosque has four minarets at the four corners and according to Burton a fifth in the centre of the west side, but this is not mentioned by al-Batanūnī Five doors give admittance to the sanctuary on the west the Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Rahma, on the north the Bāb al-Madjīdī, on the east the Bāb Djibrā'īl (or al-Baḳīʿ) and Bāb al Nasā' They are all closed at night From the descriptions already quoted, the mosque was not impressive when seen from the outside, as the houses were built so thickly round it that an open view of it could not be obtained Even the richly ornamented Bāb al-Salām only looked like the termination of a street running from the west But this seems now to have been altered, as according to Musil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, p 34, all the houses in the immediate vicinity of the mosque were removed in 1916

The immediate vicinity of the city of the Prophet is of course very rich in places with which are associated anecdotes and traditions of him The most important of these is the hill of Uhud [q v] with the graves of those who fell for the faith there It is rivalled by the village of Kubā' where Muhammad on his arrival in his new home stayed from Monday till Thursday (Ibn Hishām, p 335) The village, which was at that time occupied by the ʿAmr b ʿAwf, is according to the Arab geographers 2 miles, according to Burckhardt, 3—4 hours from Madīna, to be accurate it is about 3 miles The surrounding gardens which are exceedingly rich in all kinds of fruit and vegetables extend for 4 or 5 miles (Burckhardt) Burton describes how the village appeared to him as he approached it "a confused heap of huts and dwelling houses, chapels and towers, with trees, between foul lanes, heaps of rubbish and yelping dogs" Tradition marks the spot where the Prophet's camel knelt (*al-mabrak*) and here also was the mosque mentioned in Sūra, ix 109 built out of piety, as well as its counterpart, the *Masdjid al-Dirār*, destroyed by Muhammad's orders (cf. Wakidī—Wellhausen, p 411, Ibn Saʿd, III/i 32, 8, and above) The mosque of Kubā' with its simple minaret was in ruins in Burckhardt's time, but has since been replaced by a stone structure

Bibliography Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, extr transl in Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Medina* (*Abh Ges Wiss Gott*, Bd ix [1860]), do, *Khulāsat al-Wafā'*, Būlāk 1285, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 5 *sqq*, *B G A*, ed de Goeje, i 18, ii 26, iii 80—82, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iv 458—68, Ibn Djubair, ed W Wright, 1852, p 191 *sqq* (2nd ed by de Goeje, 1907), Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfat al-Nuzzār*, ed Defremery and Sanguinetti 1853–1858 — On the Mosque of the Tomb Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIkd*, Cairo 1331, iv 272 *sqq*, Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p 480—607, Burton, *A Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, ii (1855), i *sqq*, Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 1912, p 72 *sqq*, al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāziya*, Cairo, 2nd ed. 1329, p 236 *sqq* — On Kubā' cf *B G A*, i 28, iii 83, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 23 *sq.*, Burckhardt, *Reisen in*

Arabien, p 54, 558—561, Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, II 195—223 — Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV 1 *sqq* (*Medina vor dem Islam*, *Die Gemeindeordnung Muhammeds*), Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 1908, p 9 *sqq*, Hirschfeld, *Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Medine*, *R E J*, VII 167—193, X 10—31, D S Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, 1924, p 57 *sqq* — On the most recent history of the town, cf Musil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, 1918, R Hartmann, *Die Wahhābiten*, *Z D P V*, N F, III 176 *sqq* (FR BUHL)

MADĪNAT AL-SALĀM [See BAGHDĀD]

AL-MADĪNAT AL-ZĀHIRA, the capital founded near Cordova by the famous ʿĀmirid Hādjib al-Mansūr [q v] in 368(978–979) Because he did not wish to deal with state affairs in the palace of the Umaiyad Caliphs in Cordova nor at the royal palace at Madīnat al-Zahrā', al Mansūr decided to build a town which would include his palace and those of the principal court dignitaries This town was built a short distance from Cordova on the banks of the Guadalquivir [q v] Since the exact site of al Madīnat al Zāhira has not been discovered, one must be content, when trying to locate the site, with the very vague indications given by the Arab historians, indeed not one of the Arab historians has left any description of the ʿĀmirid town According to Ibn Hazm, in a passage of his *Tawk al Hamāma* (ed Petrof, Leyden 1914, p 104), it lay to the east of Cordova, but on the other hand some Spanish archaeologists think they have identified it on the south-west of this town Al-Madīnat al-Zāhira must not be confused with the palace, al-ʿĀmiriya, the name of a *munya* or villa outside the city walls which was given to al-Mansūr by one of his Umaiyad masters, the site of which seems to have been identified

According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, the greater part of al-Madīnat al Zāhira was finished in two years Al-Mansūr settled there in 370 (980—981) He transported thither the different administrative offices and the treasury, and gave land round his palaces to his courtiers, so that Madīnat al-Zahrā', the town of the Umaiyad Caliphs, was almost supplanted and practically deserted The merchants also came to trade there, a few years after its foundation, al-Madīnat al Zāhira had become a large town

After al-Mansūr, al Madīnat al-Zāhira, was the capital of his son and successor ʿAbd al Malik, who had a new palace built there After his death his brother ʿAbd al-Rahmān, known as Sanchol, installed himself as well there But he was soon defeated by Muhammad b Hishām b ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mahdī [q v] This usurper occupied the ʿĀmirid town and seized the treasures which were there For three days he gave it over to the most thorough pillage Having sacked the town he gave orders to fire it and to destroy it absolutely (Djumādā II, 399 [January 1009])

Bibliography Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, II, ed Dozy, p 294 *sqq*, transl Fagnan, p 457 *sqq*, III, ed E Lévi-Provençal, Index, esp p 61—66, al-Makkarī, *Nafh al Tīb* (*Analectes*) I 380, al Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, *Histoire d'Espagne*, ed and transl into Spanish by M Gaspar Remiro, in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Historicos de Granáda*, 1916, VI 44—45, R Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, III 179, R Velázquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra y Alamiriya*, Madrid 1912, p 20—22, G Marçais, *Manuel d'Art musulman* (Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile), Paris 1926, I 248 (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ', the ancient capital of the Umaiyad Caliphs of Cordova, the ruins of which are still in existence about 5 miles to the west of this latter town, at the place called *Cordoba la Vieja*, on one of the last spurs of the Sierra Morena overlooking the valley of Guadalquivir [q v]

The western Arab historians give us a great deal of information on the foundation of this royal town, upon the period which marked its prosperity and upon the causes which led to its fall It was the great Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nasir [q v], who decided upon building it, and its construction was begun during the reign of this sovereign at the end of the year 325 (936) The chroniclers say that one of his concubines having left him a large sum of money, al-Nāsir wished to utilize this sum for the payment of the ransoms of the Spanish Muhammadan prisoners of war in the kingdoms of Léon and of Navarre As the envoys who had been sent for this purpose failed to find any prisoners whom they could ransom, the Caliph's favourite al-Zahrā' is said to have advised him to employ the legacy to build a town to which she would give her name This anecdote is without doubt legendary, at least in several points The work of building the town was carried on for many years (from 13 to 40 years according to historians), it lay around the palace of the Caliph Six thousand hewn stones were used every day, not to mention other materials, the necessary marble was chiefly imported from Ifrīkiya, and no less than 4,313 columns were required, if we may believe Ibn ʿIdhārī According to the same author it was the crown prince al Hakam himself who directed operations The name of the chief architect, Maslama b ʿAbd Allāh, has also been preserved

The building of Madīnat al Zahrā' engaged not less than 10,000 workmen Account was taken in the planning of the town of the very steep slope of the site and al-Idrīsī gives a clear account of how this slope was utilized The town was built on three terraces, the upper part was set aside for the palace and its appurtenances, the middle one was devoted to gardens, the lower one contained private dwelling-houses and the Great Mosque

ʿAbd al-Rahmān removed with all his court to Madīnat al-Zahrā', as he felt the Caliph's palace of Cordova which faced the cathedral mosque and overlooked Guadalquivir too small, and this became his favourite residence His successors al-Hakam II and Hishām II lived there for the most part during their reigns, and further embellished the town of al-Nāsir It appears, however, to have very soon fallen into decay, especially from the time when it had as rival the residence of the ʿĀmirid Hādjibs, al-Madīnat al-Zāhira [q v] It was pillaged on several occasions by the Berber mercenaries who had rebelled against Cordova The year 401 (1010) marked its final fall A century and a half afterwards in the time of Idrīsī, the walls alone remained and vestiges only of the palace A few inhabitants still lingered in it

A beginning was made in exploring and systematically excavating the ruins of Madīnat al-Zahrā'

about the year 1910, under the direction of the Spanish archaeologist, R Velázquez Bosco The first work done was the excavation of the double rampart dividing the upper terrace of the town from the middle terrace and from certain parts of the palace A large number of carved stones have been brought to light

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL **MADJARRA**, the Milky Way (the place, path, road of moving)

The Name It is probably taken in the first place from the Greek γαλαξίας *al dāʾira al-labanīya* or *al-darb al labanī*, the circle or path which looks like milk Other names are *ṭarīk al-halīb*, the road of milk, as it has the colour of milk, *ṭarīk al-labbāna*, the road of the place where there is milk, and hence metaphorically *umm al-samāʾ*, mother of heaven, who feeds the heavens as with milk, *ṭarīk al tibn*, path of straw and *darb* or *darīb al tabbāna*, path of the place where there is straw Similarly the Milky Way is called in Persian *kāhkeshān*, straw-puller, or *kāhkinçān* or *rāh i kāhkeshān*, path of the strawpuller, in Turkish *samān ughrīsī* or *samān kapān*, straw or fodder thief Whether names connected with straw go back to Greek or Oriental ideas is uncertain Gundel (*op cit*) holds the latter view In the East the Milky Way is the hay, straw and meal, which Peter or Saint Vinire (Venus) lost and blessed by God flew to heaven Another Turkish name is *hādjdjiler*, path of the pilgrims

Other Arabic names are *bāb al-samāʾ*, gate of heaven, and *al-sharadj* or *al-ashradj*, gap, probably from the idea that the Milky Way corresponds to a gap or split through which one can see the shining heaven Another name is *umm al-nudjūm*, mother of the stars, because no part of the heavens is so rich in stars The stars are also to have leprosy (*darbat al nudjūm*) Among the Kazan Tatars the Milky Way is called "Path of the Wild Goose" and among the Altai Tatars ("Path of Hoar-Frost" (frosted way)

The name *nahr al-madjarra*, River of the Madjarra, is noteworthy The Milky Way is regarded as a river, this is evident from the passages in ʿAbd al-Rahmān al Sūfī in his work on the constellations, in al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* towards the end and in the *Chronology* (text, p 345, transl, p 348), in al-Kazwīnī in the *Cosmography* (text, I, p 37, transl, p 18) and in many others In these passages the constellation of Sagittarius or the eight stars forming the 20th station of the moon which are called the Ostriches *al-naʿāʾim* are described Four of the stars which lie on the Milky Way are called *al-naʿām al-wārid*, the ostrich going to drink, the four others lie at the side of the river of the Milky Way and are called *al naʿām al sādir*, the ostrich returning from drinking (cf e g L Ideler, *op cit*, p 184 and Hyde, *Ulugh Beg's Tabulae*, Oxford, p 23)

Description of the Milky Way A description of the Milky Way, the stars and constellations in it, is given by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* (Bk VIII, Ch 2) and the Muslim translators have borrowed from this The editors have treated it in different ways Al-Tūsī for example in his edition of the *Almagest* gives the description as fully as in Ptolemy, but he does not use the translation by al Hadjdjadj, as I was able to show Ibn Sīnā on the other hand, who gives a brief synopsis of the contents of the *Almagest* in the *Shifāʾ* (Healing) gives no such description, he deals here in the same way as he does with the Tables which he omits

The very full treatment of the Milky Way is followed in Ptolemy by a description of the method of making a globe of the heavens on which the Milky Way is represented Ibn Sīnā, for example, took over this section word for word in a form which we also find elswhere It is therefore exceedingly probable that the Milky Way was represented on one or other celestial globe, of which a whole series is recorded It does not seem to be on the extant globes (cf H Schnell, *Die Kugel mit dem Schemel*)

An independent description of the whole Milky Way as full as that in Ptolemy, I have not been able to find in Arabic works A brief description is given by Abū Hanīfa al Dīnawarī (in al Marzūkī, *Kitāb al-Azmina wa'l-Amkina*, Haidarābād 1332, II 9—12) The description of al-Dīnawarī leaves much to be desired and the text is not quite correct The former is in keeping with ʿAbd al-Rahmān al Sūfī's verdict, according to which al Dīnawarī was very well acquainted with the verses on the Milky Way but his astronomical knowledge was insufficient (it may be noted that ʿAbd al Rahmān mentions an Ibn Kunaza, while there is a Muhammad b Kunaza in al-Marzūkī)

The anonymous writer mentioned in the *Bibliography* gives a brief description of it

ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī unfortunately only gives a description of one part of it He mentions the part of the Milky Way between the great, the bright Milky Way (*al-madjarra al ʿazima*) and the falling Eagle (Lyra) (*kitʿat al-madjarra*, here at γ Cygni the Milky Way divides) ʿAbd al-Rahmān follows this stretch up to ξ Scorpii In many cases the position of stars e g in the Ship is given from their position with respect to the Milky Way Schjellerup has given details in the tables appended to the synoptic account, p 5 *sqq*

In the *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* of al-Bīrūnī we read "al-Madjarra of the Arabs, Kāhkashān of the Persians and Rah Bihisht of the Hindus is an aggregation of a very large number of small stars

They form an almost perfect large circle, which runs between Gemini and Sagittarius, sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, in some places it is dense, in others not Aristotle thinks that the Milky Way consists of stars surrounded by vapour like the halo round the moon and the mist (in the sky) and the comets"

Theory of the Milky Way On the nature of the Milky Way and the cause of its shining there are a number of views, which follow the same lines as those of the ancients (cf O Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907, index, s v *γάλα*) I now give al-Karāfī's account of it

Al-Karāfī (d 1285—1286) who wrote a work on Optics ("Noteworthy consideration of what the eyes grasp in 50 questions or problems"), says in the 49th question "Why do we see a black haze on the moon? Is this an illusion or reality?" and continues

"Connected with this question is that of the Milky Way which looks like a road in the sky We are told 1 It is the gate of heaven 2 It consists of small stars which are crowded so closely together that the eye cannot distinguish one from the other 3 It is said to be a vapour, which has risen from the earth and solidified under the cone of the fixed stars One part forms a black burned body This is the case in the centre of the Milky Way A part lies in places which are far away from those in which there is burning, these are the two sides of the Milky Way These places appear white 4 Finally we are told that the Milky Way consists of something whose shape is inserted in the heavens and which is in some part of the earth, to which the way cannot be found and which cannot be reached"

Of these four views the second is nearest the truth

The anonymous author of the Berlin manuscript also tells us very fully about the different views and the nature etc of the Milky Way, here is the passage in question "Learned men have many and varied views on the nature and substance of this belt Some say that it is a part of the upper sphere and thicker and coarser than the rest of it It is therefore visible, while the rest is not, as the latter is exceedingly fine This corresponds to the opinion of the philosopher Diodorus (Diyūdūrūs)"

"According to Aristotle this belt consists of vapours which have collected together and ascended into the sky through the intermediary of the stars As vapours are continually rising, they retain their shape There is a contradiction in this If we assume that the belt is formed by rising vapours, they cannot possibly be always seen at one and the same place in the sky, nor can they be seen from all places on earth and they cannot maintain one and the same distance from the stars and the ascendants"

"If the belt is always seen in the same way and has permanently the same form, if it is seen in all climes, if its distance from the stars and the ascendants is always the same, this is a sure indication that the belt does not originate in vapours as these completely lack these qualities"

"Some learned men are agreed that the Milky Way, al-Madjarra, has its origin in the fact that small stars have become combined in this figure (*āthār*) and offer themselves jointly to the view On account of their smallness they do not look like shining stars as they are joined together and give their light together (the light of the single stars forming one whole) This is the origin of the shining and the figure which we see This view is one which is intelligible and men adopt it"

"We say that the Milky Way is a limb of the sphere of the fixed stars As it is a thick limb, which is thicker than the other limbs, it completely absorbs the light of the sun, corresponding to what the other limbs take up, i e as the stars do This corresponds to the view of him who says that the latter are thick limbs of their sphere Each limb takes up light in proportion to its density But this density is the cause of light being reflected to us [1])"

"Many learned men attack the Aristotelian view — as was done even in ancient times — and regard the latter view (5) as the most probable"

The anonymous writer therefore lays it down quite generally that the Milky Way cannot be in the ether, it has always one and the same form quite independently of the position from which it is seen and does not alter its position

Abu 'l-Faradj (Bar Hebraeus) in his work ("Elevation of the spirits, on the shape of heaven and of the earth", transl by F Nau, Paris 1899, p 92 *sq*) has a section on the vapour-stars [2]) (*kawkab sahābī*) and the Milky Way He says "In the heavens there are some white patches, vapour stars Some think these are a part of the Milky Way as like it they resemble clouds They also think that they consist of a very large number of very small stars lying very close to one another, like the mane below the lion which is in the shape of an ivy leaf Those who believe this also say that the whole Milky Way consists of very small stars joined together The Milky Way is obviously neither smoke nor vapour in the air, as the Peripatetics say, since the moon and the planets experience no change in their light as they pass through the Milky Way (it must therefore lie outside the sphere of Saturn) but on the contrary rather affect the Milky Way" [3])

The following note may be added on patches of nebulae

Among the nebulae known to the Muslims are the Magellan clouds which were observed by merchants in Makdashūh They saw there a white patch of cloud which never came down and never changed its position (al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūkāt*, vol II, p 40)

At quite an early date Ibn al-Haitham thoroughly and fully proved that the Milky Way is not in the air, but in the heavens and at a distance which is very great in proportion to the diameter of the earth, from the absence of a parallax, e g from the fact that it has the same position with respect to the fixed stars at different points on the earth The anonymous writer also points this out (E Wiedemann, *Über die Lage der Milchstrasse nach Ibn al-Haitham*, in *Sirius*, XXXIX ,

1) According to this, the anonymous writer would believe that the fixed stars, the Milky Way etc, receive light from the sun, a view that is contradicted by Ibn al Haitham and others cf below

2) In the tables and astronomical works only the vapour stars (nebulae) mentioned by Ptolemy a-e given

3) There is an error here The Milky Way would have to be below the sphere of Saturn but above the atmosphere like the planets — The alterations in the brightness of the Milky Way are phenomena caused by dazzling

1906, p 113—115), ʿAlī b Rıdwān however challenged Ibn al-Haıtham's view (Suter, N⁰ 232) Ibn al-Haıtham replıed to hım and presumably others (E Wiedemann, *Ibn al-Haıtham, Ein arabischer Gelehrter*, ın *Festschrift f J Rosenthal*, Leıpzıg 1906, p 173, N⁰ 40 and 62, Ibn Abī Usaıbiʿa, ıı 104, 5 from below)

The Mılky Way ıs mentıoned ın a whole serıes of verses, partıcularly by modern poets I have publıshed 22 of these ın the *S B P M S Erlangen* wıth the help of A Fıscher (Leıpzıg), Kowalskı (Cracau), Hell (Erlangen) and Krenkow (Beckenham)

Bıblıography Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b Idrīs al-Karāfī, *K al-Istibṣār fī-mā tudrıkuhu*, Escurıal², N⁰ 707, *Fihrıst al Kutub* , Cairo, vı 88, Anonymus, *Über Himmelserscheinungen* (the Arabıc tıtle ıs lackıng), cf Ahlwardt, *Die arabischen Hss in Berlin*, N⁰ 6054, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī, *al-Kawākib wa 'l-Suwar*, ed M C F C Schjellerup, St Petersburg 1874, O Gılbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des grıechischen Altertums*, Leıpzıg 1907, s v *γάλα*, Abu 'l-Faraǧ Barhebraeus, *Le Livre de l'Ascensıon de l'Esprıt*, transl F Nau *Bıblıotheque de l'ecole des hautes etudes*, vol cxxı, Paris 1900, p 92, W Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbılder ım Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeıt* (contaıns much ınformatıon about the names, tales and myths assocıated wıth the Mılky Way), W Gundel, Art GALAXIAS ın Pauly-Wıssowa-Kroll, *Realenzyklopadie*, vıı 568, E Wiedemann, *Beıtrage*, lxxıv, *Über dıe Mılchstrasse beı den Arabern*, ın *S B P M S Erl*

(E Wiedemann)

MADJD AL-DAWLA, Abū Tālib Rustam b Fakhr al-Dawla, a Būyıd After the death of hıs father Fakhr al-Dawla [q v], Madjd al-Dawla, who, accordıng to the usual statement, was then four years of age, accordıng to another eleven (whıle Ibn al Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ıx 48 says he was born ın 379 [989/990] whıch does not agree wıth eıther of these statements) was proclaımed as successor under the regency of hıs mother Saıyıda In 388 (998) Kābūs b Washmgīr [q v] seızed the two provınces of Djurdjān and Tabarıstān, to whıch was added by the treaty of peace Māzandarān also, and later he brought Gılān also under hıs rule In 397 (1006—1007) Madjd al-Dawla wıth the help of the vızıer al-Khatīr Abū ʿAlī b ʿAlī b al-Kāsım attempted to overthrow hıs mother but he was taken prısoner by hıs brother Shams al-Dawla [q v] and the Kurd chıef Badr b Hasanawaıh, whereupon Shams al-Dawla took control of the government His rule dıd not last long, however, after a year Madjd al-Dawla was released and agaın recognısed as ruler, whıle hıs brother retıred to hıs governorshıp of Hamadhān In 405 (1015) the latter succeeded ın seızıng the town of al-Raıy, Saıyıda and Madjd al-Dawla had to take to flıght, but were soon able to return because Shams al-Dawla was prevented from followıng them by a mutıny ın the army and had to leave the field Saıyıda held the reıns of government tıll her death (419 = 1028/1029), whıle Madjd al-Dawla, who although extremely ınterested ın learnıng, otherwıse caıed only for hıs numerous harem, paıd no heed to affaırs of state After Saıyıda's death complete chaos reıgned In the begınnıng of the year 420 (1029) Sultān Mahmūd b Subuktegīn [q v] undertook a campaıgn ınto the ʿIrāḳ When Madjd al-Dawla wrote to hım and complaıned of the rebellıous spırıt of hıs army, the Sultān sent a consıderable body of troops agaınst Raıy and ordered the commander to seıze Madjd al-Dawla When the troops appeared the latter went to them and was at once seızed along wıth hıs son Abū Dulaf The Sultān hımself then set out agaınst Raıy, seızed the town and had Madjd al-Dawla sent ın chaıns to Khorāsān

Bıblıography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, ıx, s Index, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed Reıske, ıı 598, 616, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-ı Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-ı Guzīda*, ed Browne, ı 390, 426—429, Wılken, *Gesch d Sultane aus d Geschl Bujeh nach Mırchond*, ch xıı, Weıl, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ıı ı 57 *sqq*, 65

(K V Zetterstéen)

MADJD AL-DĪN [See Hibat Allāh b Muhammad]

MADJD AL-MULK, Abu 'l-Fadı Asʿad b Muhammad al-Barāwistānı, finance mınıster of the Saldjūk Sultān Barkıyārūk As early as 485 (1092—1093) we fınd Madjd al-Mulk mentıoned among the hıgh officıals, and ın tıme he became more and more powerful, whıle Barkıyārūk's weakness and ıncapacıty became more and more obvıous But as a Shīʿī Madjd al Mulk became suspected of beıng the real ınstıgator of the murders commıtted by the Ismāʿılīs and after the amīr Bursuḳ [q v] had fallen a vıctım to Ismāʿılī fanatıcısm, the troops mutınıed (Shawwāl 492 = Aug /Sept 1099) and demanded that Madjd al Mulk should be handed over to them He offered to sacrifice hıs lıfe and proposed that the sultān should have hım executed to satısfy the soldıery But Barkıyārūk wıshed to save hım After the soldıers had sworn not to slay Madjd al-Mulk, but only to ımprıson hım, he was handed over In spıte of theır oath, the soldıers fell upon hım and at once hewed hım to pıeces — His *nisba* ıs derıved from Barāwistān, a vıllage near Kum, cf Yākūt, s v

Bıblıography Houtsma, *Recueıl*, ıı 60 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), ıx 406, x 138, 172, 179, 196 *sq*, 290, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, v 22 *sq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-ı Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-ı Guzīda*, ı 451 *sq*, Weıl, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ıı ı 143 *sq*, 158

(K V Zetterstéen)

MADJDHŪB (a, "attracted") denotes ın the termınology of the Sūfīs a person who ıs drawn by the Dıvıne attractıon (*djadhba*), so that wıthout trouble or effort on hıs part he attaıns to unıon wıth God In other words, the *madjdhūb* experıences the ecstatıc rapture of losıng hımself ın God, and ıs thereby dıstınguished from the *sālik* ("traveller"), who makes the journey to God, stage by stage, wıth conscıous endeavour and purpose The opınıon favoured by antınomıan derwīshes, that the *madjdhūb* ıs superıor to the *sālik* finds expressıon ın the sayıng "One *djadhba* (act of drawıng) from God ıs equıvalent to all the (devotıonal) work of mankınd and *djınn* (*ʿamal al-thakalaın*)", but ıt ıs generally recognısed that, whether *djadhba* or *sulūk* [q v] preponderate, both are needed ın order to reach perfectıon Those ın whom *djadhba* precedes *sulūk* and constıtutes the predomınant element ın theır spırıtual lıfe are called *madjdhūb-ı sālik*, whıle conversely those wıth whom *sulūk* comes fırst are known as *sālik-ı madjdhūb* Although the terms *madjdhūb* and *sālik* are employed by Hallādj (Massignon, *Passion*, ıı 905) and occur

frequently afterwards, their application in a narrower sense to those who repudiate or acknowledge the moral and religious law is characteristic of the derwīsh fraternities, which, as is well-known, differ widely from each other in their theory and practice concerning this matter

Bibliography ʿAbd al Razzāk al-Kāshī, *Iṣṭilāhāt al Sūfīya*, ed Sprenger, p 17 (N° 50) and p 50 (N° 178), *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāhāt al-Funūn*, i 686 (art *sulūk*), Djāmī, *Lawāʾih*, transl by E H Whinfield, p 27, D B Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, p 257—259 (R A NICHOLSON)

MADJĪD (A), [See ALLĀH]

MADJNŪN In Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature the epithet *al madjnūn*, i e "the man possessed by a *djinnī*", "the madman", is preeminently associated with Kais b al-Mulawwah (according to others, the name of his father is Muʿādh), the *madjnūn* of the Banū ʿĀmir b Saʿsaʿa, the story of whose passion for Lailā, daughter of Saʿd, a woman of the same tribe, is celebrated throughout the Muhammadan world Kais is said to have died about 80 AH (*Fawāt*, Būlāk 1283, ii 172), but it seems doubtful whether he can be regarded as a historical person, and this view is supported by the statements of early Muslim authorities (*Aghānī*, i 167—169, cf Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N° 105, p 150, 8, and Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, ed Quatremere, ii 196, 2 fr foot = *Aghānī*, i 169, 4 fr foot, where *madjnūn* is described as one of three persons who never existed), while Ibn al-Kalbī declared that the story of Madjnūn and the poems attributed to him were fabricated by a man of the Banū ʿUmaiya (*ibid*, i 167, 4 fr foot) Stripped of the pictoresque details with which later poets have embellished it, the story is a simple one Kais meets Lailā amongst a party of women, falls in love at first sight and slaughters his camel to make a feast for her His love is returned, but her father refuses to give her to him in marriage, and soon afterwards she becomes the wife of Ward b Muhammad al-ʿUkailī Kais, crazed with despair, passes the rest of his days in solitude, wandering half-naked in the hills and valleys of Nadjd, making verses on the subject of his unhappy love, and only seeing Lailā at rare intervals until his death The development of this love-tale of the Arabian desert into one of the popular themes of Persian romantic and mystical poetry was begun by Nizāmī of Gandja, in whose *Khamsa* the *Lailā ū-Madjnūn* occupies the third place Of other poems bearing the same title, the best-known in Persian literature are those by Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, Djāmī and Hātifī, and in Turkish, by Hamdī (see the abstract in Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii 175—190) and Fuzūlī (*ibid*, iii 85—88, 100—104) — Sūfī writers find in Madjnūn a type of the soul which through tribulation, self devotion and self-abandonment aspires to be united with God

Bibliography Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 48, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed de Goeje, p 355—364, *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii 170—172, Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii 406 *sq*, iii 533 *sq*, iv 229, Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (see Index), J Atkinson, *Laili and Majnun*, translated in verse from the Persian of Nidhāmī (London 1836, 1894, 1905)

(R A NICHOLSON)

MADJRĀ or MODJRĀ, a term in prosody, meaning the vowel of the *rawī* or the consonant which is repeated at the end of each line of a *kasīda* (cf KĀFIYA) (MOH BEN CHENEB)

AL-**MADJRĪṬĪ**, his full name was ABU ʾL-KĀSIM MASLAMA B AHMAD AL-FARADĪ AL-HĀSIB (the arithmetician) AL-MADJRĪṬĪ AL KURṬUBĪ (the Cordovan) AL ANDALUSĪ (the Spaniard) We know little of his life He was born in Madrid but in what year is not known Various dates are given for his death, which must lie between 395 (1004) and 398 (1007) In Madrid he studied the science of mensuration under an authority on the subject, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir, who was also famous for his geometrical knowledge Al-Madjrītī later moved to Cordova where he lived in the reigns of Hakam II (350—366 = 961—976) and Hishām II (366—399 = 976—1009) He died before the outbreak of the fighting and confusion (*fitna*) which led to the fall of the Umaiyads From his place of birth and place of long residence he was given the two names al-Madjrītī and al Kurtubī Like so many others scholars, al Madjrītī is mentioned in laudatory terms by the biographers He was the leader (*imām*) in mathematical knowledge, including mensuration He surpassed his predecessors in knowledge of the doctrine of the spheres and the movements of the stars He devoted particular attention to the observation of the heavenly bodies and made a special point of comprehending the *Almagest* Whether al-Madjrītī also dealt seriously with medicine we do not know but among his pupils were several who did On the works on occult subjects ascribed to him, cf below

We are told of a journey to the east from which he brought back Greek and Arabic manuscripts which he adapted for the requirements of the west Spanish astronomy was thus given a more independent position, for before the middle of the tenth century, as the survey given by Sanchez Perez shows, the Spanish representatives of astronomy and mathematics were of little importance either in numbers or ability There were among them no scholars to compare with the Banū Mūsā, Thābit b Kurra, Ibn al-Haitham, al-Battānī etc But even after the time of al Madjrītī, Djābir b Aflah and al Zarkalī are really the only two of distinction Perhaps we should also mention the much used Abu ʾl-Hasan al Marrākushī, but his works are for the most part compilations

In Cordova, where al-Madjrītī lived for a considerable time, he founded — probably as a result of his journey — a school which produced a number of distinguished scholars, such as Ibn al-Samh (Suter, N° 194, also a physician), Ibn al-Saffār (Suter, N° 196), al-Kirmānī (Suter, N° 205?) Ibn Khaldūn (Suter, N° 227, also a physician), al Zahrāwī (mathematician and physician, (Suter, N° 190) These men spread and developed the teachings of al-Madjrītī and his methods, al-Zarkālī also based his work upon them — It is however questionable whether al-Madjrītī owes his fame more to the widely circulated occult writings which are probably pseudepigraphic or to his astronomical teaching, for his literary activity in this latter field was not great

Of his astronomical works, his version of the book of tables (*zīdj*) of Muhammad b Mūsā al Khwārizmī, which is one of the earliest books of tables in Islām, is of special importance He converted the tables which are based on the era of

Yazdadjird into tables based on the Muhammadan era He also to some extent replaced the meridian of Arīn by that of Cordova, and he also gave the approximate positions of the planets for the beginning of the Hidjra On the other hand, he did not notice a series of errors in the older book Mention may be made of some other astronomical works of his a work in which he gives a short method of equating the stars (*Taʿdīl al-Kawākib*) in the tables of al-Battānī, a work on the astrolabe which survives in Latin, a translation of the planisphere of Ptolemy, the latter was translated into Latin in 1143 by Hermann Secundus of Tolosa His interest in astronomy led al-Madjrītī to deal with the principle of the transversal, in which he developed the views of Ibn̲ābit b Kurra His *Fī Tamām ʿIlm al-ʿAdad* (On the Perfection of the Doctrine of Numbers) or *al-Muʿāmalāt* On Business-calculations) is mathematical Whether the *Kitāb al-Ahdjār* (on stones) and the work on the procreation of animals are genuine, need not be discussed here

It has also been suggested that al Madjrītī wrote the *Iḵẖwān al Safā*, but his supposed occupation with a work of this kind may be traced to the fact that he either wrote a similar work or a supplement to it or that he edited it and then he or his pupil Kirmānī introduced it into Spain Whether he inserted separate sections like those on minerals, plants and animals seems to be doubtful

Two other works belong together in subject matter, *Rutbat al-Ḥalīm fī 'l Kīmiyā* and *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm fī 'l Siḥr*, "the Goal of the Learned in Magic", which are ascribed in the manuscripts to al-Madjrītī, although he never mentions himself in them I J Holmyard after a thorough study of the question does not believe they are by al-Madjrītī, the main reason being that al-Madjrītī died before the *fitna*, while these works were not written till after this period The earlier biographers do not mention them among the works of al-Madjrītī, and it may well be doubted whether works of this kind were in keeping with his mental attitude Both the works deal with occult subjects The *Ghāya* treats of talismans, amulets, etc Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv 166, in dealing with the science of talismans (*ʿilm al ṭilsamāt*), says that in it al-Madjrītī expounded very fully but not always intelligently the principles of the science The *Rutba* is of an alchemical nature, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v 230 *sq* also quotes al Madjrītī among the alchemists Holmyard, *op cit*, gives the gist of the book

Bibliography J Sanchez Perez, *Biografias de matematicos arabes* etc, Madrid 1921, p 86, N° 84 (containing very full references) J Perez quotes among other works *Bull di Bibliografias* etc, di B Boncompagni, v, 1872, p 427, this is a work which, like all by Steinschneider, contains a very full bibliography It refers not however to Maslama but to Mashā Allāh C Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 243, N° 4, H Suter, *Die Mathematiker u Astronomen* etc, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathem Wissenschaften*, x, 1900, p 76, N° 176 and xiv, 1902, p 167, I Leclerc, *Histoire de la medecine arabe*, i, 1876, p 422, L Gonzalvo, *Über al-Madjrītī* (*Homenaje a Francisco Codera*), x 353—355, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, ii 564, N° 1257, H Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ b Mūsā al-Ḵẖwārizmī in der Bearbeitung von Muslama Ibn Ahmed al-Madjrītī* (*Kgl danske Vidensk Selsk Skrifter*, J Reakke, *histor og philolg Afd*, iii, 1904), E J Holmyard, *Maslama al-Madjrītī and the Rutbatu 'l-Ḥakīm*, in *Isis* (ed Suter), vi, 1924, p 293—305, H Burger and K Kohl, A Bjorno, *Thabit's Werk uber den Transversalen satz* etc, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* etc, vii, 1924, p 23, 79, 83

Arabic Sources Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 39, Ibn al Kiftī, p 326, al Makkarī, ed Cairo, ii 134 (only a brief notice of the book of tables) (E Wildemann)

MĀDJŪDJ [See Yādjūdj wa Mādjūdj]

MADJŪS (a), the Zoroastrians The Greek word *μάγος* (which itself renders an Īrānian word, cf old Persian *magush*, new Persian *mugh*) passed into Arabic through an Aramaic medium According to the Arabic lexicographers, *Madjūs* is a collective like *Yahūd*, in the singular *Madjūsī* is to be used, the religion of the Madjūs is called *al-Madjūsiyya* The lexicographers cite from the root *V m dj s* a iind form (*madjdjasa*) and a vth (*tamadjdjasa*) In a poem, cited in the *Lisān* and the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* the phrase *nār madjūsa* is found, if we only could be sure, that this poem is really (as is asserted in the *Lisān*) a composition of Imru 'l-Kais and al Tawʾam al-Yashkurī conjointly, the word would already occur in the oldest Arabic literature extant

In the lexica, the word *Madjūs* is derived from a proper name, *Mindj Kūsh*, which name, according to them, is the Persian equivalent for Arabic *saghīr al udhnain* ("with little ears") This man, named Mindj Kūsh, they say, is not the same as Zoroaster, but lived before him, and was the first who proclaimed the religion of the Magians This is one instance of the many etymological and aetiological enormities of Arabic antiquarians (cf *Lisān*, viii 98 *sq*, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, iv 245, Lane, *Lexicon*, s v) Incidentally, it may be noted that in Arabic literature the word *Madjūs* is also used to denote the peoples of Northern Europe, viz the Scandinavians (cf Dozy, *Recherches*, ii 250 etc, Appendice N° xxxiv, p lxxvi, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici collegit et ed* A Seippel, i, Christiania 1896)

In the Kurʾān the word *Madjūs* occurs once (xxii 17), with this verse, ii 59 and v 73 are to be compared In these three places the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q v] are mentioned, but it is only in xxii 17 that the name Madjūs is also found In this same verse, however, the *Mushrik*'s also are mentioned, who, of course, can by no means be included in the term *Ahl al-Kitāb* Now, in Muslim law, the Zoroastrians are, it will be seen, treated as if they belonged to the *Ahl al Kitāb*, but this conception cannot be based on the Kurʾānic verse xxii 17 Also, the commentators (al Baidāwī, ed Fleischer, p 629, al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, p 901, al Rāzī, *Mafātih al-Ghaib*, iv 554, al-Naisābūrī in marg al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed Cairo, xvii 74 etc) give nothing that can point to the fact of the Madjūs being, theoretically, *Ahl al-Kitāb* The words of al Rāzī, who states that the Madjūs are those who do not follow a real prophet, but only a *mutanabbi'*, might suggest, that he takes Madjūs to be a sect intermediate between the real *Ahl al-Kitāb* and the *mushrik*'s, the heathen Al-Naisābūrī also says that the prophet of the

Madjūs — who, moreover, are dualists — is no real prophet but a *mutanabbi'*, the *mushrik*'s, on the other hand, have no prophet at all, nor a sacred scripture In Arabic historical literature the Zoroastrian Persians are themselves occasionally called *mushrik*, e g al Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 302, 303, 380, 387 (*mushrik*), p 407 (*kuffār*) Finally it must be added that the Kur'ān-verse xxii 17 seems to be a later addition to this Sūra (cf Noldeke Schwally, *Gesch des Qorāns*, i 214 the verse must be Madīnic)

In the *Hadīth*, which represents the theory of Muslim law, there is not very much to be found on the Madjūs in particular (cf A J Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v *Madjūs*) The substance of the *Hadīth* concerning the Magians is, that they are to be treated like the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and, in consequence, are bound to pay the *djizya* Practically, the rising Muslim state power could not follow any other way The subjection of Īrān would have become impossible, had the Arabs considered the Zoroastrians as mere heathens, who were to be given the choice either of Islām or the sword And, even before that time, dealing with the Zoroastrians of Bahrain in this rigorous way, would have been a grave political fault Thus tradition, though it also hands down an account of how the prophet gave the Zoroastrians of Bahrain the choice of either Islām or death, reports, that ʿAbd al-Rahmān b ʿAwf stated that the prophet had accepted the *djizya* from these Madjūs This tradition was regarded as authoritative afterwards, and the other, stating that the prophet refused to consider Madjūs otherwise than as *mushrik*'s, was abandoned (cf Abū Dāwūd, xix 29 = vol ii 30) ʿAbd al Rahmān b ʿAwf is said to have delivered his statement on an occasion when the Khalīfa ʿUmar felt doubtful whether he should accept the *djizya* from the Īrānians, or not (cf al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 267 the prophet, according to ʿAbd al-Rahmān, had said "*sunnū bihim sunnat ahl al kitāb*") There is a tradition relating that ʿUmar, a year before his death, wrote to Djazʿ b Maʿūya, regarding the Madjūs, instructing him, to put to death every sorcerer (*sāhir*), to separate each Madjūsī from his wife and children, and to forbid the practice of *zamzama* (the muttering of Zoroastrian prayers, new Persian *bādj* or *bāz*) Djazʿ began to execute these rigid orders, and ʿUmar refused to accept the *djizya* from the Madjūs, until ʿAbd al Rahmān b ʿAwf asserted that the prophet had accepted it from the Madjūs of Bahrain (Abū Dāwūd, *loc cit*, Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, i 190, 194, al-Bukhārī, *Sahih*, Cairo 1304, ii 144 *sqq*) Al-Bukhārī, moreover (ii 145) cites the following answer given to a Persian ambassador "Our prophet has commanded us to fight you, until you serve God, and Him alone, or until you pay the *djizya*" So here likewise the Madjūs are put on the same level as the *Ahl al-Kitāb* The determination of the position of the Zoroastrians in respect of the Muslim state, is the main point of the *Hadīth* concerning them Moreover, there is a tradition in al Dārimī, *Farāʾid*, bāb 42, regulating the hereditary portion of Zoroastrians (not altogether clear, however) Other, not very important traditional matter respecting the Madjūs is cited *Lisān*, viii 99, Lane, *Lexicon*, s v *fitra*, the article KADARĪYA

The traditions of the Muslims about Zoroaster are in accordance with their idea of the Zoroastrians being a kind of inferior *Ahl al-Kitāb* Al-Tabarī relates, that Zarādusht b Isfimān (Isfimān is an adaptation of the Awestic *Spitama*, the name of the ancestor of the family to which Zoroaster belonged) laid claim to the title of a prophet, after three years of the reign of king Bishtāsb (the Awestic *Wishtāspa*) had elapsed (i 675 *sq*), the same historian reports, on the authority of Hishām b Muhammad al Kalbī, that Zarādusht, who by the Madjūs is said to be their prophet, was, according to the learned men of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* an inhabitant of Palestine, and a servant of one of the disciples of the prophet Jeremiah He committed a fraud against his master, who cursed him, so that he became leprous Zarādusht then went to Ādharbaidjān and began to promulgate the religion called Madjūsiya, afterwards he proceeded to Balkh, where Bishtāsb resided This king became a convert to the religion of Zarādusht, and compelled his subjects to embrace that religion also (i 648, cf al Thaʿlibi, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed Zotenberg, p 256)

Another tradition, likewise preserved in al-Tabarī's work, brings Zarādusht together with a Jewish prophet ڕۆ (vocalisation uncertain), who was sent to Bishtāsb, and, at his court, met with Zarādusht, and the sage Djāmāsb (Awestic *Djāmāspa*, the minister of Wishtāspa and son-in law of Zoroaster) Zarādusht is said to have noted down in Persian the teachings which the Jew delivered in Hebrew Bishtāsb, and his father Luhrāsb (Awestic *Aurwataspa*) had been Sābians before ڕۆ and Zarādusht proclaimed their religion (Tabarī, i 681, 683) These traditions aim at bringing the Zoroastrian faith into a certain connection with the Jewish religion in the one, Zoroaster is an apostate Jew, in the other, he acts in agreement with a Hebrew prophet In the *Hadīth* there is a saying of Ibn ʿAbbās "when the prophet of the Persians had died, Iblis wrote for them the lore of the Madjūs" (*inna ahl Fāris lammā māta nabīyuhum kataba lahum Iblis al-Madjūsīya* Abū Dāwūd, *Kharādj*, bāb 29 = ii 30) This isolated tradition might perhaps in some way be connected with the reports about ڕۆ

Some Arabic authors, of course, had a better knowledge of Zoroaster and his religion, cf for instance al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 331, where it is stated, that according to the Madjūs, Zarādusht came from Urmiya, and, especially, al Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal* (ed Cureton, p 182 etc), whose scientific treatise, however, contributes nothing to the knowledge of the ideas about Zoroastrianism prevalent among the *Fakīh*'s It is enough to say, that al Shahrastānī whose, information goes back to Īrānian sources, gives a succinct, but, in general, correct account of Zoroaster and the Madjūs, whom he subdivides into three principal sects the *Kayūmarthīya*, the *Zarwānīya* and the *Zarādushtīya*, the latter, according to him, properly the followers of Zoroaster The Madjūs are, he rightly remarks, not *Ahl al-Kitāb*, but, like the dualists, only possessing some thing like an inspired scripture (*shubhatu kitāb*, p 179), before the rise of the Madjūsīya, the Persians professed the religion of Ibrāhīm (p 180)

Respecting the treatment of the Zoroastrians during the Islāmic conquest, the following data may be given

1) al-Yaman Muhammad had sent envoys to that country, who, among other things, had to collect the *djizya* from those who preferred to remain Christians, Jews or Madjūs (al-Balādhurī, p 69) The Zoroastrians of al-Yaman (the so-called *Abnā'*) were said to be descendants from the Persians of the army of Wahriz, who, by order of Khusraw I, carried back Saif b Dhi Yazan to that country Muhammad, when sending an army to al-Yaman against the pseudo prophet al-Aswad, recommended its general, to try and win over to his side these Zoroastrians, who were treated tyrannically by al Aswad One of these Madjūs, Fairūz b al-Dailami, had already embraced Islām, the most distinguished man among the *Abnā'*, Dādhawaih (Dādhūyā), also became Muslim, and, at his advice, the remaining *Abnā'* followed They helped energetically to put down al-Aswad So we see, that in al-Yaman the Madjūs were treated like *Ahl al Kitāb*, after which followed their spontaneous conversion to Islām

2) ʿUmān There was a tradition that the prophet commanded Abū Zaid to take the *sadaka* from the Muslims of ʿUmān, and the *djizya* from the Madjūs of that country (al Baladhuri, p 77)

3) Bahrain In the year 8 (629/630) Muhammad sent out al-ʿAlā' b ʿAbdallāh al Hadrami to Bahrain, most of the Arabs of that country embraced Islam, and so did Sēbukht, the Persian *marzbān* of Hadjar (the capital), and some other Zoroastrians The greatest part of the Madjūs of the country, however, remained faithful to their religion, and had to pay the *djizya*, like the Jews and the Christians, who, in Bahrain, did not embrace Islam Some Arabs criticized Muhammad, because he pretended to accept the *djizya* only from the *Ahl al Kitāb*, and now accepted it from the Madjūs of Hadjar On that occasion Sūra v 104 was revealed (al-Baladhurī, p 78 etc) Here it can be seen, that in the oldest Islam it was by no means regarded as a matter of fact that the Madjūs were to be reckoned under the *Ahl al-Kitāb* During the Khalifate of Abū Bakr an insurrection took place in Bahrain, the Madjūs refusing to pay the *djizya* This rebellion was not put down before the khalifate of ʿUmar (*ibid*, p 85)

4) Irān Before entering upon the particulars of the state of the Madjūs in Irān, it may be remarked that in Armenia the Madjūs were treated like the Jews and the Christians They were obliged to pay the *djizya*, but enjoyed security for their persons and their possessions In the capitulation of the town of Dabil (Dwin) to Habib b Maslama, the Christians, Jews and Madjūs are comprised alike under these conditions The *kanā'is* and *biyaʿ* are also mentioned as remaining in the possession of their old masters, it may be assumed, that here under these words, which properly design Jewish and Christian sanctuaries, the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians are understood also (al-Balādhurī, p 200)

In Irān, the regular treatment of the places which surrender themselves is the imposition of the *djizya* and the *kharādj* (which, at this time, in most cases were identical terms for "tribute" in general, cf DJIZYA and KHARĀDJ, but cf al-Balādhurī, p 314, where *djizya* = capitation and *kharādj* = ground-tax) Thus, the inhabitants are reduced to the state of *dhimmi*, as if they really were *Ahl al-Kitāb* This is the case e g on the subjection of Mahīūd, Bandanidjain (al-Balādhurī, p 265), Hulwān, Karmāsīn (*ibid*, p 301), Nihāwand (*ibid*, p 306), Dīnawar, Sirwān, Sarmara (*ibid*, p 307), Hamadhān (*ibid*, p 309), Isfahān (*ibid*, p 312 *sq*), Ahwāz (*ibid*, p 377 here the prisoners of war were released by order of ʿUmar, to cultivate the land, under the obligation to pay *kharādj*, there being not enough Arabs for the purpose), Djundai Sābūr (*ibid*, p 382), Djurra, Arradjan, Shīrāz, Darabdjird (*ibid*, p 388 at Dārābdjird, the chief authority in the town was a Zoroastrian priest, a *hirbadh*), Tabas and Kurīn (*ibid*, p 403 they concluded a treaty with ʿUmar, which later was confirmed by ʿUthman b Affan), Naisābūr, Nasa (*ibid*, p 404), Ilūs (*ibid*, p 405), Harāt, Badghis and Bushandj (*ibid*, p 405), Marw (*ibid*, p 405 *sq*) The term *sālahūhu ʿalā (dirham)*, often occurring in our source, must be understood as meaning a tribute, this appears from the last mentioned passage p 405 *sq*

Not always, however, did the subjugation of the Īrānian places come to pass without bloodshed In Raiy a massacre ensued, but there seem to have been no religious motives for it (al Baladhuri, p 317) If a town had offered a strong resistance, it might happen, that only a limited number of persons were included in the *amān* This was the case at Sarakhs, where, according to the treaty, only 100 men were spared, the *marzbān* had not included himself in the number, and was, accordingly, killed, while the women were made captives by the conquerors (*ibid*, p 405) At Sūs a similar event occurred, here the number of men, comprised in the *amān*, was 80, or, as others said, 100 (*ibid*, p 378 *sq*) At the conquest of Manadhir all the men were killed, and the rest of the population was taken captive (*ibid* p 378) But another stronghold, though resisting the Muslims vigorously, obtained a capitulation, by which its inhabitants became *dhimmi* (*ibid*, p 317 *sq*) A great slaughter was made at the conquest of Istakhr, where 40,000 Īrānians lost their lives, most of the nobles belonging to the *ahl al buyūtāt* and the *asāwira* perished there, as it seems, not in the defence of the town, but after its capture (*ibid*, p 389 *sq*)

When the Zoroastrians were received as *dhimmi*'s, their religious practices must, of course, be respected Thus al Farrukhān paid the Muslims, on behalf of the inhabitants of Raiy and Kumis, 500,000 *dirham*, while the Muslims promised, among other things, not to destroy any fire-temple (*ibid*, p 318) When Ādharbāidjān was subdued and made tributary, the treaty, which its *marzbān* concluded with the Arab commander, contained also the stipulation, that no fire-temple should be destroyed, and that the people of Shiz were not to be hindered in their dancing festivals and other practices (*ibid*, p 326) It goes without saying, that in the countries, inhabited by Zoroastrians, soon after the appearance of the Arabs, mosques also were built, destined in the first place for the religious worship of the conquerors, the *masdjid djāmiʿ* which Saʿd b Abī Wakkās constructed at al-Madāʾin, was the earliest building of that kind in al-Sawād (*ibid*, p 289) Under the khalifate of ʿUthmān, a *masdjid* was built at Raiy, in which town later on, under the khalifate of al-Mansūr, a *masdjid djāmiʿ* was erected by order of the future khalīfa al Mahdī, in 158 (775) (*ibid*, p 309) At Tawwadj, its conqueror ʿUthmān b Abī

ʿĀsī caused mosques to be erected for the Arab population, which he transported to that country (*ibid*, p 386), in Arradjān a *masdjid* was built by the governor al Hakam al-Hudjamīnī (*ibid*, p 392)

Already at the period of the conquest, there occur numerous conversions from Zoroastrianism to Islām As T W Arnold (*The Preaching of Islām*, p 177 etc) observes, there were several reasons, why it was not very difficult for the Persians to exchange their religion for Muhammadanism The *djizya*, moreover, which the Zoroastrians were bound to pay, could no longer be required from those who had become Muslim Soon after the battle of Djalūlāʾ some *dihkān*'s embraced Islām, and, consequently, became freed from paying the *djizya* (al Balādhurī, p 265) The inhabitants of Isfahān, on the other side, being invited by al-Ashʿarī, to accept Islām, preferred to give the *djizya*, but some noblemen from the same town became Muslims, and had, therefore, only to pay the *kharādj* (for their lands *wa-anifū min al djizya fa aslamū ibid*, p 312 *sq*) The inhabitants of Kazwīn likewise became Muslim out of aversion to the *djizya* (*ibid*, p 321), and so did those of al-Kākizān (*ibid*, p 323)

A Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim and then apostatized, forfeited, of course, his life, this happened e g with the *dihkān* of Maisān, who was killed by al-Mughīra b Shuʿba (*ibid*, p 343) Other instances of the progress of Islām, we find in the case of Ādharbāidjān When al-Ashʿath for the first time governed this country, he ordered the Arab settlers whom he himself had brought into the land, to invite the population to Islām These efforts were successful, as al-Ashʿath, under the khalifate of ʿAlī, a second time became governor of Ādharbāidjān, he found, that most of the population had become Muslim (*ibid*, p 328 *sq*)

The conversion to Islām of some individuals seems to have been brought about chiefly by the admiration of the rapid successes of the Muslims (instances to be found in al Balādhurī, p 374, 381), a case of forced conversion is that of al-Hurmuzān [q v] Converts to Islām, whose original name had a too pronounced Zoroastrian meaning, had to exchange that name for an Arab one the Khalīfa al Maʾmūn, e g appointed a certain Māyazdār (comp Pahlawī *myazd*, the Zoroastrian offering of food, the long *ā* of the Arabic transliteration causes, however, a difficulty for this explanation) governor of Tabaristān, Rūyān and Danbāwand this Māyazdār had to change his name into Muhammad (*ibid*, p 339) Also the father of Hasan al-Basrī [q v], who was one of the prisoners, taken after the conquest of Maisān, altered his name, Fairūz, to Yasār (*ibid*, p 344), although this Persian name could scarcely offend a Muslim ear but, after he became a *mawlā*, a change of name became necessary

After the conquest, Zoroastrianism, for the time being, continued to exist in many parts of Īrān, not only in countries which came relatively late under Muslim sway (e g Tabaristān, cf KHURSHĪD II), but also in those regions which early had become provinces of the Muslim empire In almost all the Irānian provinces, according to al-Masʿūdī, fire-temples were to be found „the Madjūs", he says (ed Barbier de Meynard, iv 86) „venerate many fire-temples in ʿIrāk, Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khurāsān, Tabaristān, al-Djibāl, Ādharbāidjān, Arrān" (he adds also "in Hind, Sind and Sin") This general statement of al Masʿūdī is fully supported by the mediaeval geographers, who make mention of fire-temples in most of the Irānian towns The toleration, then, from the part of the Muslims, must have been greater in mediaeval times than in modern ones That, however, not all Zoroastrians felt happy under a non-Zoroastrian government, appears from the fact, that a number of Madjūs, the ancestors of the Parsi's of to-day, emigrated to India Their landing on the coast of Gudjarāt is said to have taken place in the year 716 of the Christian aera

Conversion to Islām may have been, in many cases, "peaceful and to some extent, at least, gradual" (Arnold, *loc cit*, p 181) On the other hand, it is evident, that for a Zoroastrian, desirous to attain to some prominent position, conversion to Islām was indispensable Among the well-known converts from Zoroastrianism may be cited Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ [q v], Sāmān Khudāt, the founder of the dynasty of the Sāmānids [q v], the poet Dakīkī [q v], etc

Occasionally, the Muslim magistrates, it seems, assisted the Zoroastrian clergy against heretics al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, ed Cureton, p 187) relates, how Abū Muslim of Naisābūr, on an accusation from the part of the *mubadh* of the Zoroastrians, caused a sectarian to be killed It seems, however, that this man, who had been a Zoroastrian, and now promulgated a new creed, held tenets calculated to cause disturbance

A history of the relations between the Muslim state and the Persian Zoroastrians (for neither the Indian Zoroastrians, the Pārsīs, nor the internal history of the Zoroastrian community concern us here) can only be written, when the mass of Persian historical literature of the Middle Ages and modern times will be completely accessible The position of the Zoroastrians has become worse in course of time Their number seems to have greatly diminished by the disturbances which ensued after the death of Nādir Shāh (1160 = 1747), when the Afghāns destroyed the Zoroastrian quarter at Kirmān, and by the war between Agha Muhammad Khān Kadjar and Lutf ʿAlī Khān (see also KIRMĀN) In modern times the number of Zoroastrians in Persia is estimated by v Houtum-Schindler (1879) at 8,499 at all, by Browne (1887/1888) at 7,000—8,000 for Kirmān, and Yazd and environs alone [but elsewhere (*A year among the Persians*, p 370) he gives for Yazd and its environs alone 7,000—10,000] and for Bahrāmābād 20—25 The *Encycl Britannica* (1911) has the number 9,000 for the whole of Persia

In 1854, there were in Yazd and its environs 6,658 Zoroastrians, of whom ± 25 were merchants, and the rest small husbandmen and labourers (Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, i 55) The same author gives for Kirmān (in 1884, the date of the book?) no more than 450, for Tihrān ± 50 merchants, and a small number of humbler position, who were employed as gardeners in the palace of the Shāh At Shīrāz, some Zoroastrian families were found, who exercised the trade of shop-keepers Further more, there are Zoroastrians at Kāshān and Būshahr (v Houtum-Schindler) The Gebers of Bākū are Indian Pārsīs (cf BĀKŪ)

According to Browne, there are in Persia 5

dakhma's (tower-shaped buildings, where the Zoroastrians depose the bodies of the deceased, to be devoured by birds of prey) one South of Tihrān, two at Kirmān, and two at Yazd The number of fire-temples is given by v Houtum-Schindler as 4 for Yazd, 18 for its environs, and 1 for Kirmān Karaka (1 60) knew (1884) in Yazd and its environs as many as 34 greater or lesser fire temples Van Houtum-Schindler says, that the social position of the Zoroastrians in those places, where there are only few of them (Tihrān, Kāshān, Shīrāz, Būshahr), was a tolerably good one, because they were respected as being honest traders But at Kirmān their condition was less favourable, and at Yazd still worse In the first half of the XIXth century, the levying of the *djizya* was still a source of misery for all Persian Gebers, because they were helplessly exposed to the extortions of the government functionaries However, even at the time van Houtum-Schindler wrote (1879), the Indian Pārsīs, in virtue of a covenant with the Persian government, paid the *djizya* (valued at + 920 *tūmān*) for their co-religionists, so that the extortions of the fisc in collecting that tax came to an end In 1882 the *djizya* of the Zoroastrians was abolished (Karaka 1 74) For this, and other improvements, as also the foundation of schools, the Persian Zoroastrians are indebted to the "Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund", a Parsī institution

But, especially at Yazd, the situation of the Gebers, during the second half of the XIXth century, was far from good Browne relates, that at Yazd they were treated with more contempt than the Jews or the Christians, they were not permitted to ride on horse-back, fire-temples which had decayed, were not to be restored, etc The then governor, ʿImād al Dawla, had, it is true, put an end to some of the more serious iniquities, e g the putting into practice of the quaint maxim, that a Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim, acquired by that conversion a right to the property of his non-converted kinsmen Although at Kirmān the treatment of the Gebers was better than at Yazd, Browne had heard of wrongs done to them, e g forced conversions to Islām of children and young girls

The *Bibliography* regarding the Persian Zoroastrians (and also the so called Gabri, cf especially K Hadank's *Introduction*, to O Mann, *Die Mundarten von Khunsar*, p lxvii *sqq*) has been given in the article KIRMĀN (V F BUCHNER)

AL-**MADJŪS** The historians of the Maghrib and of Muslim Spain give the generic name of Madjūs "pagans, fire worshippers" to the Scandinavian pirates known in England as Northmen (Norsemen) and also to the Normans of France who on several occasions in the middle ages attempted landings on the coasts and expeditions against the frontiers of the Muslim west

The first invasion of Spain by Northmen was in 230 (844) In the month of Dhu'l-Hidjdja 229 (Aug/Sept 844), a fleet of 54 large vessels and as many small barks anchored before Lisbon [q v] and the forces they carried landed at the mouth of the Tagus The Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān II, warned by the governor of Lisbon, Wahb Allāh b Hazm, gave instructions to the governors of his coast-provinces to prevent any surprise attacks The Norman forces seized Cadiz from Lisbon, then the province of Sidona (Shadhūna) and finally Seville [q v] which they took by storm on Oct 1, 844 It was not till November that they were forced to seek the shelter of their vessels by the Muslim armies sent against them Other bands at the same time ravaged with fire and sword the whole coast from Lisbon to Trafalgar and one of them reached a point in Africa where the little town Āsilā (Arzila [q v]) was founded soon afterwards, but took to flight on the approach of the Berbers of the region

After this invasion, the leader of the Norse hordes seems to have sent an ambassador to the Caliph ʿAbd al Rahmān II to propose a peace The Umayyad sovereign agreed to his request and sent to discuss the terms of the treaty a diplomat of his entourage, Yahyā b al Hakam al-Bakri al-Djayyāni, known as al Ghazāl The latter reached Silves, where he entered a ship which after various adventures took him to the Norse leader Al Ghazal returned to his master after an absence of 20 months The account of his ambassy has been preserved for us by Ibn Dihya, who got it from the vizier Iammām b ʿAlkama, a friend of al Ghazāl

Fifteen years later, in 244 (858), Spain and the Maghrib again suffered a Norse invasion We have accounts of it by Ibn al-Kūtiya, al Bakrī and Ibn ʿIdhārī It lasted several years, at least till 247 (861) The Northmen began by seizing the town of Nukūr in Morocco They then appeared at the mouth of the Guadalquivir but without success, they then seized Algeciras where they burned the great mosque They appear to have then had an encounter at sea with the fleet of the Caliph Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahmān

We have fuller details of the invasions which followed In 355 (966), the Danes, who had come to the assistance of the first Duke of Normandy, made an expedition against Muslim Spain, on the interested advice of Richard I This lasted three years The invaders, always called Madjūs by the Arab historians, appeared first at Kasr Abi Dānis (Alcacer do Sal) and landed in the country round Lisbon which they laid waste The Caliph al-Hakam sent against them a fleet from Seville which met theirs in the estuary of the Tagus At the same time a battle was fought on land near Lisbon in which the Muslims were defeated The Danes then extended their efforts to Galicia and in 970 seized St Iago da Campostello In the next year, they again attacked Muslim Spain but they were much weakened by the losses they had suffered in the north of the Peninsula and they do not seem to have dared to land anywhere

It is also to the Madjūs (the name being accompanied by the more precise one of الارمانتون = *Alordomant*) that the Arabs attribute the celebrated taking in the following century of the town of Barbastro (Barbushtar) to the N W of Saragossa, on the borders of Aragon The historian Ibn Hayyān wrote a detailed account of it, which is preserved by Ibn ʿIdhārī A Norman expedition, in which French knights shared, which was evidently led by Guillaume de Montreuil, succeeded in capturing Barbastro in 456 (1064) This success and the barbaric treatment inflicted on the population made a deep impression on Muslim Spain In the next year the king of Saragossa, Ahmad b Sulaimān Ibn Hūd al-Muktadir, with an army reinforced by a contingent of cavalry sent by the Seville ruler, al Muʿtadid Ibn ʿAbbād, recaptured Barbastro, where a weak garrison left

by the Normans on their return to France could offer only a brief resistance and was almost entirely wiped out

Bibliography The various invasions of Spain by the Madjūs have been subject of a learned monograph by the Dutch Orientalist R Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litterature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, 3rd edition Paris–Leyden 1881, vol II, p 250—371 At the beginning references are given to the earlier works by Werlauff, Mooyer, Kruse and Kunik To the Arabic sources mentioned by Dozy may be added vol III of the *Kitāb al-Bayān al-mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, ed E Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, p ٣٢٥ *sqq* Cf also his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861, vol IV, p 125—126 and Kristoffer, *La premiere invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844*, Lisbon 1892 (E Lévi-Provençal)

MAḌMŪN is I in the legal institution of the *damān* [q v] "surety", a term which occurs in the following connections *madmūn ʿanhu* "debtor" *madmūn lahu* or *ʿalaihi* "creditor", *madmūn* (*bihi*) "pawn" For the parties to the agreement and the article in question in a bond, the rules hold which apply to all other contracts

Bibliography For details of the pertinent chapters in the Fikh books and Sachau, *Muhammed Recht*, p 385 *sqq*, Khalil, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl Santillana, II 249 *sqq*, Tornauw, *Moslem Recht*, p 139 *sqq*, van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, transl France de Tersant, Algiers 1896, p 101 *sq*

2 In the chapters of the Fikh books which deal with the law of obligations, *madmūn* is used for the thing for which one is liable or responsible, i e is bound to replace In this way *damān* comes to mean in the wider sense, "liability, obligation to restore" in contracts This liability consists either in the producing of something identical (*mithl*) i e of a thing of the same quality and quantity (*sifatan wa waznan*), e g in edible things (*mithlīyāt*) which are measured by quality, weight, or number (*mawzūn wa-makīl wa-maʿdūd*) or in the value of the thing (*ḳima*) e g in non-edible things (*mukawwamāt*) which have a special individuality, and are therefore *ʿain* = species

Bibliography The chapters on the conditions of legal agreements in the Fikh books

(O Spies)

MADRAS Presidency, the southernmost province in British India, occupies the whole of the southern portion of the Peninsula with an area of 142,260 sq m, total population (1921) 42,318,985, of whom 2,840,488 (nearly 7%) are Muhammadans The majority of these are Sunnis, 2,681,945 (93 60 per cent), Shīʿis 54,114 The only Native State with a Muhammadan ruler is Banganapalle (255 sq m), population 36,692, of whom only 19% are Muhammadans The language spoken by the majority of the Muhammadans of the province is Malayālam (1,108,865 i e 387 per 1,000, including almost all the Māppillas [q v]), Hindustānī, 335 per 1,000, Tamil, 209 per 1,000

History Southern India began to suffer early in the XIVth century from plundering raids carried out by the Muhammadans established in the north, until the rise of the Hindu kingdom of Vidjaya- the southward expansion of Muhammadan power for more than two centuries When in 1564 the four Sultans of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, — Bīdjāpur, Bīdar, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, — joined forces against this powerful Hindu state, in a single decisive battle (Tālikota, January 1565) they effected the ruin of Vidjayanagar and utterly destroyed the capital, and its territories were for the most part incorporated in the kingdoms of Bīdjāpur and Golkonda In 1686 and 1687 Awrangzeb [q v] conquered these two kingdoms and made them part of the Mughal empire After Āsaf Djāh, the first Nizām of Haidarābād, had made himself independent, in 1724, the Nawāb of the Carnatic [q v], also styled the Nawāb of Arcot (Arkāt) from the name of his capital, became his chief subordinate in the South of India When in the middle of the XVIIIth century the English and the French were in conflict with one another in Southern India, each espoused the cause of a different claimant for the office of Nawāb of the Carnatic The support of British troops under the command of Robert Clive assured the success of Muhammad ʿAlī (ob 1795), but papers seized at Siringapatam after its capture in 1799 having proved that both he and his son and successor, though nominally allies of the British, had been in secret correspondence with Tīpū Sultān [q v], Lord Wellesley, then Governor-general of India, declared them to be public enemies of the British Government, and in 1801 concluded a treaty with a grandson of Muhammad ʿAlī, named Aʿẓam al-Dawla, according to which he resigned the government of the Carnatic into the hands of the East India Company, but retained the titular dignity and received a considerable pension The present representative of the family bears the title of Prince of Arcot and has the position of the premier native nobleman of Madras The greater part of the existing Presidency of Madras consists of the territories annexed by Lord Wellesley

Madras City, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, in 3° 4′ N and 80° 15′ E, is the capital of the presidency of the same name, population (1921) 526,911, of whom 113 in every 1,000 are Muhammadans

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MADRASA [See Masdjid]

MADRID The present capital of Spain has kept the name it had in the Muslim period *Madjrīt* (ethnic *al-Madjrītī*) Arab geographers describe it as a little town grouped round a strong fortress, with a khutba mosque, at the foot of the Djabal al-Shārāt, the Sierra de Guadarrama, and a dependency of the province of Toledo It was especially known for its potteries It had only an unimportant history, but gave birth to several famous Muslim scholars, among whom the most important was Abu 'l Kāsim Maslama b Ahmad al Madjrītī, who lived in the second half of the fourth century and on whom cf Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 243 Madrid was taken in 476 (1083) by King Alphonso VI According to a Christian tradition, Ramiro II had previously held possession of it for a short time during his campaign against the Muslims in 327 (939) It was on the site

of Castille had the church dedicated to the Virgin of the Almudena built

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MADURA, an island north of Eastern Java, with the sea of Java on the north and the strait of Madura on the south, a narrow strait separates it from the residency of Surabaya For administrative purposes it forms a separate residency along with several small adjoining islands From the geological point of view Madura is a continuation of the limestone hills of the residences of Rembang and Surabaya in Java, it is doubtful whether the statement in the *Nāgarakrtāgama* (Ballad XV, verse 2, also the earliest mention of the island) that Madura only became separated from Java at the beginning of the third century A D is of any historical value The ground is hilly, large parts of the country are not at all fertile Although agriculture is becoming more and more important with the completion of irrigation works, the quantity of rice grown is quite insufficient for the wants of the dense and still rapidly increasing population, they have frequently to live partly or completely on maize Every year many Madurese leave their land for a certain period to seek work in various ways in Eastern Java, the comparatively unfertile nature of the soil has always forced the inhabitants to emigrate permanently to the Eastern residencies of Java and these are therefore with the exception of a few districts inhabited by a population which speaks Madurese Of more importance for the Madurese than agriculture is the rearing of domestic animals (cattle, horses, goats and sheep) The Madurese cattle are probably the best in the whole archipelago, many draught animals and fat stock are annually exported A very popular sport is bull racing, the beasts used for this are bred and looked after with the greatest care The Madurese have a certain preference for the trade of a wandering pedlar, on the coast and on the islands the main source of livelihood is fishing and fish-breeding

The population is closely related to that of Java, the customs at birth, marriage and death agree in general with those that prevail there There are however striking differences The Madurese is more heavily built, more energetic and enterprising than the Javanese, he is also less sophisticated He is said to be faithful, reliable, economical and even avaricious Dress, houses and farms of the Madurese look less cared for than those of the Javanese, the houses are not as in Java close together in settlements but are scattered The Madurese are specially fitted for hard heavy work and less for occupations which require skill and application Alcoholic beverages are much drunk, but little opium is taken The language is also related to Javanese and much influenced by it, the literature consists mainly of translations and versions of Javanese works

Islām is the generally prevailing religion The Madurese have no tendency to fanaticism but as a rule they faithfully perform the principal duties of their religion, the great Muslim feasts are duly observed All receive the usual elementary religious instruction and many are not content with this only We have no exact or reliable information as to the period of their conversion and the manner in which it came about, the stories given in the native sources do not agree But as Madura has politically always been closely connected with Java (in the Hindu period it was subject to the kingdoms of Tumapĕl and Madjapahit, at a later date it was under the adipati of Surabaya and then under the Sultān of Mataram) and as it is quite close to the district through which the new religion entered Java, it may well be assumed that between the first dissemination of Muslim ideas on Java and on Madura not a great deal of time passed The complete conversion of the island to Islām seems to have taken place quickly and without difficulty Hindu rule had never made a deep impression According to native tradition Madura belonged to the Muhammadan coalition which overthrew the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit Until 1623 Madura (which was divided into five small states) formed part of the territory of the adipati of Surabaya In this year it was acquired by Mataram and a Madurese prince appointed governor When in 1678 a grandson of his, Trunadjaya, rebelled against Mataram, endeavoured to make Madura independent and even aimed at rule over Java, the ruler of Mataram sought the intervention of the Dutch East India Company In 1679 Trunadjaya was taken prisoner, in 1705 Mataram recognized the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Company (which had existed in reality since 1683) over the eastern part of Madura and in 1743 over the whole island The Company and after them the Dutch government for a considerable time always avoided intervention in the internal affairs of the island, as the rulers of Madura had repeatedly performed important services, they were treated — often to the injury of their subjects — less as servants of the Company than as independent allies From the middle of the XIXth century the power of the rulers was gradually limited, since 1885 the whole island has been directly under Dutch rule

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(W H Rassers)

MADYAN SHUʿAIB, a town on the east side of the Gulf of Akaba The name is, connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (lxx Μαδιαμ, Μαδιαν, in Josephus Μαδιηνῖται, ἡ Μαδιηνὴ χωρα) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement and besides it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes In the Old Testament a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in I Kings, xi 18 where "Maʿon" should probably be read) On the other hand Josephus (*Archaeology*, ii 11, 1) knows Madiane as a town on the Erythraean Sea as does Eusebius (*Onomast*, ed Lagarde, p 276), in Ptolemy (vi 7, 2) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Modiana or Modouna while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name Madiama, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town In Muhammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Ishāk) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zaid b Hāritha thither There are occasional references in the poet Kuthayyir (in Yākūt, d 723), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muhammad b al-Hanafiya's journey to Aila In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days' journey from Tabūk, it was the second station on the pilgrims' road from Aila to Madīna and was a dependency of Madīna In the sixth century Yaʿkūbī speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population Istakhrī says it is larger than Tabūk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shuʿaib (see below), it was now covered by a house which had been built over it The town then began to decline gradually In the xiith century Idrīsī says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources, in the xivth century Abu 'l-Fidā' says it was in ruins Only in recent times has it been visited e g by Ruppell, Burton and Musil The extensive ruins, which the Arabs call Maghā'ir Shuʿaib after the cave-tombs, lie about 16 miles east of the port of Maknā in 28° 28′ N Lat in the southern part of the valley of al Badʿ which is rich in streams and palms and other trees According to Burton the whole district between 29° 28′ and 27° 40′ is called Ard Madyan

In the Kur'ān following the Old Testament there are repeated references to Madyan as a people for example in the stories of Moses' stay with them (xx 42, xxviii 21 *sqq*, 45), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the O T) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet Shuʿaib (vii 83—91, xi 85—98, xxix 35 *sq*) This Shuʿaib was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament But perhaps the real truth is that Shuʿaib had originally nothing to do with Madyan In the older Sūras (xv 78, xxvi 176 *sq*, xxxviii 12, l 13) it is not the Midianites but the *Ashāb al-Aika* (the people of the thicket) who are his enemies and it is therefore very possible that Muhammad only later combined an indigenous story of the people of the thicket and their Shuʿaib with the Midianites of the Old Testament

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(Fr Buhl)

MAGHNAṬĪS, MAGHNĀṬĪS, MAGHNĪṬĪS, Lodestone and Compass

I The Lodestone and Magnetism

The lodestone is a widely disseminated mineral, and is therefore frequently mentioned by geographers and cosmographers, for example in the pseudepigraphical *Petrology* of Aristotle, by al-Dimishḳī, al Kazwīnī, al-Tāfāshī, Ibn al-Fakīh, al-Kalkashandī, etc Of Amid and Hashadjī, it is said that the lodestone is found there as a hard rock According to Ibn Sīnā, the Indian is the best and al-Kazwīnī makes it come from India Like the Greeks and Romans, the Arabs also discussed the properties of the lodestone and its effects on iron They found that the lodestone can hold an iron needle (a ring), this a second, a third and so on, so that a chain is formed

The power of attraction of the lodestone was defined Most writers say that a lodestone can lift double its weight in iron, and one from Hashadjī three times Djābir b Hayyān al Ṣūfī possessed a particularly strong one Djābir b Hayyān ascertained that it could work through bronze Other information is given by Shams al Dīn al-Dimishḳī, p 73, or 85 of the work mentioned below (cf also E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, II 3 *Über Magnetismus*, *S B P M S Erlangen*, xxxvi, 1904, p 322)

Knives and swords rubbed on lodestone, according to Ibn al-Fakīh and al-Kalḳashandī became themselves magnetic They consist also, like needles, of iron which contains carbon, i e steel They are stronger than the lodestone and do not lose their power of attraction as the former does

It was noticed that in needles which floated on water the end rubbed pointed sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south, apparently according as it was rubbed with one or the other pole of the magnet, there appears to be no suspicion that the end not rubbed had also changed Utārid al Hassab's statement that there are three kinds of lodestone is probably connected with the effects on the magnetised needle one he says attracts, the second repels, and in the third one side attracts and the other repels

The Arabs devoted much attention to the theory of these phenomena — with how little satisfactory results is evident from the remark of Ibn Butlān — "It is very annoying for us to feel that we do not know this with certainty (the cause of the attraction of iron), although we perceive it with the senses" Djābir b Hayyān explains the power as a spiritual one, classing it with scents Al-Tughā'ī includes the lodestone among the stones which contain spirits (see E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, xxiv *Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern*, *S B P M S Erlg*, xliii, 1911, p 82) Al-Rāzī seems to have dealt with its attraction through vacant space in a work which has not survived, entitled *Kitāb ʿIlla Djadhb Hadjar al Maghnāṭis li 'l-Hadīd wa-fihi Kalām kathīr fi 'l-Khalā'* i e "Book on the reason why the *Maghnāṭis* attracts iron in it there is much discussion of empty space" (see Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 320) Ibn Sīnā develops views which are very obscure in his *Kitāb al-Shifā'* (*Makāla* 2), Ibn Hazm is more lucid in his *Kitāb Tawk al-Hamāma fi 'l-Ulfa wa 'l-Ullāf* Al-Kazwīnī traces the attraction to a similarity of natures, through which love and attraction between them arose at the beginning of their existence The Arabs are very fond in poetry and prose of comparing the effect of the magnet on iron to that of the lover on the beloved

That there are many fables associated with this power of attraction is to be expected Idols etc of iron are said to be kept suspended in the air by lodestones (cf E Wiedemann, *Beitr* xii *Über Lampen und Uhren*, *S B P M S Erlgn*, x, 1907, N° viii, p 207) Nails were drawn out of ships and they were thus caused to sink, as was the case with Sindbad's According to al Kazwīnī (*ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt*, I 172) there are submarine mountains at Kulzum which have this effect Therefore, he says, the beams of ships in the Red Sea were bound together with ropes The lodestone is said to be especially effective if it is kept for a time in goat's blood, which is of course false The lodestone is occasionally used in medicine (cf Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al Baitār, s v) In alchemy its name means "lion" and "he with the brilliant eye"

Besides the lodestone, which attracts iron, quite a number of other stones are given, which have the same quality with respect to other bodies, for example, gold is the magnet of quicksilver, etc Numerous statements about such attracting bodies, which include a number of plants, are given in the *ʿAdjā'ib* of Shams al-Dīn Dimishḳī (cf the *Bibliography*) in the Arabic text p 73—77, in the translation p 85—89 Al-Kazwīnī also gives a number of such magnets under the word *Lākit* ("picking, collecting") among the minerals

II The Compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name, there was considerable traffic between the Persian etc ports and Southern China Thence it came to Syria and then to the Mediterranean ports of Europe The compass had very probably however already reached the north of Europe by the trade-route of the Russian rivers as early as the eighth or ninth centuries This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe and perhaps explains also why the Norsemen were able to undertake long voyages by sea (cf R Hennig, *Verhandl der Gesellsch deutscher Naturforscher* etc, 84th Versammlung 1912,II/II, p 95)

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south, as Mecca lay to the south of most places in Syria etc the Kibla [q v] corresponded almost exactly to the south

The oldest passage in which the word *karamīṭ* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Dozy for the year 239 (854) in *Supplement*, II, 337 who found it in *al-Bayān al Mughrib* (*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*) edited by him Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*M S O S*, Berlin, x 1—2, 1900, p 268) From the fact that in narratives of travels of the ninth century A D and that in al-Masʿūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G Ferrand concludes that the compass was already in use then The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Djāmiʿ al-Hikāyāt* of ʿAwfī, it is in his *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed Browne and Mīrzā Muhammad Kazwīnī) A

captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a maghnātīs A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Makrīzī in his *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270, i 240, Cairo 1324, i 357, *Z f Phys*, xiv, 1924, p 166)

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640 (142/43) by a certain Bailak al-Kabadjakī in the *Kitāb Kanz al-Tudjdjār fī Maʿrifat al-Ahdjār* A needle which was rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw etc Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction, the latter is then quickly withdrawn The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the kibla The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance By the turning the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely The turning is however not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water

Al-Zarkhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small beautifully painted fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *miḥrāb* drawn upon it is also used Finally an apparatus just like our compass is described Two magnetic needles are placed symetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point, the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *hukk al-kibla* "vessel, box for the kilba", or *bait al-ibra*, "house of the needle", according to Niebuhr the same name is still given to the compass At the present day similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial Another very full description is given by a certain Muhammad b Abi 'l-Khair al-Hasanī in his *al-Nudjūm al-shārikāt* (cf E Wiedemann in the *Z fur Physik*, xiii, 1923, p 113 there is a manuscript in Bairūt in addition to those mentioned here Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1588 cannot be ascertained with certainty) The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it

An important passage in an anonymous work "preparation of the bowl (*tāsa*) to ascertain the ḳibla and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 5811) Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north, (The rubbing [*hakk*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *hikk* for the compass)

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e g *pusula* from the Italian We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-kibla* and also *al-djanūb* (cf thereon for example K Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen mit Benutzung der Bahrīya des Admirals Pir i-Reis vom Jahr 1520*, *M S O S*, Berlin xi /2 1908, 234 *sqq*)

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In the *Beitrage* ii the earlier literature is collected This is also done in other works e g by Clément Mullet on the Compass Of special importance are the works of A Schuck (*Der Kompass* etc, Hambourg 1911, 1915 *sqq*), which also deal with the Bussole in China

(E Wiedemann)

MAGHRĀWA, a large confederation of Berber tribes, belonging to the Zanāta group and related to the confederations of the Banū Ifran [q v] and Banū Irnīyān These tribes, who led a nomadic life, in the middle ages roved over the country between the valley of the Chélif as far as Tlemcen and the mountains inhabited by the Madyūna They were easily converted to Islām and their chief Ṣūlāt b Wazmār is to have gone to Madīna to the Caliph ʿUthmān and been confirmed by him in his rule over the Maghrāwa This is why this confederation came to consider themselves clients of the Umaiyads of Spain and supported, sometimes by force of arms, the cause of this dynasty in the Maghrib This chief Sūlāt was succeeded by his son Hafs and he by his son Khazar, with whom the Arab amīrs of al-Kairawān had to deal at the time of the rebellion of Maisara in 122 (739) On his death his son Mu-

hammad after the early successes of Idrīs I in the Maghrib, brought him the submission of the Maghrāwa and returned Tlemcen to him, which he had just taken from the Banū Ifran, the Maghrāwa thus became one of the principal supports of the Idrīsid dynasty at its beginning

The grandson of this Muhammad b Khazar, a contemporary of Idrīs I, also called Muhammad, resisted the Fātimids [q v] When the general of the Mahdī ʿUbaid Allāh, Masāla b Habbūs, had seized the Idrīsid possessions in the Central Maghrib and placed over them the chief of the Miknāsa Mūsā b Abi 'l-ʿAfiya, the chief of the Maghrāwa rebelled and brought under his flag a large number of Berber tribes In 309 (921—922) he routed the army sent against him under Masāla, whom he slew with his own hand But the next year, the Maghrāwa, faced with a new Fātimid offensive, had to take refuge in the region of Sidjilmāsa But some time afterwards, the Umaiyad Caliph of Cordova ʿAbd al Rahmān III al-Nāsir, wishing to annex the Maghrib to his dominions, summoned the Maghrāwa to his assistance and with the help of Muhammad b Khazar was able to bring under his sway all the central Maghrib except the region of Tāhert The son of the Maghrāwid amir al-Khair b Muhammad was installed as governor in Oran The Banū Ifran and Mūsā b ʿAbi 'l-ʿAfiya also joined the Umaiyads (first half of the tenth century) But all these submissions to the wishes of the Umaiyads were only dictated by self-interest and when Muhammad b Khazar died at al Kairawān in 350 (961) he had become the vassal of the Fātimid sovereign al-Muʿizz

The successor of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III in the caliphate of Cordova, al-Hakam al Mustansir, like his father sommoned the Maghrāwa to their old allegiance, their chief Muhammad b al-Khair b Khazar thereupon threw off Fātimid suzerainty Knowing the enemies that this defection was going to cause him, al-Muʿizz invited Zīrī b Manād, chief of the Sanhadja to attack the chief of the Maghrāwa A battle was fought in 360 (970—971) between the Maghrāwa and the Sanhādja commanded by Bologgin b Zīrī the Maghrāwa were completely routed, but a little later they were able to take their revenge, owing to the assistance of Djaʿfar b ʿAlī b Hamdūn, lord of al-Msīla and al-Zāb Next year Bologgīn b Zirī in the name of the Fātimids led a great expedition against the Zanāta and subjected them completely in the Central Maghrib The Maghrāwa had once again to take refuge in Sidjilmāsa and, after the return of Bologgīn to Ifrikiya, they definitely abandoned central Maghrib and settled in Morocco It is from this time that two of their families were able to found two short lived kingdoms, that of the Banū Zīrī b ʿAtīya at Fās and that of the Banū Khazrūn at Sidjilmāsa and at Tripoli

The Maghrāwa of Fās After the defeat suffered by the Maghrāwa in the central Maghrib, the descendant of Khazar, Muhammad b al-Khair, crossed the sea to seek the help of the famous ʿĀmirid Hādjib al Mansūr b Abī ʿĀmir [q v] The latter sympathised with him in his troubles and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under Djaʿfar b ʿAlī b Hamdūn The Spanish army with contingents from the Banū Ifran and the Maghrāwa took up a position near Ceuta and in view of its strength Bologgīn b Zīrī refrained from attacking it and set out to subdue all Morocco

In 373 (983—984) the Maghrāwa, after the departure of the Spanish governor Ibn ʿAskalādja, were chosen by al Mansūr to rule Morocco in his stead In 377 (987—988) the hādjib appointed as his vassal to rule the western Maghrib, the amīr of the Maghrāwa, Zīrī b ʿAtīya b ʿAbd Allāh b Khazar The latter made Fās his residence and settled his tribe around the town By orders of al-Mansūr he waged war on the Sanhādja and notably increased his dominions towards the east In 382 (992) he made a journey to Cordova on the invitation of the hādjib In spite of the assertions — frequently contradictory — of the historians, it seems that the reign of Zīrī b ʿAtīya was rather troubled and that changes of fortune placed on the throne of Fās sometimes the Maghrāwid prince and sometimes his Ifranid rival Yaddū b Yaʿlā On his return to Fās, Zīrī found his place occupied by Ibn Yaʿlā and it was only after a murderous struggle that he succeeded in regaining his throne But, finding Fās not sufficiently central in position, he decided, like his Spanish suzerain, to build a capital for himself and the principal chiefs of his confederation In 384 (994) he laid the foundations of the town of Wadjda (Oujda) and came with his court to live there At the same time he tried to throw off the suzerainty of Cordova and relations were finally broken off between him and al Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir sent against him an expedition under the freedman Wādih a battle was fought on the banks of the Wadī Rdāt and the Spanish army defeated The hādjib then sent another force under the command of his own son ʿAbd al Malik al-Muzaffar On this campaign Zīrī was twice routed in 387 (997) He sought to take refuge in Fās, but the inhabitants prevented him entering it and ʿAbd al-Malik soon afterwards entered the capital Zīrī had to go to the Sahara, later he tried to create a principality for himself in the land of the Sanhādja He laid siege to their capital Āshīr [q v] but before he could take the town, he died of the consequences of an old wound in 391 (1000—1001)

On the death of Zīrī b ʿAtīya, the Maghrāwa proclaimed his son al-Muʿizz, he began his reign by endeavouring to regain the favour of al-Mansūr b Abī ʿĀmir The latter recognised him, and his successor ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Muzaffar appointed him governor of Fās and western Maghrib in 393 (1002—1003) He received from Cordova letters of investiture for all Morocco, except the land of Sidjilmāsa, which was kept for the Banū Khazrūn Morocco seems to have had peace and a certain degree of prosperity in the reign of al-Muʿizz, who died in 417 (1026) or 422 (1031)

His successor was his cousin on the father's side Hamāma b al-Muʿizz b ʿAtīya He took advantage of the anarchy then prevailing in Spain to strengthen his position He surrounded himself with literary men and legal authorities But in 424 (1032—1033) the pretender of a rival dynasty Abu 'l Kamāl Tamīm b Zīrī al-Ifranī marched from Salé on Fās Hamāma took the field against him with the Maghrāwa but they were defeated Tamīm entered Fās the same year and persecuted the Jewish population As to Hamāma, he reached Wadjda (Oujda) and Tenes and gathered there considerable forces, with which he marched on Fās in 429 (1037—1038) Tamīm had to withdraw from Fās and returned to his own capital, Shella [q v],

Hamāma then continued to reign till his death, which probably took place in 431 (1039—1040)

After him the power passed to his son Dūnās Quickly suppressing a rebellion by one of his cousins, he devoted his reign to the embellishment of Fās which was then beginning to become a great city, with a large population and a busy trade This prince died in 452 (1060)

The successor of Dūnās b Hamāma in Fās was his son al-Futūh, but on his accession his right to the throne was disputed by his brother ʿAdjīsa He made himself master of part of the capital, the "bank" (*ʿidwa*) of al-Karawiyīn, while al-Futūh established himself on the opposite bank, that of al-Andalus The two brothers fought in the town itself and the inhabitants were divided into two camps Morocco was engulfed in anarchy and it was only after three years of fighting that al-Futūh was able to reign undisputed in al-Fās, after ʿAdjīsa had been killed A gate of this city pierced in the south-west wall still bears his name, another in the north wall bears the name of his brother in a slightly corrupted form (*Bāb Gīsa*)

Al-Futūh was driven from his capital in 454 (1062) by the Hammādid sovereign Bologgīn b Muhammad This was the time when the Almoravids were beginning to invade Morocco After the departure of al-Futūh, the Maghrāwa appointed one of his relatives to succeed him, Muʿansur (or Muʿannasar?) b Hammād b al-Muʿizz b ʿAtīya, who was proclaimed in 455 (1063) and took up the struggle against the Saharan invaders He succeeded in defeating one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf b Tāshfīn and retaking Fās, which he had lost The Almoravids having laid siege to the city, the amīr of the Maghrāwa attempted a sortie in the course of which he met his death (460 = 1067—1068) The people of Fās then proclaimed his son Tamīm But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b Tāshfīn two years later and the young ruler put to death along with a large number of Maghrāwa and Banū Ifran This was the end of the dynasty of the Maghrāwa of Fās This city, which had enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity under the early members of the dynasty and had been extended by them, later suffered a great deal, according to western historians, from their tyranny and exactions

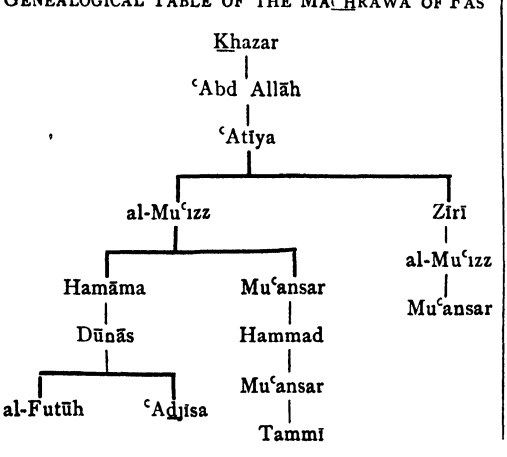
According to Ibn Khaldūn, in the period of the decline of Maghrāwa power in Fās, there was at Āghmāt, at one of the entrances to the Great Atlas on the plain of Marākush, a little dynasty of amīrs belonging to the same confederation The last of these chiefs who flourished about 450—460 (1058—1067) was called Laggūt b Yūsuf b ʿAlī He was defeated and slain by the Almoravids when they made their successful thrust to the north of Morocco

The Maghrāwa of Sidjilmāsa (Banū Khazrūn) — At the instigation of the hādjib of Cordova, al Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, a Maghrāwa chief in 366 (976/7), had taken Sidjilmāsa [q v] which for over two centuries had been governed by amīrs of the Miknās branch of the Banū Midrār This chief who was called Khazrūn b Falfūl b Khazar, proclaimed the suzerainty of the Umayyads of Spain in Sidjilmāsa and sent to Cordova the head of the last Midrārid ruler al Muʿtazz bi 'llāh Khazrūn received from al-Mansūr the governorship of the town and kept it till his death He was succeeded by his son Wānūdīn The latter had to defend himself against the invasion of the Sanhādja in western Maghrib and in the end was confirmed in his governorship by the Umayyads in 390 (999) after a period of disgrace On the fall of the Spanish caliphate he proclaimed himself independent, seized the region of Dra (Darʿa) and in 407 (1016—1017) took Sufrūy (Sefrou [q v]) and the valley of the Wādī Malwiya (Moloua) His son and successor Masʿūd was defeated, deprived of his lands and slain by the Almoravids in 445 (1053—1054) Ten years later, the last of the Banū Khazrūn, who still held out in Sufrūy, were in their turn scattered

On the Maghrāwid dynasty of Tripoli in Barbary cf TRIPOLI

Bibliography The principal source is Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, *Histoire des Berberes*, ed de Slane, II 33 *sqq*, transl do, III 227 *sqq* Cf also Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawd al-Kirtās*, ed Tornberg, p 63 *sqq*, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed Dozy, I 262 *sqq*, transl Fagnan, I 371 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl Fagnan, Algiers 1898, index, al Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed and transl M Gaspar Remiro, vol II, Granada 1917, index, al-Nāsirī, *Kitāb al-Istiksā* (part transl in *A M*, vol xxxi, Paris 1925, p 81 *sqq*), Fournel, *Les Berbers*, *passim*, G Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berberie*, Paris 1914, index, s v Marrâwa — The Maghrāwa are not given in Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAGHRĀWA OF FAS



MAGHRIB, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which modern writers on geography call Barbary or Africa Minor and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco The word "Maghrib" means the West, the setting sun, in opposition to "Mashrik", the East, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors Some Oriental writers include in the Maghrib not only Northern Africa but also Spain, the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrib for the first of these countries But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the East On the other hand they are in agreement about the Northern, Western and Southern boundaries To the North, Maghrib is bordered by the "Roman Sea" (Mediterranean) To the West it extends as

far as the "Surrounding Sea", also called the "Green Sea", the "Sea of Darkness", and by foreigners called, according to Ibn Khaldūn, Okeanos or Atlant (Atlantic Ocean), which stretches from Tangier to the desert of Temtūna (Abu 'l-Fidā') or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Asafī (Saffī) and Deren (Great Atlas) To the South it stretches as far as the barrier of moving sands, separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [cf ʿAREG] and as far as the rocky region called "*hammada*" (Ibn Khaldūn) Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būda, Tamentīt, Gūrara, Ghadames, Fezzān, Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to Maghrib although they are in reality countries of the Sahara As regards the Eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Kulzum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barka [see the article BARKA] Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abu 'l Fidā', make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the oases as far as the "Akabat" which is on the sea between Barka and Alexandria (Akabat el-Kebīra) Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barka as forming part of their country The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times Ibn Saʿīd and the later Maghribī writers such as al-Ẓyānī and Abū Raʾs limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the boundaries of Ibn Khaldūn As to Yākūt he confines the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miliana to Sūs (ed Wustenfeld, IV 513)

Confined within the sixth "clime" the Maghrib is divided into several regions Ibn Hawkal (*Description* transl de Slane, *J A*, 1841) distinguishes two of them the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Ẓuwila in Tripolitania and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Aksā, but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifrīkiya, Central Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn etc) Ibn Saʿīd adopts a slightly different division, Ifrīkiya, outer Maghrib, and further Sūs Ifrīkiya stretches from Kasr Ahmed near Misratā (Ibn Saʿīd) to Bougie, Central Maghrib from Bougie to Mulūya (Ibn Khaldūn), Farther Maghrib from Mulūya to Asafī and to Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs which forms as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by seas and mountains

Bibliography Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbères*, transl de Slane, I 186 *sqq* , Abu 'l Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p ۱۳۲, transl Reinaud, II 168 *sqq* , Ibn Saʿīd, Abū Hamīd al-Andalusī, Ahmad b ʿAlī Mahallī (Ibn Zenbel) in Fagnan, *Extraits inedits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, passim, al-Ziyānī, *Rihla* , transl Coufourier, *Archives Marocaines*, II 436 *sqq* , Muhammad Abū Raʾs b Ahmad b ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Nasrī, *Voyages extraordinaires et nouvelles agréables*, transl Arnaud, Algiers 1889, p 11 and 156 *sqq* (G YVER)

AL-MAGHRIBĪ, the name of several viziers

1 ʿALĪ B AL-HUSAIN, ABU 'I-HASAN Like his father, ʿAlī was one of the intimate friends of the Hamdānid Saif al-Dawla of Halab He had also great influence with his son Saʿd al-Dawla, but when a cloud came over their friendship, ʿAlī left Halab and went to al-Rakka to Bakdjūr, who had been one of Saif al-Dawla's Mamlūks and persuaded him to enter into negotiations with the Fātimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi 'llāh [q v] with whom ʿAlī had had relations for a long time When Bakdjūr had been given the governorship of Damascus by al-ʿAzīz, at the suggestion of ʿAlī whom he had made his vizier, he set out against Halab but was defeated in Safar 381 (April 991) whereupon ʿAlī fled to al Rakka When Saʿd al Dawla took this town, ʿAlī fled to Kūfa, from whence he wrote to al-ʿAzīz and asked permission to come to Egypt In Djumādā I of the same year (July–Aug 991) he reached Egypt and by his advice the caliph sent an army in 383 (993–994) under Mangūtegīn, then governor of Damascus, against Halab where Abu 'l Fadā'il, son of Saʿd al Dawla, had now succeeded his father ʿAlī, who took part in the campaign as Mangūtegīn's secretary, was bribed by Luʾluʾ, the leader of the Hamdānids and persuaded Mangūtegīn to retire, pretending that he lacked supplies When the Caliph heard of this, he ordered Mangūtegīn to resume the siege without delay and dismissed ʿAlī at once, who therefore returned to Egypt ʿAlī made himself very popular with the caliph al-Hākim, who succeeded his father al-ʿAzīz in 386 (996) as did his son al Husain also After a few years, however, he was sacrificed to the suspicions of al Hākim and on the 3rd Dhu 'l Kaʿda 400 (June 18, 1010) ʿAlī was executed along with his brother Muhammad and two sons

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, IX 61—63, 233, al-Makrizī, *al-Khitat*, Būlāk 1270, II 157, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed Popper, II 5—7, 149

2 AL-HUSAIN B ʿALĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM, called "*al-wazir al-Maghribi*", son of the preceding, was born in Egypt on the 13th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 370 (June 19th, 981) In 400 (1010) when his father was executed, al Husain fled from Egypt to al-Ramla to Hassān b al Mufarridj, amīr of the Banū Taiyiʾ, and induced him to forswear his allegiance to the Caliph al-Hākim and pay homage to the ʿAlid amīr of Mecca, Abu 'l-Futūh al-Hasan b Djaʿfar The latter came to al-Ramla and was proclaimed caliph But when Hassān was bribed by al-Hākim Abu 'l Futūh had to return to Mecca while al-Husain sought refuge with Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyid Bahāʾ al-Dawla Although as an Egyptian he was subject to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al Kādir, he was permitted to accompany Fakhr al-Dawla to Wāsit and remained there till his death He then went to al-Mawsil where the ʿUkailid Karwash took him into his service as secretary In 414 (1023) the Būyid governor of ʿIrāk Musharrif al Dawla appointed him vizier But the very next year he quarrelled with the Turkish mercenaries and fled to Karwāsh But as he quarrelled with the ʿAbbāsid Caliph on some trifling matter, he had to leave al-Mawsil in the same year He then went to the court of the ruler of Diyār Bakr, Nasr al-Dawla [cf MARWĀNIDS] who gave him a sanctuary Al-Husain died at Mayyāfārikīn on 13th Ramadān 418 (Oct 17, 1027) and was buried in Kūfa

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*,

ed Wüstenfeld, N° 192 (transl by de Slane, I 450—456), Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, IX 226, 233, 235 *sq*, 255, X 11, al Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II 157 *sq*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed Popper, II 148 *sq*, 229

3 MUHAMMAD B DJA'FAR B MUHAMMAD B 'ALI, ABU 'L-FARADJ, grandson of a brother of the preceding When Abu 'l-Faradj grew up, he left Egypt and went to the 'Irāḳ where he lived for a time After various vicissitudes he returned to Egypt and was appointed head of the *Dīwān al-Djaish* by the vizier al-Bārizī He held his office till the dismissal of al-Bārizī, the latter's successor had him arrested While Abu 'l-Faradj was still in prison, he was himself appointed vizier on 25th Rabi' II, 450 (June 21, 1058) and given the titles "*al-Wazīr al-adjall al-kāmil al-awhad safīy Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa-Khālisatuhu*" After a few years (9th Ramadān 452 = Oct 7, 1060) he was dismissed and given the control of the chancellery (*Dīwān al-Inshā'*) He died in 478 (1085—1086)

Bibliography al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II 158, Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-chalifen* (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MAGES [See MADJŪS]

MAGNESIA (MAGHNĪSA, MANISSA), the ancient *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, the capital of the Sandjak (now wilāyet) of Sarūkhān in the wilāyet of Smyrna, on the northern slope of the Magnisa Dagh Sipylus mountains, and two miles to the south of the river Gediz and 20 miles N East of Smyrna The town, celebrated in Greek and Roman antiquity, was occupied by the Turcoman Amīr Sarūkhān in the year 713 (began 28th April 1313) and was the capital of his principality and of that of his son Sulaimān, who was buried there with his father in the *turbe* of the family

Yildirim Sultān Bāyazīd seized it in the year 792 (began 20th Dec 1389) Tamerlane collected his treasures there in the year 1402, after the restoration of the Ottoman power, the town saw the rebellion of Burkludje Mustafā, a partisan of the Shaikh Badr al-Dīn at the end of 1416, Murād II made it one of the first towns in his kingdom and built a palace there in 1444 which is now in ruins Murād III also contributed to beautifying Maghnīsa with the Murādiya mosque built in 1591 In 1633 the town was sacked during the rebellion of Elyās Pasha In 1890 Cuinet put the population at 35,000

Bibliography Sāmī, *Kāmūs*, p 4348, Cuinet, III 536–542, Hammer, *G O R* 2, p 113, F Babinger, *Scheych Bedr ed-Dīn*, in *Isl*, XI (1921), p 31 *sqq*, Schlumberger, *Numism de l'Or latin*, Paris 1878, p 478 *sqq*, Heyd, *Storia del Commercio* etc, p 554 (ETTORE ROSSI)

MAḤALLA, an Arabic word which, like *mahall* from the same root, originally means a place where one makes a halt Mahalla thus came to have the special meaning of a quarter of a town, a meaning which has also passed into Turkish (e g the *Yeñi Mahalle* quarter in Constantinople), into Persian and Hindūstānī (where the popular pronunciation is *muhalla*), the term formerly applied to a quarter of a town used to be *dār* (as in old Baghdād) The *mahalla*'s are often under the administration of a special official called *mukhtār* In Egypt the word *mahalla* is frequently found as the first element in the names of towns and villages Here the primitive meaning of place, locality has been preserved, while quarters of a town are rather called *khiṭṭa* especially in al-Fustāt and Alexandria According to the *Mushtarik al-Buldān*, there are about 100 places in Egypt called al-Mahalla, 'Alī Pasha Mubārak gives over 30 in *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda* (XV 21 *sq*) in addition to the large town of al-Mahalla al-Kubrā [q v]

(J H KRAMERS)

MAḤALLA AL-KUBRĀ or MAHALLA KABĪR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Tanta It lies on the Tur'at al-Milāh canal, a branch of the Bahr Shībīn

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with *Mahalla*, the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty Maspero and Wiet indentify it with the Coptic Tishairi (Amélinau, *La geographie de l'Égypte à l'epoque copte*, Paris 1893, p 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Mahalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Sālih on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town The earliest author who knew a town called al-Mahalla or al Mahalla al-Kabira is al-Maḳdisī (p 55, 194, 196, 200), he tells us that it was a town of al Rif built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Sandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (p 200) seems to be an error Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Mahallat Mahrūm (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, Brit Mus MS) Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, p 158, calls the town simply al-Mahalla and knows a canal called after it Yāḳūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Mahallat Dakalā and of another Mahallat Sharkiyūn (IV 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place Mahallat Sharkiyūn in Yākūt — which he also calls Mahallat al-Kubrā — forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Mahalla Dakalā between al-Kāhira and Dimyāt is the largest of the Mahalla that he knows (cf also Abu'l-Fidā', II 160), while the geographer al-Dimishkī (p 231) knows Mahalla Dakalā as the capital of the Kūra of Dakahla, Ibn Duḳmāḳ (V 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vizierate" (*al-wizāra al-saghira*)

The name Mahallat Sharkiyūn is again found in al-Maḳrizī (ed Wiet, III 207) It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the tenth century onwards It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although 'Alī Pāsha Mubārak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Makrīzī and al Djabartī In Egypt in the XIXth century the town had to give way to Tanta, which became the capital of the *mudīrīya* of al-Gharbīya, while al-Mahalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area, 'Alī Mubārak estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1928 Baedeker only gives it 33,500 It is at present a centre of the cotton trade, raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories Of the many individuals who bear the *nisba* al-Mahallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī [q v] who was born here

Bibliography Maspero et Wiet, *Ma-*

terıaux pour servır à la géographıe de l'Egypte, Cairo 1919, p 164 and the bibliography there given, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ǧadīda*, xv (Būlāk 1305), p 18 *sqq*

(J H KRAMERS)

MAHARI or **MAKARI**, a negro tribe also called Kotoko, living on both banks of the Lower Logone below Musgum and on both banks of the Lower Chari from Lake Chad to Fort Lamy and Kusseri

They are usually divided into three groups the Lagwere on the Logone, where they are mixed with Musgu, the Semsir at Kusseri and the Sung wal Kwe at Gulfei These natives do not seem to be autochthonous, the first occupants of the country according to tradition were the Kerebina, who are perhaps related to the ancient people of the Sao or Sô As a rule, tall and slim, lank and bony, they have a narrow head and dark skin, they make three parallel cicatrices on the forehead, the middle one of which runs from the top of the nose to the roots of the hair They speak languages akin to the Sao, Kuri and Buduma They are nearly connected with the Musgu, with whom they form the Massa group The Kanuri have passed on to them the Muslim religion and a certain degree of civilization

The Makari or Kotoko are agriculturists and fishermen, they grow different kinds of millet, maize earthnuts and grind their corn with a quern Fishing provides them with an abundant supply of food, they follow it in large pirogues, about 40 feet long and two to four feet wide These crafts which are propelled by poles or paddles, have a flat bottom and a raised bow and stern, they are built of strong planks bound together with fibre passed through holes which after being tied, are calked with various barks This is how they come to be described as sewn They carry 25 to 30 persons The Kotoko fish with a large net mounted on two forks placed in different directions at the front and manoeuvred by a lever This net is lowered to touch the bottom, then a little piroque rowed by children drives the fish towards the fishing boat by striking the water with poles The apparatus is lifted as soon as the fish have entered it

The homes of the Makari are built of clay, are fairly large and comparatively comfortable The walls are about 6 feet high, they have an elliptical door about 5 feet high, the roof is of straw and hemispherical in shape Inside is a bed of clay, shelves of clay to hold household utensils and the fireplace Sometimes there is also a bed made of thongs of hide laced round a framework

There are few isolated homes in the Makari country, they are generally grouped in villages of which the most important are Logone, Gana (Little Logone), Karnak Logone or Logone Berni (Great Logone) and Kusseri They used all to be surrounded by circular ditches and clay walls pierced by several narrow gates These defences were intended to protect the inhabitants from the frequent attacks of their neighbours

The population includes smiths, potters, weavers and a few traders There are a few Arabs among them Politically the Makari belonged to the ancient empire of Bornu [q v] They were divided into several small vassal states, that of Karnak Logone showed more independence

Bıblıography F Foureau, *De l'Algérie au Congo par le Tchad*, Paris 1902, Poutrin, *Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, in *Publications de la Societe Antiesclavagiste de France*, Paris 1914, G Bruel, *L'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, Paris 1918 (HENRI LABOURET)

MAHBŪB, the name given in North Africa and Egypt (cf Dozy, *Supplement*, s v) to the Turkish gold sequin, contraction for ZERMAHBŪB [q v]

MAHDAWĪS, the followers of Saiyid Muhammad Mahdī, of Djawnpūr, near Banares, 847—910 (1443—1504), who declared that he was the promised Mahdī [q v] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Ahmadābād [q v] and other parts of Gudjarāt His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc For a time they were allowed to profess their faith unmolested and add to their number by proselytising, but in the reign of Muzaffar I, Sultan of Gudjarāt (1513—1526) they were persecuted and many of them put to death Awrangzēb [q v] also persecuted them when in 1645 he was governor of Ahmadābād In consequence of these persecutions, the Mahdawīs to the present day practise *takiya* [q v] and wish to pass as orthodox Muslims, their exact number is therefore uncertain, but they are found in small groups in most parts of Gudjarāt, in Bombay, Sind, the Dakhan [q v] and Upper Hindustān They believe that Saiyid Muhammad was the last *Imām*, the promised *Mahdī*, and in consequence of his having come, they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals By their enemies they are styled *Ghair-Mahdīs*, i e those who do not believe in a *Mahdī* who is still to come, but the Mahdawīs themselves apply this designation to other Muhammadans as having failed to recognise the *Mahdī* who has already appeared

Bıblıography Sikandar b Muhammad, *Mirāt-ı Sikandarī*, p 136—138, Bombay 1891 (English transl by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, p 90—91), H Blochmann, Translation of the *Ā'ın ı Akbarī*, Introduction, p iv—v, Calcutta 1873, Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 2nd ed, p 171—172, Madras 1863, ed W Crooke, p 208—209, Oxford 1921, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol ix, part ii, p 62—64, Bombay 1899, *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi 189 (Goldziher on Ghair Mahdi), Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*², Heidelberg 1925, p 364 (T W ARNOLD)

AL-MAHDĪ (A), means literally "the guided one", and, as all guidance (*hudā*) is from Allāh, it has come to mean the divinely guided one, guided, that is, in a peculiar and individual way For Allāh, in the intense and immediate theism of Islām, is guiding every one and everything in the world, whether by the human reason or by the instincts of the lower animals, to a knowledge of Himself and to what is needed for their existence and continuance (*Lisān*, xx 228, foot) One of His names is *al hādī*, "the Guide" (Kur'ān, xxii 53, xxv 33), and the idea of His guidance is reiterated in the Kur'ān For a statement of its different kinds see Baiḍāwī on Kur'ān, i 5 (Fleischer's ed, i 8, ll 21 *sqq*), *Mufradāt*

of al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, p 560 of ed Cairo 1324, *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā*ʾ of al-Ghazālī, p 80 of ed Cairo 1324 But it is singular that the word *mahdī* (the passive participle of the I Stem) never occurs in the Kurʾān and that the passive of that stem occurs only four times In the usage of the Kurʾān, the VIII stem, *ihtadā*, strictly "he accepted guidance for himself", is used as a quasi or reflexive passive Thus the man whom Allāh guides is not simply "guided" but reacts himself to the divine guidance

There seems to be no original authority for the vocalisation *al-Muhdī* which Edward Pococke gave as N⁰ xvi of the Signs in his *Porta Mosis*, ii 263 of ed 1655, with the meaning "director", cf Lane's note in the *Supplement* to his lexicon, p 3042 c Margoliouth (article cited below, p 337a) suggests that it may mean "the giver" and refers to traditions (see below) of the Mahdī bestowing uncounted wealth, but there does not seem to be any oriental authority for this epithet Also, the verb used in these traditions is *aʿṭā*

But one who is *mahdī*, or *al mahdī*, is in a different position, he is absolutely guided It is used of certain individuals in the past and of an eschatological individual in the future Thus the *Lisān* (xx 229, l 9 from below) quotes from a tradition "the usage of the khalīfas who followed the right way and were guided" (*sunnatu 'l khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn al-mahdīyīn*), meaning the first four khalīfas, and goes on to state that it is applied especially, as a name, to the Mahdī of whom the Prophet gave good tidings that he would come in the End of Time There are many other instances of the non-eschatological application of the term *mahdī* to historical personages Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, p 267, v, note 12, 1) has gathered a number of such cases Thus Djarīr (*Nakāʾid*, ed Bevan, N⁰ 104, v 29) applies it to Abraham and Hassān b Thābit (*Dīwān*, ed Tunis, 24, 4) to Muhammad, see, too, Ibn Saʿd (xi 94, 9) It is often applied by Sunnites to ʿAlī, in distinction even to the other three khalīfas, thus in *Usd al-Ghāba* (iv 31, 3) he is *hādīyan mahdīyan*, and Sulaimān b Surad calls Husain, after his death, "Mahdī son of the Mahdī" (Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed Leyden, Ser ii 546, 11) Farazdak and Djarīr applied it as an honorific even to the Umaiyad khalīfas As applied by the pious to ʿUmar II, the Umaiyad (Ibn Saʿd, v 245, 5), it seems to have been more than an honorific, he was regarded as a real *mudjaddid* [q v] and under peculiar divine guidance In the view of later Islām he was the first of these "renewers" of the Faith and the eighth and last of these would be either the Mahdī, a descendant of the Prophet, or ʿĪsā (*al-masīh al-muhtadī*), according to the two positions, cf article ʿIsā See on the whole question of the *Mudjaddid* and his relation to the Mahdī Goldziher, *Zur Charakteristik us-Suyûṭī's*, in *S. B Ak Wien*, lxix, p 10 *sqq* It is characteristic of Islām to take a very pessimistic view of human nature, men always fall away from the faith and have to be brought back This will be so especially towards the end of the world Men will become thoroughly secular and Allāh will leave them to themselves The Kaʿba will vanish, and the copies of the Kurʾān will become blank paper, and its words will vanish, also, from the memories of men They will think only of poems and songs Then the end will come

In a similar heightened sense the term Mahdī was applied by Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī (*Dīwān*, ed Margoliouth, p 103, 5, 6) to the ʿAbbāsid khalīfa al-Nāsir (A H 575—622), he is the Mahdī and no other eschatological Mahdī need be looked for In a narrower but more true etymological sense it came to be applied to converts to Islām, Allāh had guided these to the right Way For such, Turks use the more Kurʾānic term *muhtadī*, see above for the distinction Goldziher (p 268) gives cases In a heightened sense, also, the term was applied very early (A H 66) to Muhammad b al-Hanafīya, a son of ʿAlī by another wife than Fātima After the death of Husain at Karbalāʾ, Mukhtār b Abī ʿUbaid put forward this Muhammad as a claimant of the khalīfate and called him "the Mahdī, son of the legatee (*al-wasī*)", a term applied to ʿAlī by those who asserted that the Prophet had bequeathed the headship of the people to him (Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii 534) This was after the deaths of Hasan and Husain, the two sons of ʿAlī by Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet, and shows a different drift as to the inheritance of the Imāmate from that of the Shīʿite legitimists This Muhammad was heir as the son of ʿAlī and not as possessing the blood of the Prophet He seems himself to have declined the dignity thus thrust upon him but, *malgré lui*, he became the founder of the Kaisānīya sect which looked for his return from his grave in Mount Radwā, where he remains undying This was maintained by the poet Kuthayyir (d 105 = 723) and by the Saiyid al-Himyarī (d 173 = 789, *Aghānī*, viii 32, cf Masʿūdī, Paris ed, v 180 *sqq*) Muhammad thus became an "expected Mahdī", *mahdī muntazar*, like the Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shīʿites. For the position of the Kaisānīya see Shahrastānī's *Milal wa-Nihal*, ed on margin of Ibn Hazm, i 196, Mukhtār, disgusted with Muhammad, eventually founded the Mukhtārīya sect which was strict Shīʿite and upheld Husain b ʿAlī (Shahrastānī, p 197) The whole episode is interesting as showing the extreme fluidity of the religio-political parties at the time It also shows very clearly how the term *mahdī* gradually hardened from being a general honorific into a special designation, and even a proper name, for a restorer of the Faith in the last days

The Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shīʿites, whose return (*radjʿa*) is awaited, is also called, by the Shīʿa, al-Mahdī But his status is entirely different from that of the future restorer looked for by the Sunnites The very essence of Sunnite Islām is that the Muslim people shall rule itself and can attain truth and certainty by its own exertions When, at any time, its qualified scholars (*mudjtahid*'s) have applied the three *uṣūl* — Kurʾān, *Sunna*, *Kiyās* — to any point of Islām and have come to an agreement (*Idjmāʿ*) on it, that point is assured and the acceptance of it as of faith is binding on all Muslims The idea of an absolute Mahdī, therefore, as an infallible guide, suggests too much that *taklīd* [q v], which the later Sunnite theologians rejected Sunnite Islām, as Goldziher has taught us, is a recoil against the idea of blind submission to any human teacher Even ʿĪsā, as restorer, is called *muhtadī*, which is much less emphatic in its suggestion of infallibility Yet the masses demanded an absolute restorer and it was among the masses that the belief in a Mahdī was, and is, strong To return — the

Mahdī, or ʿĪsā when he comes as a restorer and ruler, will restore and apply that Consensus of Islām which has been reached by the successive generations of *muǧtahid*'s Thus the Muslim people not only rules itself but is also the ultimate and infallible interpreter of the revelation through the Prophet The Shīʿites, on the other hand, admit no such authority either in the Muslim people or in their own *muǧtahid*'s, by Kur'ān, *Sunna*, *Kiyās* and *Iǧmāʿ* no certainty can be reached Certainty can only be gained from the instruction (*taʿlīm*, cf Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinīya-Secte*, passim) of the hidden *Imām* who is divinely protected (*maʿṣūm*) against all error and sin and whose function it is to interpret Islām to men The *muǧtahid*'s of the Shīʿa are his intermediaries with men, but they in their intermediation may err When the Hidden *Imām* returns he will rule personally by divine right He is called a Mahdī, but it is in a different sense from any Sunnite use of that term The idea of protection against error and sin (*ʿiṣma*, see article above, ii, p 543) seems to have been introduced into Sunnite Islām from the Muʿtazilite system by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d 606 = 1209, see, further, Goldziher in *Isl*, iii 238—245), but there it has been limited strictly to prophets No "successor" (*khalīfa*) can enjoy it and the Mahdī, for those Sunnites who expect him, is strictly an ultimate khalifa of the Prophet For those Sunnites who look to ʿĪsā to play the part of the Mahdī he will not return as a prophet in his own right It will not be a return (*raǧʿa*) in his case but simply a "descent" (*nuzūl*) and he will rule according to the law (*sharīʿa*) of Muhammad, see article ʿĪsā above, ii, p 525 As all Shīʿite sects agree on this status of their *Imām* it is unnecessary to go into further details on them, see in general, article SHĪʿA

Another important point of difference between Shīʿites and Sunnites as to the Mahdī is that he is an essential part of the Shīʿite creed but not of the Sunnite That there will be a final restorer of the faith all Sunnite Islām believes as a part of its eschatology, but not that he will be called Mahdī There is no mention of the Mahdī in either of the two *Sahih* s, of Muslim or of Bukhārī Similarly Sunnite systematic theologians do not deal with him The *Mawākif* of al-Iǧi has nothing on him, nor, indeed, on any of the Signs of the Hour (*ashrāt al-sāʿa*, cf article KIYĀMA) Nasafī in his *ʿAkāʾid* has, of these, only al-Daǧǧāl (see article above, vol i, p 886) and the Descent of ʿĪsā, Taftazānī, in his commentary, gives ten Signs but not the Mahdī Even al-Ghazālī, a popularizing theologian, has nothing on the Signs in the last Book of his *Ihyāʾ*, that on eschatology, and has only a slight allusion in the Book dealing with the *Hadīth* (ed 1334, i 218, *Ithāf*, the commentary of the Saiyid Murtadā, iv 279) to the coming of al-Daǧǧāl, the descent of ʿĪsā and his slaying of al-Daǧǧāl, there is no mention of the Mahdī either in the text or in the commentary Al Ghazālī's whole point in this passage is to stress the final falling away from the faith of all men to which reference has been made above

It was, then, in the hearts of the Muslim multitude that the faith in the Mahdī found its resting-place and support In the midst of growing darkness and uncertainty — political, social, moral, theological — they clung to the idea of a future deliverer and restorer and of a short millenium before the end This belief is, therefore, expressed in a multitude of later traditions, often expansions and expositions of better authenticated and older traditions, and often linking themselves to old stories of inter-tribal and inter dynastic conflicts in the civil wars after the murder of ʿUthmān We, therefore, find among them references to historical movements and sects which had failed in their time but had left remains, if only a name, to add to the confusion of this eschatological picture These are gathered up in later edifying collections, such as the *Tadhkira* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kurtubī (d 671 = 1272, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 415) which we have in a *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Shaʿrānī (d 973 = 1565, Brockelmann, ii 335, ed Cairo 1324) and the *Mashārik al-Anwār* of a modern writer, Hasan al-ʿIdwī al Hamzāwī (d 1303 = 1886, Brockelmann, ii 486, many editions)

But the clearest presentation of the alleged basis for this belief is given by Ibn Khaldūn (d 808 = 1406) in his *Mukaddima* (ed Quatremère, ii 142 *sqq*, Būlāḳ, folio ed, 1274, p 151 *sqq*, transl by De Slane, ii 158 *sqq*) "A section on the descendant of Fātima and what the people hold as to him and on clearing up the obscurity as to that It has been commonly accepted (*mashhūr*) among the masses (*al-kāffa*) of the people of Islām, as the ages have passed, that there must needs appear in the End of Time a man of the family of Muhammad (*min ahl al-bait*) who will aid the Faith (*dīn*) and make justice triumph, that the Muslims will follow him and that he will reign over the Muslim kingdoms and be called al Mahdī The appearance of al Daǧǧāl and of the other Signs of the Last Day (*ashrāt al-sāʿa*), which are established in sound tradition (*al-sahih*) will come after him ʿĪsā will descend after his appearance and will kill al-Daǧǧāl or will descend along with him and aid him in that killing, and in Worship ʿĪsā will follow the Mahdī as his *Imām* In support of this position traditions are used which some authorities on tradition have alleged and which others have disputed and often opposed with other narrations The later Sūfīs have followed another course and method of proof in the case of this descendant of Fātima and often seek support, as to that, in the mystical "unveiling" (*kashf*) which is the basis of their method"

This is a very careful statement of the strictly popular drift in Ibn Khaldūn's time, a drift with which he evidently had no sympathy He goes on to give formally 24 traditions bearing upon this restorer and adds six variants, criticizing the authenticity of them all In only 14 of these is this restorer named Mahdī For references to traditions on the Mahdī in Aḥmad b Hanbal's *Musnad*, Abū Dāʾūd's *Sunan*, Tirmidhī's *Ṣahīh* and Ibn Māǧa's *Sunan*, see Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition* under MAHDĪ, in the *Masābīh al-Sunna* of al-Baghawī, see ii 134 of ed Cairo 1318 and in the *Miṣhkāt al-Maṣābīh*, see p 399—401 of ed Dihlī 1327 All these, however, have only a certain number of the mass of traditions quoted by Ibn Khaldūn In the *Tadhkira* of al Kurtubī, on the other hand, there is (p. 117—121 of ed Cairo 1324) a further mass of luxuriant detail which Ibn Khaldūn had evidently disdained to incorporate, cf his later reference to the town Māssa, p 173, l 7 In the *Tadhkira* the Prophet, for example, foretells the future conquest and re-conquest of Spain by name Al-

Kurṭubī died in 617 (1272) in the first years of the Naṣrids of Granada when Granada was the only part of Spain left to the Muslims He and those around him felt grievously the need of such a restorer and Mahdī, and detailed traditions sprang up as to his coming. The situation called for a mightier and more specific champion of Islām than ʿĪsā whose business strictly was to kill al Dadjdjāl. Devotion, also, to the blood of the Prophet, of whom the Mahdī was to come, and which was so strong even in the Sunnite Maghrib, may have helped this Al-Kurtubī's Mahdī was to come from the Maghrib as opposed to the earlier ones who were to come from Syria or Khurāsān He will come from a place in the Djabal of the Maghrib, on the shore of the sea, called Māssa, they will swear allegiance to him there and again, a second time, at Mecca Here the tradition joins and attempts to explain an earlier one, given by Abū Dāʾūd and quoted by Ibn Khaldūn (p 148, see, also, below), telling of an expedition against Kalb and of the booty of Kalb, thus linking up with the earliest inter-tribal conflicts This western Mahdī will also kill al-Sufyānī who is supported by Kalb This is not the place to enter upon the story how the Marwānid branch of the Umaiyads supplanted their cousins, the Sufyānids But from the mystery connected with the voluntary abdication and speedy death of Muʿāwiya II, and the succession of Marwān b al-Hakam and the sudden death or assassination of Walīd b ʿUtba b Abī Sufyān (*tuʿtina wa-sakaṭa maiyitan*, Masʿūdī, Paris, ed, v 170) at the burial of Muʿāwiya II, there seems to have sprung an Imāmite party among the Umaiyads (*kawl al Umawīya min al-Imāmīya*, al-Ghazālī in Goldziher's *Streitschrift*, p 14 of the Arabic text), yet this Walīd appears later alive in Tabarī's narrative In the account of Khālid b Yazīd in the *Aghānī* (xvi 88) there is a story that he was the first to start this (*wadaʿa khabar al-Sufyānī wa-kabbarahu wa-arāda an yakūna liʾl-nās fīhi taʿamun*), although that is also denied and a more general and earlier origin is asserted In the civil war at the rise of the ʿAbbāsids one of the "white", i e Umaiyad, revolts was in support of the claims of "the Sufyānid of whom there used to be mention" (*wa-kālū hādha ʾl Sufyānī ʾlladhī kāna yudhkaru*, Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo ed, ix 138, anno 132, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v 207 of ed Cairo 1301) Apparently the Sufyānids continued to assert their claims in the under-ground Imāmite fashion against the Marwānids and, later, the ʿAbbāsids, supporting themselves with traditions, as all the parties did The details are exceedingly obscure for this was one of the lost causes of Islām and has left only a name and that name under the general opprobrium which fell upon the Umaiyads in all later Islām, Sunnite and Shīʿite An earlier stage in this appears in a tradition quoted by Ṭabarī (d 224 = 838) in his commentary on Kurʾān, xxxiv 50 (Part xxii, p 63 foot) The Prophet mentioned a dissension (*fitna*) which would arise between the East and the West Then there would come forth al-Sufyānī from the Dry Wādī (*al-wādī ʾl-yābis*, otherwise unknown, in Yākūt, iv 1000, "the Wādī of Yābis from a man; it is said that al-Sufyānī will come from it in the End of Time") "in that outburst of his", or "when his time comes" (*fī fawrihi dhālik*) Much is said of the armies he will send out and the destruction he will spread, slaying 300 chiefs of the Banu ʾl-ʿAbbās until Djibrīl is sent against him and destroys him His appearance, thus, for Tabarī, is not eschatological and there is nothing about the Mahdī and the End of Time But in an apocalypse incorporated by Muhyi ʾl Dīn Ibn ʿArabī in his *Muhādarat al-Abrār* and studied in detail, historically and astrologically, by Richard Hartmann in his *Islamische Apocalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit* and dated by him about 576 (1180), this tradition is used, expanded and brought into the eschatological picture, and al-Sufyānī is finally killed by the Mahdī A hundred years later al-Kurtubī expands it still further and calls al-Sufyānī Muhammad b ʿUrwa For other references on al Sufyānī see Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p 52, note 1, Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, i 155, De Goeje, *Frag hist ar*, ii 526, Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domin ar*, p 61, Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid*, i 17, *Moʿāwiya II ou le dernier des Sofiānides*, p 43

It is obviously impossible to give in detail the traditions bearing on this restorer, but their types can be indicated and some recurrent characteristics The great majority are put directly in the mouth of the Prophet, a very few go back to ʿAlī If there remain of the world a single day Allāh will lengthen it until he sends this restorer, the world shall not pass away, the Hour shall not come until then He will be of the People of my House (*min ahl baitī*), of my kindred (*min ʿitrī*), of my Nation (*min ummatī*), of the offspring of Fātima (*min walad Fātima*), his name will be my name and his father's name my father's name He will resemble the Prophet in disposition (*khulk*) but not in appearance (*khalk*), this is put in the mouth of ʿAlī He will be bald of the forehead, hook nosed, high nosed He will find the world full of evil and oppression and ungodliness, if a man say "Allāh! Allāh!" he will be killed He will fill the world with equity and justice, he will beat men until they return to Allāh (*al-hakk*) The Muslims will enjoy under him a prosperity the like of which has never been heard of, the earth will bring forth its fruits and the heavens will pour down its rain, money in that day will be like that which is trodden under foot and will be uncounted, a man will stand up and say "O Mahdī, give to me", and he will say "Take!" and he will pour into his robe as much as he can carry It is suggested that this is a *tafsīr*, legitimate or illegitimate, of a tradition in the *Sahīh* of Muslim "There will come in the end of my nation a khalīfa who will scatter wealth, not counting it" See many references for this munificent khalīfa and the abundance of money in the last days in Wensinck, *Handbook of Tradition*, p 100*b*, foot But in this tradition, as in all Muslim and Bukhārī, there is no mention of the Mahdī Again the Mahdī is of us, the People of the House. Allāh will bring him suddenly and unexpectedly (? *yuṣlihuhu-llāhu fī lailatin*) He will rule five, seven, nine years There are frequent allusions to his coming in a time of dissensions (*fitan*) These will be such that it will take a voice from heaven to still them, saying "Your Amīr is so-and-so" (Ibn Khaldūn, p 162) This is very like an ironical comment, but it is cited as a simple foretelling. In these earlier traditions he will come from the East (al-Mashriḳ; Khurāsān), from beyond the River (Oxus); in later times (e. g. Ḳurṭubī

and Ibn Khaldūn, p. 171—176) he was to come from the wide, unknown, lands of the Maghrib The original Black Banners (*rāyāt sūd*) tradition about the ʿAbbāsids, apparently forged to lead them to support the ʿAlids, does not mention the Mahdī (Ibn Khaldūn, p 153), but in an evidently later form there is added, "for he is the khalīfa of Allāh, the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p 159) One long tradition (Ibn Khaldūn, p 148) may be given entire as an illustration of a type and because of the later expansion and use of it by Kurṭubī "There will arise a difference at the death of a khalīfa and a man of the people of al-Madīna will go forth, fleeing to Mecca Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him go out (apparently rise in insurrection) against his will and they will swear allegiance to him between the *Rukn* and the *Makām* And an army will be sent against (or, "to", *ilā*) him from Syria but will be swallowed up in the earth in the desert (*al-baidā'*) between Mecca and al-Madīna Whenever the people see that, the *Abdāl* ("Substitutes" or "Nobles") of Syria and the *Aṣḥāb* ("Companions" or "Sectaries", see Lane, p 2059*b*) of al-ʿIrāḳ will come to him and they will swear allegiance to him Thereafter there will arise a man of Kuraish with maternal grandfathers of Kalb So he will send against them an army and it will overcome them and that will be the expedition (*baʿth*) of Kalb And oh! the disappointment of those who will not have part in the booty of Kalb! He will divide the wealth and rule over the people according to the *sunna* of their Prophet and he will subject himself to the support of Islām He will remain seven or nine years and then die and the Muslims will pray over him" This is evidently an echo of the early ʿAlid conflicts and is not eschatological nor does it mention the Mahdī But its motifs of the *Abdāl* and of the earth swallowing up in the desert (*al-baidā'*) re-appear in other traditions which are concerned with the End of Time (p 156, 161) and it is worked into al-Kurtūbī's tradition of the Mahdī from the Maghrib Again, in a tradition evidently eirenic between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids, the Muslims are exhorted to "turn to the youth of the tribe of Tamīm (*ʿalaikum bi 'l-fata 'l-tamīmī*) for he will come from the East and will be the standard-bearer of the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p 162) But it is plain, too, that the doctrine of the Mahdī arose late and was not generally received Thus the doctrine of al Dadjdjāl is fixed in all Muslim eschatology, official and popular, but a tradition tries to assert that belief in the Mahdī is more of Faith than belief in him "Whoever denies the Mahdī is an unbeliever but whoever denies al-Dadjdjāl is only a denier" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 144) On the other hand a tradition asserts that there is no Mahdī but ʿĪsā The upholders of the Mahdī tried to turn this by saying that it means that no one ever spoke in the cradle (*mahd*, Kurʾān, iii. 41) except ʿĪsā (Ibn Khaldūn, p 163, Kurṭubī, p 118) For al-Kahṭānī, another restorer who is not mentioned in any of the collections of traditions used above, see article ḲAḤṬĀN, above, vol ii, p 630*a* and Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdi*, p. 12 (*Verspr Geschr.*, i 156)

The later, therefore, we go and the more popular are our sources the more fixed do we find the belief in the eschatological Mahdī. The more, too, the Muslim masses have felt themselves oppressed and humiliated, either by their own rulers or by non-Muslims, the more fervent has been their longing for this ultimate restorer of the true Islām and conqueror of the whole world for Islām And as the need for a Mahdī has been felt, the Mahdīs have always appeared and Islām has risen, sword in hand, under their banner It is impossible here to give the history of these risings See for details upon them the article *Mahdī* by Margoliouth in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii 336—340 and Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p 231, 268, 291 For the Sudanese Mahdī, see especially Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdi*, reprinted in *Verspr Geschr*, i, p 147—181 This contains, also, a fundamental discussion of the origin and history of the idea of a restorer in Islām, see also beneath, s v MUHAMMAD AHMAD

Bibliography has been given in the course of the article The three important treatments of the subject are undoubtedly those by Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher and Margoliouth

(D B MACDONALD)

AL-MAHDĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD, an ʿAbbāsid Caliph His father was the Caliph al-Mansūr, his mother was called Umm Mūsā bint al Mansūr b ʿAbd Allāh and belonged to the family of the old Himyarite kings When the governor of Khurāsān ʿAbd al-Djabbār b ʿAbd al-Rahmān [q v] rebelled, the Caliph sent his son Muhammad al-Mahdī with an army against him, the real commander was Khāzim b Khuzaima After taking ʿAbd al-Djabbār prisoner, al-Mahdī by his father's orders undertook an expedition against Tabaristān which had to submit to him [cf DĀBŪYA] In 144 (761—762) he returned to the ʿIrāk where he married Raita, the daughter of the Caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh For the next few years he lived in al-Raiy ʿĪsā b Mūsā had long been designated as successor to the throne but he was persuaded by al-Mansūr to waive his rights in favour of al-Mahdī, and after the death of al-Mansūr in Dhu 'l Hidjdja 158 (Oct 775) al-Mahdī was recognised as Caliph He made himself very popular by his liberality and gentleness, although several cruel deeds are credited to him For example he had the son of the vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muʿāwiya b ʿUbaid Allāh [q v] executed on a mere suspicion and another vizier Yaʿḳūb b Dāwūd who had fallen into disfavour with him was thrown into a prison so dark that he lost the use of his eyes In 160 (776—777) a rebellion broke out in the always unruly Khurāsān, the leader of the rebels, Yūsuf b Ibrāhim, was however defeated and taken prisoner whereupon the Caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion The war against Byzantium was continued under al-Mahdī In continual raids to plunder and devastate the marches, the two opponents sought to do each other as much harm as possible, there was however never any thought of permanently occupying any territory temporarily conquered On the whole the advantage lay with the Muslims and in the early stages they advanced as far as Angora Michael Lachanodrakon however with a Byzantine army advanced against them, destroyed the fortress of al-Hadath [q v], which however was soon rebuilt, and laid the land waste as far as the Syrian frontier (162 = 778/779) In the following year al-Mahdī equipped a great expedition in which his son Hārūn took part against

the Byzantines and in 165 (782) Hārūn took the field again, accompanied by the Caliph's favourite al-Rabīʿ b Yūnus, later vizier This time the Muslims penetrated to the Bosphorus and the Empress Irene was forced to make a three years' truce and to promise to pay an annual tribute In Ramadān 168 (March/April 785), however, the truce was broken by the Byzantines and hostilities lasted till the death of al-Mahdī, without however any decision being reached In his reign appeared the sectarian fanatic al-Muḳannaʿ, who gave the Caliph's troops much trouble and sustained a long siege in a fortress in the region of Kashsh, till finally he poisoned himself in 163 (779/780) in order not to fall alive into the hand of his enemies In other parts of the empire also, heretics, especially real or alleged Manichaeans (*Zindīḳ*), were treated with the utmost severity Al-Mahdī acquired great merit by his work for the peaceful development of his empire, new roads were laid down and the postal system improved, trade and industry reached a prosperity hitherto unknown and scholars were richly rewarded At the same time there appeared an undesirable tendency to extravagance, which in the end was to prove really fatal, and with al-Mahdī began that expenditure of the revenues on useless luxury, which contributed not a little under his successors to the ruin of the ʿAbbāsid empire In time the Caliph fell under the control of his courtiers and in particular allowed himself to be guided by his chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b Yūnus and especially by his wife al-Khaizurān, formerly a slave who was the mother of two sons, Mūsā and Hārūn As early as 160 (776) homage had been paid to the former as successor designate under the name of al-Hādī in place of ʿĪsā b Mūsā [q v] and six years later al-Mahdī had his younger son Hārūn proclaimed as successor to al-Hādī But as Khaizurān preferred Hārūn and he was also supported by the Barmecides, the Caliph decided to alter the succession in favour of him, al-Hādī, who was then in Djurdjān refused to agree Al-Mahdī thereupon set out to discuss the matter with him in person, but died suddenly on the 22nd Muharram 169 (Aug 4, 785) in Māsabadhān at the age of 43 As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the best among the ʿAbbāsids

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *al-Maʿārif* (ed Wustenfeld), p 192 *sq*, Yaʿkūbī (ed Houtsma), ii 409 *sqq*, 470—487, Balādhurī (ed de Goeje), see Index, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (ed Wright), p 268, 389, 419, 512, 547, 711, 738, Tabarī, iii 133 *sqq*, 451—544, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), vi 224—260, ix 44, 51, 65 *sq*, *al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), v 385 *sqq*, vi 8 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktaḳā, *al Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 242—258, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al Wafayāt*, ii 225, Ibn Khaldūn, *al ʿIbar*, iii 204 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 36, 64, 94 *sqq*, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i 477 *sq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*[3], p 446 *sqq*, 469—474, Brooks, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids*, in *The English Historical Review*, xv 728 *sqq*, Le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index, do, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, passim

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MAHDĪ. [See IBN TŪMART]

AL-MAHDĪ. [See MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD]

AL-MAHDĪ, MUHAMMAD B HISHĀM B ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B ʿABD AL-RAHMĀN AL-NĀṢIR, ABU 'L-WALĪD, eleventh Umaiyad Caliph of Spain He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II, al-Muʾaiyad [q v], and again after Sulaimān b Hakam al-Mustaʿīn [q v], in the period of general rebellion which at the beginning of the ninth century immediately preceded the establishment through Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*

The third of the ʿĀmirid hādjibs, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b al-Mansūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaffar abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Muʾaiyad, to get himself designated heir-presumptive This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne, they arranged that one of their number, Muhammad b Hishām b ʿAbd al-Djabbār, a great grandson of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir, who had many followers among the people of Cordova should head a rebellion Advantage was taken of an expedition, which ʿAbd al Rahmān Sanchol, following the example of his father and brother, was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion On the 16th Djumāda II, 399 (Feb 15, 1009) Muhammad b Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the ʿĀmirid town Madīnat al-Zāhira [q v] All the treasure accumulated there including a vast sum in money was seized and brought to the new caliph who to destroy ʿĀmirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great hādjib al-Mansūr had built only a few years before At the same time, Muhammad b Hishām who had adopted the honorific *lakab* of al-Mahdī took steps to meet the counter-attack certain to be made by ʿAbd al-Rahmān Sanchol Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madīnat al-Zāhira, the hādjib, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Kalʿat Rabāḥ (Calatrava [q v]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops who were mainly Berbers He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Djumādā II, 399 (March 1, 1009) His body was crucified in Cordova

Muhammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umaiyad house A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries The Berbers put at their head an Umaiyad pretender, Hishām b Sulaimān b al-Nāsir, whom they proclaimed [caliph with the title al-Rashīd, and laid siege to Cordova Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed The Berbers then chose a new Umaiyad prince, Sulaimān b Hakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garcez

and his Christians In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b al-Mu'ayad whom he had himself deposed and then given out that he was dead, but this was in vain On 16th Rabī' I, 400 (Nov 7, 1009) the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaimān, received the oath of allegiance at al-Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Musta'īn bi'llāh

In the following month al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo where he was well received by the inhabitants He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifrandj*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400 (May June 1010) The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaimān al-Musta'īn returned to besiege the city Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his servants, was slain during the siege in the palace in Cordova by some 'Āmirid slaves on the 8th Dhu'l-Hidjdja 400 (July 23, 1010) His first reign lasted nine months, the second less than two

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MAHDĪ KHĀN, Mīrzā Muhammad Mahdī Astarābādī b Muhammad, historian of Nādir Shāh of Persia, whose deeds he recorded in the *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān Gushāy-i Nādirī*, this work written in Persian is an excellent complement to those by James Fraser and Jonas Hanway on the conqueror In it Mahdī Khān details the life of Nādir from his birth to his death while other Persian writers only deal with periods of it (e g Muhsin b Hanīf records only the expedition to India in his *Djawhar i Şamşam*, 'Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī in his *Bayān i Wāki'* confines himself to the period from this expedition to 1784) W Jones in his introduction to the *Ta'rīkh* of Mahdī Khān says that "the narrative of these perpetual rebellions is somewhat dry and fatiguing", as to the boundless praise which he bestows on the author's style, especially the descriptions of spring at the beginning of each year, it is exaggerated, in these descriptions all the images used had been employed to satiety for years before It is true that some works of the period are still more hackneyed Mahdī Khān himself gives free train to this vexatious tendency in another version of history of Nādir which comes down to the year 1748 only *Durra-i Nādira*, in a style uniformly artificial and elaborate Malcolm (*History of Persia*) reproaches Mahdī Khān with having been too flattering to Nādir, he recognises however that the historian has spoken frankly of the cruelties which were a blot upon the latter part of the reign Mahdī Khān was Nādir's secretary This is revealed not only in the accuracy of his details but in certain statements also Mahdī, for example, says that he was with the prince when the latter received news of the birth of a grandson (transl Jones i 191), at the end of his reign Nādir sent him on a diplomatic mission to the Sultān of Turkey (ii 179) H Brydges (Abd-er-Razzak, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, p clxxxi, note) also credits him with secretarial duties Besides his historical works, Mahdī Khān compiled his celebrated Eastern Turkish-Persian dictionary entitled *Sanglākh* (1173 = 1760) a valuable thesaurus enriched with examples taken from the Turkish classics (Mir 'Alī-Shīr, *Bābur-Nāma* etc), the publication of this work of which there are two abbreviations is highly desirable

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AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AHMAD, a title and name of several Zaidī Imāms of the Yaman

About 250 years after al-Hādī Yahyā, the founder of the Zaidīya [q v] dynasty of the Yaman, his direct descendant, the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'llāh Ahmad b Sulaimān had, between 532 and 566 (1134—1170), restored the kingdom to its extent in al-Hādī's period, with Sa'da, Nadjrān and for a time also Zabīd and San'ā' A generation later (593—614 = 1197—1217) the hill country from Sa'da to Dhamār was again ruled by one man, al-Mansūr bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh b Hamza, not a descendant of al-Hādī but of a Rassid, i e one of the family of al Hādī's grandfather, al-Kāsim b Tabātabā, the spiritual founder of the Zaidīyas of the Yaman Al-Mansūr was twice able to enter San'ā', he was also recognised as Imām by the Kaspid Zaidīs, the Nuktawī, but even before his death his power had become restricted by the last Ayyūbid Sultān of the Yaman, al Malik al-Mas'ūd, once more to the land of Kawkabān After his death his sons, first Muhammad 'Izz al-Dīn, then the Imām Ahmad al-Mutawakkil tried their fortune in the south, while one of al-Hādī's descendants and his namesake al Hādī Yahyā b al-Muhsin created a petty imāmate around Sa'da An attempt to unite the divided forces of the dynasty was made by

a Al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, his full official title, one previously met with among the Zaidīs, was al-Mahdī li Dīn Allāh, Ahmad b al-Husain b Ahmad b al-Kāsim b 'Abd Allāh b al-Kāsim b Ahmad b Ismā'īl Abu 'l-Barakāt The uncertainty about his genealogy, that occurs may be explained from the fact that, as is also found in the superscription and signature to his *Khalīfat al-Kur'ān* (see *Bibl*) there is a jump from Ismā'īl Abu 'l-Barakāt to Ismā'īl al-Dībādj (cf de Zambaur, Table B), he himself expressly says that his genealogy meets that of al-Mansūr in al-Kāsim b.

Ibrāhīm, i e that he was a Rassid His reign of ten years during which the Yaman was harassed by plague and famine does not reveal a great ruler nor even any real and consistent authority, but gives a remarkable picture of conditions in South Arabia, when for want of a definite line of succession, success alone decided how far an ʿAlid pretender was able to hold his own among his kinsmen and with any forces he could gather to make a stand against foreign foes In 646 (1248) Ahmad had himself proclaimed Imām in the fortress of Thula in the highlands of Hadūr, northwest of Ṣanʿā', by arrangement with the Banū Hamza, i e the family of the late Imām al-Mansūr, and with the benevolent tolerance of Asad al-Dīn Muhammad b al-Hasan, the brother's son of the first Rasūlid Sultān, al-Malik al-Mansūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿOmar b ʿAlī b Rasūl But he was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn and besieged in Thula, and in 647 (1250) we find him having to fight with the Banū Hamza who had again deserted him He was saved by the death of Nūr al-Dīn who was killed by his own Mamlūks in Zabīd, an event which is probably connected with contemporary Mamlūk attempts on the Egyptian Ayyūbids, Asad al-Dīn who wished to make his governorship in Sanʿā' independent, is also accused of instigating it The latter continued active under Nūr al Dīn's son and successor al-Muzaffar Yūsuf, rebelling and suing for peace alternately, sometimes on the side of the Imām and sometimes intriguing against him Al-Mahdī, who in the meanwhile had bound Shams al Dīn Ahmad, son of the late Imām and chief of the Banū Hamza, to joint action with him, took Sanʿā' in the beginning of Djumādā I 648 (July 1250), although harassed by Asad al-Dīn who held the fortress of Birāsh, he was able to extend his rule to the south as far as Dhamār But before a year had expired al-Mahdī had to abandon Sanʿā' Asad al-Dīn indeed sold him the fortress of Birāsh but it was just on account of this that the final breach occurred between them Asad al-Dīn again went over to al Muzaffar who had the governorship of the Yaman granted him by the Caliph al-Mustaʿsim, who is even said to have sent assassins (*Sīra*, see *Bibl*, fol 237*a*) against the Imām In a thoroughly Zaidī fashion, however, his fate was decided not by foreign foes but by the Zaidīs themselves He quarrelled with his ablest and most ardent supporter, Shaikh Ahmad al Rassās With the help of the Rasūlids, Shams al-Dīn made himself Imām of the Zaidis in 652 (1254) in the old capital of Saʿda Al-Mahdī was again confined to his original territory The very next year a Zaidī assembly pronounced his deposition, as unworthy Of the 10,000 infantry and several hundred horse men of the earlier fighting, he had still 2,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, but these also left him in the decisive battle of Wādī Shuwāba, which runs from Sanʿā' parallel in the northwest to the Wādī Khārid He was slain at the age of 42, his head sent round as a trophy and treated shamefully but finally buried with his body in the little Wādī of Dhū Bīn (Dhenebān) His inglorious end did not prevent his tomb from becoming a wonder-working abode of grace, his biographer calls him the "martyr on the path of Allāh and the commander of the faithful" and many miracles are recorded of him even from his lifetime His assassination at the beginning of 656 (1258) falls in the same year as the execution of his old enemy, the last ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim Legend says that the messenger who was to carry the news to Baghdād learned on the way that the caliph had met his fate on the same day

While in his *Daʿwa* (see *Bibl*) al-Mahdī collected the usual Zaidī arguments with the regular sayings from the Kurʾān and hadīths practically in the traditional form as a general appeal to support the Zaidī cause and himself, his *Khalīfa* is a passionate personal protest against his deposition and an attempt to bring back his enemies especially Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, to the loyalty they had sworn to him This, he reproaches them, was as unrighteous as the recognition of Muhammad's authority as a Prophet by the Umaiyads

The Shams al-Dīn Ahmad above mentioned, who adopted the official title of al Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlids as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival Imām in the person of Abū Muhammad al-Hasan b al-Wahhās The position remained the same for the next 50 years The *Tatimma* gives nine men, the last being al-Nāsir Salāh al-Dīn Muhammad b ʿAlī, who succeeded in obtaining some recognition as imāms in the period between al-Mahdī Ahmad b al-Husain and

b AL-MAHDĪ LI DĪN ALLĀH AHMAD B YAHYĀ B AL-MURTADĀ b Ahmad b al-Murtadā b al-Mufaddal b Mansūr b al Mufaddal b al-Hadjdjādj b ʿAlī b Yahyā b al-Kāsim b Yūsuf al-Daʿī b Yahyā al-Mansūr b Ahmad al-Nāsir The last named ancestor was the son and second successor of Yahyā al-Hādī After the death of al-Nāsir Salāh al-Dīn, a kādī ʿAbd Allāh b al-Hasan al-Dauwārī worked with a few partisans on behalf of his sons who were still minors But the ʿUlamāʾ, anxious to consolidate the power which was gradually breaking up, placed in the mosque of Djamāl al-Dīn in Sanʿā' three claimants ʿAlī b Abi 'l Fadāʾil, al-Nāsir b Ahmad b Muhammad and Ahmad b Yahyā b al-Murtadā and these three were to decide on one of their number The choice fell on Ahmad b Yahyā, the youngest of them In spite of his objections, he had to give in to their argument that "one who has gone deeply into learned problems with their subtle points, cannot be incapable of conducting worldly affairs" They at the same time promised him their advice and support (*Tatimma*, fol 72a) But on the very night on which he was proclaimed, the kādī al Dauwarī succeeded in getting homage paid to his candidate (end of 793 = 1391) Ahmad b Yahyā and his adherents at once left the town in a body and withdrew to the hills to the Banū Shihāb, a clan of the Hamdānids His abode was betrayed by one of the Shihāb Fighting went on for 13 days in which the enemy lost about 50 men and the Imām 10 The latter then went farther into the mountains and his claims were recognised in Ānis also Among his special supporters were al-Hādī b al Muʾaiyad, son of a former Imām, and Ibn Abi 'l-Fadāʾil He was also asked by people in Ṣaʿda to receive their homage But he was surprised by his enemies and as he would not interrupt his ritual ablutions and prayers to fight, he surrendered under a promise that no harm would befall him In spite of this, as the *Tatimma* tells us, which is however much biassed in his favour, 80 of his men were massacred, he himself was taken to Ṣanʿā' where he was kept a prisoner for 7 years

and 3 weeks (794—801) Liberated with the help of his warders, he lived a further 40 years, "tossed up and down the country", devoting himself entirely to learning until he died in Ẓafār (end of 480 = 1437) of the plague in the Yaman, which had already carried off with many notables including the rival Imām ʿAlī b Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn According to the *Tatimma* (fol 75a) Ibn al-Murtadā was born in 775 (1373) in Dhamār, according to other sources (see Rieu, in *Brit Mus Cat Suppl*, N° 365) in 764 (1363) at Ānis

The choice of Ibn al Murtaḍā as Imām was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability On the other hand he had another qualification in perfection As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and paraenetic, he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Azhār fī Fikh al-Aʾimma al-aṭhār* (Berlin MS 4919) on which he wrote a commentary His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Bahr al-zakhkhār* (Berlin MS 4894—4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of Ashʿarī or Shahrastānī

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Ahmad b Yahyā, from 922 (1516), the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Kutb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-Bark al-Yamānī fī 'l-Fath al-ʿOthmānī*, in S de Sacy, in *N E*, IV 412–504 and A Rutgers, *Historia Jemanae sub Hasano Pascha*, Leyden 1838) In his struggle with them al-Mansūr bi'llāh al-Kāsim b Muhammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the 17th generation, was able about 1000 A H to restore the present imāmate in Sanʿā' (see A S Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford 1925) Of his sons, Muhammad al-Muʾaiyad succeeded him Even in his reign but still more after his death in 1054 (1644), when his successor Ismāʿīl, another son of al-Kāsim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al Kāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the Imām

c AL-MAHDĪ LI DĪN ALLĀH AHMAD B AL-HASAN B AL KĀSIM His father was not Imām but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar In 1049 Ahmad appeared in the hills of Wuṣāb, in 1051 he besieged Dhamār without success, in 1053 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage Just at the accession of Ismāʿīl, he set out with another cousin against Ṣanʿā' At first he came to terms with the Imām but then fought in different places for his own hand, e g at Thula and again in the Djebel Wuṣāb In 1070 he won Hadramawt for Ismāʿīl, to which the Zaidīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne When in 1087 (1676) on the death of Ismāʿīl he himself assumed the imāmate, a nephew, al-Kāsim b Muhammad al-Muʾaiyad, proclaimed himself Imām and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards al-Tihāma in Zabīd A Zaidī assembly of leading Sharīfs and ʿUlamāʾ met, at which Ahmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate Imām. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other amīrs remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country But Aḥmad b al-Hasan died soon afterwards in 1092 (1681) in al-Ghirās near Shibām which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Hasan Pasha After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muhammad (to 1097 = 1686), family feuds broke out again Among the later Imāms of this Kāsimid dynasty another Ahmad b al Husain b al-Kāsim (from 1221 = 1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh

Bibliography On *a* His own works *Daʿwa*, MS Berlin, N° 10282, *Khalīfat al-Kurʾān fī Nukat min Ahkām Ahl al-Zamān*, MS Berlin, N° 2175, 2, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b Abi 'l-Kāsim al-Hamzī, *Sīrat al Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh*, MS Berlin, N° 9741 (contemporary), al Khazradjī, *al-ʿUkud al-luʾluʾiya*, ed Muhammad ʿAsal, transl Redhouse (*G M S*, III), IV 94 *sqq*, 118 *sqq*, H C Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, p 319 *sqq* — On *b* list of 30 works in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis d arab Handschriften*, N° 4950 XV, from the Introduction to *al-Bahr al-zakhkhār*, T W Arnold, *Al Muʿtazilah*, Leipzig 1902, M Horten, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, Bonn 1910 — On *c* al-Muhibbī, *Taʾrīkh Khulāsat al-Athar fī Aʿyān al Karn al-hādī ʿashar*, Cairo 1284, I 180 *sq*, F Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im XI (XVII) Jahrhundert*, Gottingen 1884, p 71 *sqq* — On *a* and *b* ʿImād al-Dīn Yahyā b ʿAlī al-Hasanī al-Kāsimī, *Tatimmat al Ifāda fī Taʾrikh al-Aʾimma al-Sāda*, MS Berl, N° 9665, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 318, 6, 404, 12, II 187, 6 — On *a—c* Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894, p 102 *sq*, E de Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p 123 (R STROTHMANN)

AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAID ALLĀH, first Fāṭimid Caliph (297—322 = 909—934) His origins are obscure He is also known as Saʿīd, and is believed to have been the grandson of the celebrated Persian sectarian ʿAbd Allāh b Maimūn al-Kaddāh (the oculist), the Ismāʿīlian leader, but he claimed to be a true descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima By some he was supposed to be the brother of the twelfth *Imām*, according to others, the son of one of the strange "hidden" *Imāms* of the Ismāʿīlīs His spectacular rise to power was coincident with a sudden outburst of Shīʿite fervour centred in the vexed question of the legitimacy of the Caliphate, involving the mystical doctrine of the Imāmate and the appearance of a long-expected *Mahdī* [q v] It was the culmination of Ismāʿīlian propaganda and was in alliance with the Karmatian heresy of Arabia Throughout the history of these times one can discern how in reality such zealous schismatics traded their esoteric doctrines and allegorical interpretations to the advancement of their own private political ends

North Africa witnessed the crucial stages of the Fāṭimid rising, the prime instigator being apparently a *dāʿī*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [q v], who proclaimed himself the precursor of the Mahdī An ambitious factionist of undeniable ability and or-

ganising genius, in the end his own astuteness and love of power brought about his undoing Nevertheless it was to him that ʿUbaid Allāh owed his throne and title While the former was sowing the seeds of sedition amongst the Berber tribes of North Africa, ʿUbaid Allāh was making his way with his family from Salamīya in N Syria to Kairawān (902 A D) In passing through Egypt disguised as a merchant he narrowly escaped imprisonment at the hands of a suspicious governor Perhaps judicious bribery helped him on his way until he found himself with his son thrown by the Benī Midrār, supporters of the ʿAbbāsids, into a dungeon in Sidjilmāsa Meanwhile his generalissimo was operating elsewhere in his favour with the help of the wild Benī Kitāma whose services he had enlisted A victorious entry into Sidjilmāsa marked the release of ʿUbaid Allāh — though there are suspicions that the real prisoner was slain before the surrender — and his proclamation as the true spiritual head of Islām, al-Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful The Aghlabid monarch Ziyādat Allāh III was overthrown and driven into exile in Egypt, while on Jan 15, 910 A D (29th Rabīʿ II, 297) the new Mahdi and his son made their triumphal entry into Rakkāda

Following his elevation to supreme control ʿUbaid Allāh entered on a policy of extending the bounds of his dominions Not only had he enemies on all sides, even within his own camp lurked traitorous allies and fickle adherents Those who had raised him from the dungeon found very soon that he was now their master The estrangement between him and his chief supporters is said to have originated in the disappointment felt by the latter that he was incapable of working the miracles expected of such a divine personage Abū ʿAbd Allāh was forced to play a subordinate part, and becoming embittered thereby, began spreading sedition amongst the unsettled Berber tribesmen But the Mahdī was quite capable of dealing with the situation A Shaikh of the Kitāma Berbers, heading a deputation asking for clear proofs of his spiritual claims, was summarily beheaded Shortly after this he waylaid Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAbbās and had them assassinated (298 = 911) The other brother Abū Zākī was sent to Kairawān with a letter ordering his execution As the Mahdī himself said in justifying such acts against quondam supporters "Satan caused them to slip and I have purified them by the sword" Riots ensued, but the bold handling of the populace by the Mahdī and his personal courage averted disaster and firmly established the secular power, if it did not demonstrate the spiritual virtues, of the Fātimid dynasty

ʿUbaidallāh's foreign policy led him to despatch Hassān b Kulaib of the Benī Kitāma as governor to Sicily in order to further the Fātimid cause The Huwara and Luwata tribes of Tripolitana were vanquished, while the Mahdī's forces were also victorious against Muhammad b Khazar at Tiharet But following Abū ʿAbd Allāh's death, the Benī Kitāma, who were murmuring against the Mahdī, were attacked in April 912, chiefly by their old enemies, the people of Kairawān who never liked their savage manners The Benī Kitāma rose in a general revolt and appointed a new Mahdī, named Kadū, but after considerable fighting they were defeated The Tripolitans were also involved in a struggle with the Berbers (300 A H) But the most important events of this reign were the attacks on Egypt The Mahdī's son, Abu 'l-Kāsim, was sent in command of the forces, while a fleet operated under Khubasa Tripoli, Barka, and then Alexandria (302 = 914) were taken, until the victorious army was checked outside Fustāt by the eunuch Mūnis, the Egyptian commander A second expeditionary force (916—917) repeated the feats of the previous one and devastated the Delta and ravaged the Faiyūm, only to be checked once more at Old Cairo, while the fleet of 80 vessels was destroyed at Rosetta (307 = 920) by the Khalifa's smaller but more efficient fleet under Greek mariners Once more the Fātimid ranks had to withdraw Nevertheless the dominion of the Mahdi extended from the borders of Egypt to the confines of the Idrisid stronghold in Morocco His fleets spread terror throughout the Mediterranean Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands felt his influence, while his secret-service agents were to be found throughout Andalusia A revolt in Sicily in favour of an Aghlabid prince Ahmad b Ziyādat Allāh affected his sway in that island, but his administration generally was strong and secure, albeit rigorous and unmerciful The year 926 found him taking up his residence in the new city he had founded on the Tunisian coast, named after himself al-Mahdīya [q v] (the "Africa" of Froissart) This became his capital instead of Kairawān (16 mls distant) The new town was founded in 303 (916) and was situated on a projecting peninsula called Djazīrat al-Far It was strongly fortified with high and massive walls, and colossally heavy gates, enclosing the palace and the royal barracks A natural harbour was improved to shelter 100 vessels of war On the mainland lay the faubourg of Zawila intended as a place of residence for traders and the general public After a reign of 25 years ʿUbaid Allāh died on the 4th March 934 (14th Rabiʿ I, 322) at the age of 63, and was succeeded by his son Abu 'l Kāsim under the title of al-Kā'im bi-Amrallāh

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Sachau, p 48, Dj Zaidān, *Taʾrīkh al-Tamaddun*, Cairo 1922, IV 211 *sqq*, D S Margoliouth, *Hist of Islamic Civilization*, IV 274, 280, do, *On Mahdis and Mahdiism*, p 13, do, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, I 181, 167, II 254, A Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I 596 *sqq*, Becker, *Beitrage zur Gesch Ag*, I 2 *sqq*, Zambaur, *Genealogie et Chronologie de l'Islam*, I 94, E G Browne, *Lit Hist of Persia*, I 359, 409, II 197, Quatremère, *Memoires hist sur la dynastie des Fatimides*, in *J A*, 1836, II 117, P Casanova, *La Doctrine secrete des Fatimides*, in *B I F A O*, XVIII 129, 148, 150, de Goeje, *Les Carmathes du Bahrein*, p 6 *sqq*, Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrikh Misr*, p 44—48, 59, 67—70 (J WALKER)

AL-**MAHDĪ**'s, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yaman When the founder of the dynasty, ʿAlī b Mahdī [q v], died in the middle of 554 (1159) soon after the taking of Zabīd, the power of the dynasty which had been concentiated in his personality, was seriously threatened, especially as his sons Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ and ʿAbd Allāh quarrelled It is not quite clear whether Mahdī at first obtained the throne (so ʿOmāra in Kay [see *Bibl*], p 129) or whether he ruled jointly with ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ, the latter taking charge of civil and the former of military affairs (so Khazradjī in Kay, p 294) In any case, in the wars abroad we find Mahdī appearing as conqueror of Lahidj in 556 and of Djanad in 558 He died, at the end of 558 or beginning of 559 (end of 1163) in Zabīd ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ now became sole ruler but although driven from power for a brief period by ʿAbd Allāh he was able to consolidate his position and in continual fighting was able to retain the kingdom in Yaman and the great treasure which his father had accumulated His power extended from al-Tihāma over the mountains of Dhu 'l Kalā and the towns south of Djanad and Taʿizz He celebrated his victories in poems, for example that in 560 (1164) over Wahhās, son and successor of Ghānim b Yahyā of the Hasanid branch of the Sulaimānids, who after being driven out of Mecca had founded a dynasty in the mountains around Zafār and Taʿizz When ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ besieged ʿAden in 568 (1172) the Zuraiʿids there [cf BANU 'L-KARAM] obtained the support of a great coalition led by the Hamdānid ʿAlī b Hātim in Sanʿāʾ which included the Yām tribes related to the Hamdānids and Zuraiʿids ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ suffered an annihilating defeat in 569 at Ibb and again farther south near Taʿizz Although ʿAlī b Hātim could not carry the war into al Tihāma as the Beduins would not follow him, ʿAbd al Nabīʾ had to give up the siege of ʿAden On his return to Zabīd, he met a stronger enemy and thus met his end In the same year the Ayyūbid Tūrānshāh, sent by his brother Saladin, invaded Yemen Guided by the Sulaimānid al Kāsim, the brother of Wahhās who had fallen in battle, Tūrānshāh took Zabīd after two days' fighting on 9th Shawwāl 569 (May 14, 1174) ʿAbd al-Nabīʾ and his two brothers Ahmad and Yahyā were thrown into prison Nine months later when Tūrānshāh on his campaign of conquest in the mountains of the Yaman was at Dhū Djibla west of Ibb, he heard of troubles in al Tihāma and had all three brothers executed in Zabīd

Bibliography C Th Johannsen, *Historia Jemanae*, Bonn 1828, p 144 *sqq*, H C Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, p 192 *sqq*, 294, Abulfeda, *Annales*, éd Adler, III 566 *sq*, IV 8, Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894, p 96, E de Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p 118 — (Principal original source al Khazradjī, *al-Kifāya wa 'l-ʿlām*, Ms Leyden 805, not seen, but used by Kay) (R STROTHMANN)

AL-**MAHDĪYA**, a town on the east coast of Tunisia, is the "town of Africa" of the European historians of the Middle Ages It is built between Sousse and Sfax on a small peninsula more than a mile in length and less than 500 yards in breadth, which terminates the cape of Africa and is connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus "much as the hand is joined to the wrist" The site was without doubt occupied by a Phoenician factory and by a Roman settlement, which it has not been possible to identify Its name comes from the Shiʿī Mahdī ʿUbaid Allāh, who in 300 (912) founded and fortified it, after having consulted the oracles and foreseeing the dangers which would threaten the Fatimid dynasty A rampart of rubble of which a few towers are in existence ran along the coast towards the south, the wall protected the port, an ancient Phoenician harbour excavated out of the rock, which the ships entered under a large gate flanked by two strong defensive works A little farther on, towards the point was the naval arsenal From the side of the isthmus, the rampart, which is very strong and strengthened by round and square towers, had a wall in front of it and was pierced by a gate which still exists Flanked by two salients with inclined sides entrance is gained under an arch 45 yards in length (*al-skifa, al kahlā*) The highest point of the peninsula is occupied by an old Turkish *kaṣba*, built on the probable site of the palace of Mahdi In front towards the west, probably lay the palace of his son al Kāʾim The town owes to the Fātimids also a great mosque built near the sea, of which considerable remains still exist, notably an ornamental porch A customs-house was at hand (*dār al muhāsabāt*), beyond the peninsula the suburb of Zawīla (ancient Zella?) of which the site is still known and where remains have been found, amongst other things glass ware

The Mahdī ʿUbaid Allāh after leaving Rakkāda near al Kairawān, came to live at al Mahdīya in the year 308 (921) Having become the capital of the empire, the town prospered It was, according to ʿIdhārī, the richest city in Barbary The son of ʿUbaid Allāh, al Kāʾim, was besieged there for over five months (January-September 945) by Abū Yazīd, "the man with the ass", a Khāridjī agitator, who starting from Tawzer made himself master of the whole of Ifrīkiya The failure of the blockade of al-Mahdīya was the first stage in the downfall of the heretic More than a century after, al Mahdīya, which had been the refuge of the Fātimids when in danger, served also as an asylum to their unconquered vassals, the Zirid Amirs, the victims of the Hilālī invasion In the year 449 (1057) the Zirid al-Muʿizz abandoned a-Kairawān for al-Mahdīya From that place he and his successors set themselves to recover the lands they had formerly ruled From there they also turned their activities to the sea Al-Mahdīya, where the corsairs were now equipped, became and was to remain

down to modern times the most active centre of Tunisian piracy The expeditions of the Muslim corsairs provoked attacks from the Normans of Sicily, Pisan and Genoan raids on the town along the coast In 1087, al-Mahdīya fell into the hands of the combined Christian forces The Normans again took it in 1148 Then they were blockaded in it by land and by sea during the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Having become once more a Muslim town, it was retaken and pillaged in 1180 Then it concluded with William II, the King of Sicily, a treaty of peace The Normans were able to trade with it During the ruinous campaigns of the B Ghānīya [q v], Almoravid Amīrs, al-Mahdīya was for a short time in the hands of an adventurer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ragrāgī who took the title of Caliph These troubles led to the installation in Ifrīkiya of a governor of the Almohad family of the B Hafs Al-Mahdīya was henceforth one of the principal towns of the kingdom of the Hafsids Its government was generally confided to one of the sons of the sovereign of Tunis

The persistent activity however of the Corsairs provoked in the year 1390 a new Genoan expedition supported by Charles VI, King of France, who sent his galleys and his knights against "cette mâlement forte ville d'Auffrique" (Froissart) Al-Mahdīya resisted but was forced to pay a tribute to the Christians In 1539, after the conquest of Tunis by Charles V, the town received a Spanish garrison In the following year the corsair Dragut took it by surprise Taken prisoner by the fleet of Andrea Doria, then released, Dragut came back and installed himself in al Mahdīya On the 8th September 1550, Doria seized the town from Dragut "prince of Africa", after a memorable seige Charles V offered the charge of it to the Knights of Malta but they refused it, so he ordered it to be dismantled Al-Mahdīya, after falling once more into the hands of the Muslims, arose from its ruins and remained under Turkish rule until the 1xth century, the nest of corsairs, the terror of Christian merchants that it had been for nearly 300 years It is now a quiet little town of about 10,000 inhabitants, who live by fishing and by the product of their oil works

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(G. MARÇAIS)

AL-**MAHDĪYA**, formerly called AL-MAʿMŪRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gharb and 20 miles to the North East of Salé (Salā) it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance A port is shortly to be created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Sabū as far as the river port of Kenitra (Ar al-Kunaitira, "the little bridge") situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdīya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the fifth century B C on the Atlantic coast of Morocco — the factory of Thymiateria Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the fourth century A H (tenth A D) to get the first mention in Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū under the names al-Maʿmūra ("the populated, the flourishing"), Halk ("the mouth") al-Maʿmūra or Halḳ Sabū According to the chronicler Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Zayyanī [q v] the modern town was founded by the short lived dynasty of the Banū Ifren [q v] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the tenth century of our era In the second half of the XIIth, the Almohad Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-ṣināʿa*) Later, down to the XVIth century, al-Maʿmūra's history is obscure — it was a small trading centre to which European ships came for the products of the country

Al-Maʿmūra, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives, on June 24, 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Maʿmūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Maʿmūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them

Al-Maʿmūra re-enters history when at the end of the XVIth century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terior to the seafaring centres of Europe This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish, q v), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Maʿmūra in August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Saʿdian Mawlāy Zaidān The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar

The Spanish occupation of al Maʿmūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volunteers of the faith" (*Mudjāhidūn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-ʿAyyāshī of Salé The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1630

and 1647 In 1681 (1092 A H) the ʿAlawid Sulṭān Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [q v] laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiya, the name of al-Maʿmūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork-oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabū — It may be noted that for a few years at an earlier date the name al-Mahdīya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin on the site of the future Ribāt al Fath (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wād Bū-regreg) [cf the article RABAT] Al-Mahdīya was occupied by French troops in 1911

Considerable remains survive at al-Mahdīya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the date when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims Around the citadel (*kaṣba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch These defences are entered by two gates, — one very massive, with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the XVIIth century The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the rives Inside beside a few hovels and a little mosque are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the XVIIIth century Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabū for a length of 200 yards and a breadth of about 40 may still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the XVIIth century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MĀHĪYA (A), technical term in metaphysics, quiddity, frequently used as equivalent of *djawhar*, substance Abū Hanīfa, Dirār (and al-Nadjdjār) used it to designate the pure divine essence, cf ʿAbd al-Kāhir al Baghdādī, *al-Fark bain al-Firak*, p 201—202, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal* Cairo, 1 114, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa 'l-Taʾrikh*, ed and transl Huart, 1 85 On the question whether the quiddity is identical or not to existence (*wudjūd*) cf Djurdjānī, *Sharh al-Mawākif*, Cairo, p 92

(L MASSIGNON)

MAḤKAMA. [See MEHKEME]

MAḤMAL (or more correctly MAHMIL, A), the name of the splendidly decorated empty litters, which since the XIIIth century have been sent by Muhammadan princes on the Hadjdj to Mecca, to display their independence and claims to a place of honour at the ceremony The camel which bears the mahmal is not ridden but led by the bridle It goes at the head of the caravan and is regarded as its sanctifying element What extravagance the rivalry of princes led to is shown by the mention of a maḥmal adorned with much gold, pearls and jewels, which was sent in 721 (1321) from the ʿIrāḳ to Mecca (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed F Wustenfeld, ii, 1859, p 278) The maḥmal which is most esteemed, that which accompanied the pilgrim caravan from Cairo, is described by Lane as a square wooden framework, with a pyramid at top and covered with black brocade richly worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold, in some parts upon a ground of green or red silk, it is bordered with a fringe of silk and silver balls are fixed to the corners and to the top of the pyramid On the front of the pyramidal roof is a view of the Kaʿba embroidered in gold In the brief description given by Burckhardt of the Egyptian mahmal it is added that it is decorated with ostrich feathers According to him there was only a prayer-book in the empty interior, which on its return was exhibited in Cairo and kissed by the people, according to Lane on the other hand there are two silver receptacles in the mahmal which contain two Kurʾāns, one in a scroll, the other in book form The mahmal is carried by a fine tall camel, which after the pilgrimage is spared any further work On their arrival in Mecca the mahmals are hailed with joy and led through the crowded streets in a solemn procession after which they go with the pilgrims to ʿArafāt where they occupy a position reserved for them It used to be generally supposed that the covering of the Egyptian mahmal was used to cover the tomb of Muhammad or the Kaʿba but this is wrong, the *kiswa* is of course taken to Mecca with the great pilgrim caravan but it has nothing to do with the mahmal

According to Makrīzī the custom of sending a mahmal to Mecca was first introduced in 670 A H by the Mamlūk Sultān Baibars but others attribute it to the Sharīf Abū Numaiy, it is also said that it was a princess going on the pilgrimage in a splendid litter that gave Baibars the idea of sending one with the pilgrim caravan This is however only a story, and it is a much more important question whether the custom did not arise at an earlier date and whether it did not originally have a direct religious significance It is natural to recall the portable sanctuaries of the Arabs and the mahmal particularly reminds one of the description which Musil (*Die Kultur*, 1910, p 8 *sq*) gives of the "Abū Zhur al Markab" of the Rwāla tribe a framework of thin pieces of wood adorned with ostrich feathers which is fastened on to the saddle of a pack-camel and is the visible centre of the tribe This would at any rate lead us to the practical significance of the later mahmal, a visible sign of independence and claim to suzerainty of the various Muslim states It is just this significance which gives the mahmals a certain historical interest as political changes and rivalries are reflected in them in course of time There have occasionally been rulers who by sending mahmals gave expression to their endeavour to obtain recognition as sovereigns and protectors of the sharīfs, only to be soon driven from power again by others That the Egyptian mahmal came to obtain a place of honour, that from Syria being the only other at all comparable to it, was a result of the political influence of the Mamlūk Sultāns It is noteworthy that Ottoman rule made no alteration in this respect and an attempt to send a mahmal from Constantinople met with no success In 1807 an interruption was

caused by the conquest of Mecca by the Wahhābīs who forbade this empty pomp so hateful to them, but this ceased when they were driven out and Muhammad ʿAlī's rule again gave the Egyptian mahmal pride of place

After the World War the sending of a mahmal from Syria stopped Difficulties arose between the Egyptian government and King Husain (1915—1924) regarding the powers of the heads of a field-hospital which was to accompany the mahmal as well as regarding the ceremony of its reception, which twice resulted in the mahmal not being sent

When Ibn Saʿūd had become king of the Ḥiḏjāz, long negotiations took place over the mahmal The Wahhābī ruler insisted on the music which usually accompanied the mahmal being omitted and all sort of superstitious customs being dropped, he also protested against the armed escort as a denial of his sovereignty The attempt made in 1926 to harmonize the demands of the two sides came to nothing a fight broke out between the Ikhwān of Ibn Saʿūd and the Egyptian soldiers which was only stopped by the personal intervention of Ibn Saʿūd Since then the Egyptian government has not sent a mahmal, but neither does it any longer send a new *kiswa* for the Kaʿba to the Ḥaḏjḏj

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MAHMŪD I, twenty fourth Ottoman Sultān, reigned 1143—1168 (1730—1754) He was born on the 3rd Muharram 1108 (Aug 2, 1696), the son of Mustafa II — the *Siḏjill i ʿOṯmānī* gives the date 7th Ramadān 1107 (April 10, 1696) — and had spent his life in seclusion up to his accession He came to the throne through the mutiny of the Janissaries under Patrona Khalil, a mutiny which cost the grand vizier Ibrāhim Pasha, the Kapudan Pasha and the Kiaya Beg their lives, and forced Sultān Ahmad III to abdicate in favour of Mahmūd, these events took place on the 17th Rabiʿ I, 1143 (Oct 1, 1730) The mutiny, which really had the sympathy of most of the *ʿulamā'* and seems to have been in the nature of a social revolution (Jorga), was only suppressed after some time through the efforts of the Kīzlar Agha Beshīr, before its suppression a certain number of appointments to important offices dictated by the rebels had to be conceded and the many palaces built in the luxurious reign of Ahmad III were allowed to be pillaged After the Janissaries had been pacified by considerable largesse on the accession of the Sultān, Beshīr Agha succeeded in plotting the death of Patrona Khalīl, who was assassinated on Nov 15, 1730 The Kīzlar-agha continued to exercise a preponderating influence on affairs of state, the Sultān, who was by nature more interested in literature and in the erection of more or less useful buildings, did nothing to throw off this influence, which on the whole was for the good of the state One of the consequences of this system was the very frequent changes of grand viziers — there were no fewer then 16 in Mahmūd's reign — but the state possessed a number of able men who worked for the good of the empire in the offices of grand vizier, reʾis efendi and kiaya beg The state finances were kept in good order, as much by the confiscation of any great fortunes amassed by high officials as by a financial system which made no distinction between the public treasury and the personal revenues of the Sultān The situation abroad was also favourable, especially after the peace of Belgrade in 1739, which secured to Turkey a fairly long period of peace in Europe

At the beginning of the reign, Turkey was at war with Persia The campaign of 1731 was favourable to the Turks, who reconquered Kirmānshāh and took Hamadan (battle of Konḏjān, Sept 15), Urmiya and Tabrīz, however, by a peace signed on Jan 10, 1732 by the serʿasker and grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, Turkey gave up Tabriz and Hamadān This peace neither pleased the powers in Constantinople, who replaced the grand vizier by Hekīm Zāde ʿAlī Pasha [q v] nor Tahmāsp Kuli Khān, who on his return from Herāt had dethroned Shāh Tahmāsp and was making new preparations for war On Oct 6, 1732, the Porte issued a formal declaration of war and in December a Persian army invaded Mesopotamia, took Kirkūk and laid siege to Baghdād, the great battles of this campaign were those of Duldjailik on the Tigris, where the Persians were defeated (July 19, 1733), and that of Kirkūk, where a week later the Turks suffered a defeat which involved the death of the ser-ʿasker Topal ʿOthmān Pasha In the same year, the Persian war produced a conflict with Russia, provoked by the Khān of the Crimea's march through the Caucasus to reinforce the Turkish troops fighting against Persia Russia declared she could not allow the passage of the Tatars through the country of the Kumuk and the Kaitak, which she regarded as under her authority, the Khān's force was therefore held up and several battles were fought in Daghestān between Turks and Russians The negotiations opened at Constantinople showed more and more that a war with Russia would be inevitable and they were finally broken off by the siege and capture of Azof by the Russians in March 1736 Meanwhile the war with Persia, which had ceased in 1734 on an armistice being concluded by the Pasha of Baghdād, had been resumed in 1735 when Ahmad Kopiulu was appointed serʿasker The campaign was unfortunate for the Turks They lost a number of towns in the Caucasus, however the development of affairs in Persia where Tahmāsp Kuli, afterwards Nādir Shāh, proclaimed himself king on Dec 1, 1735 in his camp on the Caucasian front, was favourable to the peace negotiations which were begun at this time These negotiations ended in a peace signed at Constantinople on Oct 17, 1736, the frontiers of the two countries remained as they had been fixed in the time of Murād IV In the same year a Russian army invaded and laid waste the Crimea, although negotiations still went on, first at Constantinople and then in the country Austria, posing as mediator, took an active part in these negotiations, which were finally broken off at the Congress of Niemirow in Aug 1637, when it became evident that Austria was really Russia's ally, so that Turkey had to

deal with two adversaries The war began badly for the Turks who lost Nīsh to the Austrians and Oczakow to the Russians Nīsh however was won back in Oct 1737 During the next two years fortune was rather on the side of the Turkish armies under the grand vizier Yegen Muhammad Pasha The conclusion of the war was marked by the appearance of the forces of the grand vizier Hādjdjī Muḥammad before Belgrade in July 1739 It was before this town that the famous peace of Belgrade (Sept 18) was negotiated with the assistance and mediation of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, by which Turkey again obtained possession of the town Russia was included in the same treaty and had to promise to demolish the fortifications of Azof

This ending of the war in a way very advantageous to the Porte was followed by a long period of peace with the states of Europe, which, as a result of the Seven Years' War, had no time to devote to plans for the partition of Turkey From 1743 to 1746 there was a new Persian war It began through the demands of Nādir Shāh to have the Persian Shi'a recognised as a fifth *Madhhab*, that of the Dja'farīya, the Porte at first gave an evasive answer but after they had become convinced that Nādir Shāh intended to make himself lord of Mesopotamia, the Shaikh al-Islām gave a *fatwā* against the recognition of the Dja'farīya In 1743 Nādir Shāh took Kirkūk and laid siege to al Mawsil, only to be forced to raise it after a while In the following year the scene of hostilities shifted to the Caucasus The Porte then attempted to support a Persian pretender of the Safawid family, whom it sent off with great pomp to Kars, in 1746 the Turkish ser-'asker, the former grand vizier Yegen Muhammad, fell in the battle of Murād Tepe in Kurdistān During all this time, peace negotiations were going on in Constantinople and conducted through the Turkish commander in chief During these negotiations Nādir Shāh had dropped his demand for the recognition of the Dja'farīya and finally agreement was reached on the basis of the frontiers of Murad IV (Sept 4, 1746) In July of the same year the all powerful Beshīr Agha died at the age of 96, in spite of the efforts of the grand vizier al-Sayyid Ḥasan Pasha, his successor Beshīr Agha the younger succeeded in procuring the same influence in affairs This new regime only lasted till 1752 when there was reason to fear a new outbreak of discontent among the Janissaries and the 'ulamā' also, the Sultān seems therefore to have decided to sacrifice the Kīzlar Agha by having him treacherously assassinated along with some other favourites (July 10, 1752) Two years later, on Friday, Dec 13, 1754, Mahmūd himself died suddenly on his way from the mosque, he was buried in the Yeñi Djāmi'

The Sultān left a pleasing memory behind him, it is even said of him that he took a personal part in the affairs of state (*Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, *l c*) although the sources give little evidence of this He did not continue the splendours of the court of his predecessor, respecting public feeling which had led to the latter's fall Mahmūd is especially celebrated for the large number of buildings he had erected, in Constantinople he built no less than four *ceshme* and he began the building of the Nūr-i 'Othmānī mosque This activity was equally displayed in the provinces This Sultān also acquired considerable merit by founding four libraries in the capital, those of Aya Sofia, the Wālide Djāmi'-i mosque, the Fātih mosque and the Ghalata Serāyi The reign of Mahmūd is further marked by the display of a very skilful diplomatic activity by the Porte, conducted by several very able re'īs efendis, like Rāghib Pasha [q v] They had profited by the lessons of European diplomats and also by the advice of the famous French renegade Bonneval, who lived in Constantinople from 1729 till his death in 1747 and introduced several useful reforms into the army But in spite of appearances, the Ottoman empire was far from being a strong power as the historian Djewdet Pasha (*Ta'rīkh i Djewdet*, 1302 ed, i 63) has very justly remarked, therefore, in the period of anarchy that followed in Persia the death of Nādir Shāh, the Porte consistently declined to interfere in Persian affairs From time to time minor revolts contributed to weaken the strength of the empire, besides the always dangerous Janissaries, there were several risings in Anatolia (e g Sarī Beg Oghlu in Aidin in 1739) It was also in the reign of Mahmūd I that the Wahhābīs first began to give trouble to the government In Egypt the Mamlūk begs succeeded in ruling the country in practical independence, in spite of the energetic steps taken by Rāghib Pasha, when the latter was governor of this province As to foreign relations, it is interesting to note that it was in this reign that France, which became very influential after the peace of Belgrade, succeeded in 1740 in obtaining the celebrated capitulation which became in time the most important document on the extra-territorial rights of foreigners in Turkey

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MAHMŪD II, the twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1808 until 1839 He was the son of 'Abd al Hamīd I and was born on the 20th July 1784 (13th Ramadān 1199, cf *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i 73) He succeeded to Mustafā IV on July 28, 1808, directly after the tragic events, which had led to the assassination of Salīm III [q v] Mahmūd himself had a narrow escape from the fate of Salīm Until his coming to the throne he had lived in seclusion and during the preceding year his intercourse with the

dethroned sultan had undoubtedly exercised a great influence on Mahmūd's ideas, making him appear afterwards as Salīm's avenger

The grand-vizierate of Mustafā Bairaḳdār Pasha, the consequence of the latter's victory, lasted only until November 1808, a revolt put an end to his reformatory tyranny and to his life The next years were taken up by the war against the Russians, who had occupied the Danubian principalities in December 1806 Endeavouring to continue their conquests on the southern side of the Danube, the Russians met with more resistance from the Turks than had been expected, it was, however, due principally to the increasing danger of a Franco-Russian war, that the Turks obtained the peace of Bucarest, signed on May 28, 1812, and negotiated, on the part of the Turks, by Ghālib Efendi By this peace, Turkey had only to cede Bessarabia to Russia In the meantime the new sultan had inaugurated a policy of internal consolidation of the empire, a policy which lasted until the Greek revolt in 1820 began to absorb all the strength of the state He put an end to the almost independent position of the *aʿyān* in Rumelia and to that of the numerous derebeys in Anatolia, especially to the families of the Kara ʿOthmān Oghlu in Sarukhān and Aidin and of the Capan Oghlu in the region of Kaisarīye [cf DERE BY] The sultan's authority was equally reestablished in southern Mesopotamia after the death of Sulaiman Pasha of Baghdād in 1810 The aid of Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt had to be invoked to repress the Wahhābī power in Arabia, Mekka and Medīna were reconquered in 1813 by Tusun Pasha [cf IBN SAʿŪD] In Serbia it was only after years of trouble that an arrangement could be attained, which left Milosch as supreme *knez* of this principality The submission of Bosnia only took place after 1821 On the contrary ʿAlī Pasha of Yanina succeeded in keeping his strong position during this period, not till 1820 were the Turkish troops able to lay siege to Yanina In Constantinople the sultan took severe measures to maintain order, especially against the dangerous element of the Janissaries

During this time the diplomatic difficulties with Russia, relating to the interpretation and the execution of the peace treaty, continued, especially with regard to the regime in Moldavia and Wallachia These difficulties were to become a real danger after the Greek insurrection had broken out

This insurrection, being in a way a consequence of the autocratic regime of ʿAlī of Yanina, and secretly favoured by Russia, began in 1820 with the appearance of Alexander Ipsilanti in Rumania and a feeble revolt in Morea, instigated by Demetrius Ipsilanti The first reactions on the Turkish side were numerous executions at Constantinople, including that of the Greek patriarch Then Turkish troops entered Rumania, where Ipsilanti was easily beaten As this military action provoked sharp protests from Russia, whose ambassador Strogonow left Constantinople, the Turkish troops were soon withdrawn for the greater part But in 1822 the insurrection in Morea spread quickly, Tripolitza and Corinth fell into the hands of the insurgents In the same year ʿAlī of Yanina was murdered In May 1823 the Acropolis of Athens was surrendered by the Turks, the latter, however, remained on the whole stronger than the Greeks In order to avoid all difficulties with Russia, the Porte had evacuated in 1823 the whole of Rumania, while declaring that, henceforward, she would suffer no more foreign intervention in her internal affairs But Russia continually came forward with new claims (e g the division of Greece into three principalities, after the model of the principalities on the Danube), at the same time the other European powers no longer remained indifferent towards the Greek affairs, partly because public opinion began to be influenced by the philhellenic movement, and partly because they feared that Russia might gain too much profit from the weakness of the Ottoman Empire In these years Turkey had even to sustain a war with Persia occasioned by Persian incursions into Kurdistān, this war was ended by 1823 During the years 1824 and 1825, while Turks and Greeks were waging a guerilla war by land and sea, and while amongst the Greeks there reigned complete anarchy, nothing decisive happened The situation was only changed by the death of Alexander I of Russia (December 1, 1825) — which brought to the throne Nicolas I, much more inclined to make short work of the Turks — and by the combined action in Morea of Egyptian and Turkish troops under the command of Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muhammad ʿAlī This action was crowned by complete success, for Morea was entirely subdued, and on April 23, 1826 the fortress of Missolonghi capitulated after a siege of more than six months

The Turkish successes encouraged the sultan to realise his long considered project to form a new army, trained and equipped after the European fashion These new troops were recruited from the Janissaries Their inauguration took place on June 4, 1826 and occasioned, ten days afterwards, the revolt of the Janissaries which ended in the complete and bloody extermination of these once famous troops (June 16) The extermination of the Janissaries is an act that will always be connected with the name of Mahmūd II, it made a formidable impression in the whole country and the reform party — who spoke of it as the *waḳʿa-i ḫairīye* — considered it as the beginning of a new era of prosperity The first consequences, however, were disastrous, the strength of the empire was weakened to a degree, which made itself felt more and more in the development of the relations with Russia Hoping to get rid of the everlasting demands of Russia, the Porte had given still more concessions by the convention of Akkerman (September 25, 1826), but soon afterwards followed an agreement between Russia, Great Britain, France and Prussia with regard to the Greek question (July 7, 1827), which prevented the Turks from the suppression of the insurrection Though directed, since the beginning of 1827, by the fanatical Pertew Efendi as Reʾīs Efendi, Turkish diplomacy was powerless against this new intervention One of the consequences of the agreement of the powers was the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the Gulf of Navarino, on October 10, 1827, without previous declaration of war, by the English, French and Russian naval forces Subsequently the diplomatic relations with these countries were broken off, but, when war actually broke out, it was only with Russia

The Russian war, inaugurated by a declaration of war by Russia (May 7, 1828), was particularly disastrous for Turkey. The Russians immediately

occupied Rumania and crossed the Danube, while on the Oriental front they took Kars and Akhalčik in the Caucasus In 1829 the debacle was completed by the occupation of Adrianople by General Diebitch, on August 19 Thus, by the peace treaty of Adrianople of September 14, 1829, the Porte was obliged to make all the concessions required of her Russia gave back nearly all her conquests, but obtained the payment of a heavy war indemnity As to Greece, Turkey had to accept the decision of the great powers, which meant absolute independence In the following years the new frontier and the future relations between Turkey and the new state were regulated by special conventions

The principal political facts of the nine last years of Mahmūd's reign were the conflict with Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt and the Russian intervention, which was its consequence and put Turkey in a state of dependence on Russia The activity of Muhammad ʿAlī [q v] began in 1831 with the invasion by Ibrāhīm Pasha of the territory of the pasha of ʿAkka, this town was besieged and fell in May 1832 Within a short time Damascus and Aleppo also submitted to Ibrāhīm The military measures of the sultan were unable to stop the advance of the Egyptian troops, who marched from Syria into Asia Minor, the Turkish General Rashīd Pasha was beaten by them in the battle of Konya (December 21, 1832) and was himself made a prisoner The Porte then was obliged to accept the aid offered by Russia and the mediation of France, the result of which was an agreement, concluded on April 8, 1833 at Kutāhiya, with Ibrāhīm Pasha, Muhammad ʿAlī had to be recognised as pasha of Syria while the province of Adana was given to Ibrāhīm In the meantime Russian troops had been landed in the Bosporus These were only withdrawn after the conclusion of the notorious treaty of Hunkiār Iskelesi, signed on July 4, 1833 between Turkey and Russia The treaty was a defensive alliance and contained a secret clause by which Turkey undertook to prevent any eventual enemies of Russia from entering into the Black Sea Thus Turkey became still more politically linked to Russia, without the other powers being able to hinder this

On the other hand Mahmūd continued with tenacity the consolidation of his authority in the interior The principal agent of this policy was the former grand-vizier Rashīd Pasha, appointed governor of Sīwās after his return from Egyptian captivity He succeeded in establishing order in eastern Anatolia and in Armenia, especially by subduing the Kurdish tribes After his death, in 1836, he was replaced as ser-ʿasker by Hāfiz Pasha The latter, unlike Rashīd, was in favour of the introduction of modern tactics into the Turkish army, in his successful expeditions in the north of Mesopotamia he was accompanied by the Prussian lieutenant von Moltke, one of the army instructors who had been sent by the King of Prussia These military measures of Maḥmūd had also in view the strengthening of the frontier on the Syrian side, in order to be prepared for a new conflict with Muḥammad ʿAlī This event happened only after 1838, when Khusraw Pasha [q v], the zealous reformer and ancient enemy of the Egypt, came again into power as president of the new Turkish cabinet. The next year Hāfiz Pasha, appointed again as ser-ʿasker in Kurdistān, crossed the Euphrates and occupied ʿAintāb, but he was completely beaten by the Egyptians under Ibrāhīm Pasha, in the battle of Nizib, on June 24, 1839 This battle left Turkey again in a desperate condition, just a week before the death of Mahmūd himself

During the same period the sultan had to suppress dangerous and repeated revolts in Albania and Bosnia, the situation in Serbia had remained quiet after a *khatt-i sharif* of 1830 In 1837, the situation in the interior had become sufficiently stabilised for Mahmūd to undertake a journey in his European provinces, which journey was an unheard of breach with the traditional customs of the Ottoman rulers It was to be one of his last public acts Mahmūd died on July 1, 1839 at Constantinople in his palace of Čanlīdja, above Scutari

It is quite clear, from the many descriptions we possess of this sultan, that he was a strong personality, who made his own ideas prevail in the government of his empire In his immediate entourage only few first rate men were to be found But the task which Mahmūd had set himself, of reforming the empire after the European model was nearly super human in the extremely unfavourable political circumstances that prevailed during his reign To which must be added the enormous difficulties presented by the traditional institutions and views existing in all ranks of the Turkish people of those days (cf e g the severe judgement by von Moltke, p 434 *sqq*) Mahmūd has often been compared, as a reformer, with Peter the Great, though the conditions were quite different On the other hand he has been blamed for having commenced his reforms where he should have finished ("par la queue"), for demolishing things existing without being capable of constructive activity, especially in Turkey of to-day Mahmūd is judged severely (cf Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p 237 *sqq*) It is very probable, however, that without the drastic measures of this sultan, the following period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q v] would have been an impossibility (cf Rosen, i 300 *sqq*) The most important reform was that of the army, it brought about the extermination of the Janissaries, but the formation of an army after the European fashion did not succeed till much later, the most zealous reformers, such as Khusraw Pasha, had only very vague ideas about what it really meant The most useful work was done by the Prussian military instructors By sending young officers to military schools in Western Europe, Mahmūd prepared, however, a more efficient reorganization In the government system there gradually developed a cabinet of ministers of state after the Western fashion, at a certain period in 1837, the ancient title of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* was even temporarily abolished, and the ministers received the new title of *wekil* Moreover, by a *firmān* of October 1826, Mahmūd had opened the way to the development of a better and more dignified position of the state functionaries, this *firmān* abolished the sultan's right of confiscating the possessions of the functionaries after their death. It was, however, a long time before a new corps of real and loyal functionaries came into existence The men whose services Mahmūd was obliged to use were too often highly corruptible, a circumstance ot which the other powers,

especially Russia, took advantage in a large degree

Mahmūd II lies buried in the *turbe* that bears his name, it was constructed in Stambul on the Dīwān Yolu by his son and successor ʿAbd al-Madjīd

Bibliography The Turkish historical works deserve more attention than has been paid so far to them The more accessible ones are Djawdat Pasha's *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1303, vol ix—xii, comprising the period from 1223 to 1241, and its continuation, the *Taʾrīkh* of Ahmad Lutfī, Constantinople 1290—1306, vol i—vi, comprising the period from 1241 to 1255 Other printed sources are Abū Bakr, *Wakʿa i dyedide*, Constantinople 1332, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAtā*, Constantinople n d , Mahmad Asʿad, *Üss i Zafer*, Constantinople 1243, a monograph on the extermination of the Janissaries, Mahmad Thureiyā, *Nukhbat al-Wakāʾiʿ*, Constantinople (cf also Babinger, *G O W*, p 387) European general treatments of this period Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vii, Gotha 1863, p 561 *sqq* (until 1812), Rosen, *Geschichte der Turkei*, Leipzig 1866, vol 8 (after 1826), Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v, Gotha 1913, p 182—387 A valuable contemporary source is H von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustande und Begebenheiten in der Turkei*, Berlin 1883 (J H Kramers)

MAHMŪD I, Nāsir al Dīn, was Sultān of Bengal from 1446 to 1460 When the ferocious tyranny of Shams al Dīn Ahmad Shāh, grandson of the usurper, Rādjā Kāns, or Ganesh, could no longer be borne, he was put to death, and Nāsir Khān, one of his amirs, seized the throne, but after a reign of one week was slain by his amīrs, who would not submit to one of their own number Their choice fell on Mahmūd, who was a descendant of Ilyās, the founder of the old royal house, and he was raised to the throne He reigned with justice and clemency for twenty-six years, and restored and beautified the city of Gawr On his death in 1460 he was succeeded by his son Bārbak Shāh

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MAHMŪD II, Nāsir al Dīn was the third of the Habashī, or African Sultāns of Bengal He succeeded his father in 1494, but was a mere puppet in the hands of one minister after another His first minister, an African entitled Habash Khān, was slain by a rival, another African known as Malik Badr the Madman, who afterwards slew Mahmūd, he having occupied the throne for no more than six months, and usurped the throne

Bibliography See Mahmūd I of Bengal (T W Haig)

MAḤMŪD III, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, was one of the eighteen sons of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal He remained loyal to his eldest brother, Nāsir al-Dīn Nusrat Shāh, throughout his reign, but after his death slew his son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, in 1533, and ascended the throne During a troubled reign of five years he never ruled the whole of Bengal Shīr Khān Sūr, who ultimately ascended the throne of Dihlī, was already powerful in Bihār, and allied himself to Mahmūd's rebellious brother-in-law, Makhdūm-i ʿĀlam, who was governor of Hādjdjīpūr Shīr Khān defeated an army sent against him by Mahmūd, but Makhdūm was less fortunate, and was slain in another battle Shīr Khān then forced the Teliyāgarhī defile, invaded Bengal, and besieged Mahmūd in Gawr in 1537 Mahmūd appealed to Humāyūn Shāh of Dihlī for aid, and Shīr Khān was recalled to Bihār by a rebellion in that province, but left his son Djalāl Khān to continue the siege of Gawr In April, 1538, Mahmūd was forced to evacuate Gawr, and fled, leaving his capital and his sons in the hands of Djalāl Khān Shīr Khān returning from Bihār, then pursued Mahmūd, overtook him, forced him to a battle, and defeated him Mahmūd was wounded and fled, and nothing more is known of him

Bibliography See Mahmūd I of Bengal (T W Haig)

MAHMŪD, Shihāb al Dīn, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was raised to the throne at the age of twelve on the death of his father, Muhammad III, on March 22, 1482, and remained under tutelage throughout his reign of thirty-six years The ascendency of his first minister, Malik Hasan Bahrī, Nizām al Mulk, who had been responsible for the death of Mahmūd Gāwān [q v] was distasteful to the Foreign *amirs* of the kingdom, at the head of whom was Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān of Bīdjāpūr, and the assassination of this minister, ordered by the young king, embittered the relations between him and the Dakanī party, which attempted to dethrone him in 1487 The plot was discovered and frustrated, and was followed by a massacre of the Dakanīs, ordered by the king But the youth could not stand alone, and was completely dominated by his next minister, Kāsim Barīd al-Mamālik, a Turk In 1490 Ahmad Nizām al-Mulk, governor of Djunnār and son of Malik Hasan Bahrī, proposed to Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān and Fath Allāh ʿImād al Mulk of Berār that they should proclaim their independence of the king of the Dakan, and both accepted the proposal In the numerous wars of the reign Mahmūd was no more than a figurehead, being carried into the field by his minister, who issued orders without any pretence of consulting his nominal master's wishes Mahmūd made more than one attempt to free himself from the control of Kāsim Barīd al Mamālik, and of his son Amir ʿAlī, who succeeded him in 1504, but each attempt resulted only in the tightening of his bonds In 1512 Sultān Kulī Kutb al-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of Telingāna in 1494, followed the example of the other provincial governors and declared himself independent, and in 1518 Mahmūd died, worn out with debauchery Four puppets followed him on the throne of Bīdar, and his line was finally extinguished in 1527, when Amīr ʿAlī Barīd al-Mamālik assumed the royal title in Bidar

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MAHMŪD, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN, Sultān of Dihlī, was the son of Shams al Dīn Īltutmish by the daughter of Kutb al-Dīn Aibak [q v] In 1246, when the nobles at Dihlī were growing weary of the sloth, incompetence, and tyranny of Masʿūd, Mahmūd, then about 18 years of age, was governor of Bahrāič, and hastened secretly to the capital when he learned that the throne was likely to become vacant On June 10, 1246, Masʿūd was deposed and thrown into prison, where he died shortly afterwards, and Mahmūd, his uncle, was enthroned in the Green Palace He was an amiable and pious prince, with a taste for calligraphy, which he displayed in making copies of the Kurʾān, but as a ruler he was a mere cipher He was well served by Ghiyāth al Dīn Balban, whose daughter he married, and who ultimately succeeded him on the throne Balban restored the royal authority in the Pandjāb, the Dūāb, Mewāt, Multān, Nāgawī, and northern Mālwa, but his enemies had been busy during his absence from court, and on his return attempted to assassinate him He frustrated this design, but was banished from court The nobles soon grew weary of the arrogance of the eunuch Raihān, who had supplanted him, and Balban and other nobles assembled their troops at Bhātinda Raihān and the king marched against them, but as most of the nobles in the royal camp were in sympathy with Balban, who hesitated to attack the king, serious hostilities were avoided, and the royal army retreated The nobles at court now prevailed upon the king to dismiss Raihān, who was banished, first to Budāun, and afterwards to Bahrāič, a reconciliation between the king and Balban was effected, and they returned together to Dihlī in January, 1255 Raihān was soon discovered to be in communication with Kutlugh Khān of Bayāna, who had secretly married the king's mother, and the eunuch was captured and put to death In 1256 Mahmūd and Balban marched against Kutlugh Khān, who fled, and when he was pursued, in 1257, into Sirmūr, again fled and took refuge with Kishlū Khān, the rebellious governor of Multān and Uch Balban marched against the rebels, but they evaded him and marched on Dihlī Finding, however, that preparations had been made to receive them, and that Balban was menacing their retreat they fled, and in 1259 joined an army of Mughuls which was invading the Pandjāb It was feared that the Mughuls would attack Dihlī, but they retired without crossing the Sutladj Order was then again restored in the Dūāb, and in the following year the Meos of Mewāt expiated by a terrible punishment a long series of crimes Their country was ravaged, and 250 of their principal men were brought to Dihlī and put to death with torture In a second expedition 12,000 of them, men, women, and children were put to the sword Meanwhile negotiations had been in progress with Hulāgū Khān at Tabrīz, and in 1260 a Mughul envoy reached Dihlī and promised, in his master's name, that raids into India should cease At this point a hiatus of nearly six years occurs in the history of the Muslims in India, and the next fact which is recorded is that Mahmūd died on Feb 18, 1266, and was succeeded by Balban

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MAHMŪD II, NAṢIR AL-DĪN, was the grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, of the Tughluk dynasty, and was placed on the throne of Dihlī on March 8, 1393, on the death of his elder brother Humāyūn (Sikandar Shāh) and was never more than a puppet in the hands of intriguing ministers The eunuch Sarwar, deputed by him to quell a Hindu rebellion in Awadh, received the title of Sultān al Shārk, and never returned to Dihlī, but established his independence in Djawnpūr Another *amīr*, Sārang Khān, became virtually independent in the Pandjāb, and the minister Saʿādat Khān, resenting his supersession by Mukarrab Khān, set up Mahmūd's cousin Nusrat as a rival king within the narrow limits of the kingdom of Dihlī In 1398 Mallū, the brother of Sārang Khān, murdered Mukarrab Khān and assumed complete control of Mahmūd, who conferred on him the title of Ikbāl Khān Nusrat Shāh was then driven into the Dūāb, but the kingdom of Dihlī was in a state of utter confusion when, in October, 1398, news was received that the Amīr Timūr [q v] had crossed the Indus and taken Multān He reached Panipat on Dec 2, and meanwhile the capital had been filled with fugitives, fleeing before him The resources of the kingdom were so restricted that no adequate preparations could be made to resist him, and Mahmūd and Mallū were filled with terror, but such troops as could be collected were assembled within the walls, and on Dec 15, the king and his minister marched forth to meet the invader, who had crossed the Djamna from his camp at Lonī They were utterly defeated, and fled by night, Mallū to Baran in the Dūāb, and Mahmud to Gudjarāt, and afterwards to Mālwa Timūr left Dihlī on Jan 1, 1399 when his work of plunder, devastation, and bloodshed was finished, and Mahmūd's rival, Nusrat Shāh, occupied the ruins of the capital, but was expelled by Mallū, and driven into Mewāt, where he shortly afterwards died Mallu returned to Dihlī in 1400, and in 1401 was rejoined by Mahmūd In 1402 Mallū, carrying Mahmūd with him, marched to Kannawdj to attack Ibrāhim Shāh of Djawnpūr, but Mahmūd, weary of the domination of Mallū, fled and joined Ibrāhim, who, however, received him so ill that he again fled, and established himself in Kannawdj Mallū then made a fruitless attempt to recover Gwāliyār, and returned to Kannawdj in order to recapture Mahmūd, but was baffled by the strength of its defences and returned to Dihlī He attempted to subdue Khidr Khān of Multān, but was defeated and slain by him in November, 1405 After his death Dawlat Khān Lodi became the virtual ruler of Dihlī, and at his invitation Mahmūd returned to his capital The rest of his reign was spent in attempts to re-establish his authority in Sāmāna, Sambhal, and Baran, and to punish Ibrāhim of Djawnpūr for his reception of him when he had fled from Mallū, but he was obliged to conclude an inglorious peace with Ibrahīm, and his success in other directions was neutralized by the advance of Khidr Khān, who pretended that Timūr had appointed him his viceroy in India, and in 1406 stripped Mahmūd of all his possessions beyond the walls of Dihlī except the Dūāb, Rohtak, and

Sambhal In 1409 and 1410 Khidr Khān captured Rohtak, Nārnawl, three towns to the south of Dihlī, and Fīrūzābād, and besieged Mahmūd in his capital, which was only saved by a famine which compelled the invader to retire In 1413 Mahmūd died, the last of his line, at Kaithal, after a nominal reign of twenty years

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MAḤMŪD, SHĀH SHARKĪ, succeeded his father, Ibrāhīm Shah, on the throne of Djawnpūr in 1436 In 1443 he obtained permission from Mahmūd I of Mālwa to punish Nasīr Khān, governor of Kālpī, which was a fief of Mālwa, for breaches of the law and customs of Islām committed by him, but Mahmūd of Mālwa repented of his complaisance, and war broke out between Mālwa and Djawnpūr Hostilities, which were indecisive were terminated by a compromise In 1452 Mahmūd Sharkī, on the invitation of some disaffected nobles, attacked Dihlī in the absence of Bahlūl Lodī, but was defeated and compelled to retreat to Djawnpūr The foolish act of aggression served only to arouse in Bahlūl a sense of the danger to Dihlī of the existence of an independent kingdom in Awadh and in 1457 he marched to attack Mahmūd, who, however, died before he could meet him in the field

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MAHMŪD I, SAIF AL-DĪN, BEGARHA, the greatest of the Sultāns of Gudjarāt, was a younger son of Muhammad I, Karim, and was born in 1444 In 1458 the nobles dethroned his nephew, Dāwūd, a vicious and depraved youth, and placed Mahmūd on the throne The boy immediately displayed great courage and resource in the suppression of a serious conspiracy and rebellion at the beginning of his reign, and in 1461/1462 he marched to the assistance of the youthful Nizām Shāh of the Dakan, whose dominions had been invaded by Mahmūd I of Mālwa He compelled the invaders to retire and frustrated a second attempt to invade the Dakan In 1466/1467 he attacked and defeated the Rādjā of Girnār in Kāthiāwār, which had been independent since the capture of the fortress by Muhammad b Tughluk of Dihlī in 1348, and reduced him to the position of a vassal In 1470 he again invaded Girnār, and on Dec 4, captured the Rādjā's stronghold and compelled him to accept Islām, thus putting an end to the Čudāsama dynasty, which had reigned in Girnār for about 1,000 years The Rādjā became an amīr of Gudjarāt, and received the title of Khān-Djahān, and Mahmūd founded, near Girnār, a new fortress, which he named Mustafā-ābād He then invaded Kačch and suppressed a rebellion in that province, carrying its leaders, who were compelled to accept Islām, to Mustafā-ābād as hostages In 1472 he crossed the Rann and marched into Sind, to assist Djām Nanda (Nizām al-Dīn) who was beset by rebels He crushed the rebellion, and after his return marched to Dwārkā, to punish the Rādjā, Bhīm, who had plundered a ship belonging to a Muslim merchant Dwārkā and Bait Shankhodhar, the robber chief's stronghold, were taken, and a Muslim governor was appointed to manage the small state Bhim himself was captured and executed Mahmūd's next expedition was against some Malābārī pirates who had harassed the coast near Khambāyat (Cambay), and whose depredations were checked by the capture and execution of some of their number Rādjā Patāi of Čāmpāner had long encouraged brigandage in the kingdom of Gudjarāt, and Mahmūd now retaliated by raiding some districts of his state On his return to Ahmadābād he discovered a plot to depose him, formed by some of his nobles, who were weary of his ceaseless activity, but the malcontents, who were well aware of the dangers which threatened the kingdom, were brought to their senses by his threat to perform the pilgrimage to Makka, leaving his young son as regent After restoring order in various districts of his kingdom he marched, in December, 1482, to settle accounts with Čampāner The fortress fell, after a siege of two years, at the end of 1484 and the Rādjā and his Minister, having refused, after five months' imprisonment, to accept Islām, were put to death In 1491 Mahmūd was disturbed by acts of piracy and aggression committed against his subjects by Bahādur Gilānī, a rebel in the Konkan, and his protests compelled the nobles of the distracted kingdom of the Dakan to unite for the purpose of crushing the rebel In 1507 Mahmūd's fleet, under Malik Aiyāz of Diū, participated with that of Malik Ashraf Kānsūh, of Egypt, in the victory over the Portuguese fleet, in which the gallant young Lourenço de Almeida, son of the viceroy, was slain, and later in the same year he invaded Khāndesh and placed on the throne of that kingdom his daughter's son, ʿĀlam Khān, whose father was descended from the ruling family of Khāndesh, and who ascended the throne under the title of ʿĀdil Khān In this campaign he was opposed by Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar In 1511 a mission from Shah Ismāʿil Safawī of Persia arrived in Gudjarāt for the purpose of inviting Mahmūd to accept the Shīʿa faith, but he refused to see the heretics He had now been ailing for some time, and on Nov 23, 1511, he died, at the age of sixty nine (lunar) years, after a reign of rather more than fifty three years He was a tall, burly man, of commanding appearance, and was, besides being an able administrator, both warlike and chivalrous His nickname of Begarha has been variously explained, but it undoubtedly had reference to his capture of the two great fortresses (*gaṛh*) of Girnār and Čāmpāner His elder brother had died of poison, and strange stories are told of his precautions against a like fate He is said to have gradually absorbed poisons into his system until he was so impregnated with them that a fly settling on his hand instantly died Butler refers to this strange prophylactic treatment in the lines

"The King of Cambay's daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad"

He was also distinguished by his voracious ap-

petite His daily allowance of food was between twenty and thirty pounds' weight, and before going to sleep he placed two pounds, or more, of boiled rice on either side of his couch, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke When he rose in the morning he swallowed a cup of honey, a cup of butter, and from 100 to 150 bananas

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(J W HAIG)

MAHMŪD II of Gudjarāt, was the sixth son of Muzaffar II, on whose death his eldest son, Sikandar, was raised to the throne, but was assassinated on July 12, 1526 The minister then placed on the throne Mahmūd, who was an infant, in order that he might rule in his name, but Bahādur, the second son of Muzaffar, who had been absent at Dihlī and Djawnpūr, hastened back to secure his birthright, and on July 11, ascended the throne at Ahmadābād and marched on to Čampāner, where his infant brother was He entered the fortress without opposition, and Mahmūd was dethroned and secretly murdered within the year

Bibliography See MAHMŪD I of Gudjarāt

(T W HAIG)

MAHMŪD III, SAʿD-AL DĪN, of Gudjarāt, was the son of Latīf Khān, third son of Muzaffar II On the death of Bahādur Shāh Muhammad Shāh Fārūkī of Khāndesh was offered the crown of Gudjarāt, but died on his way thither The choice of the nobles then fell on Mahmūd, the heir male, but his cousin, Mubārak II of Khāndesh, in whose custody he was, and who had himself expected an offer of the crown of Gudjarāt, refused to surrender him, until an army from Gudjarāt compelled him to do so The prince was escorted back to his country, and on Aug 8, 1537, was enthroned as Mahmūd III, being then only eleven years of age For the first three or four years of his reign he was a puppet in the hands of powerful ministers, and when he escaped from tutelage proved himself to be weak and inefficient His attempt, in 1546, to recover Dīū from the Portuguese, was a miserable failure, brutally avenged by him on the few Portuguese prisoners in his hands In 1549 he retired to Mahmūdābād, where he lived in slothful luxury, ruining his constitution with drugs On Feb 15, 1554, he was stabbed, as he lay in a drunken stupor, at the instigation of an attendant named Burhān al-Dīn, who attempted to usurp the throne, but was slain by the nobles The discovery of an heir was no easy matter, for Mahmūd, dreading an heir as a possible competitor, had taken the barbarous precaution of procuring an abortion whenever a woman of his harem became pregnant The choice of the nobles ultimately fell on a young prince entitled Radī al Mulk, the great grandson of Shakar Khān, a younger son of Ahmad I, and he was raised to the throne under the title of Ahmad II

Bibliography See MAHMŪD I of Gudjarāt

(T W HAIG)

MAHMŪD I, KHALDJI, of Mālwa, was the son of Malik Mughīth, sister's son to Dilāwar Khān, the first independent Sultān of Mālwa On May 12, 1436, Mahmūd caused his cousin, Muhammad Ghūrī, a debauched and barbarous prince, to be poisoned, frustrated an attempt to enthrone his young son, Masʿūd, and offered the crown to his own father, Mughīth, who refused it, whereupon Mahmūd himself ascended the throne He was beset by difficulties, and after quelling a rebellion raised on behalf of Ahmad, a Ghūrī prince, repelled an invasion by Ahmad I of Gudjarāt, who attempted to restore Masʿūd to his father's throne A pretender was set up in Čanderī, and died while Mahmūd was besieging the fortress, but he was obliged to turn immediately against Dongar Singh of Gwāliyār, who had taken advantage of the disturbed state of Mālwa to invade the country He expelled the Hindūs and returned to Māndū, whence he was summoned, in 1440, by a faction among the nobles of Dihlī, who offered him the throne He marched to Tughlukābād, but his partisans failed him, and he was met by the army of Muhammad Shāh the Sayid, under Bahlūl Lodī After some indecisive fighting he agreed to retire, assenting the more readily owing to news of a serious rebellion in Māndū On his return he found that the rebellion had been suppressed by his father, and in 1442 he invaded Mewār to punish the Rānā for the assistance which he had given to the pretenders who had troubled the early years of his reign He had considerable success in the campaign, but retired without attempting to besiege Čitor On his return to Māndū he quarrelled with Mahmūd Shāh Sharkī [q v] of Djawnpūr, regarding Nasīr Khān, the turbulent ruler of Kālpi, but after an indecisive campaign the two kings made peace on the basis of a compromise In October, 1446, he again invaded Mewāi, extorted some tribute from the Rānā, established his own authority in Ranthambhor, compelled Awhad Khān of Biyāna to do homage and pay tribute, and collected tribute from the Rādjā of Kota He left a force to besiege Čitor, but the siege was not formed In 1450 he invaded Gudjarāt to establish his claim to the allegiance of Kanak Das, Rādjā of Čāmpāner, but gained nothing except an instalment of tribute from the Rādjā, and in the following year he suffered a severe defeat during a second invasion of Gudjarāt. In 1451 he subdued the turbulent Hāra Rādjputs on his northern frontier, and later in the year invaded Berār and besieged Māhūr, but retired when the Bahmanī king marched to its relief In 1455 he again invaded Mewār, recaptured Adjmer, collected tribute from minor chieftains, and harassed and plundered large tracts in Rādjputānā In 1461 he was induced to invade the Dakan, where he defeated the army of the boy-king, Nizām Shāh, and besieged him in his capital, but was obliged to retire by the news that Mahmūd I of Gudjarāt was marching to the assistance of Nizām Shāh, and suffered severely at the hands of the Korkūs of the Melghāt during his retreat He invaded the Dakan in the following year, but before he could effect anything was again obliged to retire by Mahmūd I of Gudjarāt In the same year Kherla, a fortress of Berār held by him, was taken by the officers of the Bahmanī king, but he succeeded in recovering it In 1466 he again invaded Mewār, but though he defeated Rānā

Kumbha in the field he failed to take his capital by surprise, and returned to Māndū In 1468 he marched to Čanderī, and his officers captured and destroyed the fortress of Karahra On his way back to Māndū he suffered severely from the heat, and on June 1, 1469, he died, at the age of sixty eight He was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Mālwa, and under him the kingdom reached its greatest extent The "column of victory" at Čitor is said to commemorate Rānā Kumbha's victories over Mahmūd I of Gudjarāt, and Mahmūd I of Mālwa, but if this be so it is more mendacious than most lapidary inscriptions, for the successes of Mewār against Mālwa were gained by Sangrama against Mahmūd II, not by Kumbha against Mahmūd I Mahmūd's fame had reached distant Egypt, for he received an envoy from the phantom ʿAbbāsid *Khalīfa*, who formally recognized him as Sultān of Mālwa He was a zealous Muslim, and restored the use in all public offices of the inconvenient lunar calendar of Islām, and, while he gloried in his successes against the "infidels", was careful to excuse himself for his attacks — often unjustifiable — on sovereigns of his own faith

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(T W HAIG)

MAḤMŪD II, ʿAIĀ' AL DĪN, Khaldjī, of Mālwa, was raised to the throne on May 2, 1511, on the death of his father, Nāsir al-Dīn Khaldjī The early days of his reign were disturbed by rebellions on behalf of his brothers, and of other pretenders, and he was once driven from his capital, but was enabled to return and expel the rebels by the assistance of Mednī Rāy, with a force of Rādjpūts The king soon had reason to repent of having accepted their aid, for Mednī Rāy assumed the place of minister, and the dominance of the Hindūs alienated and disgusted all the Muslim nobles of the kingdom Bihdjat Khān, governor of Čanderī, openly espoused the cause of a pretender, and Mahmūd, while engaged in correspondence with him, was disturbed by news of a revolt in his capital and of the invasion of his kingdom by Muzaffar II of Gudjarāt, but the revolt was suppressed, and the invader was recalled to Gudjarāt by domestic disturbances After protracted negotiations the pretender fled, and Bihdjat Khān received Mahmūd at Čanderī and endeavoured, but in vain, to free him from the influence of the Hindūs Mahmūd returned to Māndū early in 1514 and fell entirely under the control of the Rādjpūts, at whose instance he put to death many of the Muslim nobles of the kingdom The arrogance of the Hindūs at length became intolerable, and in 1517 Mahmūd fled to Gudjarāt and sought aid of Muzaffar II, who led an army into Mālwa to restore his authority, captured Māndū, and massacred the Rādjpūts who had held it The rest of the Rādjpūts in the state established themselves on its northern border and transferred their allegiance to Rānā Sangrama of Čitor Muzaffar retired to Gudjarāt leaving 10,000 horse to assist Mahmūd, and Mahmūd besieged Gāgrawn, held by Hemkaran for Mednī Rāy The Rānā marched to its relief, and Mahmūd, turning aside to meet him, suffered a severe defeat, and was wounded and captured Sangrama received him courteously, but compelled him to surrender his crown jewels He might now have annexed Mālwa, but, fearing to arouse the hostility of every Muslim ruler in India, made a virtue of necessity, and replaced Mahmūd on his throne A few years later Mahmūd harboured and encouraged Čānd Khān, brother of Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, and a pretender to his throne Bahādur invaded Mālwa and besieged Māndū Mahmūd's sloth and negligence infected his army, and on March 17, 1531, Bahādur captured the city, and Mahmūd appeared before him Mālwa was annexed to Gudjarāt, and Mahmūd and his family were sent towards Čāmpāner, to be imprisoned there On April 12 the camp was attacked by a force of Bhīls and Kolīs, and Mahmūd's guards, fearing a rescue, put him to death His seven sons were conveyed to Čāmpāner, and nothing more is known of their fate

Bibliography See MAHMŪD I of Mālwa

(T W HAIG)

MAHMŪD B ISMĀʿĪL [See IBN KĀDĪ SIMĀWNĀ]

MAHMŪD B MUHAMMAD B MALIKSHĀH, a Saldjūk ruler in the ʿIrāḳ (511—525 = 1118—1131), ascended the throne as a boy of 13, being the eldest of his father's five sons To his misfortune, his trusted advisers only troubled about their own interests and made the young Sultān take various steps which were fatal to the prosperity of his reign Anusharwān in al-Bondārī mentions no fewer than ten such fatal mistakes, the result was that even in the early years of his reign several ambitious Turkish emīrs were in open rebellion while his father's Great Hādjib ʿAlī Bār, who, during the latter's illness, had had and still retained control of the vast treasures which the latter had hoarded up, dissipated them in a very short time and let the young Sultān lead a gay life Especially dangerous to him were the atābegs of his brothers Masʿūd and Toghril, who found the opportunity a favourable one to dispute the sultanate on behalf of their infant protégés The result was that in 513 (1119) Sandjar, the Sultān's powerful uncle, was forced to interfere and marched on al Rayy after an attempt to appease him had failed Mahmūd was then forced to allow matters to come to an open fight but his troops were defeated at Sāwa [q v] and nothing was left for him but to go to the victor and accede to the demands made by him Fortunately Sandjar, whose mother was Mahmūd's grandmother, was favourably disposed to his nephew and announced himself content to add to his territory a few districts, e g al-Rayy, but otherwise received Mahmūd in a friendly fashion and even gave him one of his daughters in marriage Thereupon he retired and left Mahmūd without his help to make the best of the difficulties that faced him in the ʿIrāḳ These were bad enough, for the Atābeg of Masʿūd, whom Ibn al-Athīr calls Aiyaba Djuyūsh-beg (cf *Recueil*, II 132, note), in conjunction with the unruly Malik al-ʿArab Dubais [q v] was plotting to proclaim his protegé Sultān The plan failed however Aiyaba's troops were routed at Asadābād (514) and Masʿūd's unlucky vizier, the celebrated Arabic poet al-Tughrāʿī [q v], was captured and soon afterwards put to death on the pretext

that he was an infidel The two brothers readily made friends again as Masʿūd was still a mere child, Aiyaba escaped, was afterwards pardoned by Mahmūd, but lost to Aksonkor al-Bursukī [q v] the governorship of Mōsul which he had previously held Dubais was preparing the Sultān still further trouble and soon found this opportunity, because Toghrïl, who with his Atābegs had meanwhile been given the province of Arrān as *iktāʿ* could not withstand the Georgians there, who had taken Tiflīs in 515 (cf Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, i 365, Matthias of Edessa, ch 230—232, Ibn al Farikī in Ibn al Kalānisī, ed Amedroz, p 205), and came to the ʿIrāk to seek help from Mahmūd The latter himself took the field against the Georgians without doing much and Toghrïl, who had now returned to his province, soon received a visit there from Dubais, who persuaded him to set out to the ʿIrāk against the caliph al Mustarshid As they had no success in this enterprise, they went to Sandjar to lodge complaints against the Caliph and Mahmūd Sandjar thereupon went to al-Raiy and sent an invitation to Mahmūd to come to answer the charges (522 = 1128) Mahmūd was received with honours and instructed to restore Dubais to his territory in Hilla while Toghrïl and Masʿūd who was also with him, went off with Sandjar Mahmūd however did not find the caliph inclined to tolerate Dubais in his neighbourhood, and the Sultān withdrew his claims for a sum of 100 000 dinārs and went to Hamadhān There had been trouble between Mahmūd and the Caliph before and in 520 (1126) for example there had been open fighting in the streets of Baghdād between the Arabs and the Sultān's Turkish troops In all these circumstances Mahmūd proved unequal to his task, while he left the business of government to his viziers, among whom al Sumainami and al Dargazīnī (or al Anasrābādī as Ibn al-Athir always has it) were the most prominent, he spent his time with his hawks and hounds, which, according to Mirkhwānd, were 400 in number and wore jewelled collars and coverings embroidered with gold It became worse when he devoted himself to sensual pleasures and as a result of his sexual excesses fell ill and died at Hamadhān at the early age of 27 (Shawwāl 15, 525 = Sept 10, 1131) Nevertheless he was by no means an insignificant figure, he had a good acquaintance with Arabic and was celebrated in a long panegyric by Haisa-Baisa [q v] Ibn al Athir lauds his gentleness and emphasises that he never, as Sultāns usually did, laid violent hands on the property of his subjects

Bibliography in the article SELDJUKS, cf also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, ii 519 *sq*

MAHMŪD of Ghazna, one of the most famous of Muslim conquerors, was the elder son of Subuktigīn and was born in 969 A D In 994 Nūh II of Bukhārā appointed Subuktigīn governor of Khurāsān, as a reward for assistance received from him, and Subuktigīn appointed as his deputy his son Mahmūd, who took Nīshāpūr from the Ismāʿīlī heretics and made it his capital On his death in 997 Subuktigīn left his throne to his younger son, Ismāʿīl, but Mahmūd marched to Ghazna, defeated his brother, and ascended the throne in 999 Begtūzūn, an *amīr* of Mansūr II of Bukhārā, attempted to deprive Mahmūd of the government of Khurāsān, but failed, and the Sāmānid dynasty was shortly afterwards extinguished, its dominions being divided between Mahmūd and Ilak Khān of Kāshghar The *Khalīfa* al-Kādir now recognized Mahmūd as king of Ghazna and Khurāsān, and conferred on him the title of Amin al Milla, and later that of Yamīn al-Dawla, from which his successors are sometimes known as the Yamīnī dynasty Mahmūd now made a vow to invade India and chastise the infidels every year of his life, and during the remaining thirty years of his life led no fewer than seventeen raids into India After an expedition in the year 1000 he defeated and captured Djaipāl I of the Pandjāb in 1001, and took the town of Ūnd Djaipāl was released on promising to pay tribute, but would not survive his disgrace, and burned himself to death, leaving his kingdom to his son, Anandpāl Mahmūd received the title of Ghāzī, and in 1003 subdued Sīstān Khalaf b Ahmad, whom he defeated, saved his life by addressing his conqueror as "Sultān", a title which so pleased Mahmūd that he bore it ever afterwards, being, it is said, the first Muslim sovereign to do so In 1004 he invaded the Multān state, and besieged its ruler, Dāwūd, who had adopted the Carmathian heresy, for seven months in his capital Dāwūd saved his kingdom by abjuring his heresy and undertaking to pay tribute, and Mahmūd returned to his dominions in time to meet Ilak Khān, who had invaded them, near Balkh He defeated the invader and put him to flight, but while he was thus engaged Sukhpāl, a son of Anandpāl, who had accepted Islām and received the title of Nawāsā Shāh, recanted and rebelled Mahmūd marched towards Bheira, Sukhpāl's capital, but before his arrival there his officers had captured Sukhpāl, who was compelled to disgorge 400,000 *dirhams*, and was imprisoned for life Mahmūd then invaded the district of Ghūr, conquered it, and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islam Meanwhile the princes of India had formed a confederacy to defend their country and their religion, and when Mahmūd crossed the Indus in 1008 he was met at Ūnd by a great army composed of the troops of Anandpal and those of the Rādjās of Udjdjain, Gwāliyār, Kālindjar, Kannawdj, Dihlī, and Adjmar Their combined forces nearly succeeded in defeating Mahmūd, but after a hotly contested battle he won the day, and the Hindūs fled The Rādjās lost faith in each other, and the confederacy was dissolved Mahmūd pressed on to the fortress of Bhawan and the temple of Nagarkot or Kāngra, the gates of which were opened to him after a siege of seven days The enormous plunder which the temple yielded whetted Mahmūd's appetite for further exploits of the same nature In 1009 he again invaded the Pandjāb and plundered the country and slaughtered its inhabitants Anandpāl, who dared not attack him, purchased peace by the payment of an indemnity, a promise of tribute, and an undertaking to allow him unrestricted passage through the Pandjāb in future Dāwūd of Multān had by now relapsed into heresy, and in 1010 Mahmūd invaded his kingdom, took his capital, and after slaughtering and mutilating great numbers of his heretical subjects sent him to end his days as a prisoner in Ghūr In 1011 Mahmūd marched through the Pandjāb to the plunder of the wealthy temple of Thānesar The Rādjā fled, and Mahmūd plundered the temple, the city and the kingdom, and carried off the idol Čakravartin,

with much booty and large numbers of captives, to Ghazna

In 1012 Mahmūd's officers subdued Ghardjistān, and he compelled the Khalīfa al-Kādir to cede to him those districts of Khurāsān which he had not yet occupied, but the Khalifa returned a stern refusal to Mahmūd's demand for Samarkand, and Mahmūd was obliged to apologize for his presumption

Anandpāl had now died and had been succeeded by his son, Trilokanpāl, a weak monarch who committed the management of his affairs to his son, Nidar Bhīm, or "Bhīm the Fearless" Bhīm reversed the submissive policy of his grandfather, and in 1013 Mahmūd was obliged to invade the Pandjāb in order to keep the road to Hindūstān open In the spring of 1014 he defeated the Hindū prince in the Margala Pass, captured the fortress of Nandana, and pursued him into Kashmir, but was unable to come up with him, and was obliged to return A second invasion of Kashmīr was equally unsuccessful, he failed to take Lohkot, and in the spring of 1016 he retired, with heavy loss, from his only unsuccessful campaign in India, losing, on his way, many of his men in the flooded Djihlam In the same year he marched to Khwārizm to avenge the death of his sister's husband, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn, who had been slain by rebels He crushed the rebellion and appointed one of his own officers, Altūntāsh, to the government of his new conquest In the autumn of 1018 he set out on his long meditated expedition into Hindūstān, whither Trilokanpāl and Nidar Bhīm had retired He crossed the Djamna on December 2 and received the submission of the Rādjā of Baran, 10,000 of whose subjects accepted Islām He next defeated Rādjā Kulčand of Mahāban, who to avoid disgrace stabbed his daughter and son, and then himself He sacked and destroyed the splendid cities of Mathurā and Bindrāban and, leaving the greater part of his army there, marched with a picked force, to Kannawdj, defended by seven forts on the Ganges Its ruler, Rādjyapāla, fled, leaving his capital undefended, the seven forts were plundered in one day, and the city was sacked Asnī, further down the Ganges, shared its fate, and Mudjhāwan, "the Fort of the Brahmans", was plundered after its defenders had been slain to a man Rādjā Čand of Sharwa fled, but this city was sacked, and he was overtaken and defeated on January 6, 1019 Mahmūd then set out on his return march to Ghazna with a large number of elephants, 3,000,000 *dirham*'s, much other plunder, and captives so numerous that slaves were to be had for two or three *dirham*'s each On his return he founded at Ghazna his great mosque, the "Bride of Heaven" Rādjā Nanda of Kālindjar and the Rādjā of Gwāliyār had marched to Kannawdj after Mahmūd's retreat, and had punished Rādjyapāla for his cowardly desertion of his capital by putting him to death They were attempting to form a new confederacy of Hindū princes when Mahmūd, in 1019, invaded Hindūstān to frustrate their design He defeated Trilokanpāl on the Rāmganga and then turned to confront Rādjā Nanda, who was marching to meet him with a great army, at the sight of which even Mahmūd quailed Nanda, however, was smitten with a sudden panic and fled in the night, leaving his camp to be plundered by Mahmūd, who obtained, with much other booty, 580 elephants, in addition to 270 already taken from Trilokanpāl Then, fearing lest his retreat through the Pandjāb should be cut off, he returned to Ghazna In 1021 he resolved to provide himself with a base for future raids, and having invaded Swāt and Badjawr and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islām he attacked, but again failed to capture, the fortress of Lohkot, and, raising the siege, marched into the Pandjāb Trilokanpāl was dead, and Nidar Bhīm fled and took refuge with the Rādjā of Adjmar, where he died in 1026 Mahmūd was thus able to annex the Pandjāb, and brought it under his own sway In 1022 he again invaded Hindūstān and attacked the fortresses of Gwāliyār and Kālindjar, but left their rulers in possession of them on their promising to pay tribute On his return to Ghazna he mustered his army, and in 1023 invaded Transoxiana to establish his authority there The smaller chiefs hastened to pay him homage, the ruler of Samarkand was brought before him in chains and was sent as a prisoner to Kālindjar, as were also the chiefs of the Saldjūk tribe, 4,000 families of which Mahmūd, though he was apprehensive of their power, transported into Khurāsān In 1025 Mahmūd set out on the most famous of his raids into India, the expedition to Somnāth The insolent boasts of the Brāhmans had annoyed him, but it was the reputed wealth of the temple that prompted the enterprise He crossed the Indian desert after elaborate preparations, plundered both Adjmir and Anhilwāra, and reached Somnāth in the middle of January, 1026 Within two days his troops had stormed the ramparts and entered the city, but the temple was more strongly defended, and while he was attacking it he learned that the Hindū princes of Gudjarāt, who had fled before his arrival, had rallied to the defence of the idol, and were before the city Leaving a force to continue the siege of the temple, he marched against them, and, after a battle in which he narrowly escaped defeat, put them to flight Their defeat sealed the fate of the temple, which was almost immediately captured Mahmūd plundered it of its vast treasures and broke up its idol, a huge *lingam* From Somnāth he marched to punish Param Deo, Rādjā of Anhilwāra, for the attempt to relieve the temple, but the Rādjā fled, leaving his stronghold and its treasures to the conqueror It is said that Mahmūd was so captivated by the beauty and climate of Gudjarāt that he was with difficulty dissuaded by his officers from making Anhilwāra his capital, and leaving Ghazna to his son, Masʿūd On his return march through the Sind desert his army suffered severely, and after crossing the desert was harassed by the Djāts, but succeeded in reaching Ghazna with its spoils In 1027 Mahmūd undertook his last expedition into India, in order to punish these Djāts He collected a flotilla of boats at Multān, and, owing partly to their superior construction, defeated the Djāts in a naval battle on the Indus, and carried off their families, which they had removed for safety to islands in the river

The remainder of Mahmūd's life was devoted to the western provinces of his empire He wrested ʿIrak, Rayy and Isfahān from the Buwayhids, invested his son Masʿūd with the government of the newly conquered territory, and employed himself in establishing order and security on the caravan routes throughout his wide dominions, and in extirpating the heretics whom the Shiʿa Buwayhids had tolerated In 1029 he returned from Rayy to

Balkh, and marched in the spring to Ghazna, where, on April 30, 1030, he died, at the age of sixty-three, worn out with the labours of forty years

Mahmūd was far from being the zealous champion of the faith depicted by Muslim historians Occasionally he encouraged, and even compelled Hindūs and others to accept Islām, but the propagation of the faith was never the primary object of any of his campaigns Temples were attacked rather because they contained treasure than because they contained idols, and he did not hesitate to employ bodies of unconverted Hindūs, even against his brethren in the faith He has been described as miserly but he loved money chiefly as the source of power He adorned Ghazna with noble buildings and his court was in that age the chief resort of poets and men of learning, and was adorned by al-ʿUtbī, al-Bīrūnī, ʿUnsurī, Asadī, ʿAsdjadī, Minūčihrī, Firdawsī, and many other poets and men of letters His scurvy treatment of Firdawsī is to be attributed rather to the malice of a personal enemy than to the meanness of the king, and the poet's mode of resenting it placed him beyond the pale of forgiveness Mahmūd was one of the great figures in Islāmic history, and though his warlike career left him no leisure for the acquisition of learning he knew how to appreciate and reward literary merit in others

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(T W HAIG)

MAHMŪD GĀWĀN, ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, Khwādja, was born in A D 1405, of a family which had long held high office in the small principality of Gīlān, and is said to have taken the name of Gāwān, by which he was afterwards known in India, from Kāwān, his birthplace He received a good education and as a young man made the pilgrimage to Mekka While he was there his family fell into disgrace, so that he could not safely return home Refusing offers of employment in other parts of Persia he became a merchant, and in 1455 sailed from the Persian Gulf for India, and landed at the port of Dābhol Thence he proceeded to Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanī kings, and was well received by ʿAlāʾ al Dīn Ahmad II, who was then reigning He received the command of 1,000 horse and was sent to quell the rebellion of Djalāl Khān in Telingāna His conspicuous success secured his position as one of the leading nobles of the kingdom, and after the death of Ahmad II in 1457 he received from his son and successor, Humāyūn, the title of *Malik al-Tudjdjār* ("Chief of the Merchants"), then highly esteemed During Humāyūn's short reign he was employed in suppressing rebellion and restoring order in Telingāna, and on the king's death, in 1461, was associated by his widow with herself and Khwādja Djahān the Turk in a council of regency The foreign enemies of the kingdom took advantage of the childhood of the new king, Nizām Shāh, and Mahmūd Gāwān bore an honourable part in repelling the invasion of the Rādjā of Urīsa, who was forced to pay a large indemnity Mahmūd Khaldjī I of Mālwa next invaded the Dakan, defeated the army of Nizām Shāh, and menaced the existence of the state Mahmūd Gāwān succeeded in enlisting the aid of Mahmūd I, Begarha, of Gudjarāt, and with his help defeated and expelled the invader Nizām Shāh died in 1463, and the kingdom was governed for his younger brother, who succeeded as Muhammad III, by the same council of regency, but the arrogance and ambition of Khwādja Djahān the Turk so aroused the suspicions of the queen-mother that she ordered her young son to put him to death She shortly afterwards retired from public life, leaving Mahmūd Gāwān, now entitled Khwādja Djahān, sole regent In 1469 he was sent to subdue the Konkan, and to suppress the pirates of that region, and, in a series of campaigns extending over three years, conquered the country and captured Goa, then one of the principal ports of Vidjayanagar On his return to Bīdar he was received with great honour and his position as first noble of the kingdom was assured In 1472 he brought the seige of Belgaum to a successful conclusion, but the chief service which he rendered to the Bahmanī kingdom was the reform of its administration It had originally been divided into four great provinces, Gulbarga, Dawlatābād, Berār, and Telingāna, to which the name of *tarāf* was given, and the power of the *tarafdār*, or provincial governor, was almost absolute He collected the revenue, raised, paid and commanded the army, and appointed all officials, his responsibility to the king being limited to maintaining order, keeping the people contented, remitting to the capital the quota of revenue due, and joining the king, when summoned, with the contingent of troops which he was bound to supply Even in the early days of the kingdom rebellions raised by provincial governors had not been unknown, but the system had worked well on the whole so long as the limits of the kingdom were comparatively narrow, and the kings were energetic, but the kingdom now stretched from sea to sea, the provinces were unwieldy and the defects and dangers of the old system were apparent to all Mahmūd Gāwān divided each of the original *tarafs* into two, so that their number became eight Berār was divided into the two *tarafs* of Gāwīl and Māhūr, Dawlatābād into Dawlatābād and Djunnār, Gulbarga into Gulbarga and Bidjāpūr, and Telingāna into Warangal and Rādjāmahendrī The powers of the *tarafdārs* were at the same time curtailed These reforms were resented by all the old *tarafdārs*, and by none more than by Malik Hasan Bahrī, Nizām al-Mulk, *tarafdār* of the great province of Telingāna, who was posted to the new *taraf* of Rādjāmahendrī, and found his power, his influence, and his emoluments reduced by more than half He was the leader of the Dakanī party and Mahmūd, though he had done all in his power to end the strife between the Dakanis and the Foreigners, was a foreigner, and was regarded by all as the leader of the Foreign party In 1481, the royal camp being then in Telingāna, Hasan Bahrī took advantage of the absence of Mahmūd's chief supporter, Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān the Turk, who had been sent on an expedition into the eastern provinces of the kingdom of Vidjayanagar, to compass the downfall and death of Mahmūd The minister's

confidential secretary was induced, by misrepresentation, to affix his master's seal to a folded paper The paper was blank, and the conspirators wrote, above the deal, a treasonable letter to the Rādjā of Urīsa, inviting him to invade the kingdom The letter was shown to the king when he was drunk, and he at once summoned Mahmūd, who, though warned by his friends that mischief was afoot, insisted on obeying the order He was asked by the king what was the punishment of treason and unhesitatingly replied, "Death by the sword" He was then confronted with the letter, and though he declared it to be a forgery the king paid no heed to him, but bade the executioner do his office, and withdrew Mahmūd knelt down and repeated the symbol of his faith, and the executioner, Djawhar by name, struck off his head An order for the plundering of his camp was then issued, and his followers were dispersed The king was much disappointed by the examination of his late minister's affairs He had, throughout his official life continued his mercantile transactions, and lived frugally on his profits His great official emoluments were expended on the troops and establishments which he maintained and on public works, and the balance was disbursed in alms, in the king's name as well as in his own Muhammad III understood, too late, the value of the servant whom he had so summarily put to death, and his remorse was bitter Mahmūd was a great statesman and public benefactor I earned himself, he was a munificent patron of learning, and built at Bīdar a magnificent college, the ruins of which are still to be seen The only private property which he left at his death was a splendid library He is one of the foremost figures in the political history of India, and his death was the cause of the fall of the dynasty which he had served so well, for it destroyed the confidence of the nobles in the town, and hastened the advent of the day when the provincial governors proclaimed their independence

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(T W Haig)

MAHMŪD PASHA, grand vizier in the reign of the Ottoman Sultān Muhammad II, often called Welī Mahmūd Pasha He was born in Aladja Hisar (Krushewatz) in Serbia, of Christian parents, according to Chalcocondylas, his father was Greek and his mother Serbian Taken in his youth to Adrianople, he was brought up at the court of Murād II, and began his public career on the occasion of the accession of Muhammad II in 1451 Soon afterwards he became Beglerbeg of Rūmīlī, according to the historian Ramadān Zāde Mehmed (Kučuk Nishāndjī) he had been also *Kādīʿasker* [q v] As Beglerbeg, he took part in the capture of Constantinople After this event he was appointed grand vizier in 1453, the office had been empty since the execution of Čenderelī Khalīl Pasha As grand vizier, Mahmūd Pasha frequently accompanied the Sultān on his campaigns but in 1456—1458 he was appointed to conduct the operations against the Serbs, while the Sultān conquered the Morea, in 1459 Muhammad himself advanced against Serbia which was completely subdued, during this war Mahmūd Pasha's brother was the leader of the Turcophil party in Serbia In 1460 and 1461 the grand vizier took part in the expedition against Sinope and Trebizond as commander of the fleet while Muhammad led the army by land The capture of Trebizond was mainly due to Mahmūd Pasha, he was related to a high dignitary of the court there so that some Greek authors talk of treachery (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt*, p 279) In 1462, Mahmūd accompanied the Sultān against the Woiwod of Wallachia, Wlad Dracul and in the following year as commander of the fleet he was sent to conquer Lesbos and forced the Duke of Lesbos to capitulate In the same year he drove the Venetians out of the isthmus of Corinth In the Bosnian campaign of 1464, Mahmūd prepared the way for the Sultān's advance by taking the principal towns of the country In the war that followed with Mathias, king of Hungary, Mahmūd forced the latter to raise the siege of Zvornik In 1466 he aided the Sultān in the campaign which was to put an end to the power of the Karamānoghlu and defeated the Kaiamanid Ishāk Beg near Larenda The latter himself escaped and this fact combined with the too humane treatment which the governor wished to apply to the people of Konya and Lārenda and the intrigues of the second vizier Rūm Muhammad Pasha, brought the Sultān to dismiss him on the return march to Constantinople Mahmūd Pasha then governed the sandjak of Gallipoli for some time In 1472 he again became grand vizier The Sultān wished in that year to send him against Uzun Hasan but was persuaded by Mahmūd to send Ishāk Pasha in his place, in the following year he accompanied the Sultān against the Ak Koyunlu, who were finally routed after the Ottomans themselves had suffered the defeat of Beg Bazar In the same year Mahmūd was again dismissed, the reason alleged was a lack of zeal in the pursuit of the fugitives He then retired to the village of Khāss Koy near Adrianople Next year he came to the capital on the occasion of the funeral of Prince Mustafā, this opportunity was taken to calumniate him to the Sultān on account of the intimacy which had existed between Mustafā and Mahmūd Pasha This was sufficient to get him imprisoned in the castle of Yedi Kule and executed a few days later in Rabīʿ I, 879 (July—Aug 1474)

Mahmūd Pasha was one of the most popular grand viziers His name still survives in the mosque which he built at Stambul in 868 (1463—64) on a site originally occupied by a church, in the mosque is the *turbe* of the founder He also erected a *medrese*, a *mekkeme*, a *mekteb*, a well and a *hammām* There is a legendary story entitled *Menākib-nāme i Mahmūd Pasha*, in which his unjust execution is specially emphasised (printed in Fr Dieterici, *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, Berlin 1854), the historian Sadr al-Dīn in his *Tādj al-Tawārīkh* (i 557) also devotes a chapter to the *Wākiʿa-i Mahmūd Pasha* Mahmūd Pasha was the patron of a number of men of letters and scholars, who dedicated their works to him He was himself a poet but it is uncertain whether he wrote under the *takhallus* of ʿAdanī or ʿAdlī There is a *Dīwān* of ʿAdlī (printed Constantinople 1308) which is generally attributed to Sultān Bāyazīd II but Gibb

(*Hist Ott Poetry*, II 25 ff) thinks it should be attributed to Mahmūd Pasha

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(J H KRAMERS)

MAHPAIKER [See KÖSEM]

MAHR (A), Hebrew *Mohar*, Syriac *Mahrā*, "bridal gift", originally "purchase-money", synonymous with *sadāk* which properly means "friendship", then "present", a gift given voluntarily and not as a result of a contract, is in Muslim law the gift which the bridegroom has to give the bride when the contract of marriage is made and which becomes the property of the wife

1 Among the pagan Arabs the mahr was an essential condition for a legal marriage and only when a mahr had been given did a proper legal relationship arise A marriage without a mahr was regarded as shameful and looked upon as concubinage In the romance of ʿAntar the Arab women, who are being forced to marry without a mahr, indignantly reject such a marriage as a disgrace Victors alone married the daughters of the conquered without giving them a mahr

In the pre Islāmic period, the mahr was handed over to the *walī*, i e the father, or brother or relative in whose guardianship (*wilā*) the girl was Here the original character of the marriage by purchase is more apparent In earlier times the bride received none of the mahr What was usually given the woman at the betrothal is the *ṣadāk*, the mahr, being the purchase price of the bride, is given to the walī

But in the period shortly before Muhammad, the mahr, or at least a part of it, seems already to be given to the woman According to the Kurʾān, this is already the prevailing custom By this amalgamation of mahr and sadāk the original significance of the mahr as the purchase price was weakened and became quite lost in the natural course of events There can be no doubt that the mahr was originally the purchase price But the transaction of purchasing in course of long development had become a mere form The remains, however, as they survived in the law of marriage in Islām, still bear clear traces of a former marriage by purchase

2 Muhammad took over the old Arab patriarchal ceremony of marriage as it stood and developed it in several points The Kurʾān no longer contains the conception of the purchase of the wife and the mahr as the price, but the mahr is in a way a reward, a legitimate compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases The Kurʾān thus demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding gift" (lit *farīda* "allotment of property", Sūra, IV 28) and again "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (Sūra, IV 3), cf also Sūra, IV 29, 38, V 7, IX 10

The bridal gift is the property of the wife, it therefore remains her own if the marriage is dissolved "And if ye wish to exchange one wife for another and have given one a talent, take nothing of it back" Even if the man divorces the wife before he has cohabited with her he must leave half the mahr with her (Sūra, II 237–238)

Down into the Muslim period the wife was considered after the death of the husband as part of his estate, the heir simply continued the marriage of the deceased Such levirate marriages are found in the Old Testament also Muhammad abolished this custom, which still remained in his time, by Sūra, IV 23 "O ye, who are believers, it is not permitted to you to inherit women against their will"

3 There was an ample store of traditions about the mahr and these pave the way for the theories laid down by the jurists in the fikh books From all the traditions, it is clear that the mahr was an essential part of the contract of marriage According to a tradition in Bukhārī the mahr is an essential condition for the legality of the marriage "every marriage without mahr is null and void" Even if this tradition, so brief and to the point, is not genuine, a number of traditions point to the fact that the mahr was necessary for the marriage, even if it only consisted of some trifling thing Thus in Ibn Māḏja and Bukhārī traditions are given, according to with the Prophet permitted a marriage with only a pair of shoes as mahr and approved of a poor man, who did not even possess an iron ring, giving his wife instruction in the Kurʾān as mahr

A few hadiths endeavour to show that the mahr must be neither too high nor too low From the traditions we also learn what mahr was given in particular cases in the Prophet's time for example, the bridal gift of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b ʿAwf was an ounce of gold, that of Abū Huraira of 10 ūkiya and a dish, that of Shahal b Saʿd an iron ring

In the hadiths we again frequently find the Kurʾānic regulation that in a divorce after cohabitation the woman has the right to the whole mahr

4 According to Muslim fikh-books, marriage is a contract (*ʿakd*) made between the bridegroom and the *walī* of the bride An essential element in it is the mahr or *ṣadāk*, which the bridegroom binds himself to give to the bride The marriage is null without a mahr The jurists themselves are not quite agreed as to the nature of the mahr Some regard it practically as purchase-money (e g Khalil "the mahr is like the purchase-money") or as an equivalent (*ʿiwad*) for the possession of the woman and the right over her, so that it is like the price paid in a contract of sale, while other jurists see in the mahr a symbol, a mark of honour or a proper legal security of property for the woman

All the things can be given as mahr that are things (*māl*) in the legal sense and therefore possible to deal in, that is can be the object of an agreement The mahr may also — but opinions differ on the point — consist in a pledge to do something or in doing something, e g instructing the woman in the Kurʾān or allowing her to make the pilgrimage The whole of the mahr can either be given at or shortly after the marriage or it may be paid in instalments When the latter is the case it is recommended to give the woman a half or two-thirds before cohabitation and the rest afterwards The woman may refuse to allow consummation of the marriage before a part is given

Two kinds of mahr are distinguished

a Mahr musammā, "definite mahr", the amount of which is exactly laid down in the wedding contract

b Mahr al-mithl in which the amount is not exactly laid down, but the bridegroom gives a bridal gift befitting the wealth, family and qualities of the bride This *mahr al mithl* is also applied in all cases in which nothing definite about the mahr was agreed upon in the contract

The mahr becomes the property of the wife and she has full right to dispose of it as she likes In the case of any dispute afterwards as to whether certain things belong to the mahr or not, the man is put upon oath

The Sharī'a lays down no maximum or minimum for the amount of the mahr, but limitations were introduced by the various law-schools, the Hanafīs and Shafi'īs insist upon 10 dirhems as a minimum and the Mālikīs three dirhems The difference in the amount fixed depends on the economic conditions in the different countries where the madhhabs in question prevail

If the man pronounces a divorce, the mahr must be paid in every case if cohabitation has taken place, but the bridegroom may withdraw from the marriage before it is consummated, in this case he is bound to give the woman half the mahr

Bibliography W Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885 (cf thereon Th Noldeke, in *Z D M G*, xl [1886], 148 *sq*), Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, *N G W Gott*, 1893, p 431 *sqq*, G Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², Berlin 1897 — For the hadīths cf Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muham Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p 145 *sq* — The chapters *Nikāh* and *Sadāk* resp *Mahr* in the Fikh-books Further Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam Gesetzes*, p 181 *sqq*, Sachau, *Muham Recht*, p 34 *sqq*, Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto Musulmana Malichita*, Rome 1926, p 168 *sqq*, van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman* (transl France de Tersant), Algiers 1896, p 75, Khalīl, *Mukhtasar*, transl Santillana, Milan 1919, ii 39 *sqq*, Tornauw, *Moslem Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p 74 *sqq* (O Spies)

MAHRA, a land on the southeast coast of Arabia on the Indian Ocean between Hadramōt, the coast of which is inhabited by the Ka'aitī (Ge'ēti), and Zafār, the Arabs however and modern geographers include Zafār itself, formerly the town only and now the country, the old frankincense region [see ZAFĀR], in Mahra, so that Mahra may be said to be the country between Hadramōt and 'Omān (cf al Istakhrī, *B G A*, i 12, 27, Ibn Hawkal, *ibid*, ii 17, al-Mukaddasī, *ibid*, iii 53, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iv 700, al Idrīsī, ed Jaubert, Paris 1836, i 48, Ibn Khaldūn [in Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, p 132]) This connotation of Mahra seems to have been already known to the Greeks of the fourth century B C, Theophrastus, *Hist Plant*, ix 4, 2, numbers among the lands of Arabia which yield spices, along with Saba', Hadramōt and Katabān, a fourth, Μαμάλι (var Μάλι) A satisfactory identification of this land, which would also explain the name has not been made Of the various attempts to explain it, given in the article SABA' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl der klass Altertumswiss*, coll 1331 *sqq* [cf the article SABA', iv, p 6ª] that which suggests Μαμάλι is a corruption of Μιναῖοι (Μαιναῖα) which Strabo, xvi 768 gives with the three South Arabian kingdoms above mentioned, following Eratosthenes — these two authors represent one original source, Eratosthenes and Strabo are two different sources — is certainly wrong The identification of Μάλι with Mahra proposed by A Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p 92, 263, 266, without however any attempt at proving it and also adopted by Fr Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, Munich 1926 (I v Muller, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sect iii, Pt 1, vol i) p 137, is worthy of attention It was naturally to be expected that the botanist Theophrastus, whose duty it was to give as full a list as possible of lands in Arabia producing aromatic plants, should mention the real land of frankincense, Zafār or in a wider sense Mahra, including Zafār On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the mention in Theophrastus of a Mamali or Mali, which is quite unknown, after three well-known names, is remarkable, as it must of course be an important country, fit to be compared with Saba', Hadramōt and Katabān Simply for this reason E Glaser's various attempts to identify it (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geogr Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, p 3, 35 *sq*, 40, 132, 153 *sqq*, 217), not one of which is tenable (cf *Realencycl*, s v Saba', col 1333 and here SABA', iv, p 5ª), may be discarded The passage in Theophrastus has been wrongly interpreted as mentioning Mamali only as the home of the cinnamon plant (see SABA, iv, p 5ª and the literature there given to which may be now added Hommel, *Ethnologie* [= *Grundriss*], p 517, note 2) Although Mahra is not suggested without certain inherent probability, the question still arises how has it come to be called Mamali or Mali, which must remain more or less a puzzle As the first two letters in Mahra and Mali are the same, it may be supposed that there is a corruption in the third letter of Mali The name seems to conceal the Greek transcription of Mahra, which in the form MAPI (from MAPA), was corrupted to MAAI, because it was of course unintelligible to the Greek copyists, or it might have been altered by a learned editor with gemination of the first syllable to MAMAAI, especially as this form might seem to him to be superficially supported by the Μαμάλα κώμη in Ptolemy, iv 7, 5 A further corroborating factor is that Theophrastus' description of the hilly country, where the λιβανωτός grows, with the ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ δασυ καὶ νιφόμενον, from which rivers pour down to the plain and which was visible to sailors from the coast, agrees very well with the description of the χώρα λιβανωτοφόρος ορεινή τε καὶ δύσβατος of the land of Zafār [q v] in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* § 29 (cf the ὄρη ὑψηλα καὶ πετρώδη καὶ ἀπόκοπα § 32, very probably the Karā mountains), and also recalls Carter's statement that nowhere else in South Arabia is there so much running water as in the frankincense country This undeniable agreement is not affected by the fact that, according to Theophrastus, the frankincense country mentioned by him was in possession of the Sabaeans The fact that he mentions this land as a fourth with Saba', Hadramōt and Katabān and at the same time says that the Sabaeans were lords (κύριοι) of this frankincense country, suggests that the country which was quite a considerable distance from their original home, had passed to Saba' by direct conquest or automatically with the occupation of the

whole territory of some formerly independent power This may have been either its ancient rival Katabān, which, although still an independent kingdom, no longer exercised sovereign rights over the frankincense country and about two centuries later lost its independence to Saba', or the ancient kingdom of Hadramōt, which with the frankincense country was in the time of Juba a part of the Sabaean kingdom, already ruled by the Himyarīs (according to Pliny, *Nat Hist*, xii 52 *sq*, see SABA') and to which, certainly in the time of the Periplus, i e in the Himyar period of the early centuries A D, long after the beginning of the dissolution of Sabaean rule, the frankincense country belonged, but it may however have also done so before Saba' became a great power Hommel assumes (*op cit*, p 140 and notably p 655) quite a close ethnic connection between the Hadramōtīs and the Minaeans and he definitely says that the Hadramōtī Minaeans were those who took possession of the frankincense land, which geographically also appears most natural No convincing argument can be brought against the evidence of Theophrastus that in his time or in that of his authority, perhaps Andrœsthenes (cf *Realencycl*, s v Saba', col 1306), the frankincense country was not independent, but belonged to Saba', so that the latter was already a great power, which possessed the hegemony of South Arabia and numbered its weaker neighbours among its feudatories The frankincense land only became independent early in the Christian era That the campaigns of the Sabaeans extended considerably to the east may be deduced from the Sirwāh inscription (Glaser, N° 1000) (cf Hommel, *op cit*, p 658 *sq*) On the unjustified alteration in the text (Σάρα) in Theophrastus, see SABA', iv 6a (to the literature there quoted may now be added Hommel, *op cit*, p 516 *sq* and 653 *sq* [in addition to 138]) To support the assumption that the Katabānians occupied the frankincense land, it is not necessary to presume Gebbān as a later name of Katabān (in allusion to the Gebbanitae in Pliny, vi 153, cf MA'ĪN, on Glaser's chronological error in the period of Katabānian occupation of the frankincense country, see ẒAFĀR, N° 4) The expression *l amanat* in the longer titles of the south Arabian kings of the last epoch means, according to Hommel in *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, ed by D Nielsen, Copenhagen–Paris–Leipzig 1927, p 96, note 5, "perhaps the frankincense coast as the "southland" of Hadramōt", it might well be interpreted as a general name of the southern coastlands, at a later date still included in Yemen, in contrast to the lands of Saba', Dhū Raidān and Hadramōt preceding it in the title

Sprenger's remark, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin 1865, iii 437 "The Mahrites were called Sachalites by the Greeks", is misleading, the land around the Sachalite Gulf is in the conception of the authors of the Periplus and of Ptolemy not only Mahra, but also the land lying east of it and especially the part of al Shiḥr in the wider sense lying west of it, the land of the Ka'aitī (cf the article IOBARITAI in *Realencycl*) [The *regio turifera* in Pliny, xii 52 (vi 161) is probably to be understood as Ẓafār in the narrower sense but may include Mahra to which alone Glaser refers it (*Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p 125, see at the beginning) The ἐξ Ἀραβίης used in Herodotos, ii 73, in the story of the phoenix is practically a reference to Mahra (Hommel, *op cit*, p 138) although it is not mentioned by name On the Ἀβασηνοι in Stephanus, see below]

The inscriptions which, according to Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi 150, are inscribed on stone pillars on an island off the South Arabian coast (cf the article RHINNEA in the *Realencycl*) cannot, as Ritter for example (*Erdkunde*, Vol viii, Sect i, Pt xii, Berlin 1846, p 290) thought, be attributed "to the Mahri who were settled in the neighbourhood of Cane" but were probably Minaean (or Nabataean) The position of the emporium of Κανή which according to the *Periplus*, § 27 and Pliny, vi 104 belonged to the frankincense country and is also mentioned by Ptolemy, vi 7, 10 cannot be definitely ascertained Recently several scholars, following Glaser, *op cit*, p 175, C Landberg, *Arabica*, iv, Leyden 1897, p 75 *sq* and *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Meridionale*, i (Hadramoût), Leyden 1901, p 196 and earlier writers (see the list in *Realencycl*, s v Saba, col 1330), have again expressed the view that this port is probably to be located at Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb (Nielsen in *Handbuch*, *op cit*, p 8) while Sprenger, *Geographie*, p 82 *sq* had placed it at Bāl Hāf Since Sprenger, nothing new has been produced in favour of the old view and against his localisation In favour of the latter is the description in the *Periplus*, § 27 according to which two uninhabited islands, the Ὀρνέων νῆσος ("Bird Island") and Τρούλλας were 120 stadia distant from Kane These, according to Sprenger, are the islands of "Halany and Gibus, also called al-Sikka" (to be written Hillāniya and Kanbūs also called Sakha, see Landberg, *Arabica*, iv 66) Their mention makes certain the reference to Bāl-Hāf as the opposite point on the coast from which they are 110 and 130 stadia distant respectively, but not to Ḥiṣn al Ghurāb which, according to Carter is only a mile from Hillānya Landberg himself tells us that the island of Kanbūs seems never to have been inhabited The distances from Kane adduced by Glaser from Ptolemy, which besides varying in the manuscripts, naturally yield nothing really convincing in favour of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb (particularly of "Ra's al-'Asida, the equivalent of Cape Kane, west of Kane", according to Glaser, *op cit*, p 216, but this promontory of al-'Asida is at Bāl-Hāf!), these measurements can equally well be made to fit Bāl-Hāf H v Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, p 225 *sqq* who could not yet have known of Sprenger's view, had already called attention to the *l n'* (he transcribes it Cane) occurring in the (third) smaller inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb (a reproduction in Landberg, *Arabica*, iv, Pl ix), and connected it with "Cane Emporium", J H Mordtmann, *Z D M G*, xxxix (1885), 233 likewise explained it as Κανή, the harbour of the citadel of al Ghurāb Even if we readily grant that the uncertain word in the text of the inscription, most recently and probably definitively published and translated by B Moritz in *W Z K M*, xxxiv (1927), p 72, really reproduces the name Κανή, this does not prove, as Sprenger, *op cit*, p 83 has pointed out, that the ancient seaport lay on the present rocky point of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb It must also be remembered that the names of many Arabian harbours have in course of time been transferred to other places in the vicinity, e g Ẓafārī [q v, N° 4] and Mirbāt Landberg's

objection (*Arabica*, IV 76) that the *Periplus*, if Κανή had been Bāl-Hāf, would not have said (§ 29) that after Kane came another gulf running far inland, the Σαχαλίτης, but would have mentioned the harbour of Bīr ʿAlī to the east of it, is not a cogent one The *Periplus* gives a list of the most important gulfs of South Arabia and the comparatively small bay of Bīr ʿAlī might easily be overlooked behind the broad Sachalite gulf which runs far inland, especially as the use of the term Σαχαλίτης is a fairly elastic one (cf the article IOBARITAI in *Realencycl*) and the list of the places on the coast in the *Periplus* is not as a rule scientifically complete and exact but sometimes even gives wrong names (e g Μόσχα), to say nothing of the fact that in many places on the South Arabian coast, the harbourage conditions have changed since ancient times Landberg himself (*op cit*, p 65) observes that the promontory of Hisn al-Ghurāb must have had a different appearance in earlier times M Hartmann, also, who had previously, *Die arabische Frage* (*Der islamische Orient*, II), Berlin 1909, p 175, 371 declared for the older views, said later in the very same work, p 418, 614 that he had now adopted Sprenger's opinion The *k-n-*ʾ in the inscription is still not sufficient ground for the conclusion that the identification of Κανή with Bāl-Hāf should be rejected in opposition to Sprenger, who himself appreciated the force of this evidence The form of the name used by Sprenger, Bâ-l-Hâff (Būl-Hāf), is incorrect however (as also is Glaser's Bā el-Haff, cf Landberg, *Hadramoût*, p 195), *bā* is equivalent to *ibn* But Sprenger rightly recognised that in this name there is preserved a memory of a son of al-Hāf, the son of Kudāʿa and ancestor of the Mahra (al-Bakrī, I 19, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, III 551, see below)

The Arab geographers had no accurate knowledge of Mahra, nor of Hadramōt, modern explorers have found out much more about these regions Al-Hamdānī, *Sifa Djazirat al-ʿArab* (ed D H Müller, Leyden 1884), p 45 mentions al-Asʿā — which Landberg *Hadramoût*, p 158, wishes to restore to al Ashghā from manuscript preferences — as the capital of Mahra, which, according to Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 87 stretches to the district lying roughly between Damkōt and Rās Darbat ʿAlī, almost in the centre of the modern coast region of Mahra On p 53 he says, as do Ibn al-Mudjāwir and others after him, that the Mahra people also inhabit Sokotrā (on the conversion to Christianity of the mixed population of Sokotrā, see Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, III 102, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, III 36 *sq* etc , further particulars in the article SOKOTRĀ) On p 51 *sq*, he talks of the Mahra tribes and their fighting and on p 86 *sq* of the road from Hadramōt to Mahra and tells us about the tomb of the Prophet Hūd This sanctuary on the frontier between Hadramōt and Mahra is still held in particular veneration and is much visited by the inhabitants of these two lands (a text from Hadramōt showing this is given in Landberg, *Hadramoût*, I 432 *sq*) — The Arab geographers include Mahra in the Yemen, e g Yākūt, *Mushtarik*, p 394, see the reference to the Mikhlāf Mahra in Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 700, who in this, his main reference, also repeats the view that Mahra is the name of a tribe and that the correct form is Mahara (a Balād Maharāt in Mahra is mentioned on IV 697) It is sometimes more accurately defined as "in extreme (furthest) Yemen", e g Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, I 280, II 510 (= *Mushtarik*, p 166), III 366, IV 345, 495, *Mushtarik*, p 415 The Arabs speak of a Nadjd in the land of the Mahra (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, I 280, III 681, IV 345, 495, 697, *Mushtarik*, p 394, 415, cf al-Mukaddasī, *op cit*, p 98, al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, I 1980) This is the Nadjd (or Nadjdī) which Carter also mentions as a district in which the frankincense especially flourishes, the highland country about two days' journey north of the coast within the latitude which Carter has also defined, although too narrowly [cf ZAFĀR] The Mahra are also said to be inhabitants of the coastland of al-Shihr [q v], for example by al-Masʿūdī, I 333 and Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 387 and we find the land of Mahra is called al-Shihr (al Istakhrī, *op cit*, p 25 = Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, p 32 *sq*, al-Idrīsī, I 48, Ibn Khaldūn, ed Kay, *op cit*, p 132, cf al Hamdānī, *Sifa*, p 51 and al Bakrī on *al-Asʿā*, the statement in Rommel, *Abulfedae Arabiae Descriptio*, Gottingen 1802, p 32 *sq*, is obscure) Al-Shihr however in the later and modern use of the name is applied to the coast not only of Mahraland proper but of the land of Zafār also, that is of the frankincense country generally, i e the "frankincense coast" which is identified by many modern writers with the Mahra country but at the same time includes the part of the Hadramōt which adjoins on the west (cf Ibn Khaldūn, *op cit*, p 132), i e in general the name of the shores of the Gulf of the Moon, finally in a still wider sense, the name of the whole coast between ʿAden and ʿOmān

Al Istakhrī, *op cit*, p 25, and almost in the same words, Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, p 32, also al-Masʿūdī, I 333 *sq*, al Idrīsī, I 48, 150, Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Rommel, *op cit*, p 33), Ibn Khaldūn (*loc cit*) describe Mahra as a desert in which there are no palms and no agriculture and the inhabitants therefore are not acquainted with bread Carter, like these Arab writers, also emphasises the contrast between the frankincense region and the dreary desert west and east of it and more recent travellers like Bent agree with him The only possessions of the inhabitants, according to these authorities, are goats and very fine camels, particularly renowned for their swiftness, mentioned also by al Hamdānī, *op cit*, p 100, 201, Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p 963 and the poets as well as the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, VII 36, *Kāmūs*, I 455 and *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (*Mahriya*, the *Lisān* quotes three plural forms *Mahāriyu*, *Mahārin*, *Mahāriā*, on the first cf Howell, *Grammar*, I 997, 1000) The camel which Muhammad chose for himself out of the booty after the battle of Badr had been purchased in Mahra, his governor in the Yemen procured Mahra camels for the Caliph Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik (714—717) (al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed Wustenfeld, II 41) Ibn Hawkal (*ibid*, Ibn Khaldūn, *op cit*, cf al-Idrīsī, I 48) adds that the Mahra live on meat, milk and its products, and fish (cf al-Mukaddasī, *op cit*, p 100) and that they also feed their camels and goats on fish Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 700, records a note that the Mahrī camels do not take their name from the land but from the ancestor of the Mahra's, Mahra b Haidān (cf al-Djawharī, also *Lisān*, *Kāmūs* and *Tādj*, *loc cit*, and Rommel, *op cit*, p 33) According to Landberg, *Hadramoût*, p 87, and others the Mahrī riding camels have for long had a bad reputation, as they are really not swift, the best of this kind are said to be those of the Banū

Subaih (N E of ʿAden) and of the Dhiyāb It is doubtful whether we may assume with Landberg that their fame takes us back to a period when the Mahra occupied a great part of South Arabia In any case, I Hirsch, *Reisen in Sud Arabien, Mahra Land und Hadramoût*, Leyden 1897, p 77 refers to the "celebrated Mehri riding-camels" which in his time were called *matiye* in al-Shihr

The above mentioned authors and al-Mukaddasi, *op cit*, p 98 also record that there was frankincense in the country which was exported Al Idrīsī lays stress on the commerce which was one mode of livelihood of the Mahra Parts of their land are also reckoned to ʿOmān In 226 (840) Mahra was for a short time tributary to ʿOmān Ibn al-Mudjāwir, who visited Mahra and Sokotrā in 618 A H says that the Mahra also inhabit the mountainous country of Zafār and the islands of Soḳotra [q v] and Masira In the division of the Yemen into two parts, Tihāma and Nadjd, according to al-Muḳaddasi, *op cit*, p 53, 70, Mahra with the town of al-Shihr is a dependency of Nadjd (see Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients, Abhandl fur die Kunde des Morgenl*, iii 3, Leipzig 1864, p 109)

Yākūt (e g *Muʿdjam*, i 154, 280, ii 175, 510 [= *Mushtarik*, p 166], 881, iii 366, 681, 691, iv 345, 495 [= *Mushtarik*, p 394], 697), mentions places in or near Mahra and distances on roads from and to Mahra are given by Yāḳūt *Muʿdjam*, iv 626, 700, al Istakhrī, *op cit*, p 27 *sq* (= Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, p 17, 33 *sq*) — According to Ibn Khaldūn, *op cit*, p 132, Hadramōt and al Shihr (Mahra) were under one king, in olden times however, al-Shihr had been the land of the ʿĀd, the predecessors of the Mahra who had come from Hadramōt In the legends of the ʿĀd and the prophet Hūd, a part is played by the land of Mahra, poor in water, which adjoined the country of this mythical people (al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 233 *sq*), the Mahra call the interior of their country al-Ahkāf (cf Landberg, *Hadramoût*, p 157), where according to tradition (see al Masʿūdi, iii 106, 271 etc) the home of the ʿĀd was located [cf WABĀR] Mālik b Himyar al Shihr is said to have been the first of the Kahtānis to settle there and he was succeded by his son Kudaʿa, whose possessions were limited to Mahra and he in turn by his son al Hāf, whose great grandson was Mahra b Haidān b ʿAmr (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 700, Ibn Khaldūn, *op cit*, p 132 etc, cf above) In the early days of Islām (year 12 A H), Mahra was one of the rebellious districts against which Abū Bakr and his generals had to wage war, al Tabarī, i 1881, 1929 (on the subjection of the Musailima), p 1963, 1976 *sq* (al-ʿArfadja's campaign against Mahra), p 1980 *sq* (victorious campaign of al-ʿIkrima against Mahra), the conquest of Mahra was much facilitated by schisms among the enemies of Islām in the country The Mahris participated in the great campaign of conquest which began under the Caliph ʿUmar I, and some settled with other South Arabians in al-Fustāt where a street (*Khiṭaṭ mahra*) bore their name (cf F Wustenfeld, *Die Geographie u Verwaltung von Agypten nach dem Arabischen des Abu 'l-Abbâs Ahmed ben ʿAli al Calcaschandi I, Abh Kgl Ges d Wiss zu Gottingen*, xxv, 1879, p 51 *sq*, al Kalkashandi, *Subh al Aʿshā*, iii, Cairo 1914, p 331)

Of modern explorers F Fresnel was the first to bring back accurate information about Mahra In 1837 he obtained some information about conditions along this coast through his intercourse in Djidda with merchants from Hadramōt or Mahra (in *Journ As*, 3rd Ser, 1838, vol v 507 *sqq*, vol vi 529 *sqq*), he gave an account of Gishin, the capital of Mahra and the Sultān whose authority did not extend beyond the walls of the city His description of the boundaries of the country was incorrect Much more detailed and accurate were the topographical data collected by Captain S B Haines, who was appointed in 1834 to make an astronomical and nautical survey of the South Arabian coast from Bāb al-Mandab eastwards (as far as Rās al-Hadd) In his *Memoir of the South and East Coast of Arabia* (in *J R Georg Soc*, London 1845, xv/i 104 *sqq*), he describes the western boundary of Mahra, the Wādī Masile, which is rich in water and well tilled by the Mahra and contains many villages lying among palm groves He then gives his short notes on the town of Sēhūt east of the Wādī and corroborates Fresnel's account of Gishin about which he is the first to give fuller details C Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p 287, had already mentioned "Keschin" and the independent shaikh there, who was also lord of Sokotrā, he also gives a plan of the harbour from a drawing by an Englishman, whom he had met in Bombay (Pl xvii) Haines observes, like later writers, that Gishin is only a wretched little village of at most 300—400 inhabitants, which consists mainly of reedhuts and has only a few stone houses and that the trade there is very slight He also gives some details of the Mahra people and its tribal divisions, its customs and dress, and in confirmation of Fresnel's observations their attitude to Islām, which only the chiefs profess, while the people are indifferent to the Kurʾān and are not even able to perform the daily salāts He ends by giving the promontories and villages on the coast east of Sēhūt as far as the eastern frontier of Mahra towards Zafār The English officers cooperating in this survey of the coast visited only a few points on it, which were practically confined to the Gulf of Gishin because their duty was really confined to surveying the coast west of Mahra Valuable information about the Mahra is given in H J Carter's *Notes on the Mahra Tribe of Southern Arabia with a Vocabulary of their Language*, in *J R A S*, Bombay Branch, July 1847, vol ii, p 339 *sqq* Maltzan combined ethnological research with his study of the Mahra language (in the introduction of his edition of *Adolph von Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, Brunswick 1873 [the preface is dated 1870], p 18 *sqq*, and 28 *sqq*, and in his article cited below) but regarding the country itself which he never entered, he knows no more than the English naval officers The extracts in Ritter, *op cit*, xii 625 *sqq*, and 635 *sqq* he says, are sufficiently accurate according to his own information The coastlands east of Wādi Masile to Rās al-Hadd, i e Mahra, Zafār and ʿOmān he however calls the great "terra incognita of Oceanic Arabia" "The names Mahra and Gâra (also written Gara)" by which the two countries on the coast are distinguished, he described as "not clearly defined" (*op cit*, p 28) We now know that these are the Mahra and Kara (the hill-people of Zafār) and the language of the latter is Karawi (Grawi) or Shhawri, in modern times also called Hakili, or Shehrāt [cf ZAFĀR] Maltzan recognised

that the two peoples are fundamentally different in language, mode of life, and religion from the people of Central Arabia

Glaser, *Skizze*, II, p 26, wrongly identifies Μεινᾶι in Strabo, XVI 768 (quoting Eratosthenes) with Mahra (*Realencycl*, s v *Saba*, 1334 *sqq*) On p 20 he gives the land of Hadramōt (after the fall of the "Abyssinian-Arab kingdom") too great an extent (as far as Mirbāt) On his note that the Ἰωβαρῖται of Ptolemy are the hill-peoples of all Mahra cf *Realencycl*, s v IOBARITAI — As a result of the enquiries made by him on his travels in Arabia, he states (*Abessinier*, p 87) that there are now three different divisions of the Mahra tribes the eastern is called Shehrāt or Zair and inhabits, according to his information, the coast from Rās Nūs (55° 17′ East Long from Gr), according to another authority from the island of Masīra, to Rās Darbat ʿAlī (53° 3′ East Long), the western that to which the name Mahra is generally applied, stretches from Rās Darbat ʿAlī to Sēhūt, while the third group inhabits Sokotrā (cf above on Ibn al-Mudjāwir) — L Hirsch gives not a little new and valuable information about the people of the southwestern coast His account of Mahra is based on his ten days' stay (1893) in Gishin (or Gishn, transcribed Kishin or Kishn, Hirsch writes sometimes [*op cit*, p 48, 50, 52 *sq*] Gischin and sometimes Kischin, like W Hein and others [p 2 etc], he gives "Käschen" in the Index as the Mahrī pronunciation which is also given by Jahn [see below]) Of the wretched little capital of the country, he tells us, practically agreeing with Haines before him and Hein and Bent after him, that it consists almost entirely of isolated mudhouses in a ruinous condition and a few ragged tents and reedhuts which, being scattered aimlessly over a wide area, leave irregular wide open spaces between them Even the palace of the Sultān whose rule over Gishin and Sēhūt and other places on the coast is quite nominal, as he can do nothing without the approval of his Beduins, is a broken down mud building, there is said to be only one building in the town that is kept clean, the house of another Sultān According to Hein, the most imposing of the mud houses, which are not built according to any system, is that occupied by the reigning Sultān's bodyguard There is nothing like a regular market or regulated trade there Even the most rudimentary necessities of life are acquired by barter and money is unknown From the government buildings a little mosque may be seen While Maltzan, corroborating Fresnel and Haines, pointed out (*Wrede's Reise*, p 29), that the Mahra have long been distinguished as heretics from the great majority of the orthodox and indeed can hardly be called Muslims at all, Hirsch says that at least in Gishin and Sēhūt, the Mahra are no less attached to Islām than any other Arabs, he saw them regularly performing their *ṣalāt* This contradiction may perhaps be explained by the observation already made by Haines on the same question According to Hirsch the ruling Sultāns or Shaikhs are pure Arabs and not Mahra's In any case the attitude to Islām of Beduins living north of the coast territory is quite superficial The Sultān of Gishin belongs to a dynasty which has also a kind of suzerainty over Sokotrā The Mahra coast, like Sokotra is under British suzerainty Hirsch (p 76 *sq* and on his map) gives the names of several places on the coast east of Gishin Th Bent (*Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p 280) notes the striking contrast between the sandy plain of Gishin, which he did not succeed in reaching, and the fertile stretch of the coast of Zafār Shortly before his arrival in Zafar (in the winter of 1894—1895) the wālī residing in al-Hāfa had been fighting with the Mahra tribes The coast-town of Rakhyūt, west of Raisūt, has a little fort to defend it from the Mahra Bent gives a more detailed account of the Mahra who live in Sokotrā [q v]

The statement in A Jahn (*Sudarabische Expedition* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, III, 1902, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*), p 1 "The Mehri is the language of the South Arabian coast between Hasuwel and Dafâr which is called *bilad mahra* by the Arabs" — is misleading Haswēl lies roughly in the centre of the Mahra coast in 50° 9′ East Long, N E of the capital Gishin — W Hein, who was sent out by the Vienna Academy to continue the work of collecting specimens of the language begun by the South Arabian expedition, arrived in Gishin with his wife in 1902 During his stay of 66 days, during which his work was much impeded as he was interned most of the time, he collected, among other information, statistical and topographical data for the adjacent parts of the coast and also for the interior (see his article, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik Südarabiens*, in the *M Geogr Ges*, Vienna 1903, p 219 *sqq*) In D H Muller's preface to vol IX of the South Arabian Expedition, introductory remarks to W Hein's record of his journey are given (p VIII *sqq*) According to him Gishin is the name of the whole stretch of country along the coast from Rās Shirwēn to Rās Derdja for a breadth of 5 to 15 miles About 2 miles to the north of the coast a ridge runs parallel to it Immediately on the coast lie the dhura fields of the district of Maghlōl, behind it, the centre Gishin, the district of Rihbēt, in which the Sultān lives, east of it the most important district Yentūf, west of Rihbēt Salāla, the western boundary of which is the Wādi Ghabūri Further inland lies Durūb, where prominent Sultāns have their homes Hein clears up many statements by Hirsch and gives further topographical details about the surroundings of the capital Gishin has an area of about 80 square miles Hein estimated the permanent population at 2,386, Hirsch put that of the capital and its immediate neighbourhood at about 500

From the results of exploration so far, it appears that the country of Mahra stretches from Wādī Masile eastwards to Rās Darbat ʿAlī i e from 51° 13′ to 53° 3′ East Long and between 16° and c 17° 30′ N Lat The Mahra rule the lower course of the main wādi which runs through Hadramōt No European has yet penetrated into the interior of the country, their presumed original home, it was however equally unknown to the Arab geographers

In the coast district of al Shihr (Mahra to ʿOmān) old south Arabian dialects are still spoken, which differ essentially from Arabic and indeed from Semitic in general The Mahra as a rule speak very little Arabic Al Istakhrī, *op cit*, p 25, Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, p 32, al-Idrīsī, I 48, 150 who identifies it with the old Himyarite language, Ibn al-Mudjāwir [cf SOKOTRĀ], Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Rommel, *op cit*, p 33) and others describe it as unintelligible to Arabs Al-Hamdānī also (*Ṣifa*,

p 134) calls their language a jargon and al-Masʿūdī, i 333, points out differences between it and Arabic Fresnel was the first, apart from early vague reports of a peculiar language in Hadramōt, to establish the existence of a hitherto unknown language quite different from Arabic "in the interior of Yemen towards Hadramōt" He had become acquainted with it from natives who called it Ehkili This name however he gave (*Note sur la langue Himyarite*, *J A*, 1838, 3rd Ser, vi 79 *sqq*) not only to Mehri or what he considered as such but to other South Arabian dialects and, as Maltzan has already pointed out, to Himyarite also, although we must confess that this (or Sabaean) has several features in common with Mehrī Ritter, *op cit*, xii 46 ff, 254 and others followed Fresnel's error, including Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii 437, it is however quite an old mistake, it was made by Ibn Duraid (see Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, Register, p 280) whom Sprenger follows (on al-Idrisī see above) Haines (see above) said that the language of the Mahra was strange to the Arabs With these earlier and recent statements may be compared Landberg's observation given by Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p 153, that, "according to the statements of Arabs, Beduin tribes of the great desert of el-Rubaʿ el-khālī north of Hadramōt and the frankincense coast speak a language which the ordinary Arabs do not understand", this, according to Hommel, could best be explained if a Mahra dialect were spoken there M v Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii 332) was told that in el-Rubʿa el-khalī lived people who spoke a language unintelligible to the Arabs and he supposed that this was Mehrī After Fresnel, Carter (see above) studied Mehri and particularly Maltzan (*Ueber den Dialect von Mahra*, *Z D M G*, xxv [1871], 196 *sqq*, *Dialectische Studien über das Mehri*, ibid, xxvii [1873], 225 *sqq*, *Dialect von Mahra*, ibid, p 252 *sqq*) He was the first to give scientific proof of the difference between this language and Arabic in vocabulary and grammar He also classed Mahra and Kara together as Ehkili and describes it as a modern dialect of old Himyarite, from which he said it was descended through an unknown intermediary He called attention to the similarity with Ethiopic and its modern forms, Geʿez and Amhārīc, and presupposed a homogeneous group distinct from Kurʾānic Arabic (see also his edition of Wrede's *Reise*, p 30 ff) In Sprenger's belief (*Geographie*, p 268), the Semites of Ethiopia are of Mahrī origin

Maltzan's studies in spite of their defects were most valuable preliminary work Glaser was the first to define more accurately the limits within which Mehri was spoken (*Abessinier*, p 87) Fresnel, Maltzan and Glaser had not been in Mahra or Ẓafar, but they ascertained the existence of the two dialects Fresnel in Djidda, Maltzan and Glaser in ʿAden (Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 184) The latter states (*Skizze*, ii, p 96) that the Hakilī live east of Hadramōt and western Mahra (on the form of the word cf Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p 235), and their language is called Shehrāt, while the dialect of the territory west of it is "Mahrī (certainly not Ehkilī!)", similarly on p 178 *sq* In his *Abessinier*, p 185, also he identifies the Karā people with the Hakili [as does Hommel, *op cit*, p 153, who says "*krā* (villages) is the Arabic name for the native tribe of Hakilī, whose language is called Shehrāt"] Hakilī is the name given by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii, p 95) to the inhabitants of Mahra whose tribal name in the form Ehkili, Fresnel took for the name of the language spoken there and thus introduced it into European philological literature Landberg's opinion (*Arabica*, v, Leyden 1898, p 153) that the name Ehkili is "toute a fait juste a coté de *la vraie forme* Hak[i]li", is contradicted by Hirsch's testimony (*op cit*, p 52, from Sēhūt) that the name Ehkili applied by European scholars to Mehrī is unknown there and simply means "barbaric, unintelligible" Hommel records (*op cit*, p 153) that Glaser had interesting specimens of the Karā dialect and of Mehrī and Sokotrī, but these have not been published

Glaser (cf *Skizze*, ii, p 20, 96, 181 *sq*, 246, 503, *Abessinier*, p 84 *sqq* and Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p 12, 148, 150 *sqq*) further developed these ideas of Maltzan on the South Arabian-Ethiopic group of languages According to the latter, the Ethiopic alphabet came from the Axum inscriptions and that of the later literature in the Geʿez language from a variety of the alphabet of the South Arabian inscriptions, once common in the Mahra country and the frankincense land in general was the ancestral home of the Semitic Abyssinians and Amhārs Against the view that the name of the latter is a plural of Mahra, it is sufficient to quote the form Amkhār (Hommel, *op cit*, p 152, N⁰ 182) There is no reason to doubt contacts between Mehri and Ethiopic (Hommel, p 153) That in ancient times members of the people called Habashat in the South Arabian inscriptions (cf Glaser, *Skizze*, i, p 25—27 and *Abessinier*, p 28) were settled in Arabia is suggested by the mention of the Ἀβασηνοί in Stephanus Byzantinus s v from Uranius' *Arabica* (μετα τους Σαβαίους Χατραμῶται, Ἀβασηνοί) and the Ἀβισσα πόλις in Ptolemy, vi 7, 11 (in Ẓafār, q v) From the first passage, Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 88 has concluded that the *Abasenoi* lived east of Hadramōt, while in *Skizze*, i, p 26 he had previously supposed that by the land of the *Abasenoi* was understood the whole coast from eastern Hadramōt to Mahra and islands lying off it his further identification, which however had been suggested by his predecessors, of the *Abasenoi* with the Abyssinians (cf *Sabaische Denkmäler* by J H Mordtmann and D H Muller, Vienna 1883, p 40, where attention is called to the Ahbashān of the inscriptions) is however worthy of attention C Conti Rossini in his article *Sugli Habasāt* (*R A L*, Vol xv, Ser 5ª, 1906, p 39—59) has however shown that the old home of the Habashat of the South Arabian and Axumite inscriptions was in the southwest of Arabia and on the plains along the coast west of Sanʿā', roughly between Luhaiya and Zabīd In the *Abasenoi* of Uranius, Rossini rightly sees only an isolated section of this people or a military settlement Glaser moreover (*Skizze*, i, p 27) had at once identified the people Σωλατε mentioned in the Monumentum Adulitanum (cf D H Muller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, *Denkschr Ak Wiss*, xliii, p 5, 7 *sq*) with the Mahra and the people of the islands off the coast, which cannot at all be considered proved In any case one cannot draw any deductions from the spread of Mehrī regarding the extent of an old Habasha kingdom (with Glaser, *Skizze*, p 179) nor assume that as late as 100 B C the kings of Habashat

were established in the land of Mahra (Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p 151)

D H Müller and his collaborators were the first to collect and investigate texts in the Mahra language in a systematic and comprehensive fashion In Vol IV of the *Sudarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1902, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache* (I) he published Biblical texts, stories, poems and proverbs, which he collected for the most part on the Swedish steamer placed at the disposal of the expedition from the mouths of natives, who had been taken on board in ʿAden and Sokotrā For Mehrī in particular, he had a single authority, the same man as Jahn had In the third volume of the same collection appeared *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* by A Jahn, texts and glossary, Vienna 1902 On these two works cf the brief review by Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publikationen über den habaschitisch puntischen Dialekt in Südarabien*, *Beilage der Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1902, N⁰ 186 and 187 of 16th and 18th August, and the very thorough and expert criticism by Landberg, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien von A Jahn und D H Müller, kritisch beleuchtet*, Leipzig 1902 (Vol II ed by D H Muller, *Soqotri-Texte*, Wien 1905, forms Vol VI of the collection)

The already mentioned traveller W Hein had in 1902 in Gishin with the assistance of various natives collected Mehrī and Hadramī texts He died in 1903 before he was able to put his material into its final form, D H Muller edited and published it in vol IX of the collection (*Mehri and Hadrami-Texte*, Vienna 1909) Some of these texts are also included in vol VII, *Shauri Texte* (III) by D H Muller, Vienna 1907 and supplied with Shhawrī and Sokotrī parallels

M Bittner's grammatical studies in Mehrī are full of matter and excellent in method (see *Bibl*) The modern South Arabian dialects in spite of some features in common with Sabaean cannot be explained as daughter-languages and the last surviving relics of the South Arabian language which is found in the Sabaean and Minaean inscriptions (Jahn, *op cit*, p 1, see also SOKOTRĀ) In them, especially Mehrī and Sokotrī, we can at most recognise with Hommel, *op cit*, p 152 "a daughter language of south Arabian dialects formerly spoken there (in Mahra-land and on Sokotrā)", a pronouncement to which Maltzan had already come very near On the other hand Glaser went too far when he described Mehrī and Sokotrī as remains of the oldest "Puntic" Arabic or (*Das Weihrauchland und Sokotra*, *Beilage der Münchener Allgem Zeitung*, 1899, N⁰ 120 and 121 of May 27 and 29) as descendants of the old language of Habashat from which Ethiopic and Amharic are also said to come (see Hommel, *op cit*, p 153, note 1 and 4 and in Nielsen's *Handbuch*, p 91)

According to Vollers (*Z A*, XXII 223) the South Arabian dialects go back to the time of the settlement from ʿOmān, the immigrant Azd, not long before the coming of Islām, had occupied Mahra from ʿOmān and influenced its language by their dialect So early as al-Masʿūdī, I 333 we find the Mahra described as a mixed people Glaser (*Skizze*, II, p 188 and 96) also speaks of the influence of eastern and north eastern peoples on the Mahra language, but he wrongly ascribes to Parthian and Indian elements "the notable corruption of the Arabic language in the district of Mahra This" hypothesis is in any case sufficient to help to explain the similarity of ʿOmānī to the neighbouring dialect of Zafār As regards Mehrī, the possibility of older and deeper causes for its fundamental divergence from Arabic must be taken into consideration That the foundations for the modern South Arabian dialects were laid not much before the coming of Islām is not probable The Mahra may, as has already been suggested, be the remains of an original population, which was driven into the inhospitable south from more habitable territory by later immigrations of Arab tribes Even now, as Glaser, *Skizze*, p 187 tells us, the whole area in which Mahra is spoken is becoming more and more Arabic because no foreign people is now predominant in these regions, but traders who are mainly Arab The cultural level of the Mahra is very low They have never played a part of any note in history

Bibliography The Arab authors and the modern travellers, whose works come into consideration have been mentioned in the context with bibliographical references (Fresnel, Haines, Carter, Maltzan, Sprenger, Glaser, Hommel, Landberg, D H Muller, Hirsch, Hein, Jahn) We may further add Hein, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Reise nach ʿAdn und Gischin*, in *Anz Akad Wien*, XXXIX, 1902, of 18th June, 2 *Südarabische Itinerarien*, *M G G W*, LVII, 1914, p 32 *sqq*, and to the literature on the language Ewald, *Über die himjarische Sprache*, in A Hoefer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, I, Berlin 1846, p 311 *sqq*, and especially M Bittner, *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehrisprache in Südarabien*, I—V, *S B Ak Wien*, CLXII *sqq*, 1911—1915, 2 *Neues Mehri Material*, *W Z K M*, XXIV 70 *sqq*, also N Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre des Mehri*, *S B Ak Wien*, CLXV, 1910, Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri Sprache*, ibid, CL, 1905

(J TKATSCH)

AL-**MĀʾIDA** (A), the Table, title of the fifth Sūra of the Kurʾān

AL **MAIDĀNĪ** AḤMAD B MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L FADL, Arabic philologist born in Maidān Ziyād, a quarter of Nīsābūr, pupil of the Kurʾān exegist and philologist ʿAlī b Aḥmad al Wāḥidī, teacher of Samʿānī among others, died in his native town on 25th Ramadān 518 (Oct 27, 1124) His principal work, the great collection of proverbs *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*, exists in numerous MSS (listed by Hidāyat Husain in Cat Buhar, N⁰ 400, also Paris, N⁰ 5861, 6511, 6702), pr Būlāḳ 1284, Cairo 1310, lith Teherān 1290, with I at transl by G W Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, Bonn 1838–1843, synopsis *al-Durr al muntakhab* by al-Kāsim b Muḥammad al Bakrādjī († 1169 = 1756), Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8672, anonymous metrical version by an Ottoman, Gotha 1250, do with commentary by Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab al-Bairūtī entitled *Farāʾid al Laʾāl fī Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*, Bairūt 1312 (1895) His Arabic Persian Dictionary *al-Sāmī fī 'l-Asāmī* is arranged in subjects in the following categories *a* technical terms of fikh, *b* living, *c* heavenly, *d* earthly things, finished on 14th Ramadān 497 (June 11, 1104), in many MSS (s *Cat Lugd Bat*, I, N⁰ CV, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 284, also Paris, N⁰ 5883, 6592, Cambr, *Suppl*, N⁰ 750, Brit Mus, Or 6241, ascribed to Thaʿālibī, and in a very different form ibid, s *Oriental Studies to* E G Browne, p 149, N⁰ 88), lith,

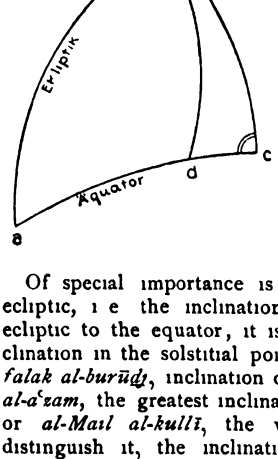
along with al-Tha'ālibī's *Sirr al-Adab fī Madjārī 'Ulūm al-'Arab*, Teherān n d , s Weijers, *Orientalia*, i 368 *sqq* , two anonymous commentaries thereon Leyden, N⁰ cvi , cvii (s Weijers, *op cit* , i 371 *sqq*), a synopsis prepared by his son Abū Sa'īd Sa'īd († 539 = 1144 , s Suyūtī, *Bughyat*, p 254) in the order of al-Djawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ* entitled *al-Asmā fī 'l-Asmā* is perhaps in Leyden, N⁰ cviii Besides a grammar *Nuzhat al Tarf fī 'Ilm al-Ṣarf* (Brit Mus , Or 5964, pr Stambul 1299), a syntax with Persian notes *al-Hādī li 'l-Shādī*, with anonymous commentary on the verses Leyd clxii (also Paris, Schefer, N⁰ 6066), and minor grammatical treatises (Leyden, N⁰ clxviii , Paris, N⁰ 4000), he wrote a critique of al-Djawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*, mainly based on al-Azharī's († 370 = 980) *Tahdhīb al-Lugha*, entitled *Kaid al-Awābid min al-Fawā'id*, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 6942

Bibliography al-Anbarī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p 466, Yākūt, *Irshād al Arīb*, ii 107, Ibn Khallikān, Būlāk 1299, p 157, al Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p 155, Quatremère, *Memoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de M* , *J A* , Ser 2, vol i, 1828, p 177—233 (mainly extracts from the *Madjma' al-Amthāl* s do , *Proverbes arabes de M* , ibid , March 1838, p 211 *sqq*) (C Brockelmann)

AL-**MAIL** (A), the inclination, a factor which plays a very important part in astronomy

The first inclination (*al-Mail al awwal*) is an arc of the circle which goes through the two poles of the equator and one degree (point) of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator This circle is perpendicular to the equator The second inclination (*al-Mail al-thānī*) is an arc of the circle, which goes through the two poles of the ecliptic and a point of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator This circle is perpendicular to the ecliptic

In the figure let *a b* be the ecliptic, *a c* the equator, *b c* be perpendicular to *a c*, *b d* perpendicular to *a b*, then *b c* is the first and *b d* the second inclination For the calculation it is important that we should have a right angle in each of the two spherical triangles, *a b c* and *a b d* The first inclination is also called *Mail al-falak mu'addil al-nahār*, inclination towards the equator



Of special importance is the obliquity of the ecliptic, i e the inclination of the plane of the ecliptic to the equator, it is equal to the first inclination in the solstitial points It is called *Mail falak al-burūdj*, inclination of the ecliptic, *al-Mail al-a'zam*, the greatest inclination, *al-Mail kulluhu* or *al-Mail al-kullī*, the whole inclination To distinguish it, the inclination of any degree is called *al-Mail al-djuz'ī*, the degree-inclination

If it is a question not of points on the ecliptic but of some star, the arc corresponding to the first inclination is called *bu'd*, "interval" that corresponding to the second *'ard*, "width" We speak in the first case quite generally of declination, in the second of latitude

The obliquity of the ecliptic is one of the fundamental magnitudes of the solar system It was therefore continually being calculated anew and almost always so as to obtain the altitudes of culmination α_1 and α_2 of the sun at the summer and winter solstices The sun is at these times at the same distance from the equator, north in one case and south in the other The obliquity of the ecliptic is the $\frac{\alpha_1 - \alpha_2}{2} = \varepsilon$ It should be mentioned that Muhammad b Sahbāh (c 875) claims to ascertain the magnitude from three different points (O Schirmer, *op cit* , p 52)

The first method was that used by Hipparchus, Ptolemy and Eratosthenes, using the most varied instruments, the two rings, the quadrant and the armillary spheres In the Muhammadan period these observations were continued with larger and larger instruments and account taken of the fact that the sun does not always enter the solstices in question by day but may do so at night, that the heavens may be obscured at the time etc From observations made before and after the time in question the value has to be obtained by interpolations This is how al-Khudjandī, for example, worked (on the instruments used, cf e g E Wiedemann and Th W Juynboll, *Avicennas Schrift uber ein von ihm ersonnenes Beobachtungsinstrument*, *Acta orientalis*, v , 1926, p 81—167) The values ascertained have been calculated by O Schirmer (O Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber*, *S B P M S Erl* , lviii 1926, p 30—90) From the measurements, it was found that the obliquity of the ecliptic decreases in course of time, i e that the plain of the ecliptic approaches the plain of the equator A conspectus of the views of Muslim scholars on this question has been given by O Schirmer (*op cit*)

Further expressions used in this connection are *al ufk al mā'il*, the inclined horizontal, it means any horizontal, except that of the equator, i e the horizontal inclined towards the horizontal of the equator *Khatt mā'il 'an khatt al-istiwā'*, i e the line which is inclined towards the equator, this is a line (a circle) which lies parallel to the equator on the globe of the earth either north or south *Falak mā'il 'an falak mu'addil al-nahār* has a corresponding meaning on the globe of the heavens, *irtifā' alladhī lā mail li-samtihi*, third altitude in the first vertical i e the vertical which goes through the eastern and western points of the horizontal (E Wiedemann)

MAIMANA, situated at 36° N and 64° 45′ E , was formerly known as al-Yahūdān, al-Yahūdiya (Yāḳūt also calls it Yahūdān al-Kubrā), but the name was changed to Maimana, "the auspicious town", for the sake of good omen It is at present the capital of the little province of Almār in Afghān Turkistan on the trade route between Herāt and Balkh Afghān Turkistān includes the western Khānates of Sar-i-pul, Shibarghān, Andkhui and Maimana, sometimes classed together as the Čahār Wilāyat Dost Muhammad took this territory from Bukhārā in the year 1855, the sovereignty remained in dispute between Kābul and Bukhārā, till it was settled in favour of Kābul by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873

The low spurs and offshoots of the Band-i Turkistān range subside gently into the Oxus plains and this favoured part of Afghānistān is

rich in agricultural possibilities Until Maimana was visited by Professsor Vambéry in 1863, but one European, Captain Stirling, had set foot within it According to Vambéry, the place consisted of some fifteen hundred mud huts and a dilapidated brick bazar Its inhabitants are Uzbeks with a sprinkling of Tādjiks, Herātis, Jews, Hindus and Afghāns Trade is now considerable and Maimana is renowned for its carpets and other stuffs made partly of wool and partly of camel's hair It traffics with Persia and Baghdād in raisins, aniseed and pistachio nuts Horses are good, plentiful and cheap

Bibliography A Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, p 244, C Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 424, Th Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London 1910, p 249

(R B WHITEHEAD)

AL-MAIMANDĪ, SHAMSU 'L KUFĀT ABU 'L-KĀSIM AHMAD B HASAN, the famous wazīr of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, was a foster-brother of the Sultān, and had been brought up and educated with him Hasan, the father of Ahmad, was the *ʿĀmil* of Bust under Subuktigin, but on a charge of misappropriation of the revenue, he was put to death In 384 (994), when Amīr Nūh b Mansūr the Sāmānid conferred on Mahmūd the command of the troops of Khurāsān, Mahmūd put Ahmad at the head of his correspondence department After this Ahmad rapidly rose in the service of his master, and occupied in succession, the posts of *Mustawfī-i Mamlukat* (Accountant General), *Sāhib-i Dīwān-i ʿArd* (Head of the War Department), and *ʿĀmil* of the provinces of Bust and Rukhkhādj In 404 (1013), Sultān Mahmūd appointed him wazīr in place of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Fadl b Ahmad al-Asfarā'inī For twelve years, Ahmad managed the affairs of the growing empire of Sultān Mahmūd with great tact and diplomacy Ahmad was very strict and exacting, and did not tolerate any evasion of duty or departure from the usual official procedure, with the result that many of the dignitaries of the Empire became his enemies and worked to bring about his ruin He was disgraced and dismissed in 415 (1024), and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Kālindjar, in the southern Kashmir hills After his accession to the throne, Sultān Masʿūd, whose cause Ahmad had always supported, re-appointed him *wazīr* in 422 (1031) Ahmad died in Muharram, 424 (December, 1032)

Ahmad is considered to be one of the greatest of Oriental wazīrs He was a learned man, encouraged scholars and showed great respect to them, and ordered all official correspondence to be carried on in Arabic instead of Persian

Bibliography al-ʿUtbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed), p 266—274, *Āthāru 'l-Wuzarā'* (India Office MS, N° 1569), fol 89b—106a, and scattered notices in *Taʾrīkh i Masʿūdī* of Baihakī

(M NAZIM)

MAIMŪNA, the last wife that Muhammad married She was the daughter of al-Hārith of the Hawāzin tribe of Saʿsaʿa and a sister-in-law of ʿAbbās After she had divorced her first husband, a Thakīfī, and her second, the Kuraishī Abū Rukm, had died, she lived as a widow in Mecca where the Prophet wooed her, primarily no doubt for political reasons, on the *ʿumra* allowed him in the year 7 His wish to marry her in Mecca was refused by the Meccans in order not to prolong his stay there, the marriage therefore took place in Sarif, a village north of Mecca Her brother-in-law ʿAbbās acted as her guardian at the ceremony The question whether the Prophet on this occasion was still in the *ihrām* or not is a much disputed and variously answered question The bridal gift is said to have been 500 dirhams Maimūna survived the other wives of the Prophet and died in 61 (681) in Sarif, where she is said to have been buried on the spot where she was married

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, ed Wüstenfeld, p 790 *sq* , Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, viii 94–100, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1595 *sq* al-Bakrī, ed Wüstenfeld, p 772 *sq* , Caetani, *Annali dell Islām*, ii 66 *sq* (H R BUHI)

MAIMŪNĪ. [See IBN MAIMŪN]

MAISĀN, the name of a district in southern ʿIrāk

The origin and significance of this name, which fell into disuse in the late middle ages, is unknown There is no certain trace of it in the cuneiform inscriptions, for the Babylonian *Mish*, which Hommel (*Ethnogr und Geogr des alt Orients*, Munich 1926, p 261, 263) identifies with it is as little worthy of serious consideration as the Old Testament *Mēshā'* (מֵישָׁא, Gen x 30) which Biblical exegists frequently quote Maisān first appears in the form Μεσήνη in Strabo in the first century A D Ptolemy gives Μαισανίτης κόλπος as the name for the innermost part of the land of the Persian Gulf The word is certainly not Greek, the meaning "middle land", the land between two rivers, may be dismissed as a fanciful etymology The territory of Mesene is in the cuneiform inscriptions the region of the southern Kaldu states, especially the most southerly Bīt-Yakīn, at the same time we find in them the term the sea-land (*māt-tāmdi*) as almost identical with Bīt-Yakin, the part of Mesene between the Tigris and Khūzistān was in the Babylonian period the home of the nomadic Aramaic tribe of Gambulu, cf Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, iii 778, 783, 796—97

In classical literature Mesene is usually absolutely synonymous with *Charakene* Mesene or Charakene appears in the second century B C (after ca 129) as a small independent kingdom founded by a certain Hyspaosines, our knowledge of whom is practically limited to his coinage After an existence of three and a half centuries Ardashir I put an end to this kingdom shortly after his accession, between 224 and 227 A D for Arabic sources for this event, see Noldeke, *Gesch d Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p 13 (Tabarī, i 818) In the strict sense of the word, Charakene is only the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris before the junction of the two streams, the land on the north was Mesene we have no information about the eastern and western frontiers of Charakene Perhaps, as Weissbach suggests (see *Bibl*), Mesene was only later conquered by the rulers of Charakene and its name transferred to this southern district

The Talmud knows Mesene as *Mēshān* (and *Mēshūn*), Syriac literature as *Maishān* Among the Persians we have *Mēshūn* and the Armenians *Mēshun*, cf thereon Schaeder, *op cit*, p 11 The Arabs took the word over as Maisān, but we occasionally also find Maishān (e g Tabarī, iii 1980, 5) The old name Mesene is perhaps concealed in that of the little town of Mashān, which, according to the Arab sources, was near Basra and was celebrated as the birthplace of the Makāma

poet Harīrī (q v , Yākūt, *Mu'ǧam*, ed Wüstenfeld, IV 536, Yākūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed Margoliouth, VI 167, Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 308)

As in the case of Mesene-Charakene, we have no exact information about the mediaeval Arab Maisān, which would enable us to define exactly the area and boundaries of the district According to Yākūt, IV 714 and Kazwīnī, p 310, Maisān is "an extensive district with numerous villages and palm groves between Basra and Wāsit, the capital of which is also called Maisān" This district formed the sixth in the old Sāsānian division into *sawād*, which was taken over by the Arabs [q v] and was called *Shādh-i Bahman* or "the Tigris district", the name Furāt-Basra is also found It was divided into four divisions (*tassūdj*, q v) namely, Bahman Ardashīr, Maisān, Dastumaisān and Abaz-Kubādh, according to Kudāma (*B G A*, VI 236, 12), these four divisions of the Tigris district later passed into the administrative district of Basra All four *tassūdj* are to be located on the east side of the Tigris Bahman Ardashir, the capital of the district of the same name, lay on the left or north bank of the Tigris, opposite Ubulla on the west or south side of the river (the latter roughly on the site of the modern 'Ashshār, the port of modern Basra) The second division, Maisān in the narrow sense, must have been that in which stood the capital of the whole district of the same name *Al-Madhār* however usually figures as such in the Arabic sources, it may be supposed that this was the successor of an older town called Maisān The locality of al-Madhār cannot be exactly fixed (see below), it lies on the east bank of the Tigris, about thirty miles (as the crow flies) north of Kurna Dastumaisan also is to be sought east of the Tigris, in the region of al-Madhār, probably south or south east of it As to the fourth district, Abaz-Kubādh, a name, which Marquart, *op cit*, p 41 and Herzfeld, *Isl*, XI 150 would emend to Izadh-Kawādh (Kubādh), relying on Hamza al-Isfahānī (*Ta'rīkh*, ed Gottwaldt, p 57), this also must be placed east of the Tigris not too far from al-Madhār A reference in Kudama (p 235, 15 *sq*) agrees very well with this, according to which the four divisions of the land of Maisān lay east of the Tigris

Even under the Sāsānians there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Maishān, which was again divided into four subdivisions, the bishoprics of Perāt de Maishān, Karkhā de Maishān, Bēth Raimā and Nehar Gūl (Gūr), cf especially Sachau, *op cit*, p 48 *sq* Marquart, *op cit*, assumed it as certain that these four dioceses must correspond to the four political divisions of the district of Maisān This view in itself probable and first found by Sachau, p 49 as worthy of consideration is untenable, as Schaeder, *op cit*, p 29 *sq* has shown Perāt de Maishān is certainly identical with Bahmān, but the second bishopric Karkhā de Maishān does not correspond to the tassūdj of Maisān or Madhār but is to be located much farther south in the district of the modern Muhammara Bēth Raimā very probably lay not on the east but on the west bank of the Tigris at some distance N E of Basra, so that it does not even come into consideration as the equivalent of one of the four Arab divisions Nehar Gūl (Gūr) may be equated to *Nahr Dīr* of the Arab geographers (see Sachau, *op cit*, p 51, Schaeder, *op cit*, p 37) This is to be sought towards Khūzistān somewhere in the neighbourhood of Huwaiza (see below) Whether the fourth tassudj Abaz-Kubādh corresponds to it cannot be settled

If then the capitals of all four divisions of the Tigris district are to be located on the east bank of the river, the lands on the west bank, also included in the sawād must have belonged to the same district as did the whole delta down to the Persian Gulf, for there is no district to which only the doubtful western and southern divisions might be allotted In the Sāsānian period, according to the Furfan fragments (cf Schaeder, *op cit*, p 28), the term Maisān was usual for the whole of southern 'Irāk (or Mēshūn) and this remained the case under the Arabs But according to the Muslim sources, it does not seem to have been limited to the south proper but to have extended a considerable distance northwards The quotations above given from Yākūt and Kazwīnī show that Maisān was considered to stretch northwards to Wāsit (q v and vol I, p 676, II, art KASKAR), indeed it is most probable that the extreme N E frontier of the area known as Maisān lay in the vicinity of the modern Kūt al Amāra (q v , the *Mādharāyā* of the Arab geographers, cf 969 *sq* , Streck, *Babylonien*, II 310 *sq*) The district of Kaskar also stretched up to here and seems in the main to have included lands east of the Tigris (cf KASKAR) To avoid misunderstandings it should here be expressly mentioned that for the Arab period, of the present course of the Tigris only the Shatt al-'Arab and the stretches as far as al-Madhār come into question, in those days the Tigris bed corresponded with that of the Nahr al Gharrāf (Shatt al-Haiy) which was the western boundary of the district of Kaskar For further details of the hydrography of Maisān, see below Maisān is occasionally used as synonymous with Kaskar, cf Schaeder, *op cit*, p 14, 17 *sq* Maisān probably stretched to the east as far as the alluvial land of the sawād, up to the frontier of Khūzistān in places beyond the present frontier of 'Irāk At least Huwaiza (the modern Hawīza [q v]) which is now on Persian soil, is expressly mentioned as a town belonging to Maisān

The swamp regions, *al-Batā'ih*, for the most part came within the area of Maisān On this cf AL-BATĪHA and the articles on al-Batā'ih al-Hālīya and al-Djazā'ir by 'Alī Sharkī in the periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, IV (Baghdād 1927), p 375–384, 474–477, 526–530 and VI 277–279, also Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *Djughrāfiyat al-'Irāk*[2], Baghdād 1927, p 40, where the more important of the swamps (*hōr*'s) are given In modern times the practically synonymous name *al-Ahwār* (plur of *hōr*) is used for al-Batā'ih (see 'Alī Sharkī, *op cit*, IV 376) The two specifically 'Irāki words *hōr* and *khōr*, which are very often used indiscriminately in European works, especially on maps (usually the one form *khōr*) (cf AL-BAṬĪHA where *khōr* is wrongly given for *hōr*), have to be carefully distinguished For *hawr* (older alternative *hawl*), popularly *hōr* = "permanent swamp, temporary lake, land liable to inundation" (cf *B G A*, ed de Goeje, IV 370, G le Strange, *J R A S*, 1895, p 298) and *al-khawr*, popularly *khōr* = "arm of a river, creek, lagoon-like gulf", cf especially the remarks of Père Anastase-Marie, the editor of the Baghdād periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, in M Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandaeer* (Giessen 1915, p 145)

One of the divisions of the Tigris district was called, as already mentioned, Dast-i Maisān. The

name is also vocalised Dastu- and Dasta Maisān in our Arabic texts Ibn Khallikān always writes the Persian form Dasht i Maishān, cf *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, v 468 *Dast*, *dasht* can here only be the Persian *dasht* = "plain" Schaeder's assumption, *op cit*, p 34, that Dast represents an abbreviation of the Pahlavi Daskert (Arabic Daskara, q v) seems to me hardly tenable Why this division in particular was distinguished as the "plain of Maisān" from Maisān proper (especially from the second division of the district), is however not apparent Could it here have been a more level plain, less filled with swamps? In any case, it is not correct to equate Dast-i Maisān without more ado to Maisān (as does G I e Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 43) Yākūt (ii 574) thus defines Dast i Maisān "It is an important district between Wāsit, Basra and al-Ahwāz [q v] (= Khūzistān, q v) lying near to the last-named The capital is Basāmatā, Dast i Maisān is not identical with Maisān but is connected with it, it is also said that it is a district with the capital al-Ubulla and Basra belonging to it" Nothing further is known of Basāmatā, here mentioned as the capital of Dast-i Maisān, the form in which the name is handed down varies (see the variants in the *Marāṣid*, ed Juynboll, v 468), it is apparently identical with Basāmīya, which al Mukaddasī (*B G A*, iii 114, 9) details among the places of the district of Wāsit (cf Tabarī, iii 1958, 17, *Z D M G*, xxix 660, xxxix 26)

From the rather general remarks in Yākūt the boundaries of the district of Dast-i Maisān cannot unfortunately be ascertained We are brought a step forward by a note in Ibn Rosta (*B G A*, vii 94, 22) which expressly states that a place named ʿAbdasī, frequently mentioned in Arabic sources, is in Dast-i Maisān When Yākūt in another connection (iv 275, 2–3) mentions ʿAbdasī alongside of Dast-i Maisān (i e distinguishing the two), as a division of Kaskar, this probably is an inaccuracy From the passage of Ibn Rosta quoted it is further evident that ʿAbdasī must have been above al Madhār in the direction of Wāsit In keeping with this is an itinerary given by Kudāma (*B G A*, vi 126, 5–6), according to which a road from Wāsit via Bādhibīn (5 farsakhs S or S E of Wāsit, cf Yākūt, i 461) to Basra passed successively through ʿAbdas (= ʿAbdasī) and al-Madhār The distance of Bādhibīn from ʿAbdas is put at 5 stages (*sikka*'s), and from ʿAbdas to al-Madhār at 8, cf also Streck, *Babylonien*, i 13—14 As a *sikka* on the average may be put at 4—5 miles (see Streck, *op cit*, p xv) the distance from Bādhibīn to ʿAbdasī may be estimated at 30—40 miles, from Bādhibīn to Wāsit was about 15 miles To this location of ʿAbdasī agrees very well a note in Ibn Hawkal (*B G A*, ii 159, 13) who says that the date-palm groves of the district of Basra stretched without interruption for over 20 parasangs = 150 miles from ʿAbbadān (then away to the south on the seashore, *q v*) as far as ʿAbdasī(!), the latter must therefore mark the northern limit of the then district of Basra From the passages mentioned we have to look for ʿAbdasī a fair distance to the north of al-Madhār, probably rather near the bank of the eastern arm of the Tigris which was dry in the middle ages The position given to ʿAbdasī by G Le Strange in his map to Ibn Serapion (*J R A S*, 1895) and in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (map ii) — south of al-Madhār on the left bank of the Tigris (in map ii) or on the right bank opposite al Madhār — seems untenable For further reference to ʿAbdasī (with the variants ʿAbdāsī, ʿAbdās or ʿAbdas, according to Hamza al-Isfahānī in Yākūt, iii 603, 19, a Persian word) see *B G A*, iv (glossary), p 94

The approximate identification of the position of ʿAbdasī, which we have obtained, gives us a clue to that of Dast-i Maisān This must have been above Maisan proper (with al Madhār), and have comprised roughly the most northern part of the whole district of Maisān in the wider sense It should be noted that the order in which the four divisions of the Tigris district are officially given (Bahman Ardashīr, Maisān, Dast-i Maisān, Abaz Kubādh, see above) is apparently that from south to north or rather north east To the east Dast i Maisān extended as far as Khūzistān But it should not be forgotten that the eastern frontier of Maisān during the caliphate must have undergone changes as a result of several alterations in the organisation of the provincial administration (cf Schwarz, *op cit*, p 290, 291), this explains the apparent contradictions in our sources, in which one and the same place is sometimes put in the ʿIrak, sometimes in Ahwāz [q v] (Khūzistān, q v, ʿArabistān, see ʿARABKĪR)

When we know definitely that Dast-i Maisān was separated by the division of Maisān from that of Bahman Ardashīr to which Ubulla belonged, it appears rather remarkable that in Ibn Khordādhbih as well as in Yākūt (cf Streck, *op cit*, p 16, 19) Dast-i Maisān is equivalent to Ubulla If this is not simply a mistake, it might at most be explained, as Schaeder does (*op cit*, p 35), by saying that under the ʿAbbāsids the headquarter for the collection of taxes for Dast-i Maisān was moved to Ubulla The whole system of division into sawad, originally simply made for convenience in taxation, had lost any practical importance, at least under the later rulers of this dynasty We are further definitely told that the Tigris district later passed under Basra, where no doubt some of the officials of the old administrative district were moved to towns near Basra like Ubulla

A part of Dast-i Maisān was known as *Djūkhā* It must have lain to the west of the modern course of the Tigris roughly from al Madhār to ʿAbdasī Ibn Rosta (*op cit*, p 95) tells us that in Djūkhā between the two towns just mentioned, a part of the Tigris water used at one time to collect into swamps, before the river altered its bed in the direction of Wāsit From the accounts of the campaigns of the Khārijīs in the Umaiyad period when the Djūkhā was a favourite place for these rebels to assemble (see vol ii, p 905b), it is evident that this district must have occupied the position here sketched out for it, cf Wellhausen, in *N G W Gott*, N S, vol v, n° 2 (1901), p 22 Whether al Djūkhā stretched as far as the Nahr al-Gharrāf (Shatt al-Haiy) and even beyond it, we do not know There is a Tell Djōkhā at some distance from the west bank of the Nahr al Gharrāf, to be exact in 45° 52′ E Long Greenw and 31° 45′ N Lat It is possible that the mediaeval name of the division Djūkhā has survived in that of this mound, which conceals the ruins of the very ancient, not unimportant town of *Umma* (ideographically written *Giš-Ukh*)

For Umma, which is mentioned in inscriptions as early as 3200 B C, and disappeared from history even before the time of Hammurabi, see Hommel, *op cit*, p 354—355, 1019, 1102 (Index) and Unger in the *Reallexik der Vorgeschichte*, xv (1928), p 3—4 Names like Djūkhā, Djawkhā, Djawkhān are found elsewhere in the mediaeval geographical nomenclature of ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān, see Yākūt, i 669, 15—16, ii 143, 144, i, iii 15, 13, cf on Djūkhā (Djawkhā) also Schaeder, *op cit*, p 23

In southern ʿIrāk, to which the district of Maisān of the Arab middle ages roughly corresponds, in course of time far reaching changes have taken place in the appearance of the country The history of the hydrogiaphy of this area is thus a very complicated problem and the solution of topogiaphical questions especially difficult The first thing to note in this connection is the fact that the Persian Gulf, the Khalidj al Basra or al-Fāris, as the modern inhabitants of al-ʿIrāk call it (cf Hāshim al Saʿdi, *op cit*, p 20, 41, ʿAbd al-Razzāk al Hasanī, *op cit*, p 115, *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iii 58, and the article BAHR AL-FĀRIS), stretched much farther north in ancient times and the middle ages than it does to-day In the Babylonian period it was a lagoon almost as wide as a sea called *Nāru Marratu* (see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, iii 796) and stretched northwards nearly as far as 31° N I at The lagoon must have stretched from Kurna in a westerly direction indicated by the later course of the Euphrates or the modern swamps (*hōr*'s) of Abū Kelām and al-Hammār, as far as the region of the mound of ruins of Abū Shahrain (c 12 miles S W of al Mukaiyir Ur) Abū Shahrain, the ancient Eridu, certainly lay on the shore of this lagoon as we know from inscriptions found there, cf Langdon, *Ausgrabungen in Babylonien seit 1918* = *A O*, xxvi (1928), p 3—4, Weissbach's objections to the equation Abū Shahrain = Eridu (in Pauly-Wissowa, *op cit*, vi 1205) are now disposed of From Kurna the lagoon probably sent an arm to the east as far as the Kārūn The land south of Kurna beyond Basra on both sides of the broad arm of the sea now marked by the bed of the Shatt al-ʿArab was probably only partly under water in ancient times (cf Herzfeld, in Sarre-Heizfeld, *Archaolog Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, vol i Berlin 1911, p 251), although it was probably exceedingly swampy In any case in the Saigonid period, the Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkhā, and Kāiūn all entered the sea or rather the lagoon running up from it by separate mouths Cf also AL-BAṬĪHA and ii, p 777

If then the question of the extent of the advance of the delta since the beginning of the historical period can be approximately answered, it hardly seems possible to allot accurately the increase in land to each century, as we do not know if the sea always retired at a constant rate In the middle ages ʿAbbadān (q v and below) in 48° 22′ E Long Greenw and 30° 12′ N Lat, c 45 miles in a direct line from Basra, was still regarded as the most southerly town of the ʿIrāk According to Ibn Battūta's *Travels* (ed Paris, ii 18) in the first half of the xivth century, it was already an hour's journey from the coast This distance has now increased to over 20 miles In the last 50 years there has been an average increase of land of at least $2^1/_2$ miles a century For further information on the steady formation of land by alluvial deposits at the north end of the Persian Gulf cf SHATT AL-ʿARAB, S Genthe, *Der Pers Meerbusen*, Marburg 1896, p 54 *sq*, *The Persian Gulf* (= *Handbooks of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, No 76, London 1920), p 13, Hāshim al Saʿdī, *op cit*, p 51—52 Since the last century the most southerly settlement immediately on the sea has been the telegraph and lighthouse station of Fāo, on this cf below

On the hydrographical conditions in Southern ʿIrāk, especially the course of the Euphrates and Tigris and the canal systems connected with them, as well as the swamps there (al-Batīha [q v] or al-Batāʾih), we have a full and lucid description of the beginning of the tenth century in the part of the *Geography* of Ibn Serapion that has survived to us, see the pertinent passages in Le Strange's edition, in *J R A S*, 1895, p 9—10 (sect i—ii), 28—30 (sect xiii—xvi), and translation and notes on p 33 *sq*, 46 *sq*, 296—311

The Tigris, probably, was in ancient times forked at the site of the modern Kūt al ʿAmāra [q v], the Mādharāyā of the mediaeval Arabic sources (see above), into an eastern and western arm For four centuries the main body of the Tigris has used the eastern bed running via ʿAmāra to Kurna, while the western arm, a more canal-like channel only navigable at high water, has connected it with the Euphrates This western arm is in modern European literature known as *Shatt al-Haiy* This seems to be a name coined by European travellers, apparently first found in the last decades of the xviiith century (in Beauchamp, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi 973) Shatt al-Haiy = "river of al-Haiy" was and still is the name given locally to the northern stretch of the river reaching as far as Haiy, but its whole course is usually called in the ʿIrāk *Nahr al-Gharrāf* (cf the quotations noted below from the works of Hāshim al-Saʿdī and ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī), Yākūt (ii 533, 5 *sq*, iii 781, 3) already knows Nahr al-Gharrāf as the name of one of the five arms of the Tigris and of a district belonging to it The Nahr al-Gharrāf was at one time called *al Musarhad*, cf *Lughat al ʿArab*, i 51 At the little town of al-Haiy the Nahr al-Gharrāf divides into five channels of which only the western *Abū Djuhairāt* has any water, while the eastern *Shatt al-ʿAmā* (or *Aʿmā*, on the name cf above ii 777) is now quite dry, cf *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i 51, with note and correction on p 225 *sq* Four miles above Shatia the main western arm also divides into two channels the large *Nahr al Shatia* in the west, which enters the Tigris at Nāsiriye (Nāsriye, see KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA), the capital of the *liwā* of Muntafik — for some years joined by a branch line to the station of al-Mukaiyir-Ur (Ur-Junction) on the Baghdād-Basra railway —, and the smaller eastern *Nahr Badīʿa* (*Badʿa*) said to have been originally dug out by the Muntafik which enters the Hōr al-Hammār somewhat east of Sūk al-Shiyūkh [q v]

On the Nahr al Gharrāf (Shatt al-Haiy) and the territory through which it flows, of which now as in the Turkish period, the northern part (including al-Haiy) belongs for administrative purposes to the *liwā* of Kūt (al-ʿAmāra) and the southern to the *liwā* of al-Muntafik, cf vol i, p 676, ii 513 *sq* and KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, and Streck, *Babylonien*, ii 311 *sq*, *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i 51 *sq*, 152, 217, 219,

222—226, Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 17, 25, 142, 144 *sq*, 147, 159, 162 *sq*, 'Abd al Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 41 *sq*, 68, 109—113, 130 Here we may emphasise once more that the whole river and canal system of the Nahr al-Gharrāf, especially the wide area between the Nahr al-Gharrāf in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south have only been very insufficiently explored as yet The accounts of the older travellers are given in Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, xi 935 *sq*, 973, 998 *sq*, cf also H Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii 82, 138—139, E Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p 66—80 (with map ii) and A Liedekerke Beaufort, in *Babyloniaca*, vii, Paris 1922, p 110—116

The bifurcation of the Tigris at Mādharāyā (or Kūt al-'Amāra) is certainly very old, and may be assumed for the old Babylonian period at least The ruins of Tellō (the old town of Lagesh), N E of al-Shatra, and of several neighbouring mounds of ruins (like al-Hibba, Serghul) are at a short distance to the east of the modern Nahr al-Gharrāf, on an arm (canal?) or older bed of it It is possible that the western bed of the Tigris, Nahr al-Gharrāf, is of artificial origin (cf above ii, p 513 *sq*) and was a canal dug at a remote period planned to give a convenient connection with the Euphrates The western arm of the river was in all probability the regular course of the Tigris in the Babylonian period (cf also the sketch map in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol i), it is only since the last centuries B C that the main channel of the Tigris, for reasons not known to us, must have made its way into the eastern modern river bed Under the later Sāsānians another change took place, originally connected with the great extension of the swampy area of the Batīha According to a note in Yākūt (i 669, 5), the Tigris had already ceased in the reign of Bahrām V Gūr (420—438) to flow in the direction of al Madhar and instead of this had chosen the route of the arm that runs towards Kaskar In any case burstings of dams which took place, especially in the reigns of Kubādh Pērōz (457—484) and Khusraw II Parwēz (590—628) (cf i, p 676), considerably furthered this development It is certain that at the beginning of Muslim rule, the Tigris was using the western bed exclusively The eastern was quite dry as far as al Madhār, and only after this town did it contain water again On the state of the river in the middle ages cf especially the descriptions in Ibn Rosta (*B G A*, vii 94, 21 *sq*) and thereon G Le Strange, in *J R A S*, 1895, p 300 *sq* and Schaeder, *op cit*, p 21 *sq*, see also Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 27—28 and above i, p 969 *sq*

In the early decades of the ninth (xv^th^) century the Tigris was still flowing in its western bed, but in the next century it again altered its course and sent the mass of its water to the eastern bed, so that this again became the usual route for navigation It was used as such, as we know from European travellers (see I e Strange, *The Lands* etc, p 28 *sq*) at least since the middle of the xvi^th^ century, the eastern arm has remained the Tigris proper to the present day

The stretch of the eastern Tigris which alone was filled with water in the middle ages, south of al-Madhār, the Didjlat al-'Awrā' (cf below), joined the Nahr Abī 'l-Asad, which flowed out of the Batīha, according to Ibn Serapion, probably a little below the modern Kurna, cf i 676, 969 *sq*, ii 119 Yākūt's account differs seriously from Ibn Serapion's description of the Lower Tigris How far Yākūt, who lived 300 years after Ibn Serapion, reflects an alteration in the river system, it is impossible to say According to Yākūt (ii 553, 3 *sqq*, cf thereon Streck, *Babylonien*, i 39—40 and above i, p 676), the Tigris after passing Wāsit divided into five arms, which reunited at a place called al-Matāra This Matāra (var Matāiā and Matār in *B G A*, ii 53, 15, iii 161, 3) lay a day's journey from Basra i e about halfway between this town and Kurna

These five arms of the Tigris were, he says, the Nahr Sāsī, Nahr Gharrāf, Nahr Dakla, Nahr Dja'far and Nahr Maisān Sāsī is mentioned in another passage in Yākūt (iii 11, 10) as a place above Wāsit Gharraf has already been mentioned as the usual modern name for the western arm of the Tigris (Shatt al-Haiy) The Nahr Dakla (apparently the Aramaic form of the Arabic Didjla) flowed, according to Yākūt, iv 830, 22, or v 838, 2, near the Nahr Abī 'l-Asad and east of the Nahr Dja'far The latter was (see Yākūt, v 838, 2) between Wāsit and Nahr Dakla The Nahr Maisān, finally, seems to be identical with the Didjla al-'Awrā' from al-Madhār to the mouth of the Nahr Abī 'l-Asad (cf also Yākūt, i 603, 4)

The bed of the upper Didjlat al-'Awrā' which seems to have been dammed at al-Madhār was apparently also fed by the waters of the Nahr Abī 'l-Asad The Arab geographer Kudāma (*B G A*, vi 233, 3—4) says, "After leaving the Batīha, the Tigris divides into two arms, the one of which goes to Basra and the other to al-Madhār" On the banks of the Nahr Maisān, "between al Madhār and Basra", lay the village of al Bazzāz (Yākūt, i 603, 4)

As to the Euphrates, we are told that in the middle ages it poured its waters into the Batīha in two channels below Kūfa and Hilla, like the main body of the Tigris in the west, cf especially Ibn Serapion, ed G Le Strange, in *J R A S*, 1895, p 10, 16 *sq* (and p 47, 260), G Le Strange, *The Lands* etc, p 74 and above ii, p 513, *sq*, art AL FURĀT

The Nahr Abī 'l-Asad, which runs out of the Batīha and is often described by the Arab geographers as the eastern section of the (western) Tigris (cf above and Yākūt, iv 830, 22) might with a certain amount of justice also be claimed as the last stretch of the Euphrates It is in this sense that Yākūt (iv 561, 22) says that al-Matāra, mentioned above, is "on the bank of the Tigris and of the Euphrates at the junction of the two" On the alterations in the lower course of the Euphrates in the later middle ages down to the xvii^th^ century we have very little information (cf AL-FURĀT), but we may assume that since about the xv^th^ century, at latest since the beginning of the xvi^th^, the whole volume of the Euphrates no longer disappeared in the swamps but a portion ran in a definite channel which roughly coincided with the course of the modern bed, and ultimately used the channel of the Nahr Abī 'l Asad and thus effected a direct communication with the Eastern Tigris From the reports of European travellers (see G I e Strange, *The Lands* etc, p 28 *sq*) it is evident that at the junction of the two rivers there stood since at least the middle of the xvi^th^ century a castle named al-Kurna (now a small

town, see also below, IV 364) Since the great scheme for regulating the Euphrates was carried out by Willcocks in the first decade of this century (cf II, p 515a and SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB) only a small and insignificant arm of the Euphrates now flows out at Kurna while its main arm cuts through the swamps of al-Hammār in a new channel and enters what is now called the Shatt al-ʿArab above Karmat ʿAlī (c 10 miles N of Basra) On this modern Euphrates channel called after Karmat ʿAlī (popularly Kurmat and Gurmat ʿAlī) cf Hāshim al-Saʿdi, *op cit*, p 20, 6 *sq*, 36, 10, 159, 5 *sq*, ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 69, 2, *Lughat al-ʿArab*, I 365, 8 *sq*, IV 527, 3, *Mesopotamia* (*Handbooks of the Foreign Office*, N° 63), London 1920, p 6, 52 *sq*, 55 and cf II, p 515

The Eastern Tigris from al Madhār to its mouth on the Persian Gulf bore in the middle ages the name of Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ = the "one-eyed Tigris" (on this cf above, II 777), cf especially Ibn Rosta (*B G A*, VII), p 94 *sq* and Ibn Serapion (*J R A S*, 1895, p 28, 299—303), Streck, *Babylonien*, I 41—42, G Le Strange, *The Lands* etc, p 43, Schaeder, *op cit*, p 21—23 and cf I, p 676, 969 *sq*, II, p 513 *sq* Yākūt (IV 830, 22) however limits the name Didjlat al-ʿAwraʾ to the stretch from al-Matāra to the sea, i e the combined Euphrates and Tigris At the same time we find other special names for this last section among the Arab authors of the middle ages like Didjlat al-Basra (the Tigris of B), Faid al-Basra (cf e g Yākūt, III 931, 10), Bādhaward (Yākūt, I 462, 11) A specifically Persian name is Bahmanshīr = the river of the district of Bahman Ardashir (cf II, p 777, see Yākūt, I 770, 20)

Even in the Babylonian period the lower Tigris seems to have had a special name, Surāpu, see Meissner, *op cit*, p 5 For nearly two centuries the combined Euphrates and Tigris has been known as Shatt al-ʿArab = "the river of the Arabs", because its banks, although since 1640 (with interruptions) they have been in parts incorporated in the Persian kingdom, are almost exclusively inhabited by Arab tribesmen (The name Shatt al-ʿArab is found in the middle of the XIth century in Nāsir-i Khusraw [*Sefernāme*, ed Schefer, p 89] but this is the only early occurrence) In its lower half the Shatt al-ʿArab has since that date formed the often contested frontier between Persia and Turkey or (since the World War) the Kingdom of ʿIrāk, about an hour's journey above (or west of) Muhammara, the eastern bank becomes Persian Cf also the article SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB and *The Persian Gulf* (*Foreign Office Handbook*, N° 76), London 1820, p 15, 54

The stretch of the Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ corresponding to the modern Shatt al-ʿArab in the middle ages sent out numerous canals on either side, the very complicated canal-system of the country round Basra was especially celebrated The most important canals on the west bank were the Nahr Maʿkil (still to day the name of a small village, an hour above al-ʿAshshār) and the Nahr Ubulla (apparently the modern Nahr al ʿAshshār) which united at the town of Basra and connected it with the Tigris The mediaeval Nahr Abi 'l Khasīb, c 15 miles south of Basra on the west side, may also be mentioned this still exists to day and has given its name to a district and its capital (belonging to the sandjak of Basra), see Cuinet, *op cit*, p 23, ʿAdb al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 118 Of the canals on the west bank the most important was the Nahr Bayān (cf Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p 311, 390—391) The Nahr Bayān formed an artificial channel connecting the Tigris and the Kārūn, we have also mediaeval references to a similar communication between these two rivers Another canal still in existence on the west side is the Nahr Rayān (Rayānʾ, modern Riyān) north of the Nahr Bayān The most northern canal on the east side which left the Tigris about the neighbourhood of the modern Kurna, was called Nahr al-Mubārak, not Nahr al Madhār (cf thereon de Goeje, in *J R A S*, 1895, p 749, emendation to *J R A S*, 1895, p 30, 2, 307, 308 and Streck, *Babylonien*, I 41) Generally speaking, there are not now so many canals in the Shatt al-ʿArab as there were in the middle ages The best account of conditions in the caliphate is that of Ibn Serapion see the text in *J R A S*, 1895, p 29—30 (thereon p 303—311), cf also Streck, *Babylonien*, I 42 and G Le Strange, *The Lands* etc, p 46—48 Cf particularly the article *al-Basra wa-Anhāruha*, which gives a list of old and new names of canals, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, III (1913), p 57—68, 128—132 and p 673—674 (additions) and p 700—704 (indices), al-Nabhāni, *al Tuhfa al-Nabhaniya fī Taʾrikh al-Djazīra al-ʿArabīya*, 2nd ed Cairo 1342 (1923), II 15—53

After the hydrography of the district of Maisān, we may now deal briefly with the more important places in it The mediaeval Arab geographers give as its capital the already frequently mentioned al-Madhār on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 4 days journey from Basra The Shiʿa inhabitants according to Yākūt (VI 468) had a splendid mosque here with the tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī who fell at Karbalāʾ in the year 680, on this see the references in Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arab Stamme*, *Register* (1853), p 8 and Yākūt, VI 506, cf also HAWĪZA This sanctuary still survives and it enables us — which has not been noticed before (hence, for example, the inaccurate locations by G Le Strange in *J R A S*, 1895, p 300 and in *The Lands* etc, p 42) — to define quite exactly the site of al-Madhār The name al-Madhār is no longer known on the spot, as of the old town the highly revered ʿAlid sanctuary is all that remains, the place is now called simply ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī Keppel, who paused here on his way up the river in 1824, speaks erroneously of "the residence of Sheikh Abdilla bin Ali, an Arab chief", cf his *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England* (London 1827), I 91 According to Chesney's map (see *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1856, Atlas, Pl x), ʿUzair and ʿAbd Allāh are only 10 miles apart in a direct line, a figure which has however to be doubled when allowing for the many windings of the river if one goes by boat The traveller Schlaffli, who in 1862 went down the Tigris on a steamer, took two hours to go from ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī to ʿUzair, cf his *Reisen im Orient* (Winterthur 1864), p 137, Rich took six hours to ascend (Ritter, XI 945) On my own journey in March 1927 I visited ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī, the steamer covered the distance from here to ʿUzair with the river in favourable condition in not quite three hours ʿAbd Allah b ʿAlī lies on a slight eminence ten minutes from the left bank of the Tigris, which describes a curve here The mosque of the tomb with its dome

visible from a long distance off stands within the south side of an oblong court, to which entrance is given by a door in the slightly built north wall The *Makāma* poet al-Harīrī, born in Mashān (near Basra) is said by Yākūt (iv 468) to have died in al-Madhār As Ibn Rosta (*B G A*, vii), p 95, 21 tells us, the tides came up as far as al-Madhār, this agrees with Schlaffli's observation (*op cit*) The tide indeed is sometimes perceptible as far up as the town of Kal'at Sālih, farther north, cf Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 39, 2, cf also *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, London 1898, p 295 Opposite al-Madhār, on the west bank was the little town of al-Hātrā (Yākūt, iv 947, 6)

When Yākūt observes in one passage (iv 714) that the capital of Maisān was also called Maisān, he can only be referring to al-Madhār, the centre of the district of Maisān in the narrower sense, not perhaps, Furāt Maisān, for which we also find an abbreviated form Maisān The name al-Madhār probably first came into existence in the Muslim period, perhaps for a new foundation on the site of the old town of Maisān

As to Kal'at Sālih already mentioned on the left bank of the Tigris which like 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī belongs to the *liwā'* of 'Amāra, see Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 151, 'Abd al-Razzāk al Hasanī, *op cit*, p 123—134 and *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv 377, 2, 378, 4, 536 This town of modern origin a couple of hours' journey below 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī has now about 3,000 inhabitants (including many Mandaeans) The site of al Madhār cannot be marked by Kal'at Sālih for al-Madhār was certainly of moderate extent and the 'Alid mosque is to be sought within it and not in its vicinity

As to 'Uzair already mentioned (now usually pronounced 'Azēr), south of 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī on the west bank of the Tigris, it is especially mentioned that it belonged to the district of Maisān, see Yākūt, iv 319, 714, Kazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād*, ed Wustenfeld, ii 310 The proper name of this place with the alleged tomb of Ezra ('Uzair) in the middle ages was, according to Arabic and Jewish sources, Nahr Samuia (popularly Simmara), cf e g Yākūt, iv 840, 20 Cf on 'Uzair especially D S Sassoon, *op cit* (see *Bibl*), J R Ghanīma, *op cit* (see *Bibl*), p 189 *sq* and the article 'UZAIR

The town of 'Abdasī ('Abdas etc) to the north of al-Madhār has already been discussed On the town of Huwaiza (now Hawīza) also belonging to Maisān see above 1, p 676 and art HAWĪZA, to the *Bibliography* may now be added Layard in *J R G S*, xvi (1846), p 34—36, J de Morgan, *Mission scientif en Perse, Étude geograph*, ii, Paris 1895, p 278 and Schwarz, *Irān im Mittelalter*, p 392 *sq*, *Lughat al-'Arab*, vi 277 *sq* An extensive swamp (*hōr*) (cf 1, p 676) takes its name from this town, the water from which flows into the Tigris a little south of Kurna, cf Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 21, 1

The modern towns of importance on the Nahr al-Gharrāf (Shatt al-Haiy) are of recent origin and are still developing They are from north to south Haiy (Kūt al-Haiy), a town with 9,000—10,000 inhabitants (cf above and 1, p 676, *Lughat al-'Arab*, i 152, 224), Kal'at Sikkar with 1,500 and Shatra with 7,000 inhabitants, on these three places cf Cuinet, *op cit*, iii 290, 310 *sq*, 312—315 (where Kalfat Sakar is wrongly given for Kal'at Sikkar), Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p 69 *sq*, 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 111—113, 130 *sq*, Hāshim al Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 147, 162—163

At the spot which up till some two centuries ago was regarded as the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris stands the little town of Kurna (Korna, Gurna) with 2,000 inhabitants It is not known to have existed in the middle ages, on it cf above and Mignan, *Travels in Chaldaea*, London 1829, p 284 *sq*, Ritter, xi 1018—1023, Cuinet, *op cit*, iii 211 *sqq*, 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 119, Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 156, *Lughat al 'Arab*, iii 57 Halfway between Kurna and Basra must have stood al-Matāra where, according to Yākūt, the two arms of the Tigris, or the Euphrates and Tigris met in the middle ages, cf above About 3 hours' journey above Basra on the right bank of the river is the little village of Karmat 'Alī, where as already mentioned, the main stream of the Euphrates flows into the Tigris or the Shatt al-'Arab

In the Muslim period, Basra was the largest and most important town in the old district of Maisān and in practice its capital, although under the 'Abbāsids, al Madhār may have for a considerable period been regarded as the official capital On Basra, mediaeval Basra, modern Basra and al-'Ashshār, cf the article BASRA

Al-'Ashshār stands approximately on the site of Ubulla which as a suburb and port on the Tigris for the mediaeval Basra was of some importance In our sources we are expressly told that Ubulla lay north of the canal which bore its name, partly on an island, which was formed by the Tigris and the two canals of Nahr al-Ma'kil and Nahr al-Ubulla which joined one another at Basra The modern Nahr al-Khōra which leaves the Shatt al-'Arab about one hour south of al 'Ashshār, cannot be the Nahr al-Ubulla (in spite of *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii 63) The modern al 'Ashshār, the principal commercial centre of southern 'Irāk, is only a little inferior to Basra as regards numbers of population The two together have now a population of 50—60,000 On Ubulla, the ancient Ἀποδόγον ἐμπόριου (s Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallex der klass Altertumswiss*, Suppl -Bd, i 111), cf G Le Strange, *J R A S*, 1895, p 306 and *The Lands* etc, p 47, Drouin, *a a O* (s *Litt*), p 9, Sachau, *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1919, N° 1, p 20, 51 *sq*, *Isl*, xi 151, *Lughat al-'Arab*, v 477, vi 200, 1 and the art AL UBULLA

Opposite al-'Ashshār, on the east bank of the Shatt al 'Arab stands the little town of al Tanūma (cf *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii 129, 3, 230, 9, 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 118, Hāshim al Sa'dī, *op cit*, p 156, 6) On its site or at least somewhere in the neighbourhood, there was already in ancient and mediaeval times an important harbour, known to Pliny as Forat (cf also Drouin, *op cit*, p 8) In the Talmud (see Berliner, *op cit*, p 44) and in Syriac sources it is called Perāt de Maishān, in the mediaeval Arab authors Furat Maisān or Furāt al-Basra In Syriac and Arabic texts we also find Perāt or Furāt, without the addition of Maisān, with Furāt = Euphrates the name has no connection When the first Sāsānian king Ardashīr I refounded the city it received from him the new name of Bahman-Ardashīr, shortened to Bahmanshīr, see Hamza al-Isfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed Gottwaldt, p 37 *sq*, 46 and *Isl*, xi 149 Cf the above mentioned

specifically Persian name of the Didjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ and Bamshīr (= Bahmanshīr) as a name of an arm of the Kārūn (cf II, p 777) That Furāt Maisān was opposite Ubulla on the left bank is quite clear from the Arabic references cf Wellhausen, *Abh G W Gott*, N F, v, N⁰ 2 (1901), p 34 and Schaeder, *op cit*, p 31 The identification of Furāt Maisān with the modern Basra or even with old Basra (Berliner, *op cit*), which has been championed by different scholars (Noldeke in *S B Ak Wien*, 1893, Abh IX, p 18, Marquart, *op cit*, p 41, Sachau, *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1919, N⁰ I, p 49, only suggested as a possibility by Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaol Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, I 251) is therefore untenable Perāt de Maishān was the see of the Nestorian metropolitan which was later moved to Basra (first certain reference in 893), cf Sachau, *op cit*, p 49 and Schaeder, *op cit*, p 31 *sq* The old name of the diocese Perāt de Maishān was still frequently used in place of Basra even after the transfer of the episcopal see If we have on one occasion, c 900 A D, a mention of a bishop of Maishān simply, we should refer it to Perāt de Maishān rather than to Karkh de Maishān (so Sachau, *op cit*, p 50) because the abbreviation Maishān for Perāt de Maishān is found elsewhere in Syriac literature (cf Schaeder, *op cit*, p 32–33) As to the coins of the Omaiyad period of the mint of Maisān, this is probably to be explained also as al-Furāt Maisān and not as Karkh Maisān (so Mordtmann, *Z D M G*, XXXIII 126) or Maisān (al Madhār) as Schaeder, *op cit*, p 34 thinks Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Takwīm al-Buldān* (ed Reinaud, p 296), also is obviously thinking of Furāt Maisān not Maisān (al-Madhār) when he says "Maisān is a little town in the lower part of the land of Basra"

On the east bank of the Shatt al-ʿArab about where the Eulaeus or Dudjail (the modern Kārūn [q v]) joins it, Alexander the Great built a new town on the site of an older settlement, which he called Alexandreia after himself After its restoration by one of the Seleucids, it was known as Antiocheia When Spasines (Hyspaosines) created a kingdom of his own in Mesene-Charakene, Alexandreia-Antiocheia became his capital and was known as Χάραξ Σπασίνου, under this name (Aramaic Karkhā Aspasinā or simply Karkhā) it is mentioned in the Palmyrene inscriptions Another refoundation of the town is ascribed to Ardashīr I, hence its official designation in the Sāsānian period as Astarābādh Ardashīr (also abbreviated to Astābādh), cf Noldeke, *Gesch d Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden* (Leyden 1879), p 14, Marquart, *op cit*, p 41, Herzfeld, *Isl*, XI 150, Hamza al-Isfahānī, *op cit*, p 47, gives the (corrupt?) form of the name Inshā Ardashīr The older name Karkhā more exactly defined by the addition "of Maishān" remained in existence The Syriac texts always write Karkhā de Maishān There was a Nestorian bishopric here, which seems soon to have disappeared under Islām, see Sachau, *op cit*, p 49—50 and Schaeder, *op cit*, p 33 The Arabs took over the Syriac name as Karkh [q v] Maisān, cf e g Yākūt, IV 207, 1 The Persian traveller Nāsir i Khusraw who visited the ʿIrāk about 443 (1051) (cf his *Sefernāme*, ed Schefer, p 89) mentions, besides Basra, in the district of Maisān a place called ʿAkr Maisān, probably an inaccurate reproduction of Karkh Maisān The site of Karkh Maisān is usually sought on that of the Persian port of Muhammera, which has only arisen since about 1812, or at least in its immediate neighbourhood, cf Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl*, I 1394 *sq*, Droin, *op cit*, p 7, Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise*, I 251, Sachau, *op cit*, p 50, Schaeder, *op cit*, p 33 This identification does not have been absolutely certain Karkh Maisān is perhaps to be located farther to the north, cf e g the objections of Mordtmann in *S B Bayr Ak*, 1875, vol II, Suppl Heft, III, p 14 Cf also on Alexandreia Charax Spasinu-Karkh Maisān the important article "Alexandreia" by Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl*, I 1390 *sqq* and the article Charax Spasinu by Weisbach, *ibid*, III 2122, Droin, *op cit*, p 7—8, 15, Schaeder, *op cit*, p 31 *sq* On coins struck in Karkh Maisan of the Arsakid and Sasānian periods cf Mordtmann, *Z D M G*, XXXIII 126 *sq* and G F Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia and Persia in the British Museum* (London 1922), cf also MUHAMMERA and also vol II p 777

In the middle ages the most southerly town in the ʿIrāk was ʿAbbādān, which then lay on the coast — under the later ʿAbbāsids it was already some distance from it — and was an important harbour Cf above and the article ʿABBĀDĀN

At the beginning of the twentieth century it was still an insignificant little village It is only since the last twenty years that it has undergone an unexpected development because of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company making it the terminus of their pipes from Shuster and Maidān-i Naftūn (cf II, p 779b) The oil is now pumped into tank-steamers at ʿAbbādan, important factories, warehouses etc have been built there Brēm, five minutes west of ʿAbbādān proper, has developed into a flourishing town which bears the name Brēm ʿAbbadān or ʿAbbādan al-Hadītha = New ʿAbbādān On the meaning of the word *brēm* (a particular kind of date) cf *Lughat al-ʿArab*, I 125, 1 *sq*, 443, 5, III 592, 2 from below In Brēm are the ruins of a palace or castle said to date from the time of the Caliph Harūn al Rashīd, cf *Lughat al-ʿArab*, I 126, 9 *sq* ʿAbbādān is now next to Basra-ʿAshshār and Muhammera the largest and most important town in the whole of the Shatt al-ʿArab On the other places on the island of ʿAbbādān cf *Lughat al ʿArab*, I 128, 3 *sq* The island, which before the war belonged to the Shaikh of Muhammera who was under Persian suzerainty, was leased about 1911 by England for 99 years On mediaeval ʿAbbādān cf *Lughat al-ʿArab*, I 121—129, on modern ʿAbbādān and the works of the Persian Oil Company, *ibid*, I 176–184, W Schweer, *Die turk-persisch Erdolvorkommen*, Hamburg 1919, p 52, 112—115

At ʿAbbādān close to the sea-coast there stood in the middle ages the lighthouses known as *al-Khashabāt* [q v]

As has already been pointed out, ʿAbbādān is now over 20 miles from the sea The most southerly place in the ʿIrāk for about a century has been the important lighthouse and telegraph station at Fāo [q v], built on the shore of the Persian Gulf, on it and the district, cf Cumet, *op cit*, III 268—270, ʿAbd al Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op cit*, p 118, Hāshim al-Saʿdi, *op cit*, p 21, 155, 3 from below, cf above and art SHATT AL-ʿARAB The Turks fortified this important strategic point (see *Persian Gulf* [*Handbooks* etc], p 54, *Meso-*

potamia [*Handbooks* etc], p 48, 63, al-Nabhānī, *loc cit*, II 142—146)

It may be here mentioned that the Zindj, the African negro slaves, settled in the southern ʿIrāk (cf ZINDJ and 1, p 676), during their rebellion in the second half of the ninth century, built several strong places west of the Shatt al-ʿArab, which they used as bases during their struggle with the armies of the Caliph Their main bulwork was the town of al-Mukhtāra (Yākūt, IV 831, 5) on the Nahr Abi 'l Khasīb (see above), south of Basra Other strongholds were called al-Manīʿa and al-Mansūra When al-Muwaffak, the brother of the Caliph al Muʿtamid, undertook command of the military operations against the Zindj, he pitched his camp opposite these places on the east bank of the Shatt al ʿArab, this camp soon grew into a considerable town, called al-Muwaffakīya with mosques, bazaars and even a mint But when in 883 the capture of al-Mukhtāra broke the power of the rebels and the dangerous servile war was over, this new foundation of al-Muwaffak seems to have been soon abandoned again On al-Muwaffakīya and the three strongholds of the Zindj above mentioned cf Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II 456, 462, 464, Lang, *Z D M G*, xl 610, A Muller, *Der Islām im Morgen- und Abendl*, I 585 *sq*, Noldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (1892), p 174—183, (= *Sketches from Eastern History*, p 146 *sqq*), de Goeje, *Mem sur les Carmathes*, Leyden 1886, p 103

The population of Maisān in the early centuries of Islām still had a strong admixture of Persian blood, it was therefore regarded as not quite equal to the pure blooded Arabs who were proud of the purity of their stock We thus see why the poet al-Akhtal thinks he can most effectually insult Arabs by calling them people from the Maisān district of Azkubādh (cf the verse in Yākūt, I 233, 6) I e, by denying them to be Arabs, cf Goldziher, *Muhammed Stud*, I (Halle 1889), p 118 and cf *idem*, p 119, note 1, the quotation from the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, (XVII 65, 23) This naturally produced a reaction among the Maisān Arabs The celebrated poet and historian Sahl b Hārūn [q v] of Dast-i Maisān, a fanatical believer in the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims (*Shuʿūbīya*, q v) on the other hand, extols the blue blood of the people of Maisān (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, I 161)

The Muslim inhabitants of Maisān were in the middle ages as at the present day for the most part Shīʿīs The number of Jews does not seem to have been considerable before the invasion of the Arabs At the present day there is only a considerable community of them in Basra The alleged tomb of Ezra in ʿUzair (cf above), a much-visited place of pilgrimage also honoured by Christians and Muslims, is in Jewish hands

Christianity is said, according to legend, to have reached Maisān in the first century A D A quite legendary person named Māni, said to be a disciple of Jesus, is regarded as the apostle of the Gospel in Central and Southern ʿIrāk, cf Raabe, *Geschichte des Dominus Mari*, I eipzig 1893 (Dissert), p 57—58 and Streck, *Babylonien*, II 286 *sq* This much is certain that as early as 410 A D there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province with 4 dioceses, cf *Z D M G*, xlii 394, Marquart, *op cit*, p 41 and Sachau, *op cit*, p 48—52

The remarkable sect of the Mandaeans (the Sābi'a of the Kur'ān, q v), now called Subbē, had from their early times their headquarters in southern ʿIrāk, in Maisān, especially in the swamp country On their geographical distribution in the XIXth century cf Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St Petersburg 1850, I 124—125) and Euting, in *Das Ausland* (1876), p 224—225 According to enquiries which I made in 1927 of Mandaeans, the number of Mandaeans in the larger towns of the ʿIrāk may be approximately estimated as follows in ʿAmāra and Hawīza 1,000 each, in Kalʿat Sālih and Muhammera 500 each, in Basra 300 and in Kurna 100 The language of the Mandaeans, who represent a remnant of the original native Aramaic population of Babylonia, is probably identical in the main with the Aramaic idiom which was once predominant in southern ʿIrāk, the dialect of the old kingdom of Mesene Charakene, the Meshān dialect as it is called in the Targum, cf Noldeke, *Mandaische Grammatik* (Halle 1875), XXVI and Pognon, *Inscript mandaites des coupes de Khouabir* (Paris 1898—1899), p 13—14, 224

On the Indian people of the Djat (Arab Zutt) and the Zindj from East Africa, who were settled on the soil of Maisān at the end of the first (seventh) or in the third (ninth) century, see above 1, p 676 and the articles ZINDJ and ZUṬṬ

As to the industries of the people of Maisān in the middle ages we need only mention the mats made here, which are praised as the best of their kind, cf S Fränkel, *Die aram Fremdwort im Arabisch* (Leyden 1886), p 92 The reed-beds of the marshes supplied excellent material for them in enormous quantities Even at the present day the manufacture of reed mats continues to give employment to many hands, for the people of the flat lands in southern ʿIrāk like to use long tun shaped huts called *serifa*'s, the walls of which are made of reed-matting

The history of Maisān since the introduction of Islām practically coincides with that of the ʿIrāk, especially that of the northern part (the province of Basra and the Batiha), the reader may therefore be referred to the articles ʿIRĀK, BASRA and AL-BAṬĪḤA Here we will only point out that the administrative district of the Tigris belonging to Maisān was conquered with Dast i Maisān in the year 14 (635), on this conquest cf Balādhurī, *op cit*, p 340—346 and Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, III 252, 301—304 (§ 6 and 81—86), VI 108 (Index s v Maysān)

Al Madhār, the capital of Maisān, was the scene of important military happenings at the time of the Arab invasion and frequently later also In the year 12 (633) al-Khālid and al-Muthannā fought a great battle with the Persians at this town, the first in their invasion of the ʿIrāk This battle is sometimes called after an adjacent canal, called al Thinī (Yākūt, I 937, 17) The defeated Persians are said to have lost 30,000 men in this encounter, cf Balādhurī, *op cit*, p 242, 9, Tabarī, *op cit*, V 2026—2029, al-Masʿūdī, *op cit*, IV 209, Muller, *Der Islām*, I 228, Caetani, *op cit*, II 959—962 (§ 196—200) In the fighting with the Khāridjīs for whom the district of Djūkhā in Dast i Maisan frequently served as a hidingplace, there was a desperate battle in 47 (664) in and around the town of al Madhār These rebels were forced to retreat by the Kūfans under the leadership of Maʿkil b Kais, cf Wellhausen, *Abh*

G W Gött, N S, v, N° 2 (1901), p 22—23 In the campaigns against the ʿAlids, Musʿab b Zubair at al-Madhar in 67 (686) inflicted a serious reverse on the army sent by Mukhtār under the command of Ahmad al-Nakhlī, which had very grave results for the Shiʿa cause championed by Mukhtār, cf Yākūt, *op cit*, iv 468, Weil, *op cit*, p 83 and above i, p 676 Several centuries later, there was again fighting at al-Madhāi, on this occasion with varying results. This was during the struggle between Abū Kālidjār and Djalāl al-Dawla in 421 (1030) in connection with the disputed succession among the Būyids, see above i, p 94b

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(M Streck)

MAISARA, a Berber chief of the Maghrib, who rebelled against Arab authority in 122 (739/40) He belonged to the tribe of the Matghāra and the historians give him the surname of al-Hakir "the low-born" because he was of humble origin and before his rebellion had been a water-seller in the market of al-Kairawān

After the recall of Mūsā b Nusair at the end of the first century A H, rebellion began to smoulder in North Africa ʿUmar b Abd Allāh al-Murādī, governor of Tangier, and a grandson of ʿUkba b Nāfiʿ, Habib b Abī ʿUbaida, governor of Sūs, were inflicting grievous wrongs on the Berbers by treating them, as regards taxation, as a conquered people not converted to Islām, and by taking the fairest of their women to send as slaves to Damascus The general Habib having been sent from Sūs with his troops to the conquest of Sicily, his departure was the signal for insurrection A movement on a large scale broke out, at its head the Berbers put Maisara al-Matghārī With the related tribes of the Miknāsa and Baraghwāta [q v] Maisara advanced on Tangier and seized it The Arabs tried in vain to withstand him, the governor of Spain, ʿUkba b al-Hadjdjādj, even crossed the Strait to help Tangier but his efforts were in vain It was not long before Maisara was dismissed and killed by his own followers but his successor Khālid b Hamīd al-Zanātī was more fortunate at the beginning of 123 (740) he inflicted on the Arabs on the banks of the Wādī Shalif (Chelif) the disastrous defeat known as the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*) It required a great expeditionary force to be organised in the east in order to overcome finally this general rebellion, which was not done without considerable losses

Bibliography Ibn al Kūtiya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāh al Andalus*, Madrid 1926, p 14—15 of the text, 10—11 of the transl, Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al mughrib*, ed Dozy, i 39—40, transl Fagnan, i 50—53, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v 142 = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, p 63—65, al-Nuwairī, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed Gaspar Remiro, p 34—35, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed and transl by de Slane, text, i 137 and 151, transl, i 216—217, 237—238, Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875, i 286—289, R Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i 241—243

(E Lévi Provençal)

MAISIR, casting lots by arrows, a method by which a head of cattle was divided This was the custom of the Arabs before Islām The word seems almost to mean lucky chance, easy success, from *yasira*, to be easy, *yassara*, to succeed, cf *maisara*, comfort, riches A group of ten Arabs used to buy a young camel, which was cut into ten portions and the *yāsir* presiding distributed the portions among his companions by means of arrows on which he had written their names and which he drew at random out of a bag In another system 28 portions were made of the animal, there was one part for the first arrow, 2 for the second and 3 for the third and so on up to 7, the three last got nothing These arrows were deposited with the guardians of the temple in Mecca

The game was considered a pagan practice and the Kurʾān (ii 216 and v 92) forbade it along with wine and idols as a major sin

The word *maisir* has acquired a wider sense among the commentators and in certain traditions

Zamakhsharī gives it the same sense as *kimār* [q v] According to a tradition of the Prophet, *maisir* is applied also to dice "these accursed dice are the *maisir* of Persia (*maisir al-ʿadjam*)", according to a tradition attributed to ʿAlī it is also to be extended to backgammon and chess (presumably in so far as dice were used in these games) and according to Ibn Sīrīn to every practice in which there is an element of chance

Cf the Dictionaries, the *Kāmūs*, Djawharī, Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed Nassau Lees, i 380, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, i 300 *sqq* , Huber, *Über das Maisir genannte Spiel*, Freytag, *Einleitung*, p 170 *sqq* (B Carra de Vaux)

MAISŪN, daughter of the Kalbī chief Bahdal b Unaif [q v], mother of the Caliph Yazīd I We do not know if after her marriage with Muʿāwiya she retained the Christian religion which had been that of her family and of her tribe A few verses are attributed to her in which she sighs for the desert and shows very slight attachment for her husband But the attribution to Maisūn of this fragment of poetry, which is in any case old, has been rightly disputed She took a great interest in the education of her son Yazīd and accompanied him to the desert of Kalb where the prince passed a part of his youth, this temporary separation from her husband gave rise to the legend of her repudiation by Muʿāwiya She must have died before Yazīd became Caliph

Bibliography This is given in Lammens, *Études sur le regne du calife omaiyad Moʿāwia I* (*M F O B*, iii), p 286—287, 305, 312—314 (H Lammens)

MAISŪR (Mysore) (Skt mahisha-Canūru "buffalo town"), the premier Hindu State in India, is a principality in Southern India under the British protection, having an area of 29,433 square miles, between 11° 36′ and 15° 2′ N and 74° 38′ and 78° 36′ E Its Hindu rulers preserved their independence until the middle of the xviiith century when Haidar ʿAlī [q v] took possession of the country It remained in his and his successor, Tipū Sultān's [q v], possession until the capture of Seringapatam by the British in 1214 (1799) Maisūr was then restored by Lord Wellesley to the old Hindu dynasty The majority of the Musalmans are Sunnis, very few being Shiʿīs Of Muhammadan buildings the most noteworthy are the Gumbaz or Mausoleum of Haidar ʿAlī and Tipū at Gandjam, and the Daryā Dawlat, a summer palace at Seringapatam The population at the census of 1911 was 5,806,193, of whom 314,494 are Musalmans, mostly Sunnīs The capital of the principality bears the same name, Maisūr The languages spoken are Canarese, Hindustānī, Tamil and Telegu

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MAITA (a), feminine of *mait*, dead (used of senseless things), as a substantive it means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter In later terminology the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be eaten, and secondly all parts of animals whose flesh cannot be eaten, whether because not properly slaughtered or as a result of a general prohibition against eating them

In addition to Sūra xxxvi 33 where *maita* appears as an adjective, the word occurs in the following passages in the Kurʾān in the first of these meanings xvi 116 "He has forbidden you *maita* blood, pork and that over which another than Allāh has been invoked, if however anyone is forced (to eat these) without wishing to transgress or sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period, since vi 119 may refer to this context and the appearance of the same exception for cases of coercion in vi 146 [cf below] is then only easily explained in view of the whole trend of the passage, if there were an earlier passage, namely xvi 116, in which it was given full justification, cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i 146 *sq* , Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii 26 transfers the whole Sūra to the later Meccan period), vi 140, 146 "They have said 'What is in the womb of this cattle belongs to the males, and is forbidden to our females', but if it is *maita* (still born), all have a share in it Say I find in what is revealed to me nothing forbidden, which must not be eaten, except it be *maita* or congealed blood or pork — for this is filth — or a slaughter at which another than Allāh is invoked, but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a transgression or sin, thy heart is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period, cf Noldeke Schwally, i 161, Grimme, ii 26), ii 168 "He has forbidden you *maita*, blood, pork and that at which another than Allāh is invoked but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a sin or transgression, it is not reckoned as a sin against him, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (of the year 2 of the Hidjra, before the battle of Badr, cf Noldeke-Schwally, i 178, Grimme, ii 27) v 4, 5 "Forbidden to you is *maita*, blood, pork, that at which another than Allāh is invoked, and that which has been strangled, killed by a blow or a fall, or by the horns (of another beast), that which has been eaten by wild beasts — with the exception of what is made pure — and that which hath been sacrificed to idols But if anyone in (his) hunger is forced to eat of them without wishing to commit a sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (in all probability revealed after the valedictory pilgrimage of the year 10, cf Noldeke Schwally, i 227 *sq* , Grimme, ii 28 dates the Sūra to the year 7)

It is quite evident from Sūra, vi 140 that the *maita* was of some significance for the Meccans in the many laws about food with which Arab paganism was acquainted (cf Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed , p 168 *sqq*) Although it is no longer possible to define exactly the part it played (even the statements recorded by Tabarī from the earliest interpreters of this passage, which moreover only refers to a detail, reveal the complete disappearance of any reliable tradition), it may be assumed without misgiving that the Kurʾānic prohibition contained a corresponding pre Islāmic prohibition, although it perhaps modified it Both go back to the religious reluctance to consume the blood of animals, and indeed in all the Kurʾān passages quoted, blood is mentioned alongside of *maita* It is unnecessary to assume that Muhammad was influenced by Judaism on this point and the suggestion may be rejected especially as the prohibition in its stereotyped form occurs again in Sūra ii 168 just at the time of vigorous reaction against Judaism and Sūra vi 147 (Madīnese, a

late insertion) which contrasts the prohibition of *maita* etc with the Jewish laws relating to food What Muhammad understood by *maita*, he tells us himself in the latest passage dealing with it, v 4 in the second half of the verse the principal kinds of *maita* are given (with the exception of the animal that dies of disease), which had already been mentioned in general terms, the commentators were thus able to interpret the single cases given as examples wrongly as different from the *maita* proper The purification (in the Kur'ān only mentioned in this passage) must mean ritual slaughter, by which, even if done at the last moment, the animal does not become *maita* but can be eaten

These prescriptions of the Kur'ān are further developed in the Traditions According to the latter it is forbidden to trade in *maita* or more accurately its edible parts, some traditions (mainly on the authority of Ahmad b Hanbal) even forbid any use being made of all that comes from *maita*, others again expressly permit the use of hides of *maita* An exception from the prohibition of *maita* is made in the cases of fish and locusts, these are in general considered as the two kinds of *maita* that are permitted, i e no ritual slaughter is demanded in their case (because they have no "blood", cf above) While some traditions, extending this permission by the earliest *kiyās*, say that all creatures of the sea, not only fishes, can be eaten without ritual slaughter, including even seafowl (in this case it is said that "the sea has performed the ritual slaughter"), others limit the permission to those animals and fishes which the sea casts up on the land or the tide leaves behind in contrast to those which swim about on the water But there is also quoted a saying of Abū Bakr expressly declaring what swims on the surface to be permitted In this connection we have the story of a monster cast up by the sea (sometimes described as a fish) which fed a Muslim army under the leadership of Abū 'Ubaida when they were in dire straits, but in this tradition and in the interpretation that has been given it (that they only ate of it out of hunger i e took advantage of the Kur'ānic permission for cases of need) is clearly reflected the uncertainty that prevailed about such questions as were on the border line In the Traditions, we find it first laid down that portions cut out of living animals are also considered *maita* The way is at least paved for the declaration that all forbidden animal-dishes are *maita* The regulations found in the Kur'ān appear again here, e g the permission to eat *maita* in case of need and slay properly dying animals at the moment to prevent them becoming *maita*

Some traditions handed down through Hammād from Ibrāhīm al Nakha'ī bring us to a somewhat late period (in the *Kitāb al-Āthār*) one says that of the creatures of the sea only fishes can be eaten, another, which is found in two versions, limits the permission to what is thrown up by the sea or left behind by the tide, ritual slaughter is not demanded in this case The question whether the embryo of a slaughtered dam requires a special purification i e ritual slaughter, is raised in one tradition and decided in the affirmative

The most important regulations of Muslim law about *maita*, which express the last stage of development are as follows It is unanimously agreed that *maita* in the legal sense is impure and "forbidden" (*harām*) i e cannot be eaten and also that fish are exceptions to this, the Mālikīs and Hanbalīs also except the majority of creatures of the sea, and according to the more correct Shafi'ī view, this applies to all marine creatures (the Hanbalīs here hold the opinion of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, except that the two ideas of "thrown up" and "swimming on the surface" are later overlaid and destroyed by the to some extent synonymous "slain by another cause", "died of itself") The edible parts of *maita* are also *maita*, as are the bones, hair etc among the Shāfi'īs, but not the Hanafis, and among the Mālikīs only the bones, the hide when tanned, is considered pure and may be used Emergency slaughter (*dhakāt* or *tadhkiya*, ritual slaughter in general is *dhabh* or *nahr*) is according to the Hanafīs and the better known view of the Shafi'īs (also according to al-Zuhrī) permitted, even if the animal will certainly die, provided it still shows signs of life at the moment of slaughter According to the view predominant among the Mālikis, such slaughter is not valid and the animal becomes *maita* (in contrast to Mālik's own view) The question of the embryo (cf above) is answered in the affirmative by the Hanafis, following Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and Abū Hanīfa (al Shaibānī himself held the Mālikī view, to be mentioned immediately) but in the negative by the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs (in this case it is said that "the ritual slaughter of the dam is also the ritual slaughter of the embryo") except that the Malikis made it a condition that the embryo should be fully developed (Mālik himself also demanded its slaughter "to draw the blood from it" in the case where the embryo had been dropped) That anyone who is forced to eat *maita* may do so, is the unanimous opinion, only on the questions whether one is bound to eat *maita* to save his life, whether he should satisfy his hunger completely, or only eat the minimum to keep life alive etc, there is a difference of opinion The Shafi'īs and Hanbalīs further demand that one should not have been brought to these straits through illegal action (a different interpretation of the Kur'ānic regulations)

A clear definition of *maita* and its distinction from other kinds of forbidden animal foods was never reached Sometimes it is separated on the authority of the Kur'ānic passage itself from its own 4 subdivisions given in Sūra v Sometimes its validity is extended over extensive allied fields As is evident from the Fikh books, this terminological uncertainty has not infrequently caused still further confusion in the discussion of differences of opinion

Bibliography Lane, *Ar Engl Lexicon*, s v, the books of Hadīth and Fikh, Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v, Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*[3], p 169 *sq* (J SCHACHT)

MAIYĀFĀRIḲĪN, a town in the north east of Diyārbakr [q v] The other Muhammadan forms of the name are Māfārkīn, Mafārkīn, Fārḳīn (whence the name of origin al-Fārikī) etc The town is called in Greek Martyropolis, in Syriac Mīpherḳēt, in Armenian Nphrkert (later Muharkin, Muphargin) According to Yākūt, iv 702, the old name of the town was Madūr-sālā (read *kāla* < **matur-khalakh* in Armenian, "town of the martyrs") On the identification of Tigranocerta with Maiyāfārikīn see below

Geography The town lies to the south of the little range of the Hazrō which rises like the first tier of the amphitheatre of the mountains, the higher parts of which consist of the summits (Darkōsh, Antok) rising to the south of Mūsh and separating the course of the eastern Euphrates (Murād-čai) from those of the Tigris and its left bank tributaries

Maiyāfārikīn lies 25 miles north of the Tigris and 12 west of the Batmān su It is watered by a little river (now called the Fārkīn-su) which flows into the Batmān-su 12 miles to the south-east, an important left bank tributary of the Tigris which drains the wild and mountainous country south of Mūsh (the cantons of Kulp and Ṣāsūn) The old names of the Batmān-su are Nicephorius (Roman period), Nymphios (Byzantine period), Syriac Kallath, Arabic Sātidamā (a word of Aramaic origin transcribed Shithithma in Armenian and explained as "drinker of blood", Armen Geogr of the seventh century, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 161), Armenian Khalirt and perhaps Mamushel (Faustus of Byzantium) Some of these identifications, as we shall see, are still uncertain

Maiyāfārikin is the meeting place of a number of roads from the north following the different streams which go to form the Batmān su 1 Čabakhdjūr (on the Muradčai)–Dhu 'l-Karnain–Idje–Boshāt–Maiyāfārikīn, 2 Mūsh–Kulp–Pāsūr–Maiyāfārikin, 3 Mūsh–Khoit–Tingirt (= Ṣāsūn)–Maiyāfārikin Routes 3 and 4 passing Ṣāsūn are still little known The distance between Diyārbakr and Maiyāfārikin is about 45 miles The old road Diyārbakr–Bitlis, which used to run through Maiyafārikīn, now runs farther south and crosses the Batmān-su south of Almadīn (Diyārbakr – Sinān – Zok – Weisikaranī – Bitlīs)

Maiyāfārikīn has thus lost the advantage of being a stage on the road between Armenia and upper Mesopotamia Since 1260 it has no longer been a political centre around which gravitated the interests of the country around It retains only its importance as a market for the produce of the mountainous and pastoral country drained by the Batmān-su

Ancient History The mountains to the north of Maiyāfārikīn have long sheltered the remnants of ancient aboriginal peoples About 600 A D, Georgius Cyprius (ed Gelzer, p 48), mentions the Khothaitai and Sanasounitai there who gave their names to the districts of Khoit and Ṣāsūn Marquart (1916) supposes there are elements of the aboriginal language in names like *M-Ipher kēt and *Ma-mush-el(i) which are, he says, formed with Caucasian ("sud-kaukasisch"?) prefixes According to tradition (Yākūt, iv 703), the founder of Martyropolis, Marūthā b Layūtā, was the son of a woman of the mountains, and Marquart sees in Layūtā a mutilated form of the name of the people Urtā(n) < Urartu (*Handes Amsorya*, 1915, p 96, 1916, p 126) The Marwānid Abū Nasr was married to the daughter of Sankharib, lord of the Sanāsuna, cf Amedroz, in *JRAS*, 1903

Lehmann-Haupt thinks he can recognise at Maiyāfārikīn traces of an ancient Assyrian settlement, "eine von Haus aus assyrische Anlage" (*Armenien*, I, 396, 398)

Tigranocerta = Maiyāfārikīn(?) As early as 1838 von Moltke had suggested that Maiyāfārikīn was the ancient Tigranocerta i e the new capital founded by Tigranes II about 80 B C, which was taken by Lucullus after the victory won on the banks of the Nicephorius (Oct 6, 69 B C) and again in the reign of Nero by the legate Corbulo (c 63 A D), it is regularly mentioned down to the middle of the fourth century A D Other scholars had sought Tigranocerta at Sirt (d'Anville), Arzan (H Kiepert, 1873), near Kefr-Djōz (Kiepert 1875), at Tell-Armen west of Nisibīn (E Sachau, cf DUNAISIR) etc Late Armenian tradition gives the name Tigranocerta to Diyārbakr Moltke's idea was taken up vigorously by Lehmann-Haupt and W Belck, after their expedition to Armenia in 1898—99

On the north wall of Maiyāfārikīn is a mutilated Greek inscription It was deciphered and published by Lehmann-Haupt, who attributes it to the Armenian King Pap (369—374), which is quite in keeping with the known facts of the reign of this monarch In spite of his criticism of the details of Lehmann-Haupt's hypothesis, Marquart (1916) has rather corroborated him by bringing forward new considerations

In view of the many contradictions found in the classical sources regarding Tigranocerta the question comes to be, if Maiyāfārikīn is not Tigranocerta, what other unknown town existed here in the time of Pap, unless the stones on which the inscription is engraved and which are now hopelessly disarranged ("in heillosei Verwirrung") were brought from another place when Martyropolis was being built?

The main objection to the identification of Tigranocerta with Maiyāfārikin is that, according to Eutropius, vi 9, 1 and Faustus, v 24, Tigranocerta was in Arzanene (Ałdznikh), on the other hand the river Mamushet seems to have formed in the fourth century the western frontier of this latter province From this fact (Hubschmann, *Die altarmen Ortsnamen, Indogerm Forsch*, 1904, p 473—475), it seems that Tigranocerta ought to be placed east of the Batmān-su if this river is identical with the Mamushet This last name was connected by Marquart with the name al-Musūliyāt, which Mukaddasi, p 144, gives to one of the tributaries of the Tigris (on the left bank) and apparently corresponding to the Batmān-su [A district of Musūliya(?) still exists farther east on the upper course of the Bidlīs-čai, in the area of the ancient possessions of the Batrīk Mushālīk, cf Kisrawī, in Yākūt, ii 551—552]

To reconcile the statements of Faustus, iv 24 and 27, with the position of Maiyāfārikin (12 miles W of the Batmān su), Marquart proposes to identify the Mamushet = Nicephorius with the Fārkin-su while the Musūliyāt would be applied to the whole system of the Batmān-su (Nymphios, Sātidamā etc) The insignificance of the Fārkīn-su, which rises in the hills about 3 miles north of Maiyāfārikīn (Ibn al-Azrak calls its source Ra's al-'Ain, the *Djihān-numā*, p 437 'Ain al-Hawd) and does not suit the description of the hermitage of Mambrē, which, according to Faustus, must have been on the right bank, makes Marquart's hypothesis less attractive If finally we consider the position of Maiyāfārikīn from the point of view of the interests of Tigranes, one is forced to admit that against an enemy coming from the west (Lucullus!) Tigranocerta = Maiyāfārikīn was devoid of natural defences, while in the event of an enemy coming from the east it ran the risk of being easily cut off from Armenia on the main road from Bitlīs (the ancient Κλεισοῦρα Βαλαλείσων, cf Tomaschek,

Sasun, *Sitzungsb A W Wien*, Vienna 1895, p 8) On the other hand Maiyāfārikīn from its position later played an important part in the defensive system of the Byzantine empire

In these circumstances and before a more detailed study has been made on the spot, it is a mistake to think that all the difficulties in the identification of Tigranocerta have been cleared up

Maiyāfārikīn = Martyropolis The identity of these two towns is quite certain The Christian sources (Syriac, Armenian and Greek) referring to the foundation of Martyropolis are numerous A Syriac "history" (*tash*ʿ*ithā*) kept in the Jacobite church of Maiyāfārikīn was translated for the historian of the town, Ibn al-Azrak, and is given in a synopsis in Yākūt, iv 703—707 and Kazwīnī, ii 379—380 (transl with notes in Marquart, *Handes Amsorya*, 1916, p 125—135)

The town is said to have been founded on the site of a "large village" (*kaiya* ʿ*azima*) by the bishop Marūthā (Mār Maiūtha) who had obtained the authority of Yezdegird I of Persia to do so This ecclesiastic flourished between c 383 and 420 (on the sources for his biography cf Marquart, *op cit*, p 91—92, 125) The town of Martyropolis to which Marūthā brought the remains of the Christian martyrs of Persia is mentioned for the first time in 410 The etymology of the Syriac name Mīpherkēt is uncertain (cf above) In Armenian the town is mentioned for the first time in the Geography of the viiith century as Nphrkert (once Nphret)

By the peace of 297 with Diocletian, the province of Sophanene, within which Martyropolis lay, had become part of the Roman empire Even after the disastrous peace made by Jovian (363) Sophanene remained to the Emperor Under Theodosius II (401—450), the new town, situated quite near the frontier, acquired considerable importance and became the capital of Sophanene (= Great Tsophkh) The town was still insufficiently fortified and in 502 the Sāsānian Kawādh b Pērōz seized it and carried the inhabitants off to Khūzistān where he founded for them the town of Abaz-Kobadh (Yākūt, iv 707) (Weh-Āmidh-Kawādh = Arradjān, cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 41, 307) Anastasius began the fortification of Martyropolis but Justinian, after his accession (527), was the first to reorganise completely the eastern frontier between Dārā and Trebizond Martyropolis, the headquarters of a commander under the strategos of Theodosiopolis (Erzerūm), became one of the most important military centres Procopius, *De aedificiis*, iii, gives a complete description of the walls of the town, the height and thickness of which were doubled and a full account of the system of defences (outer walls, advanced forts etc), cf Adontz, *op cit*, p 10—12, 140—142 In 589 the town fell into the hands of the Sāsānians but in 591 came back to the Byzantines in return for the support given by the Emperor Maurice to Khusraw II Heraclius held it till the year 18 = 639 (Yākūt, *l c*) [The date is not given in Muralt, *Chronogr byz*, i]

The vicissitudes of Martyropolis probably explain the fact that in the Armenian Geography of the seventh century (ed Patkanow, transl, p 45, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 18 and 161) the Persian province of Ałdznikh (Arzanene) is separated from Tsophkh (Sophanene) by the line of the Khahirt (= Baṭmān-su) while in the description of parts of Armenia Nphṛet (= Nphrkert) figures as one of the 10 cantons of Arzanene

Christian legend as preserved by Ibn Azrak and Yākūt gives very full details of the building of the town in the time of Mār Marūthā the arches (*ṭikān*) of the walls in which the remains of the martyrs were placed, the eight gates of the town, the names of which are carefully recorded, the convent of SS Peter and Paul, the buildings erected by the three ministers of the Byzantine emperor, each of whom built a tower and a church There is still to be seen in Maiyāfārikīn the ruins of a magnificent basilica and of the Church of the Virgin (al-ʿAdhrā) Miss Gertrude L Bell, who has studied these monuments, dates the basilica "not much later than the beginning of the fifth century", and suggests that the Church of the Virgin was one of the two built by Khusraw II in recognition of the assistance lent by Maurice, cf Abu 'l-Faradj, *Muḵhtaṣar*, ed Pocock, p 98

Under Islām In 19 (640) in the reign of the caliph ʿUmar, Maiyāfārikīn was taken by ʿIyād b Ghanm without a blow being struck (Balādhurī, p 175—6) and henceforth shared the lot of Diyārbakr

The intermediate character of the position occupied by Maiyafārikīn puzzled Arab geographers Ibn Rusta, p 106, puts the town in Djazīra while the others (Ibn Hawkal, p 246) regard it as belonging to Armenia According to these authors, Maiyāfarikin was a little fortified town having an unhealthy climate on account of the stagnant water but not without its amenities (Istakhrī, p 76ᵏ, Ibn Hawḳal, p 131, 151, 153, Mukaddasī, p 54) The region (*diyāʿ wa-kulaʿ*) of Maiyafārikin and Arzan in the time of Ibn Hawkal was however entirely depopulated

The Hamdānids and the Būyids Maiyāfārikīn formed part of the territory of the Hamdānids [q v] (317—394) They built a castle (*ḳaṣr*) there near the gate Bāb al-Faiah wa 'l-Ghamm (Yākūt), its ruins are apparently mentioned by Ewliyā (1655), iv 71—4 under the name *Saif al-Dawla Sarāyī* The Bāb al-Maidān gate also dates from Saif al-Dawla (333—356) This prince was buried at Maiyāfārikin, cf *Dhikrān numā*, p 437 In 352, Nadja, a client of the Hamdanids, rebelled in Maiyāfārikīn In 362 (July 4, 973) Hibat Allāh b Nāsir al-Dawla defeated the Byzantines in the vicinity of the town

In 367 (978) the Būyid ʿAdud al-Dawla dispossessed the Hamdānids who had supported his cousin Bakhtiyār and in 368 Abu 'l-Wafā, a general of ʿAdud al-Dawla, took Maiyāfārikīn (Ibn Miskawaih, ed Amedroz, ii 199, 266, 312, 384)

The Marwānid dynasty After the death of ʿAdud al-Dawla (374), Maiyāfārikīn and the rest of Diyārbakr fell into the power of the Kurd Bādh [cf KURDS and MARWĀNIDS] who had the Dailamī garrison of Maiyāfārikīn massacred and was able to defend what he held against the Būyid Ṣamsām al Dawla and the sons of Nāsir al-Dawla, who had meanwhile returned to Mawsil After the death of Bādh, his nephew, Abū ʿAlī Hasan b Marwān, established himself in Maiyāfārikīn and for a century this town remained the capital of the Marwanid dynasty (380—479 and again in 486) In 384 the governor Mammā, appointed by Abū ʿAlī, succeeded in checking the turbulence of the inhabitants who had been incited by Hamdānid intrigues There is an inscription of Mumahhid

al-Dawla dated 391 (1000) on the wall of the town In 392 an ʿAlid pretender again stirred up trouble in Maiyāfārikīn In 401 after the assassination of Mumahhid al-Dawla, his murderer Sharwa, son of Mammā, with the help of his Georgian guards seized Maiyāfārikīn but Saʿīd Abū Nasr came from Arzan and began his long and brilliant reign (401—453)

A fine castle decorated with gilding was built in 403 on the little hill on which stood the convent and the Church of the Virgin This Christian sanctuary (the connection of which with the al-ʿAdhrā church is not quite clear, cf above) was transferred to the Melkite church Later were built a hospital, a mosque with a clock (*bankūm* < Pers *pingān*) and baths Water was led to all the town from the spring of Ra's al-ʿAin A palace was built on the banks of the Sātīdamā (Batmān-su) and the water was raised to it from the river by a noria A bridge spanned the river Haww (Harrō ?) A *wakf* bequeathed by Shaikh Abū Nasr al-Manāzī endowed the mosque(?) of Maiyāfārikin with a library A fort was built to protect the town against the Sanāsina (people of al Sāsūn)

This list from Ibn al-Azrak is supplemented by the statements of Nāsir-i Khusraw, who visited the town under Abū Nasr on the 6th Djumādā I 438 The Persian traveller speaks of its walls, built of huge blocks of white stone (Ibn Miskawaih, ii 384 "strong walls of black stone", Lehmann-Haupt "gelblichweisser Kalkstein"), the western gate all of iron, the Friday mosque, the water-channels passing before each house (one uncovered with drinking water and the other covered serving as a sewer) Outside the town were the caravanserais, the hot baths, and a second Friday mosque To the north of the town was the suburb of Muhdatha, also with a Friday mosque and baths At a distance of 4 farsakhs from the town (on the bank of the Sātīdamā ?) was a new little town called Nasrīya built by the emīr then reigning

After the death of Abū Nasr, who was buried in the town, the Saldjūks began to interfere in the affairs of Maiyāfārikīn In 458 Sallār Khorāsānī sent by Tughrīl arrived before the town with 5,000 horsemen In 463 it was visited by the celebrated Nizām al-Mulk In 478 by orders of Malik Shāh the former vizier of the Marwānids, Ibn Djahir, besieged the capital of his masters, which surrendered in Djumādā I 478 The treasures of the Marwānids valued at 1,000,000 dīnārs were carried off by Ibn Djahīr In 482, ʿAmīd al-Dawla, son of Ibn Djahīr, was appointed governor of Maiyāfārikīn After the death of Malik-shāh (485), the Marwānid Nāsir al Dawla succeeded in re-entering Maiyāfārikīn but the Saldjūk Tutush of Syria took the town in Rabīʿ I 486, cf Ibn Azrak in Amedroz, *J R A S*, 1903 In 532 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi 43) the last representatives of the Marwānid family disappeared from the neighbourhood of Maiyāfārikīn

The Ortukids and Ayyūbids In 575 (1121) the Saldjūk Sultān Mahmūd added to the possessions of Il-Ghāzī, founder of the line of Ortukids of Mārdin, the fief of Maiyāfārikīn, to which Il-Ghāzī appointed his son Sulaimān (516—518), cf Abu'l Faradj, ed Pocock, p 249 and Kātib Fardī, *Mārdīn Mūlūk-i Ortukiya* (*Artūkiya* ?) *Taʾrīkhī* (written in 944=1537), ed ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi (Constantinople 1331, p 20) Six successive Ortukids ruled Maiyāfārikīn till 580 (1184) In 587 (1191) the last Ortukid Yuluk Arslān again seized the town and held it for a time

In 581 the Ayyūbids had become masters of Maiyāfārikīn and held it till 658 (1260) Salāh al-Dīn built a mosque there for which the columns of the Byzantine basilica were used (Gertrude L Bell, *op cit*, Pl xi) Maiyāfārikīn had a mint under the Atābegs the coins which they struck (dated 591, 599, 600, 612, 618) bear curious human figures which are portraits or symbolical personages (Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes* etc, Constantinople 1894, p 149—67, S Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol iv, p 255, see vol iii, p 24 for a Marwanid coin of this mint) On the walls of the town are inscriptions of the following Ayyūbids Awhad Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (of 600 A D ?), Malik Ashraf Mūsā (607—617), Malik Muzaffar Ghāzī (623), Malik Kāmil Muhammad (654) A complete list of rulers at Maiyāfārikīn from 515 to 658 prepared by van Berchem is given in the appendix to Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, p 134

The Mongols In 639 (1241) the Ayyūbid Shihāb al Dīn Ghāzi had received the summons from the Mongol Khakān to submit and raze the walls of the town but gave an evasive answer In 650 (1252) the Mongols pillaged the country round Maiyāfārikin During Hūlāgū's expedition to Syria in 658 (1260) the army of the prince Yashmut besieged Maiyafārikīn which was defended with great bravery by Malik al-Kamil The blockade produced a terrible famine in the town which was forced to surrender Only 70 of the defenders survived Kāmil was put to death in cruel fashion and his head carried on the point of a lance through the streets of Damascus (Rashīd al Dīn ed Quatremère, p 330—331, 350—375, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii 354) Before his death, in 662 (1264), Hūlāgū gave the district of Diyārbakr to his general Tūdān [cf SULDUZ] Three years later, Abaka allotted Maiyāfārikīn to his father's widow, Kutuy-Khātūn Maiyāfārikīn later lost its independence and henceforth shared the lot of Diyārbakr [q v]

In 796 during Timūr's stay at Mārdin, a number of Malīks including those of Arzīn (*sic*) and Batmān came to pay him homage but the *Zafar-nāma* (i 665) does not mention the lord of Maiyāfārikīn After the conquest of Diyārbakr, Timūr on his way to Mūsh took the road via Maiyāfārikīn (*ibid*, i 685) and Sēwāsar (the name of a summit in al-Sāsūn east of al-Antok) This march is the only example of a considerable force following the direct road Maiyāfārikīn-Mūsh

The Safawids and the Ottomans Our information about the rule of the Turkoman dynasties (Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-Koyunlu) in the region of Diyārbakr is still very deficient In pursuit of his campaign against the last Ak-Koyunlu Murād, Shāh Ismāʿīl I Safawī in 913 occupied all the region of Diyārbakr, the government of which was entrusted to Khān Muhammad Ustadjlu (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 408, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p 23—25) The defeat at Čaldīrān produced risings against the Persians throughout Kurdistān The Kurd chief Sayid Ahmad Beg Rūzakī seized Maiyāfārikīn and ʿAtak (Hattākh, cf the *Κάστρον Ἀτταχᾶς* of Georgius Cyprius) Maiyāfārikīn passed definitely under Ottoman rule after the battle (921) of Koč-Hisār (south of Mārdīn) in which the Persian general Kara-Khān was defeated (von Hammer, *G O R*², i 731—741)

In 1529 Maiyāfāriḳīn was visited by the Portuguese Jesuit Lenreiro, who found there "many monuments with inscriptions and Greek characters On the walls were images of the apostles and other saints painted in gold and in brilliant colours The town was almost deserted"

The Sulaimānī Kurds While the events above described affecting a wider area were going on, the power of the local Kurd chiefs was gradually growing At the end of the xvth century we find the whole valley of the Batman su reunited under the rule of the Sulaimānī chiefs, one branch of whom was established at Maiyāfārikīn and the other at Kulp (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 261—271, cf bove ii, p 1144 *sq*) In 1838 von Moltke found the town full of ruins, evidence of the recent conquest of this part of Kurdistān by the Turks The Kurds however kept the de facto power down to the beginning of the xxth century (cf Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i 394, 419) The name Silwān which in the local administrative language finally eclipsed the old Maiyāfārikīn, can only be a kind of development of the name Sulaimānī > Silīwānī (in Turkish Silwānī), cf Pers *mihmān* (from *mēhmān*) > Kurd *mewān*

In 1891 (Cuinet) there were in the kadā of Silwān 363 villages with 25,217 inhabitants of whom 18,500 were Muslims and 6,717 Christians (Armenian and Jacobites) The town had 1,450 houses with 7,000 inhabitants (half Muslims and half Christians)

Bibliography On the question of Tigranocerta, cf especially H Kiepert, *Über die Lage d arm Hauptstadt Tigranokerta*, *Monatsberichte Pr Ak W Berlin*, 1873, p 164–210, Mommsen and Kiepert, *Die Lage v Tigranokerta*, *Hermes*, ix, 1875, p 129—149, Sachau, *Über die Lage v Tigranokerta*, *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1881, p 1, Henderson, *Controversies in Armenian topography*, i, *The site of Tigranocerta*, *Journ of Philology*, xxviii, 1903, p 19—121, Hubschmann, *Die altarm Ortsnamen*, *Indogerm Forsch*, xvi, 1904, p 473—475, Lehmann Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, Berlin 1910, 380—429 (general description and history of Maiyafarikin to 1258), 500—523, 419—420 (Kurd castle of Boshṭ with a Sāsānian bas relief of Ardashīr I᾽), 500—523 (Tigranocerta), 537—540 (bibliography and complete list of earlier publications by W Belck and C F Lehmann-Haupt), ii, Berlin 1926, p 396—421, *9—10 (polemic with Marquart), Marquart, *Mīpherqēt und Tigranokerta*, *Handes Amsorya* (organ of the Mekhitarists of Vienna), 1916, columns 68—135, cf also Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 161, 306 (in Νικηφόριος the author was at first inclined to see a local name or an Iranian name *Nēvak farr graecised) and Marquart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, *Handes Amsorya*, 1915, col 116 (Sātidamā)

For the Byzantine period the works quoted by Marquart and Lehmann-Haupt, Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée a la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p 359—360, Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St Petersburg 1908, index (complete geographical and political study of Armenia in the ivth century), Miss G L Bell, *Churches and monasteries of the Tur ʿAbdīn and neighbouring districts*, *Zeitschr f Gesch d Architectur*, Beiheft 9, Heidelberg 1913, p 86—92, plates xi (mosque of Saladin), xii–xiv (basilica), xv–xix and xxviii 1 (al-ʿAdhrā)

For the Muslim period the general sources quoted in the text and Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 111—112 The special history of the town is *Taʾrīkh Maiyāfārikin* written in Arabic in 572 by Ahmad b Yūsuf b ʿAlī Ibn al-Azrak al-Fārikī, unique MS Brit Mus, Or 5803 (fragment of an older version in Or 6310) The history of Ibn al-Azrak is quoted and completed in vol ii of *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa ʾl-Djazīra* (Bodleiana Marsh 333, Catalogue i, N⁰ 945) by ʿIzz al Dīn b Shaddād al-Halabī The publication of the histories of Ibn al-Azrak and Ibn Shaddād is proposed by the *G M S* The data in Ibn al Azrak (and in part of Ibn Shaddād) have been excellently summarised by Amedroz in the articles *Three Arabic MSS on the History of the city of Mayyafariqin*, in *J R A S*, 1902, p 784—812, *Marwanid dynasty at Mayyafariqin*, *J R A S*, 1903, p 123—154, *Notes on two articles on Mayyafariqin* (remarks by Marquart), *J R A S*, 1909, 170—176 The epigraphical materials of the German expedition of 1898–1899 have been studied by M van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien u Diyarbekr*, in Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z alteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, *Abh G W Gott*, N F, ix, N⁰ 3, p 125—142, Nāsir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed Schefer, p 7–8, transl, p 24–25, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed Quatremère, p 330—331 (Āmid) and 360—375 with an excellent study by the editor on Maiyāfārikīn), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nūmā*, p 437, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, iv 71—74 (interesting details), A Lenreiro, 1529, *Itinerario da India*, Coimbra 1560 (second edition 1762) Bitlīs-Hazō–"Monfarquim", Moltke, *Briefe uber Zustande in d Turkei*, ed Kiepert, Berlin 1841, p 287 The river ("ein reicher Fluss [der] in schonen Windungen durch die Ebene dem Tigris zuzieht") of which Moltke speaks seems to correspond to the Batmān su, as Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x 79, 87—95 takes it to be, Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, *J R G S*, 1865, p 21—58 (this article is still very important), Cuinet, *La Turquie d' Asie*, Paris 1891, ii 470—472 (kadā of Silwān) Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, cf above, Flury, *Islam Schriftbanden*, Paris 1921, p 44–48 (inscription of Saladin at Maiyāfārikīn) with two plates (V Minorsky)

MAḲALLA [See Mukalla]

MAḲĀM (A), place, place where *ṣalāt* is performed As to *Makām Ibrāhim*, see kaʿba i

MAKĀMA (A), a variety of Arabic prose of a highly elaborate and artificial nature

Makama in the old language was the name for the assembly of the tribe, synonymous with *nadī* (e g Lebīd, *Dīwān*, N⁰ 46, 10, Salāma b Djandal, *Dīwān*, i 4 = *Mufaddaliyāt*, ed Thorbecke, N⁰ 20, 50, ed Lyall, N⁰ 122, 4, *Ḥamāsa*, p 95, v 1 etc , so also Ḥamadhānī, *Makāma* 16, 5 [Stamb = 44 u Bair]), hence the word was next applied to gatherings at which the Omaiyad and early ʿAbbāsid caliphs received pious men in order to hear edifying discourses from them, as Hishām for example did with Khālid b Safwān (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii ¹ 35, ² 33, ¹⁷ *sqq*), Ibn Kutaiba gives an account of it in the chapter *Makāmāt* (the Sing appears as *Makām* in the separate headings) *al-Zuhhād ʿinda ʾl-Khulafāʾ wa ʾl-Mulūk* in the *K al-Zuhd*, 6 of the *K ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (cod

Kopr 1344, fol 212v—215v), upon which Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi in *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo 1305), i 286 *sqq* and al-Tortūshī, *Sirādj al-Mulūk* (Būlāḳ 1289), p 32 *sqq* have again drawn The word then came to have the more general meaning of lecture, e g in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al Dhahab* (ed Paris), v 421, 8 and perhaps also Djāhiz, *K. al-Bukhalā'*, p 218, 13, where it appears along with poetry, proverbs and tales of battles as an essential element in Arab education In the third century A H, however, the word began to sink from this higher sphere, it became the name for a beggar's appeal, which had to be framed in carefully chosen language, the more the literary training of the *adīb*, once a privilege of court circles, became disseminated among the people, an example of these appeals is preserved by Djāhiz in Baihakī, *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī* (ed Schwally), p 623 *sqq* The appeals of beggars seem to have paved the way for the literary genre proper (cf A Mez, *Abu 'l-Kāsim*, p xxiii/xxiv) This owes its existence to Hamadhānī [q v] He created a typical representative of this literary Bohemianism to which he himself belonged, which entered upon the inheritance of the *hidjā* poets of the early days of Islām, like al-Hutai'a The frequently very witty execution of the constantly changing part of his hero Abu 'l-Fath al Iskandarī and from the point of view of form the adoption for his tales of rhymed prose, which was already beginning to dominate the finer style of letter-writing, are the two special characteristics of Hamadhānī's work To the hero himself he gives a foil in the person of a narrator, ʿIsā b Hishām, who sometimes appears instead in the role of a trickster, as in makāma 12 In the 7th also — one of the poorest by the way —, in which a certain ʿIsma b Badr al-Fazārī records a meeting with Farazdak not very creditable to Dhu 'l-Rumma, the principal hero takes no part Six of these stories are only intended to glorify his patron, Khalaf b Ahmad ruler of Sidjistān, to whom as Margoliouth supposes (cf HAMADHĀNĪ) the whole collection was dedicated Sometimes he only uses the makāma form to give expression to his own views on literary questions as, for example, in the first on ancient and modern poets, in the fourteenth on the masters of prose, al Djāhiz and Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ, in the 25th makāma, another in which al-Iskandarī does not appear, he puts his polemic against the Muʿtazilīs in the mouth of a madman He does not always make al-Iskandarī appear as a rogue but in the 42nd makāma he displays a knowledge of the world which is quite innocent of guile N° 26 (Syrian, lacking in the Beirūt edition) and 31 (the Rusāfī, incomplete in the Beirūt edition) contains specimens of erotic jargon and cant language, of purely lexicographical interest is makāma 30, edited and elucidated by Ahlwardt in *Chalef al-Ahmar*, p 250 *sqq*, which deals with a competition instituted by Saif al Dawla for the best description of a horse The last (N° 52 in the Beirūt edition) is of quite another character and has only the rhymed prose in common with the makāma proper, it is on this account classed with nine other anecdotes as mulah in the Stambul edition and put in an appendix

How far al-Husrī's statement quoted above, s v HAMADHĀNĪ, that al-Hamadhānī got the idea from Ibn Duraid's *Arbaʿīn* is true cannot be ascertained as this work has not survived In any case he is entitled to the credit of having created a new literary form, which might have proved very fertile in Arabic literature which is not exactly rich in forms It is perhaps impossible to appreciate his talent fully if we may believe the tradition that the 51 specimens that have survived to us and which were apparently all that were known to al-Harīrī represent only about an eighth of his whole output His contemporaries and immediate successors were however not able to follow him on the path he had indicated One only of his contemporaries, the court poet of Saif al-Dawla Abū Nasr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b ʿOmar al Saʿdī († 405 = 939), has left us a makāma (Ahlwardt, *Verz der arab Handschr Berlin*, in N° 8536) Not till a century later do Ibn Nākiyā and al-Harīrī again take up the form created by him The former (Abu 'l-Kāsim ʿAbd Allah or ʿAbd al-Bākī Muhammad b Husain, b 15th Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 410 [March 14, 1020] in Baghdād, d 4 Muharram 485 [Febr 15, 1092]), of whose other poetical and philological work nothing has come down to us, does not keep strictly to the model created by al-Hamadhānī in the nine makāmas preserved in a Stambul MS (Fātih 4097, *MO*, vii 112) in as much as he does not have one hero all through and also introduces various persons as narrators, but the main point is the polished form, in which he tells his otherwise not remarkable stories (cf Cl Huart, *Les seances d'Ibn Naqiya*, *J A*, ser 10, vol xii, 1908, p 435—454, and the edition by O Rescher, in *Beitrage zur Maqāmen Literatur*, Heft 4, Stambul 1914, S 123—153) It is not till Harīrī [q v] that the makāma receives its classical form, but the latter at the same time considerably limited its subject matter in as much as he makes the anecdotes recorded by al-Hārith b Hammām centre round a hero, Abū Zaid of Sarūdj, and relates the adventures of this Bohemian, whose wit is never at a loss and who is able to meet all difficulties, in a style sparkling with wit and full of all the tricks of language That he owed the stimulus to his work to an encounter with an actual vagabond may be legend, al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, iv 296, 10 and Ibn Taghribirdī, iii 23, 7 *sqq* say he was a Basrian al-Mutahhar (Ibn Taghribirdī says al Muzaffar) b Sallār (cf C Dumas, *Le heros des maqāmāt de Hariri, Abou Zeid de Serudj*, Algiers 1917) The story at least may be quite true that the *Makāma al-Haramīya* said to be inspired by this meeting was the first from his pen In any case Harīrī's tricks of rhetoric (cf the analysis in Crussard, *Etudes sur les seances de H*, Paris 1923) so overshadowed his subject matter in the eyes of later generations that henceforth the form became the essential characteristic of the literary genre, and it could be used to clothe very varied subject matter Al-Ghazzālī (d 505 = 1111) and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d 562 = 1167) in their *Makāmāt al-ʿUlamā' baina yadai al Khulafā' wa 'l-Umarā'* (Ahlwardt, *Verz der Hss Berlin*, N° 8537, 1) and *Makāmāt al-ʿUlamā' baina yadai al-Umarā'* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N° 12702) attempt to go back to the older form But the Spaniard Abu 'l-Tāhir Muhammad b Yūsuf al Ashtarkūnī (d 538 = 1143 in Cordova) seems to have come nearer to Harīrī in his *al-Makāmāt al-Sarakostīya* (in Stambul, Lālelī, N° 1928, 1933) He also set himself the classical number of 50 Al-Zamakhsharī (d 538 = 1143) on the other hand disclaims any

such affinity, his makāmas are simply moral admonitions and like their counterparts, the *Nawābigh al-Kalim* and the *Aṭwāk al-Dhahab*, are intended to be appreciated mainly as tours-de force of rhetoric (cf the editions, printed Cairo 1313, 1325, and the translation by Rescher, in *Beitrage zur Maqāmenliteratur*, Heft 6, Greifswald 1913) Whether the *Makāmāt al-Sūfiya* of Shihāb al Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d 587 = 1191), which deal with mystic terminology (s *Cat of MSS Brit Mus*, N° 1349, 23), belong to this class at all is doubtful On the other hand the *Makāmāt al-Djawziya fi 'l Maʿānī al waʿziya* (Leyden, N° 426, Cambridge, N° 1098, Escurial, Dérenbourg, N° 542), which the author Ibn al-Djawzī (d 597 = 1200) himself provided with a lexicographical commentary, are certainly modelled on those of Harīrī The *al Makāmāt al-Masihiya* of the Christian physician Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Yahyā b Saʿid b Mārī (d 589 = 1193, see Ibn al-Kiftī, p 361, 4) definitely profess to be a single imitation of the latter They have a hero and a narrator but the subject matter is varied, usually of a learned and technical nature (cf Flügel, *Verz der Hss Wien*, N° 384) To the end of the sixth century A H seems to belong Abu 'l ʿAlāʾ Ahmad b Abī Bakr b Ahmad al-Rāzī al-Hanafī who dedicated 30 makāmas to the chief kādī Muhyī al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Muhammad b Muhammad b al-Kāsim al Shahrazūrī (not the same as mentioned in Ibn Khallikān, Būlāk 1299, 1 597) The only indication of his date is the mention of the Khākān of Shirwān (51, 7), this title was first borne by Manočahr II, about 550 A H (cf IV, p 384) His aim is to imitate Hamadhānī and Harīrī but to use simpler language Like them he introduces his hero and a narrator and is fond of elaborate descriptions, frequently dropping into the obscene, a number of the makāmas go together in pairs, the one being complementary to the other (cf the edition in O Rescher, *Beitrage zur Maqāmenlitteratur*, Heft 4, p 1—115) Of the VIIth century A H we only need mention an imitation of Harīrī's makāmas, 50 in number, dedicated to the family of Djuwainī (cf his *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed Mīrzā Muhammad, *G M S*, XVI/1, p lii, note 2) by Shams al-Dīn Maʿadd (Muhammad) b Nasr Allāh b al-Saikal in 672 (1273) (s Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N° 12709) entitled *al-Makāmāt al Zainabiya* (s Brit Mus, N° 669, 1403, Stambul, Nūr-i ʿOthmāniya, N° 4273) The Syrian Egyptian poet Muhammad b ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī al-Shābb al-Zarīf († 688 = 1289) applied the form in the field of love poetry, sometimes with lascivious subjects (*Makāmāt al-ʿUshshāk*, Paris, N° 3947, *Fasāhat al-Masbūk fi Malāhat al-Maʿshūk* and *al-Makāma al Hītiya wa 'l Shirāziya*, Ahlwardt, *Verz Hss Berlin*, N° 8594, 4, 5) These imitations become more numerous in the VIIIth century In 730 (1329) Ahmad b Muhammad b al-Muʿazzam al-Rāzī composed *al Makāmāt al-ithnā ʿashara* (pr Tunis 1303, *Les douze seances du Cheikh A b M al-Moûddhem*, publ by M Soliman al Haraïri, Paris 1282 [1855]) The form was occasionable used for religious subjects, e g by Abu 'l Fath Muhammad b Saiyid al-Nās († 734 = 1334) in praise of the Prophet and his companions in *al-Makāmāt al-ʿaliya fi 'l-Karāmāt al-djalīya* (s Rosen, *Notices sommaires des mss ar du Musee Asiatique*, St Petersburg 1881, N° 146, 10), for mysticism by Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b Ibrāhim al-Dimashkī († 727 = 1327) in *al-Makāmāt al-falsafiya wa 'l-Tardjamāt al-sūfiya*, in number 50 (Cambridge 1102), and again for the paraenesis in 749 (1349) by Zain al-Dīn ʿOmar b al-Wardī in the makāma on the plague of which he died in the same year entitled *al-Nabaʾ ʿani 'l-Waba'* (Ahlwardt, Berlin, N° 8550, 3, probably identical with the makāma which Suyūtī put in his work on the plague) The makāma was adopted for the panegyric by the Meccan ʿAlī b Nāsir al Hidjāzī in his *al Makāma al-Ghawriya wa 'l-Tuhfa al-Makkiya* in honour of the Mamlūk Sultān Kānsūh al Ghawrī (906–922 = 1500–1516, s Pertsch, *Verz der Hss Gotha*, N° 2773) The great encyclopaedist of the ninth century, al Suyūtī, naturally did not omit this form of composition, which he used with complete contempt for its traditional use to treat of subjects from the most varied branches of knowledge, religious as well as profane, e g the question of the fate of Muhammad's parents in the other world, the merits of different perfumes, flowers and fruits, nor did he hesitate to use it for obscene subjects (cf the article SUYŪTĪ where the printed editions are given) His contemporary, the South Arabian Zaidī Ibrāhim b Muhammad al-Hādawī b al Wazīr (d 914 = 1508), used the makāma for theological instruction in *al Makāma al-nazariya wa 'l-Fākiha al khabariya* (Leyden, No 438, Brill Houtsma, N° 67), as did Suyūtī's rival Ahmad b Muhammad al Kastallānī (d 923 = 1517) in the *Makāmāt al-ʿĀrifin* (Stambul, Koprulu, N° 784) Even in the centuries when literature was at a low level, the XIth and XIIth, the makāma was still used for the most varied purposes In 1078 (1667) Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l Fath b ʿAlawān al-Kabbānī composed a makāma on the war then being waged by the lords of Basra Husain Pasha and ʿAlī Pasha Afrāsiyāb on a Turkish army under Ibrāhīm Pasha, which he elucidates in the commentary *Zād al-Musāfir* (Brit Mus, N° 1405—6, Baghdād 1924, used by R Mignon in his *History of modern Bassorah*, p 269—286, s St H Longrigg, *Four Centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, p 328) His compatriot ʿAbd Allāh b al Husain b Māīī al-Baghdādī al-Suwaidī (d 1174 = 1760) and his son Abu 'l-Khair ʿAbd al-Rahmān (d 1200 = 1786) used the form to string together a series of old and new proverbs in a witty context (*Makāmāt al-Amthāl al-sāʾira*, Cairo 1324 and the son's *al-Makāma djāmiʿat al-Amthāl ʿazizat al-Amthāl*, Berlin, N° 8582—83) An imitation of Harīrī in 50 adventures, the scene of which is laid in India, of an Abu 'l Zafar al-Hindī al-Saiyāh, which al-Nāsir b Fattāh narrates was finished in 1128 (1715) by Abū Bakr b Muhsin Bṭʿbūd al-ʿAlawī (lith at the Matbaʿ al ʿUlūm Press 1264 entitled *al-Makāmāt al-Hindiya*, s M Hidayat Husain, *Catalogue raisonne of the Buhār Library*, II 459)

Harīrī himself had already allowed his art to degenerate to mere juggling with words, when he used in the *Rasāʾil al-Sīniya wa 'l Shīnīya*, not included among the makāmas, in the one only words with *sīn* and in the other only those with *shin* (just as a contemporary of Simonides had written a Greek hymn without a sigma in it, cf V Wilamowitz, *Kultur d Gegenwart*, I, III 49), also al-Hanafī's makāmas contain such jugglings with words, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkāwī (d 1184 = 1770) wrote *al-Makāma al-Iskandarīya wa 'l-Tashīfiya* in which the words are arranged in pairs only distinguishable by their diacritical points

(cf Ahlwardt, *Verz Hss Berlin*, N° 8581, 2) An ostentatious display of learning marks *al Makāma al-Duḳḳaṭīya wa 'l-Makāla al-ʿUmaṭīya* of ʿOthmān b ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī al-Mawṣilī (d 1184 = 1770), the subject of which is a list and brief characterisation of the Muslim sects (ed Rescher, in *Beitrage zur Maqāmenlit*, iv 191—285, where other later examples of this art are given)

The subject, popular in Arabic literature from early times, of the dispute for precedence, *munāzara* (s Steinschneider, *Rangstreitliteratur*, *S B Ak Wien*, clv 4, 1908, Brockelmann, in *Melanges Derenbourg*, p 231, *Asia Major*, i 32), is clothed in this form in the *Makāmat al-Muḥākama bain al-Mudām al-Zuhūr* (Ahlwardt, *Verz Berlin*, N° 8580) of Yūsuf b Sālim al-Hifnī (d 1178 = 1764), who in his *al-Makāma al-Hifnīya* (Brit Mus, N° 1052, 1) also used the makāma for the panegyric A Turk, the Cretan Ahmad b Ibrāhīm al-Rasmī (d 1179 = 1783), also essayed this genre, his *al-Makāma al zulālīya al-bi<u>sh</u>ārīya* is given by al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, i 74 *sqq*

Finally it may be mentioned that the endeavour to revive this form has been made by writers of the xixth century The Beirūt Christian Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (d 1871) gave a very successful imitation of Harīrī in his *Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrain* in 60 makāmas on which he also wrote a commentary (printed Beirūt, 1856, 1872, 1880, 1924) Less successful were the makāmas composed in 1237 (1822) and published in 1270 (1853) by Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd al-Ālūsī (d 1270 = 1853), lith Baghdād 1273 In the collected works of the Egyptian ʿAbd Allāh Pasha al-Fikrī (d 1307 = 1890), *al-Āṯār al-Fikrīya* (Būlāk 1315), there are several makāmas, one of which, *al-Makāma al Fikrīya fī 'l-Mamlaka al-bāṭinīya*, has appeared separately (Cairo 1289)

This form of composition so popular in Arabic was also imitated in the literatures of other languages Among the Persians the makāmas of Kādī Hamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b ʿOmar b Mahmūd al Balkhī (d 559 = 1164), which he wrote in 551 (1156) (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No 12716), are particularly esteemed, ʿArūḍī in the *Cahār Makāla* (ed Mīrzā Muhammad, p 13, 11, transl Browne, p 25) compares them to those of Hamaḏhānī and Harīrī They consist of a number of *munāzarāt*, e g between youth and age, between a Sunnī and a Shīʿī, between a physician and an astronomer, also descriptions of spring and autumn, love and frenzy, and lastly discussions of legal and mystical problems, but here again the matter is quite secondary to the form The arrangement and titles of the 23 or 24 makāmas in the British Museum MS (Rieu, *Cat Pers MSS*, No 747) differ considerably from the Teheran and Cawnpore lithographed editions (see Browne, *A Lit Hist of Persia*, ii 347) Hamīd al-Dīn's example does not seem to have been much followed, but the journalist Adibu 'l-Mamālik (d Feb 15, 1917), according to a MS in Browne's possession (see *Lit Hist*, iv 349), composed a collection of makāmas

In Spain the Jew Rabbi Jehūda ben Shelōmō Harīzī, who flourished at the beginning of the xiiith century translated the *Makāmāt* of Harīrī into Hebrew and he composed 50 similar modelled on them which he called *Sefer Taḥkemōnī*, in them he imitated Harīrī's style, very skilfully working in quotations from the Bible (s *Iudae Harizi Macamae*, ed P de Lagarde, Gottingen 1881, repr Hanover 1924)

Finally the metropolitan of Nisibi ʿAbdīshōʿ (Ebedyeshūʿ) who died in 1318, composed in 1290—91 on Harīrī's model 50 Syriac poems, religious and edifying in their subject matter in two parts, called after Enoch and Elias, the artificial language of which he himself elucidated in a commentary in 1316 (the first half *Pardaisa dha Edhen seu Paradisus Eden Carmina auctore Mar Ebediso Sobensi*, ed Gabriel Cardahi, Beirūt 1889)

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(C BROCKELMANN)

MĀKĀN B KĀKĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR, like his father was a captain in the army of the ʿAlid rulers of Ṭabaristān Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b Sayyid Nāṣir, son-in-law of Mākān, who came to the throne after the flight of Sayyid Abū Muhammad Hasan b Ḳāsim, known as the Dāʿī ("the summoner unto the truth"), appointed Mākān to the governorship of Djurdjān Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim died in 312 (924) and was succeeded by Sayyid Abū ʿAlī Muhammad b Abu 'l-Husain Ahmad Mākān deposed him, sent him as a prisoner to ʿAlī b Husain b Kākī, his nephew, for safe custody, and placed his own grandson Sayyid Ismāʿīl b Abu 'l-Ḳāsim on the throne Shortly after this, Sayyid Abū ʿAlī Muhammad effected his escape and was joined by Asfār b Shīrawaihi [q v] who had rebelled against Mākān and made himself master of Djurdjān Mākān took the field against them but was beaten and forced to take refuge in the hills in the neighbourhood of Sārī

Sayyid Abū ʿAlī Muhammad died in 315 (927), and was succeeded by his brother, Sayyid Abū Djaʿfar Husain Mākān now issued from his mountain retreat, overthrew Asfār, who was the commander of the army of Sayyid Abū Djaʿfar, forced him to fly to Khurāsān, and declared the Dāʿī ruler of Tabaristān In 316 (928) Muhammad b Saʿlūk, the Sāmānid governor of Rayy, invited the Dāʿī and Mākān to Rayy, delivered the province to them and retired to Khurāsān During the absence of the Dāʿī and Mākān, Asfār returned from Khurāsān, conquered Djurdjān, defeated and killed the Dāʿī, and became the ruler of Tabaristān He then marched to Rayy, defeated Mākān and put him to flight But soon after this Asfār came to terms with Mākān and delivered Āmul to him Mākān now gradually extended his sway to Djurdjān and even conquered Nishāpūr in 318 (930) About this time Mardāwidj revolted against Asfār, and forced him to take refuge in Ṭabas in Kuhistān, but Mākān fell upon him from Nishāpūr and sent him flying back to Rayy

In 319 (931) Mākān evacuated Khurāsān at the request of Amīr Naṣr b Aḥmad and returned to Tabaristān, but he was soon turned out of it by Mardāwidj who had become master of Rayy after the death of Asfār Mākān tried to recapture Tabaristān with the help of Abu 'l-Faḍl of Djīlān and later of Aḥmad b Muhammad b Muhtādj, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, but Mardāwidj proved too strong for him and he was forced to fly for refuge to Khurāsān Amīr Naṣr b Aḥmad now bestowed on him the government of the province of Kirmān He proceeded thither, defeated the former governor and took possession of the province But when he heard the news of the murder of Mardāwidj in 323, he returned from Kirmān, procured the grant of the province of Djurdjān from Amīr Naṣr b Aḥmad,

and asked Washmgīr, the brother and successor of Mardāwīdj, to surrender the province to him which he did Henceforth very friendly relations were established between them on the strength of which Mākān threw off the yoke of Bukhārā When Amīr Nasr b Ahmad learnt this, he despatched Ahmad, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, against Mākān who was defeated after a desperate struggle of 7 months and forced to flee to Washmgīr at Rayy Ahmad followed him thither, and defeated the combined forces of Mākān and Washmgīr at Ishākābād (near Rayy) on 21st Rabīʿ I, 329 (December 25, 940 A D) Mākān was shot in the head by an arrow and fell dead His head was cut off and sent to Bukhārā

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MAKARI [See Mahari]

MAKDISHŪ, a town in East Africa on the shore of the Indian Ocean, capital of Italian Somaliland Population 21,000 Setting aside the question of some ruins perhaps South-Arabic, Makdishū arose in the xth century A D as an Arabian colony The immigrations of the Arabs reached Makdishū in different times successively, and from different regions of the Arabian peninsula, the most remarkable one came from al Ahsa on the Persian Gulf, probably during the struggles of the Caliphate with the Karmatians

Perhaps at the same time also Persian groups emigrated to Makdishū, and even to day some inscriptions which have been found in the town demonstrate that Persians from Shīrāz and Naisābūr were dwelling there during the Middle Ages These foreign merchants were, however, obliged to unite themselves politically against the nomadic (Sōmālī) tribes that surrounded Makdishū on every side, and eventually against other invaders from the sea Therefore a federation was concluded in the same xth century A D and composed of thirty nine clans 12 from the Mukri tribe, 12 from the Didʿatī tribe, six from the ʿAkabī, six from the Ismaʿīlī and three from the ʿAfīfī tribe The trade was even more developed under such conditions of internal peace, then in the town the Mukrī clans acquired a religious supremacy and, having adopted the *nisba* "al Kahtānī", formed a kind of dynasty of *ʿulamā* and obtained from the other tribes the privilege that the kādi of the federation should be elected only from among themselves

But, in the second half of the xiiith century, Abū Bakr b Fakhr al-Dīn established in Makdishū a hereditary Sultānate with the aid of the Mukrī clans whom the new Sultān recognised again the privilege of giving the kādi to the town During the reign of Shaikh Abū Bakr b ʿUmar, in the year 1331 A D, Makdishū was visited by Ibn Battūta, who described very carefully its conditions in his *Rihla* Shaikh Abū Bakr b ʿUmar was probably a Sultān from the family of Abū Bakr b Fakhr al-Dīn, and under this dynasty Makdishū reached in the xivth and xvth century A D the highest degree of prosperity Its name is quoted even in the "*Mashafa Milād*", a book by the king of Abyssinia Zareʾa Yāʿkob, with reference to the battle fought by the same king against the Mussulmen at Gomut, December 25th, 1445 A D

In the xvith century A D the dynasty of the Muzaffar succeeded to the dynasty of Fakhr al-Dīn However, in the region of the Wēbi Shabēlla, viz the true commercial hinterland of Makdishū, the Adjurān (Sōmālī), who had constituted there another Sultanate friendly and allied with Makdishū, were defeated by the nomadic Hawīya (Sōmālī) who conquered that territory Thus Makdishū was cut away by the Bedouins from the interior of the land and began to decline from its prosperity The colonial enterprises of the Portuguese and the British in the Indian Ocean hastened even more this decadence Vasco da Gama, when he was coming back from India in 1499 A D, as sailed unsuccessfully Makdishū with his squadron, and even Da Cunha in 1507 A D did not succeed in occupying the town In 1532 A D Makdishū was visited by Dom Estevam da Gama, son of Vasco, who came there to buy a ship In December 5, 1700 A D a British squadron of men-of-war stopped threateningly before Makdishū but they did not land any force and after some days went away probably to India During the wars between the Portuguese and the *Imām* of ʿOmān, Makdishū and other towns on the Sōmālī coast were occupied by the soldiers of *Imām* Sūf b Sultān (died 1116 = 1704), but after a little while the *Imām* ordered his troops to come back to ʿOmān

In the meantime the Sultānate of Makdishū was practically finished, and the town divided in two quarters (Hamar-Wēn and Shangāni) was wasted by civil wars The Sōmālī had so penetrated, little by little, into the ancient Arabian town that the clans of Makdishū changed their Arabic names with new Sōmālī appellatives the "ʿAkabī" clan became the "rēr Shēkh, the "Didʿatī" were called "Shanshiya", the ʿAfīfī took the name of „Gudmana", and even the Mukri (Kahtāni) changed their name for the Sōmālī "rēr Fakih" But in the xviiith century A D, the Bedouins (Sōmālī) Darandolla, excited by exaggerated traditions of the wealth of Makdishū, assailed and conquered the town The chief of the Darandolla, who had the title of *imām*, established himself in the Shangānī quarter, and the privilege of the Kahtāni about the election of the *kādi* was again recognised by the new masters of the town In the first half of the xixth century A D, Sultān Barghash b Saʿīd of Zandjibār occupied Makdishū and ruled the town by means of a *wālī* In 1889 the Sultān of Zandjibār leased the town to Italy, who afterwards in 1906 bought all the settlements of Zandjibār on the Sōmālī coast

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(Enrico Cerulli)

Makhdūm al-Mulk, whose real name is Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, was the son of Shaikh Shams al Dīn of Sultānpūr His forefathers immigrated from Multān and settled at Sultānpūr near Lāhore He was the pupil of Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Kādir Sarhindī and became one of the most distinguished scholars and saints of India He was a bigoted *Sunnī* and looked upon Abu 'l Fadl (d 1011 = 1602) from the beginning as a dangerous man Contemporary monarchs had a great regard and respect for him Emperor Humāyūn (937–963 = 1530–1556) conferred on him the title of *Shaikh al-Islām* When the empire of India came into the possession of Shēr Shāh (946—952 = 1539—1545) he also honoured him with the title of *Sadr al-Islām* He was also a man of great importance during the time of Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605) Bairam Khān khānān (d 968 = 1560) exalted his position very much by giving him the sub division of Thānkawāla which yielded an income of one *lac* of rupees, while Akbar gave him the title of *Makhdūm al-Mulk* by which designation he has become known to posterity When Akbar introduced his religious innovations and converted people to his "Divine Faith", Makhdūm al-Mulk opposed the Emperor who became very angry with him and ordered him to go on a pilgrimage to Mekka He therefore started in 987 (1579)

He died or was poisoned in 990 (1582) in Ahmadābād after his return from Mekka

He is the author of the following books

1) *ʿIsmat al-Anbiyāʾ*, a work on the chastity of prophets (cf Badāʾūnī, iii 70), 2) *Minhādj al-Dīn*, the life of the prophet (cf *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii 252), 3) *Hāshiya Sharh Mullah*, a supercommentary to Djamī's commentary on Ibn al-Hādjib's *Kāfiya* (cf *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii 252), 4) *Sharh Shamāʾil al-Tirmidhī*, a commentary on Tirmidhī's *Shamāʾil al-Nabi* (cf Badāʾūnī, iii 70)

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(M Hidayet Hosain)

Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān [See Djalāl Bukhārī]

Makhlad (Banū), a family of famous Cordovan jurists who, from father to son, during ten generations, distinguished themselves in the study of Fiḳh The eponymous ancestor of the family was Makhlad b Yazīd, who was ḳādī of the province of Reiyoh (the *kūra* in the south-west of Spain, the capital of which was Malaga), in the reign of the Emīr ʿAbd al Rahmān II, in the first half of the third century A H His son, Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān Bakī b Makhlad, was a great jurist and traditionist He was born in Ramadān 201 (April 817) and after being in Spain the pupil of Mālik b Anas and of Yahyā b Yahyā al-Laithī, he made a long journey to the East where he perfected himself in the sciences of Law and Tradition On his return to Cordova his indisputable mastery earned him the hatred and envy of the chief Spanish jurists, especially of Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Martanīl (cf Ibn al-Faradī, N° 245, al-Dabbī, N° 572) who tried to get him sentenced to death by accusing him of impiety and heresy Bakī b Makhlad only owed his safety to the intervention of the secretary to the court of Hāshim b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and was able to end his life under the protection of the Umaiyad government, respected by the people of Cordova, where he died in 276 (889) Bakī b Makhlad who, it is believed, was one of the first to introduce the Zāhirī movement into al-Andalus [see the article Zāhirīs], wrote two celebrated books a *Tafsīr al Kurʾān* and a *Musnad* of Muhammadan traditions, the loss of which is greatly to be regretted if we may believe the laudatory judgment passed on them by Ibn Hazm in his *Risāla* repeated by al Makkarī (*Analectes*, ii 115) On Bakī b Makhlad, cf Ibn al-Faradī, *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* (*B A H*, vii—viii), N° 281, Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Sila* (*B A H*, i—ii), N° 277, al Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (*B A H*, iii), N° 584, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIkd*, ii 366, al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-Kudāt bi-Kurtuba*, ed and transl J Ribera, Madrid 1914, index, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed Dozy, ii 112—113, transl Fagnan, ii 179—181, al-Makkarī, *Nafh al Tib*, *Analectes*, i 812, ii 115 and 120 and index, Dozy, in *Z D M G*, xx 598, Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, Leipzig 1884, p 115, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 164

The direct descendants of Bakī b Makhlad devoted their scientific activity mainly to commenting on the masterpieces of their celebrated ancestor A list of these scholars, with bibliographical references, is supplied in a little monograph devoted to the family of the Banū Makhlad by Rafael of Ureña y Smenjaud, *Familias de juristas consultos Los Benimaylad de Cordoba*, *Homenaje a D Francisco Codera*, Zaragoza 1904, p 251–258

(E Lévi Provençal)

Makhzen (a), from *khazana*, "to shut up, to preserve, to hoard" The word is believed to have been first used in North Africa as an official term in the second century A H applied to an iron chest in which Ibrāhīm b al-Aghlab, emīr of Ifrikiya, kept the sums of money raised by taxation and intended for the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdad At first this term, which in Morocco is now synonymous with the government, was applied more particularly to the financial department, the Treasury

It may be said that the term *makhzen* meaning the Moroccan government and everything more or less connected with it at first meant simply the place where the sums raised by taxation were kept, intended to be paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, the *bīt al māl* Later, when the sums thus raised were kept for use in the countries in which they were collected and were no longer paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, and they became as it were, the private treasuries of the communities in which they were collected, the word *makhzen* was used to mean the separate local treasuries and a certain amount of confusion arose between the *makhzen* and the *bīt al-māl*

We do find in Spain the expression *ʿabīd al-makhzen* but it still means slave, of the treasury

rather than slave of the government, and it seems that it was only later in Morocco that in proportion as the state became separated from the whole Muslim community after being successively under the Omaiyads of Damascus, the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād, the Omaiyads of Spain and the Fātimids of Egypt that the word *makhzen* came to be used for the government itself

To sum up, the word *makhzen*, after being used for the place where the sums intended for the *bīt al-māl* of the Muslim community were kept was used for the local treasury of the Muslim community of Morocco, when it became separate under the great Berber dynasties later with the Sharīfī dynasties the word was applied not only to the treasury but to the whole organisation more or less administrative which lives on the treasury, that it is to say the whole government of Morocco In tracing through history the changes of meaning of the word *makhzen*, one comes to the conclusion that not only is the institution to which it is applied not religious in character but on the contrary it represents the combined usurpations of powers, originally religious, by laymen, at the expense of which it has grown up through several centuries The result of these successive usurpations is that the *makhzen* which originally was only a chest in the treasury came to mean first the treasury itself, and the government and to represent to the Moroccan the sole principle of authority

We know that the fundamental principle of Muslim society is that of the community the head of this community is simply an administrator who has to exercise his functions, said the caliph ʿOmar, like an honest teacher solely concerned with the interests of his pupils Of this ideal the only part remaining in practice is that the members of the community are effectively in tutelage In rapidly surveying the history of the Makhzen, we can see how this arbitrary government became gradually established while using the prescriptions of Islām, and how it succeeded in forming in face of the native Berber element which surrounded it a kind of Arab façade, behind which the Berbers in spite of the slowness of their gradual islāmisation, have preserved their institutions, superstitions and their independence In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasised that, in spite of their perhaps disputable orthodoxy, the Berbers are Muslims and consider that they belong to the Muslim community No doubt they do not practise it very frequently but they have the pride of Islām and its intolerance, they have taken Muslim ostracism into the service of their native savagery and it would be a dangerous error to think that they could be open to anti-Muslim sentiments and particularly to imagine that their religious lukewarmness ought to make them favourable to us

No organisation was made at the first conquest by ʿOkba b Nāfiʿ in 63 (682 A D) All the representatives of Arab culture had to do was to levy heavy tributes in money and slaves to satisfy their own greed and to enable them to send valuable gifts to the caliph of Damascus

It was the same in 90 (708) with Mūsā b Nusair but the conquest of Spain brought over to Islām a large number of Berber tribes by promising them a share in plundering the wealth of the Visigoths On the other hand the exactions of the Arabs and the desire to escape the demands of the caliphs facilitated the spread of Khāridjī doctrines, the many schools of which made any unity of power impossible and on the contrary increased decentralisation

The Idrīsid dynasty, which its Shaiīfī origin gives a claim to be the first Muslim dynasty of Morocco and which completed the conversion of the country to Islām only exercised its power over a small part of Morocco Alongside of it the Barghawāta [*q v*] heretics and numerous Khāridjī emirs continued to exist The Zenāta Miknāsa, Maghrāwa and Banū Ifren at a later period were no more able to effect a centralisation of power It was not till the fifth century A H (XIth A D) under the Sanhādjī dynasty of the Almoravids that in the reign of Yaʿkūb b Tāshfīn we can see the beginnings of a makhzen which only becomes clearly recognisable under the Almohad dynasty

It was under the latter that religious unity was first attained in Morocco The heresy of the Barghawāta and all other schisms were destroyed and a single Muslim community, that of the Almohads, replaced the numerous more or less heterodox sects which had been sharing the country and its revenues It may be said that the organisation of the makhzen which we found in Morocco is fundamentally based on this unification and the measures which resulted from it The Almohads regarded theirs as the only true Muslim community All who did not belong to it were infidels whom it was lawful to fight, to kill, to reduce their women and children to slavery and to seize their goods and lands for the benefit of the Almohads, the only orthodox community The Almohads were thus able to apply to all the territory of their empire the ideal Muslim principle for dealing with land, i e that all the lands conquered by them from non Almohads and even from Almohads whose faith was regarded as suspect were classed as lands taken from infidels and became *hubūs* of the Muslim i e Almohad community These *hubūs* districts are those whose occupants have to pay the tax called *kharādj* In order to levy this the Sultān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had all his African empire surveyed from Gabes to the Wādī Nūn

A few years later Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr brought to Morocco the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs and settled them on lands belonging to the Muslim community, which had been uninhabited since the destruction of the Barghawāta, the wars of the Almohads with the last Almoravids and large despatches of troops to Spain

These Arab tribes who formed the *djaish* (pronounced *gīsh* in Morocco) of the Almohads did not pay the *kharādj* for the lands of the Muslim community which they occupied They were Makhzen tribes who rendered military service in place of *kharādj* We shall find later the remains of this organisation with the *gīsh* tribes and the tribes of *nāʾiba* The efforts of the Marīnids to reconstitute a *gīsh* with their own tribes did not succeed and they had to return to the makhzen of Arab tribes brought to Morocco by Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr and even added to it contingents of the Maʿkil Arabs of Sūs

Under the Banū Wattās this movement became more marked and Spanish influences became more and more felt in the more complicated organisation of the central Makhzen and by the creation of new offices at the court and in the palace

The conquests by the Christians by causing the development of the *zawiyas* and the fall of the Banū Wattās brought about the rise of the Saʿdians [q v] of Wādī Daraʿa The latter with their primitive manners as Saharan tribes and under the religious influence of the shaikhs of the brotherhoods began to try to bring back the exercise of power to the patriarchal simplicity with which it was wielded in the early days of Islām The necessities of the government, the intrigues of the tribes and the wars of members of the ruling family against one another soon made necessary the constitution of a proper makhzen with its military tribes, ministers, its crown officials of high and low degree, its governors to whom were soon added the innumerable groups of palace officials which will be mentioned below

The frequent intercourse between the Saʿdians and the Turks, who had come to settle in Algeria at the beginning of the XVIth century brought to the court of Morocco a certain amount of eastern ceremonial, a certain amount of luxury and even a certain degree of pomp in the life of the sovereign and in that of his entourage and of all the individuals employed in the Makhzen

It is from this time that really dates the existence of this entity, which is really foreign to the country itself, which lived by exploiting rather than governing it and is known as the Makhzen

The increasing official relations of Morocco with European powers, the exchange of ambassadors, the commercial agreements, the ransoming of Christian slaves, largely contributed to give this Makhzen more and more the appearance of a regular government The jealousies of the powers, their desire to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco and the need to have a regular government to deal with them further strengthened the Makhzen both at home and abroad and enabled the Sultān Mawlāy al-Hasan to conduct for nearly twenty years this policy of equilibrium between the powers on one side, and the tribes on the other, who kept till his death the empire of Morocco in existence, built up of very diverse elements, of which the Makhzen formed the façade

The very humble, almost humiliating, attitude imposed on the European ambassadors at official receptions increased the prestige of the Sultān and the Makhzen in the eyes of the tribes The envoy of the Christian power, surrounded by the presents which he brought, appeared on foot in a court of the palace and seemed to have come to pay tribute to the emīr of the Muslims, who was on horseback All the theatrical side was developed to strike the imagination of the Makhzen with much care and succeeded in creating an illusion of the real efficiency of this organisation in the eyes of both tribes and powers

Under the Berber dynasties, the Almohads, the Marīnids and the Banū Wattās, the military tribes, the *djaish*, were almost all Arab, under the Saʿdians they were entirely Arab, to the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs were added the Maʿkil Arabs of Sūs On the other hand the Saʿdians had removed from the registers of the *djaish* a certain number of the Arab tribes who then paid in money the *kharādj* for the *hubūs* lands of the Muslim community which they occupied These tribes, in contrast to the *djaish*, were called tribes of the *nāʾiba*, that is to say, according to the etymology proposed for the word, they were under the tutelage of the makhzen (from *nāʾib* "tutor" or "substitute" for a father) or perhaps that they paid the tribes of the *djaish* a sum for replacing them (from *nāba*, to substitute)

From this time on, Morocco assumed the appearance which it had when France established her protectorate there The frontier, settled with the Turks in the east, had hardly been altered by the occupation of Algeria by France and the territory of Morocco was, as it still is to-day, divided into two parts 1 *bilād al-makhzen* or conquered territory, 2 *bilād al sibāʾ* or land of schism, the latter was almost exclusively occupied by the Berbers

The *bilād al-makhzen*, which represents official Morocco, was formed of territories belonging to the *hubūs* of the Muslim community and liable to the *kharādj*

This land was occupied by Arab tribes, some *gīsh*, others *nāʾiba* Morocco consisted of an Arab government (makhzen) which administered the regions liable to *kharādj*, and occupied by Arab tribes, the status of which varied according as they were *gīsh* or *nāʾiba*

The Berber tribes of the *bilād al-sibāʾ* not only refused to allow the authority of the makhzen to penetrate among them, but even had a tendency to go back to the plains from which they had gradually been pushed into the mountains One of the main endeavours of the present dynasty, the ʿAlawī Shorfā of Tāfilālt, which succeeded the Saʿdians in the seventeenth century has been to oppose this movement of expansion of the Berber tribes This is why Mawlāy Ismāʿīl the most illustrious Sultān of this dynasty, built 70 *kasba*'s on the frontier of the *bilād al-makhzen* to keep down the Berbers Hence we have this policy of equilibrium and intrigues which has just been mentioned and which up till quite recent years was the work of the Makhzen

As we have already said, it was not a question of organising the country nor even of governing it, but simply of holding their own by keeping rebellion within bounds with the help of the tribes of the *gīsh* by extracting from the ports and from the tribes of the *nāʾiba* all that could be extorted by every means From time to time expeditions led by the Sultān himself against the unsubjected tribes asserted his power and increased his prestige

The Makhzen, gradually formed in course of centuries by the possibilities and exigencies of domestic policy as well as by the demands of foreign policy seems to have attained its most complete development in the reign of Mawlāy al-Hasan, the last great independent Sultān of Morocco (1873—1894) The government of Mawlāy al-Hasan consisted in the first place of the Sultān himself, at once hereditary and also, if not exactly elected, at least nominated by the *ʿulamāʾ* and notables of each town and tribes from among the sons, brothers, nephews and even the cousins of the late ruler This proclamation is called *baiʿa* It is in general he who takes control of the Treasury and of the troops when the moment comes to assume the right of succession It sometimes happens that the late sovereign has nominated his successors, but this does not constitute an obligation on the electors to obey it There is then no rule of succession to the throne

Formerly there was only one vizier, the grand vizier the grand vizierate, a kind of Home

Ministry, was divided into three sections, each managed by a secretary (*kātib*)

1 From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Wād Bū Regreg

2 From Bū Regreg to the Sahara

3 Tāfilālt

In the reign of Sidi Muhammed (1859—1873), the more frequent and intimate relations with Europe and more particularly the working of the protectorate made it necessary to found a special office for foreign relations, and a *wazīr al bahr*, literally Minister of the Sea, was appointed This does not mean minister for the Navy, but for all that came by sea, i e Europeans This minister had a representative in Tangier, the *nā'ib al-sultān*, who was the intermediary between European representatives and the Central Makhzen His task was to deal with European complaints and claims from perpetual settlements and to play off against one another the protégés of the European powers, who were certainly increasing in numbers and frequently formed an obstacle to the traditional arbitrary rule of the Makhzen The régime of the consular protectorate, settled and regulated in 1880 by the Convention of Madrid, had also resulted in discouraging the Makhzen from extending its authority over new territory

The exercise of this authority was in fact automatically followed by the exercise of the right of protection and from the point of view of resistance to European penetration, the Makhzen had every thing to gain by keeping in an apparent political independence the greater part of the territory which thus escaped the influence which threatened in time to turn Morocco into a regular international protectorate

By a conciliatory native policy and cautious dealing with the local chiefs, the shaikhs of the *zāwiyas* and the Shurfa families, the Makhzen was able to exert even in the remotest districts a real influence and never ceased to carry on perpetual intrigues in order to divide the tribes against one another

It maintained its religious prestige by the hope of preparation for the holy war which was one day to drive out the infidels and sought to penetrate by spreading the Arabic language and the teaching of the Kur'ān and gradually substituting the principles of Muhammadan law of the *shra'* for Berber customs In a word, it continued the conquest of the country by trying to complete its islāmisation and making Islām permeate its customs

In the reign of Mawlāy al Hasan, the Makhzen consisted of the grand vizier, the *wazīr al-bahr*, minister of foreign affairs, the *'allāf* — afterwards called minister of war —, the *amīn al-umanā'*, — afterwards minister of finance —, the *kātib al-shikāyāt*, secretary for complaints, who became minister of justice by combining his duties with that of the *kādi 'l-kudāt*, Kādi of Kādīs These high officials had the offices (*banīka*, pl *banā'ik*) in the *mashwar* at the Palace

The offices were under the galleries which were built round a large courtyard At the top of the *mashwar* was the office of the grand vizier, beside which was that of the *kā'id al mashwar*, a kind of captain of the guard, who also made presentations to the sultān The *ka'id al-mashwar* was in command of the police of the *mashwar* and he had under his command the troops of the *gīsh*, *mashwarīya*, *masakhrīya* (*hanātī* — sg *hanṭa*) etc , as well as all the bodies of servants outside the palace, the *mawlā al-ruwā*, grand-master of the stables, the *frā'igīya*, who had charge of the sultān's encampments

In addition to these *banīkas* of the *mashwar*, mention must be made of an individual, who as was shown in recent times could play a more considerable part in the government than his actual office would lead one to expect This is the *hādjib* [*q v*], literally the "curtain", i e an official placed between the Sultān and his subjects like a curtain His *banika* was situated between the *mashwar* and the palace proper and he had charge of the interior arrangements of the Sultān's household Under his orders were the various groups of domestic servants (*hanātī al-dākhlīyin*), *mwālin al-udū'*, who looked after the washing arrangements, *mwālin al frash* who attended to the beds, etc , etc , he also commanded the eunuchs and even was responsible for the discipline of the women of the Sultān, through the *'arīfas* or mistresses of the palace The *hādjib* is often called grand chamberlain, although he does not exactly correspond to this office

Around these officers gravitated a world of secretaries of different ranks, of officers of the *gish*, then the *kā'id al rahā*, who was in theory in command of 500 horsemen, the *kā'id al ma'a*, who commanded 100 down to a simple *mukaddam* All this horde of officials, badly paid when paid at all, lived on the country as it could trafficking shamelessly in the influence which it had or was thought to have and in the prestige it gained from belonging to the court, whether closely or remotely The influence of these court officials spread throughout the regions controlled by the organisation of Makhzen officialdom, which contributed to the centralisation of authority and its profits

In this organisation it may be noticed that the authority of the Makhzen properly so-called, i e of a lay power, continually increased at the expense of the religious power by a series of changes No doubt the basis continued to be religious, but the application of power became less and less so and the civil jurisdiction of the *kā'ids* and of the Makhzen more and more took the place of the administration of the *shra'* by the kādis, which finally became restricted to questions of personal law and landed property

The authority of the sultān was represented in the towns and in the tribes by the *kā'ids*, appointed by the grand vizier and by the *muhtasib*'s, whose office owed its origin to the religious law of the *shra'* The *muhtasib* supervised and controlled the gilds, fixed the price of articles of food and inspected weights and measures and coins

The tax of the *nā'iba*, which represented the old *kharādj*, was levied on the non-*gish* tribes by the *kā'ids* of these tribes It was one of the principal causes of abuses, the amount of this tax was never fixed and the sums which came from it were in reality divided among the *kā'ids*, the secretaries of the Makhzen and the vizier without the sultān or the public treasury getting any benefit from them

The grand vizier also appointed the *nādir* officers, who from the reign of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Rahmān had been attached to the local *nādirs* of the *hubūs* of the mosques and sanctuaries The ḳādis were appointed by the *kādi 'l-kudāt*, at the present day they are appointed by the minister of justice

They propose the *ʿudūl* but do not actually appoint them The financial staff, *umanāʾ*, who control the customs, the possessions of the Makhzen (*al-amlāk*), the *mustafādāt* (market-dues and tolls etc called *maks*), the controller of the *bīt al-māl* (popularly *abu ʾl mawārīth*) i e the official who intervened to collect the share of the Muslim community from estates of deceased persons and who also acted as curator of intestate estates (*wakīl al-ghuyyāb*) All these officers were appointed by the *amīn al-umanāʾ* who was later known as the minister of finance

This organisation was completely centralised i e its only object was to bring all the resources of the country into the coffers of the State and of its agents, but there was no provision for utilising these resources in the public interest No budget was drawn up, no public works, no railways, no navy, no commerce, no port, nothing at all was provided for Military expenses were confined to the maintenance of a regiment commanded by an English officer, of a French mission of military instruction, of a factory of arms at Fās directed by Italian officers and of the building at Rabāt of a fort by a German engineer These were really rather diplomatic concessions to the powers interested than a regular military organisation In the spirit of the Makhzen the defence of the territory was to be the task of the Berber tribes, carefully maintained out of all contact with Europeans behind the elaborate display maintained by the court

In the event of war, the Makhzen, faithful to its system of equal favour, purchased arms and munitions from the different powers and kept them in the *makīna* of Fās to be able when necessity arose to distribute them to the tribes when proclaiming a holy war

The expenses of the education service were limited to the very modest allowances granted to the *ʿulamāʾ* of al-Karawīyīn at Fās These allowances were levied from the *hubūs* and augmented by gifts made by the Sultān on the occasion of feasts (*sila*)

Nothing was done for public health and one could not give the name of hospitals to the few *māristān* to be found in certain towns, where a few miserable creatures lived in filth, receiving from the *hubūs* and the charity of the public barely enough to prevent them dying of hunger and of course without receiving any medical assistance

On the repeated representations of the Powers the Makhzen had ultimately delegated its powers to the members of the diplomatic corps in Tangier, which had been able to form a public health committee in order to be able to refuse admission to infected vessels if necessary In spite of its defects, the Makhzen constituted a real force, it formed a solid *bloc* in the centre of surrounding anarchy which it was interested in maintaining, to be able to exploit it more easily on the one hand and on the other to prevent the preservation in the country of any united order which might become a danger to it

In brief we may say that the Makhzen in Morocco was an instrument of arbitrary government, which worked quite well in the social disorder of the country and thanks to this disorder, we may add, it worked for its own profit and was in a way like a foreign element in a conquered country It was and still is a regular caste with its own traditions, way of living, of dressing, of furnishing, of feeding, with its own language, *al-lughat al-makhzanīya*, which is a correct Arabic intermediate between the literary and the spoken Arabic, composed of official formulae, regular clichés, courteous, concise and binding to nothing

This Makhzen which was sufficient in the old order of things which it had itself contributed to create and maintain, was forced, if it was not to disappear at once, to undergo fundamental modifications from the moment this state of things had rendered necessary the establishment of a protectorate

Various changes have always been made in the old regime, which has been a matter of regret to many as reducing sources of profit The vizierate of foreign affairs and that of war have been handed over to the Resident-General, that of finance to the Director General of finance who administers the revenue of the empire alike to those of a regularly organised state

The director-generalships of agriculture and education, which are regular ministries are held by French officials as are the management of the postal service, telegraph and telephone and the board of health

Two new vizierates had been created, that of the legal domains (*al-amlāk*) and that of the *hubūs* The vizierate *al-amlāk* has just been suppressed and the domains are administered by a branch of the finance department The vizierate of the *hubūs* is under that of the Sharīfan affairs This organisation represents the principle of protectorate in the Moroccan government itself and in order to realise "the organisation of a reformed Sharīfan Makhzen" in keeping with the treaty (Ed Michaux-Bellaire)

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MAKHZŪM (Banū) along with the Omaiyads, the aristocratic clan of Mecca This assertion is contrary to the theory popularised by the *Sīra* in virtue of which the ancestor of the aristocratic families was Kusaiy [q v] About the middle of the vith century A D we find that among the clans of Kuraish [q v] that held in most consideration was the Banū Makhzūm, which traced its descent through Yakaza b Murra to the legendary Fihr (Kuraish) without going through Kusaiy At this period the Makhzūm controlled everything at Mecca except the sanctuary They alone were able to counterbalance the growing influence of the Omaiyads It is at this time that their name becomes occasionally synonymous with Kuraishī (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk*, ed Wustenfeld, p 94, 12)

The Makhzūm seem to have owed their primacy to Mughira b ʿAbd Allāh, a contemporary of ʿAbd al-Muttalib and grandson of the eponymous ancestor of the clan The adjective Mughīrī thus comes to be used for Makhzūmī His son, Hishām b al-Mughīra, is even said to have had the title "lord (*rabb*) of Mecca" (Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāk*, p 93, 1 *sq*) The Kuraish are said to have dated one of their eras from the death of this individual, if the reference is not to Walīd b al-Mughīra Tradition hesitates between these two Makhzūmīs The influence of the Makhzūm was preponderant in the *mala*', or council of notables which decided affairs at Mecca It is frequently a Makhzūmī who speaks in name of the *mala*', as for example in the discussion with Muhammad, at the beginning of the preaching of Islām They are believed to have opened up to Meccan commerce the principal routes to foreign markets For their intelligence, their activity — they were said to be "ardent as

fire" (*Aghānī*, Būlāḳ, xv 8 *infra*) — their patrician pride and particularly their wealth they were envied by the other Meccan clans In a word they threw into the shade the descendants of Kusaiy like the Banū Hāshim, for whose benefit the traditional theory seems to have been put into circulation They lost a large number of members at the battle of Badr, after this disaster from which they never recovered, they had to yield the first place to the Omaiyads

What injured their reputation in Muslim tradition was their opposition to the rise of Islām Tradition has chosen from them in the person of Abū Djahl [q v] the type of the intractable opponent of Islām In Mecca the Makhzūmī Walīd b al-Mughīra was numbered among the "mockers" of the Prophet Several verses of the Meccan sūras are said to be directed against him (Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāk*, p 60–61) Before becoming the "sword of Allāh" Khālid b al-Walīd [q v] fought with the majority of his people against Muhammad at Badr, Ohod, Khandak etc This persistent opposition explains why they and the Omaiyads are called *al-Afdjarān min Kuraish* "the two wicked clans of Kuraish" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Kur'ān*, xiii 130)

After the *Fath* (conquest of Mecca) they adopted the new religion without enthusiasm, many went and settled in Madīna, which now became the capital of Islam, so as to get in touch with the governing circles The Prophet was able to use the military talents of Khālid but had to shut his eyes to his disobedience Neither he nor the other Makhzūmīs showed themselves more manageable by the Caliphs, as they refused to come to terms with the Omaiyads and to respond to the advance of Abū Sufyān (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p 203, 273–5) When the father of Abū Bakr heard that his son had been elected Caliph, the old man's first question is said to have been "Did the 'Abd Manāf and Makhzūm give their assent"? (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii 222) The author of the *Tuhfa dhawi 'l-'Arab* (ed Mann, p 170, 16) expresses surprise at his discovering in the pre-Hidjra genealogies of the Makhzūmīs, names like *'ābid* and *'ā'idh*, showing pre occupation with religion

Abū Bakr only had peace with Khālid by sending him to wage war in remote lands and giving him carte blanche With the second caliph there was open conflict 'Omar, although he is said to have been the son of a Makhzūmī mother, had to suppress the turbulent general, more used to conquer than to obey The Makhzūmīs came into conflict with 'Othmān over 'Ammār b Yāsir [q v], a client of their family (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al Dhahab*, ed Paris, iv 121, 266, 279, 360) They declared against 'Alī in a body 'Abd al-Rahmān b Khālid b al-Walīd [q v] who at first supported Mu'āwiya in the end by his independence aroused the misgivings of the Omaiyad caliph The Makhzūmīs accused Mu'āwiya of having had their relative poisoned and assuming the right to wreak vengeance, they gave a new proof of their independent spirit From this time they were on bad terms with the Omaiyad caliphs, as they had been with earlier rulers, being naturally inclined to resist authority and to offer a useless opposition When 'Abd Allāh b al-Zubair [q v] rebelled against Yazīd I, they adhered almost without exception to his cause In return the Meccan anti-caliph appointed one of them his representative in Basra

The Marwānids after their triumph agreed to bear no grudge against the Makhzūmīs They even chose members of the clan for the office of governor of Madīna, hitherto reserved for an Omaiyad After, as before, the Hidjra, the Makhzūmīs continued to be reckoned among the richest capitalists in Mecca They had about 5,000 mithkāl of gold laid out in the caravan which was the cause of the battle of Badr It was to them that Muhammad applied on the eve of Hunain for a loan of 40,000 dirhams Their systematic opposition to authority put them completely out of the running for any of the great administrative offices in which the members of the Kuraish clans enriched themselves Their aristocratic pride did not prevent them however from seeking profit in commerce and even in industry We know this from the story of 'Omar b 'Alī Rabī'a [q v], the most famous of the Kuraish poets 'Omar kept 70 of his slaves employed in the weaving-mills established in Mecca (*Aghānī*, i 37, 5) Another Makhzūmī, a contemporary of 'Omar, was known as "the monk (*rāhib*) of Kuraish" on account of his merit and his assiduity in prayer (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, ed Sachau, v 153, 19) Much better known than this ascetic and continually quoted on questions of *Fikh* and *Hadīth* is the Makhzūmī Sa'īd b al-Musaiyib [q v], one of the most famous *tābi'ūn* of the first century A H

With the coming of the 'Abbāsids, influence passed over to the Iranians Gradually the Makhzūm, like other Kuraish clans, fell into obscurity At the present day there are still families bearing the name Makhzūmī It remains to be seen to what extent they are justified in claiming descent from the Makhzūmī, if it is not in the female line as in the case of Sirādj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī al-Himsī (cf Brockelmann, *G I L*, ii 98) Kalkashandī (*Subh al A'shā*', Cairo, i 213) justly remarks that the tribe of the Banū Khālid which led a nomadic life around Hims has only the name in common with the great Makhzūmī captain The male line from Khālid b al-Walīd is said to have become extinct very early (cf Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al Ghāba*, v 249, *infra*), a statement disputed by the Sirādj al-Dīn mentioned above

Bibliography In addition to the references in the article cf Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāk*, ed Wustenfeld, p 60 *sqq*, 91 *sqq*, Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, ed Sachau, v 88 *sqq*, 328—330, *Aghānī*, iii 100, 102, xv 11 *sqq*, Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p 171, 238, 272, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, ii 47, Ibn Kutaiba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, ed Brockelmann, p 236, 243, P Schwarz, *Der Divan des 'Umar b Abi Rebi'a*, fascicule 4, Leipzig 1909, p 1—34, H Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Mo'āwia Ier*, p 4—11 (reprint from *M F O B*, i—iii), do, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p 24, 35, 53, 67, 75, 213, 223, 231, 316 (reprint from *M F O B*, ix)

(H LAMMENS)

AL **MAKĪN** B AL-'AMĪD, DJIRDJĪS ('ABD ALLĀH) B ABI 'L-YĀSIR B ABI 'L-MAKĀRIM, the Christian author of a world-chronicle in Arabic His life has been several times treated by western authors in encyclopaedias and other works of reference, but nothing can be learned of their sources from their articles Even Brockelmann (i 348) has to be content with giving the traditional biography and relies upon his European predecessors To avoid repetition

here, we only give the dates of his birth and death, 602 (1205) and 672 (1273) The latter date is given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, II 104, N° 2103 His grandfather, according to J H Hottinger, *Promptuarium*, p 75 *sqq*, died in 606 and his father in 636

Al-Makīn's world chronicle consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the pre Islāmic world from the Creation onwards and the second with Muslim history down to 658 (1260) The work is so planned that the whole history of the world is given in the form of successively numbered biographies of its most important men Near the beginning the discussion of several cosmological questions and the several climes is inserted Down to 586 B C it is based on Biblical history, the numeration of the biographies begins with Adam as N° 1 For the period after the destruction of Solomon's temple there come on the usual scheme the dynasties of Eastern Asia, which in turn are succeeded by Alexander, the Romans and the Byzantines In this and in the second part, as the author himself tells us, he is following the model of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle

The work which is entitled *al-Madjmūʿ al-mubārak* exists in numerous manuscripts The first part is regularly quoted with a Latin translation by Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale* (1658) in the chapter *De usu linguarum orientalium in theologia historica* on various facts of history The chapter on Alexander the Great has been edited in Ethiopic and translated into English by E A W Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896) The second part was edited and translated by Th Erpenius under the title *Historia Saracenica a Georgio Elmacino*, 1625, English and French translations appeared soon after Many emendations were given by Kohler in Fichhorn's *Repertorium*, VII—IX, XI, XIV, XVII A critical edition of the whole work is an urgent desideratum How important it is for Oriental church history has been shown by A v Gutschmid, *Verzeichnis der Patriarchen von Alexandrien = Kl Schr*, II, 1890, p 395—525 This is sufficient to show how necessary would be a comprehensive investigation of al Makīn's place in historical tradition, which could only be undertaken on the basis of a certain text Besides it is evident that al-Makīn used old sources independently which are not known to his immediate predecessors like Eutychius [q v] and his contemporary, much quoted by him, Ibn al-Rāhib (Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 349 where of course it should be 669 = 1270) with whom he agrees in the numbering of the biographies which are also used by al-Ṭabarī In the chapter on Alexander the Great, the Ethiopic translation of which edited by Budge agrees very closely with the Arabic original, are found long word for word extracts from the very old Hermetic work in Arabic entitled *al-Istamākhis* (cf Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigr Lit*, 1862, p 37, *Die arab Übers a d Griech*, *Centralbl f Bibliothekswesen*, chap XII, 1893, p 88), which had been previously copied in the *Ghāyat al Ḥakīm* of Ps-Madjrīṭī (Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 243, cf Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arab Handbuch hellenist Magie*, *Vortrage d Bibl Warburg*, I 94 *sqq*, ed by Ritter and transl by Ritter and Plessner in preparation for *Studien d Bibl Warburg*) In Budge's work is also given the Ethiopic translation of Ibn al-Rāhib's account of Alexander which in contrast to the Arabic text in Cheikho's edition (*C S C O Arab*, III/1, 1903) is here not simply a brief list of events but is a very full account Only general statements are given from the above mentioned Hermetic work and do not compel the belief that it was used independently so that in spite of all agreements between him and Ibn al Rāhib, al Makīn must really have worked independently of him That the reverse might be the case and Ibn al-Rāhib be dependent on al-Makīn is impossible because al-Makīn expressly quotes Ibn al-Rāhib (cf Budge, II 380, note 7) Since Cheikho only published the Ibn al-Rāhib text of Abrahamus Ecchellensis, which is perhaps an abbreviation of the basic text while the Ethiopic translation perhaps reproduces the original form, the question of the relations between the two ecclesiastical writers cannot yet be definitely settled, but even the Alexander chapter shows that it is of the utmost importance to settle the problem

On the continuation of the Chronicle by Mufaddal b Abī 'l-Faḍā'il, see Brockelmann, *op cit*

Bibliography In addition to the works mentioned cf Jourdain in *Biogr univ*, new ed, XII 215 s v Ecchellensis, 413 s v El Macin, E Rodiger in Ersch and Gruber, XXXIII 426 and the others mentioned by Brockelmann and the sources cited by him On the text cf Seybold, *Zu El Makīn's Weltchronik*, *Z D M G*, LXIV 140—153, reproduction from the Breslau MS mentioned there in Severus Ibn al Muḳaffaʿ, *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte*, ed Seybold, Hamburg 1912, t 5, for Byzantine history cf Krumbacher, *Gesch d byz Lit*², p 368, 401, on the Alexander chapter of Ps-Aristoteles, *Secretum secretorum*, ed R Steele (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Bacon*, V, 1920), index s v Al Makīn, thereon Plessner, *O L Z*, 1925, p 912 *sqq*, *Isl*, XVI 93, note 5 and the introduction to the edition in preparation of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, Wilhelm Hertz, *Aristoteles in den Alexander-Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, *Ges Abh*, 1905, esp p 34 *sqq*

(M PLESSNER)

AL-**MAKKARĪ**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B MUḤAMMAD B AḤMAD B YAḤYĀ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, a Maghribī man of letters and biographer, born at Tilimsān (Tlemcen, q v) c 1000 (1591—92) d at Cairo in Djumādā II 1041 (Jan 1632) He belonged to a family of scholars, natives of Makkara (about 12 miles S E of Msila, in the present province of Constantine in Algeria) One of his paternal ancestors, Muḥammad b Muḥammad al-Makkarī, had been chief kādi of Fās and one of the teachers of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb of Granada He himself received a wide education from his early youth, his principal teacher was his paternal uncle Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd (d at Tlemcen in 1030 [1620—21], on him cf Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, § 103) He then left his native town and went to Marrākush and Fās where he became *Imām* and *Mufti* of the great mosque of al Karawīyīn from 1022 (1613) to 1027 (1617) He then set out for the East in order to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Places, after doing so he came to Cairo in 1028 (1618) where he stayed for some months and married In the next year he made a journey to Jerusalem then returned to Cairo In 1037 (1627) he again made the pilgrimage which he was to repeat several times later At Mecca as well as at Medina on these occasions

he taught *hadīṯ* in a way that attracted much attention He again made stays at Jerusalem and Damascus where he was received at the Madrasa Djakmakīya by the learned Ahmad b Shihīn In this city also his lectures on Muslim Tradition were largely attended He then returned to Cairo and while he was preparing to return to Damascus to settle there permanently, he fell ill and died

In spite of his long stay in the East, it was in Morocco that al-Maḳḳarī collected the essential materials for his work as the historian and biographer of Muslim Spain, especially at Marrākush in the library of the Saʿdian Sultāns (now in part in the Escorial, this is how al-Makkarī consulted among other works the unique copy of the *Musnad* of Ibn Marzūk cf *Hesperis*, v 8 *sq*) Indeed his masterpiece, written in the East at the suggestion of Ibn Shāhīn from materials collected by him in the Maghrib, is a long monograph on Muslim Spain and on the famous encyclopaedist of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb, *Nafh al-Ṭīb min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa-Dhikr Wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, an immense compilation of historical and literary information, poems, letters and quotations very often taken from works now lost It is this that gives the *Nafh al-Ṭīb* an inestimable value and puts it in the first rank for our sources of Muslim Spain from the conquest to the last days of the "Reconquista" Even for the later period it is the only Arabic source that we still possess

The *Nafh al-Ṭīb* consists of two quite distinct parts, a monograph on the history and literature of Muslim Spain and the monograph on Ibn al-Khatīb The first part is divided as follows 1 physical geography of al-Andalus 2 Conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, period of the governors 3 History of the Omaiyad Caliphs and of the petty dynasts (*Mulūk al ṭawāʾif*) 4 Description of Cordova, its history and its monuments 5 Spanish Arabs who have made the journey to the East 6 Orientals who have made the journey to Spain 7 Sketches of literary history, the intellectual and moral qualities of the Spanish Arabs 8 The "reconquista" of Spain and the expulsion of the Muslims The second part contains 1 Origin and biography of the ancestors of Ibn al-Khatīb, 2 biography of Ibn al Khatib 3 biographies of his teachers 4 letters in rhymed prose of the chancelleries of Granada and of Fās, sent or received by Ibn al-Khatib (*mukhātabāt*) 5 a selection of his works in prose and verse 6 analytical list of his works

The *Nafh al-Ṭīb* was printed in full at Būlāk in 1279 and at Cairo in 1302 and 1304 (4 vols) The first part was published at Leyden from 1855 to 1861 under the title of *Analectes sur l'histoire et la litterature des Arabes d'Espagne*, by R Dozy, G Dugat, L Krehl and W Wright In 1840, D Pascual de Gayangos had published in English, at London, under the title *The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, a version adapted from the part of the first half which deals with the history of Muslim Spain A critical translation of this monumental work in its entirety remains to be done

Al-Maḳḳarī also wrote other important works, among which special mention must be made of a lengthy monograph on the famous kādī ʿIyād [q v] *Azhār al-Riyād fī Akhbār al-Kādī ʿIyād* publ at Tunis in 1322 in 2 vols A list with reference to known MSS will be found in Brockelmann and Ben Cheneb

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(E LÉVI PROVENÇAL)

AL-MAKKĪ, ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUHAMMAD B ʿALI AL-HĀRITHĪ, d in Baghdād in 386 (996), an Arab muhaddith and mystic, head of the theological madhhab of the Sālimīya [q v] of Basra His principal work is the *Kūt al Kulūb* (Cairo 1310, 2 vols) whole pages of which have been copied by al Ghazzālī into his *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*

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MAKRĀN, the coastal region of Balūčistān, extending from about 59° to 65° 35′ E and inland from the coast to the Siyahan Range, a little beyond 27° north This tract was known to the Greeks as Gedrosia, and was inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters, the Persian translation (*Māhī-Khurān*) of whose name supplies a fanciful derivation for its present name, which is traced, with more probability, to a Dravidian source

In Persian legend Kaikhusraw of Īrān captured the country from Afrasiyāb of Tūrān, and both Cyrus and Semiramis marched through it In 325 B C it was traversed by Alexander in his retreat from India, and fell, later, under the dominion of the Sāsānians, but was occasionally absorbed into the Hindu kingdom of Sind It was annexed by the Arabs in the course of the rapid expansion of the empire of Islām in the early days of the caliphate, and it was through Makrān that Muhammad b Kāsim invaded Sind in 711 A D, and established the first Muslim settlement to the east of the Indus Marco Polo mentions it in 1290 as the most westerly part of India, under an independent chief, probably a Muslim, who found it unnecessary to make any pretence of submission either to Persia or to India Indigenous tribes ruled the country until they were ousted by the Gičkīs from India, but the Persian monarchs reckoned Makrān as part of Balūčistān, which was included in the great province of Kirmān In the middle of the eighteenth century the Ahmadzai Khāns of Kalāt established their suzerainty over the country, and in 1879 Colonel Goldsmid demarcated the frontier between Persian Makrān and eastern Makrān, which remains subject to

the Khān of Kalāt, though British intervention has frequently been necessary to compose the disputes between him and the dominant tribes of the province, Gičkīs, Nūshīrawānīs, Bīzandjans and Mīwāīs Cultivators of the soil are Balūčīs, and tribes of inferior social status and the fishermen form a class apart

The climate of the country varies with the altitude Near the coast it is uniformly hot, but not unpleasant, in Keč or Kedj, from which eastern Makrān is known as Kedj Makran, the winter is dry and cool, the summer intensely hot, and higher still Pandjgūr is bitterly cold in winter and moderately hot in summer

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(T W HAIG)

AL-MAKRĪZĪ ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AHMAD B ʿALĪ B ʿABD AL KĀDIR ʾAL-HUSAINĪ TAKĪ AL-DĪN, Arabic historian, b 766 (1364) at Cairo, grandson of the Hanafī Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh who educated him according to his school, but on attaining his majority he went over to the Shāfiʿīs, attacked the Hanafīs and even showed Ẓāhirī tendencies He began his career as deputy kādī in Cairo and rose to be head of the al-Hākimīya mosque and teacher of tradition at the al-Muʾaiyadīya madrasa In 811 (1408) he was transferred as administrator of the *wakf* at the Kalānisīya and at the Nūrī hospital and also as teacher at the al-Ashrafīya and al-Ikbālīya madrasas to Damascus About ten years later he returned to Cairo as a private individual to devote himself entirely to literary work He spent five years in Mecca after his pilgrimage in 834 (1430) He died in Cairo after a long illness on Thursday the 27th Ramadān 845 (Feb 9, 1442)

His literary activity began with his local history of Egypt dealing mainly with topography He then extended his interest to neighbouring lands as far as Abyssinia and dealt also with questions of social history such as weights and measures and coinage His principal work, the *Khiṭaṭ*, seems however to be based to a large extent on that of a predecessor, al-Awhadī, which he simply appropriated without acknowledgement according to al-Sakhāwī's well-founded charge After a very long full historical and geographical introduction he begins his description of the country with Alexandria and goes with particular thoroughness into the topography of Fustāt and Cairo On the sources of the work see Rhuvon Guest, *J R A S*, 1902, p 103 *sqq* It is entitled *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār*, Būlāk 1270, 2 vols fol, Cairo 1308, 1324—1326, 4 vols, ed G Wiet (*M I F A O*, I—V, 1911—1927) transl Makrīzī, *Histoire de l'Egypte, trad de l'arabe et accompagnee de notes hist et geogr* by E Blochet, Paris 1908, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte* by M, transl by U Bouriant and P Casanova (*M I F A O*), I—VI, 1893—1920, cf Takī al-Dīn Ahmad al Makrīzī, *Narratio de expeditionibus adversus Dimyatham*, ed H A Hamaker, Amsterdam 1824, Makrīzī's *Geschichte der Copten* of F Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1845, P Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'apres M*, Paris 1890, P Casanova, *Histoire et description de la citadelle du Caire d'apres M*, ib 1894—1897 Synopses of the *Khiṭaṭ* were made by Ahmad al-Hanafī under the title *al-Rawda al bahīya* (s Pertsch, *Kat Ar Hss Gotha*, N° 1683) and Abu 'l Surūr Muhammad al-Bakrī al Ṣiddīkī in the year 1054 (1644) under the title *Kaṭf al-Azhār min al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār* (Leyden, N° 974, Paris, N° 1765—1766, St Petersburg, As Mus, N° 237, Ahmad Taimūr Pāshā in *La revue de l'ac ar*, III 334, cf Vollers, *Note sur un ms ar abrevie de M* in *Bull de la soc khediv geogr*, 3 series, N° 2, p 131—139) As a supplement to his main work he then wrote a history of the Fātimids (*Ittiʿāẓ al-Hunafāʾ bi-Akhbār al-Aʾimma wa 'l-Khulafāʾ*, first publ from the unique Gotha autograph by H Bunz, Tubingen 1908) and of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks 577—840 (1181—1436) (*al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, MSS s *G A L* II 39, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, transl by Quatremère, 2 vols, Paris 1837—1844), which was continued by al-Sakhāwī (Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahmān, 902 = 1497) under the title *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī Dhail al-Sulūk* (*Continuation de l'histoire des Mamlouks de M par El Sakhaoui, texte ar d'après le ms unique conserve à la bibl khed* rev and corr by A Zeki Bey, *Rev d'Ég*, II, III, Būlāk 1896—1897, ed E Gaillardot, Cairo 1897) and by Ibn Taghrībirdī (s *E I*, I 103) As a further supplement to the *Khiṭaṭ*, Makrīzī planned two large biographical works but they remained unfinished on account of the enormous scale on which they were planned He intended to write the lives of all the rulers and famous men who had lived in Egypt in 80 volumes entitled *al Mukaffā* but was only able to complete 16 of them of which 3 are preserved in autograph in Leyden (*Cat codd ar*, N° 1032, perhaps also 1103) and one in Paris (N° 2144), see Dozy, *Notice sur quelques mss arabes*, Leyden 1847, p 8—16, a portion in van Vloten, *Z D M G*, III 224 His collection of biographies of contemporaries entitled *Durar al-ʿUkūd al-farida fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-mufida* intended to be arranged in alphabetical order also remained a torso (a portion of the autograph of vol I, *Alif* and a part of *ʿAin*, Gotha, N° 1771) He also dealt with a number of historical questions in separate essays, some of which are preserved in two collected volumes, Paris, N° 4657 and Leyden, No 2408 (the latter in part written by the author himself, and in part revised by him, see Dozy, *Notices*, p 17) The most important of these deal with the history of the Umaiyads and ʿAbbāsids (*al-Nizāʿ wa 'l-Takhāsum fi-mā baina Banī Umaiya wa-Banī Hāshim*, ed G Vos, Leyden 1888, and *Dhikr mā warada fī Bani Umaiya wa Bani 'l-ʿAbbās*, Vienna N° 1887, *al-Durar al mudīʾa fī Taʾrikh al-Dawla al-islāmiya*, Cambridge, Preston, p 2), the Arab tribes who migrated into Egypt (*al-Bayān wa 'l Iʿrāb ʿammā bi-Arḍ Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, ed Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1847), the geography of Hadramawt based on enquiries made of pilgrims from there whom he met in Mecca (*al-Ṭurfa al-gharība min Akhbār Wādī Hadramawt al-ʿadjība*, ed P Noskowyj, Bonn 1866), the Muslim princes in Abyssinia (*al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Habasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895, ed Fr Th Rink, Leyden 1790, cf I Guidi, *Sul testo del Ilmām d'al M* in *Centenario della nascita di Mich Amari*, Palermo 1910, II 387—394), on the Ziyānids in Tlemcen (*Tarājim Mulūk al-Gharb*, Leyden, *op cit*, according to Dozy's hypothesis, originally a portion of the *Durar al-ʿUkūd*), Islāmic coins and

measures (*Nubdhat al-ʿUkūd fī Umūr al-Nukūd*, Cairo 1298, ed O G Tychsen, Rostock 1797, *Traite des monnaies musulmanes*, transl by S de Sacy in *Mag encl* by Millin, II/IV, 1797, p 472, III/1, p 38 *sqq*, revised reprint, Paris 1797, an edition revised by the author *Shudhūr al-ʿUkūd fī Dhikr al-Nukūd*, printed under the title *al-Nuḳūd al-kadīma wa 'l-islāmīya*, Stambul 1298 in a collected volume, *Risālat al-Makāyīl wa 'l Mawāzīn al-sharʿiya*, ed O G Tychsen, Rostock 1800) He also wrote a general geography under the title *Djanī al-Azhār min al-Rawd al-miʿtār* (Berlin, N⁰ 6049, Cairo, v 40) what work he drew upon for this is still uncertain, in Paris, N⁰ 5919, al Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al Mushtāk fi 'khtirāk al-Āfāḳ* is said to be the basis, Lévi Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, p 361 identifies it with the *al-Rawd al-miʿtār fī Khabar al Aktār* mentioned by Hādjdjī Khalīfa, III, N⁰ 6598 of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, which is said still to exist in the Karawīyīn mosque of Fez In some of these shorter essays he touches on theology, a subject he does not elsewhere deal with, dogmatics in the essay composed in 813 (1410) entitled *al-Bayān al-mufīd fī 'l-Fark bain al Tawhīd wa 'l Talhīd* the autograph of which is in Leyden, Amin, N⁰ 188 (cf also Cairo, VII 565), *Tadjrīd al-Tawhīd* (in Paris) and tradition in lectures on the family and domestic arrangements of the Prophet, which he delivered in Mecca (*Imtāʿ al Asmāʿ fī-mā li 'l Nabī min al-Hafada wa 'l-Matāʿ*, in 6 vols, Gotha 1830, Stambul, Koprulu, N⁰ 1004) To supplement this work, towards the end of his life, he planned a work which beginning, with the Creation, was to be also a general geography to give the genealogies of the Arab tribes and the history of the Persians down to the Sāsānians under the title *al-Khabar ʿan 'l-Bashar*, at which he was still working in 844 (1441) (parts in the autograph Stambul Aya Sophia, N⁰ 3362 and Fātih, N⁰ 4338—4341, others in the copy Aya Sophia, N⁰ 3363—3366, Strassburg, s Noldeke, *Z D M G*, XL 306, cf T Tauer in *Islamica*, I 357—364) Even later than this work which he quotes in it was the essay *Daw' al-Sārī fī Maʿrifat Akhbār Tamīm al-Dārī* (in the Leyden collected volume and also in Leyden, N⁰ 1080, Brit Mus, p 669)

Bibliography Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, I 321, de Sacy, *Chrest arabe*², I 112, Hamaker, *Spec cat*, p 207, Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p 482, Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, p 196—202 *G A L*, II 38 (C BROCKELMANN)

MAKRŪH [See SHARĪʿA]

MAKS, toll, customs duty, is a loanword in Arabic and goes back to the Aramaic *maksā*, cf Hebrew *mekes* and Assyr *miksu*, from it is formed a verb *m-k-s* I, II, III and *makkās*, the collector of customs According to the Arabic tradition preserved in Ibn Sīda even in the Djāhilīya there were market-dues called *maks* so that the word must have entered Arabic very early It is found in Arabic papyri towards the end of the first century A H

Becker has dealt with the history of the *maks*, especially in Egypt, and we follow him here The old law books use *maks* in the sense of *ʿushr*, the tenth levied by the merchants, more properly the equivalent of an excise duty than of a custom They still show some opposition to the *maks*, then give it due legal force, but the word continued to have unpleasant associations, cf the hadīth *inna sāhiba 'l-maksi fi 'l-nār* "the tax-collector will go to hell" Goldziher has suggested that the Jewish view of the publican may have had some influence here

The institution of the customs duty was adopted by Islām about the beginning of the Omaiyad period or shortly before it While theological theory demanded a single customs area in Islām, the old frontiers remained in existence by land and water, and Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia were separate customs areas The amount of the duty in the canon law was settled not so much by the value of the goods as by the person, i e the religion of the individual paying it, but in practice, attention was paid to the article and there were preferential duties and no attention was paid to the position of the owner in regard to Islām The laws of taxation were very complicated and graduated, the duties rose in course of time from the tenth (*ʿushr*) to the fifth (*khums*)

The Egyptian *maks* was levied on the frontier at al-ʿArish and in the ports (*sawāhil*) ʿAidhāb, al-Kusair, al-Tūr and al Suwais but there was also an octroi to be paid in al Fustāt at a place called Maks This name is said to have replaced an old Umm Dunain and then became identified with the Maks = custom-house of Cairo All grain had to pass through here before it could be sold and two dirhams per *artaba* and a few minor charges had to be paid on it Further details of the administration of the *maks* in the earliest period are not known but there are references towards the end of the first century A H to a *sāhib maks Misr* in papyri and in literature also

The conception of the *maks* was extended in the Fātimid period when all kinds of small dues and taxes became known as *mukūs*, especially — emphasising the already mentioned unpleasant associations of the word — the unpopular ones which the people regarded as unjust Such occasional taxes had been levied from time to time in the early centuries of Islām The first to make them systematic was the dreaded financial secretary and noted opponent of Ahmad b Tūlūn, Ahmad b al-Mudabbir The latter introduced not only an increase in the ground-tax and the three great monopolies of osiers, fisheries and soda (in connection with which it is interesting to note a reversion was made to old Roman taxes), but also a large number of smaller taxes which were called *maʿāwin* and *marāfik* and included among the *hilālī*, the taxes to be paid according to lunar years Such artifices (known as *mukūs* from the Fātimid period and later as *mazālim*, *himāyāt*, *rimāyāt* or *mustaʾdjarāt*) were destined to develop in time into the main form of oppressing the people and to become one of the principal causes of the economic decline of Egypt, until under the Mamlūks a limit was reached where hardly any thing was left untaxed and *mukūs* were even granted as fiefs and "misfortune became general" (*waʿammat al-balwā*) These small taxes however (but not the monopolies) were repeatedly abolished by reforming rulers, indeed *ibṭāl al-mukūs* (other terms are *radd*, *musāmahat*, *iskāt*, *wadʿ*, *rafʿ al mukūs*) even formed part of the style and title of such rulers Thus it is recorded of Ahmad b Tūlūn that he abolished some duties, and later of Saladin, Baibars, Kalāʾūn and his sons Khalīl and Nāsir Muhammad, of Ashraf Shaʿbān, Barkūḳ and Djak-

mak Makrīzī gives a long list of *mukūs* abolished by Saladin and Kalkashandī gives copies of the texts of *musāmahāt*, which are decrees of the Mamlūk Sultāns abolishing taxes or granting exemption from dues which were sent to the governors and read from the minbars and sometimes contain very full details, while shorter decrees were probably carved on stone and are given among the fragments published by van Berchem It would of course be wrong to deduce from such abolitions of taxes that the government was a particularly good one, while on the other hand the continually recurring extortion of the same taxes shows that the abuses had been restored in the interval Makrīzī, i 111 concludes with the well known jibe at the Copts "even now there are *mukūs*, which are in the control of the vizier, but bring nothing to the state but only to the Copts, who do exactly as they like with them to their great advantage"

Among the great variety of dues which were of course not all levied at the same place and at the same time were the following *hilālī* taxes on houses, baths, ovens, walls and gardens, harbour-dues in Gizeh, in Cairo at "the corn-quay" (*sāhil al-ghalla*) and at the arsenal (*sinā'a*), also levied separately on each passenger, market-dues for goods and caravans (*badā'i' wa-kawāfil*) especially for horses, camels, mules, cattle, sheep, poultry and slaves, meat, fish, salt, sugar, pepper, oil, vinegar, turnips, wool, silk, linen and cotton, wood, earthenware, coal, halfa grass, straw and henna, wine and oil presses, tanned goods, brokerage (*samsara*) charges on the sale of sheep, dates and linen Taxes on markets, drinking-houses and brothels which were euphemistically called *rusūm al-wilāya* Warders deprive prisoners of everything they have, indeed this right is sold to the highest bidder, officers consume the fiefs of their soldiers, peasants pay their lords forced labour and give them presents (*barātil*, *hadāyā*) and many officials (*shādd*, *muhtasib*, *mubāshirūn* and *wulāt*) also accept them, when a campaign is begun the merchants pay a special war-tax and a third of inheritances falls to the state, when news of victories is received and when the Nile rises, levies are made, the dhimmīs, in addition to paying the poll-tax, have to contribute to the maintenance of the army, pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre pay a tax in Jerusalem, separate special taxes are levied to maintain the embankments, the Nilometer etc

Outside of Egypt we occasionally hear of the *maks* as toll or market-due, e g in Djidda, in North Africa (cf Dozy, *Suppl*, ii 606) Ibn al-Hādjdj, iii 67 mentions a *musāmahat mazālim*, but does not use the word *mukūs* in this sense

Bibliography Ibn Mammātī, *Kawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, p 10—26, Makrīzī, i 88 *sqq*, 104—111, ii 267, Kalkashandī, iii 468 *sqq* (= Wüstenfeld, p 169 *sqq*), xiii 30 *sqq*, 117, Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, p 51 *sqq*, do, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, p 140—148, do, *EI*, ii 15, do, *Islamstudien*, i 177, 267, 273 *sq*, van Berchem, *Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i 59, 560, ii 297, 332 *sqq*, 374, 377 [1], 384, Mez, *Renaissance*, p 111 *sqq*, 117, Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p 53 *sqq*, Bowen, *'Alī b 'Isā*, p 124, Wensinck, *Handbook*, p 228, Fagnan, *Additions*, p 165, Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, iv 606 on Maks (W Bjorkman)

MAḲSŪRA [See Masdjid]

MAKTAB (a), literally a "school in which writing is taught" in practice means a Kur'ānic school, the Muslims believing that the first thing that should be taught an infant is the Kur'ān

The word *maktab*, plur *makātib* belongs to the classical language It is hardly ever found in the spoken dialects in this form These prefer the word *kuttāb*, especially in Cairo and Tunis *Kuttāb* is found in the middle ages used by Ibn al-Hādjdj al-'Abdarī, a Moroccan author (see *Bibliography*), but it is not now used any longer in Algeria or Morocco

The Kur'ānic school has also other names *msīd* in Algiers, Tlemcen, and in certain districts of the Algerian Tell, at Fez, Rabat and Sale, *djāma'* at Tangier, Larache, Constantine, in Orania and some districts of Morocco and the Algerian Tell, *shi'a* among the nomads of Algeria, *m'immra* among the Moroccans of the Djabāla, *thima'mert* among the Kabyls of the Djurdjura, *mahdār* at Safi, Spain had *mahadra*, now found in Senegal

The position of the Kur'ānic school varies in different countries Among the African nomads it is a tent placed in the centre of the douar which is also used as a mosque In most towns it is a room on the ground floor, very often dark, damp and badly ventilated In Cairo, the Kur'ānic school is placed on the first story of some public building, usually a fountain In Fez, a number of *msīd* are also on a higher level than the street The schools of Fez and those of Cairo show architectural features which deserve special study The façades, doors, windows, usually large, are adorned with carved woodwork

Inside, the Kur'ānic school is as a rule bare of all ornament, mats of *alfa* grass or of rushes are stretched on the floor, the walls are also hung with mats of the same kind from the ground up to a height of 4 to 6 feet A wooden or stone bench serves as a chair for the teacher In one corner is a vessel of water (*mhi*) in which the slates of the pupils are washed

The Kur'ānic schools are distributed through the different quarters of the town There are none in the immediate vicinity of the mosques, the Prophet having recommended that children and lunatics should be kept away from mosques (cf *Madkhal*) On the other hand, it is not unusual to find Kur'ānic schools in sanctuaries built to the memory of some saint or in the zawiyas, the places of assembly of the religious brotherhoods According to the *Madkhal*, it is recommended to place schools in the most frequented streets and not to place them in isolated places or by-streets Although the author of this book gives pedagogic reasons for this recommendation, it is quite clear at the present day that it is due to the desire to let as many passers-by as possible hear the divine word In the village, the Kur'ānic school is held in one of the rooms of the building which is used as a mosque The sites of Kur'ānic schools are *habūs* or *wakf* properties Rich individuals sometimes install Kur'ānic schools at the entrance to their houses fronting the street for the use of their children and of those of their servants and neighbours and friends

The head of the Kur'ānic school is called *fkīh* or *fki* (classical *fakīh*) in the towns of Morocco, *tāleb* in the country districts of North Africa, sometimes *shīkh*, *muddeb* at Tunis and in the Tunisian

Sāhel, at Tlemcen, we find the the word *derʿār* which again crops up in the Algerian towns

The master in the Kur'ānic school has as his only intellectual equipment as a rule a perfect knowledge of the text of the Kur'ān He cannot understand or expound it, he hardly knows any grammar or any of the branches of religious knowledge The most learned masters are those who have devoted themselves to learning a certain number of the seven ways of reciting the Kur ānic text according to the principles laid down by the seven *shaikh al-riwāya*

In some towns there are Kur'ānic schools for girls but this is exceptional The mistress is known as *fakīha* or *fkīra* (Morocco)

The pupils are called *tilmīdh* in the towns, *gendūz* in the country districts and *mhādrī* in the towns of Morocco Their ages run from six to eighteen Where there are schools for girls, little boys are sent there also up to the age of six

In Kur'ānic schools nothing is studied but the Kur'ān and without any explanation The task of the pupils is to learn the sacred text by heart Ibn Khaldūn in his *Mukaddima* says that in his time the schools of Spain and Tunisia taught children reading and writing and the Arabic language before putting them to study the Kur'an, which they then learned without much difficulty while in the rest of the Maghrib they were only taught to recite the Kur'ān and from the beginning of their studies It is this latter that is still the usual fashion in North Africa of our day

The Kur'ān is not studied to know and understand it It is learned by heart for the reward promised in the next world to those who know it and to benefit by the virtue or *baraka* of the divine word This latter point of view is very much in keeping with the mentality of Muhammadan peoples with a strong belief in magic

When the boy begins his studies he is taught to smear a wooden slate with a fine white clay called *ṣanṣal* steeped in water When the slate is made dry, either by being exposed to the sun or held to a fire, the master traces on it the letters of the alphabet with the point of a *kalam* (or reed sharpened for writing) without any ink He cuts into the clay by forming the letters on the slate and the pupil is then asked to go over them with the *kalam* dipped in ink (which is made from burned wool) At the same time the child learns by heart the names of the letters and their descriptions without the master however thinking it worth while to point out to him on the slate that a certain character corresponds to a certain name of a letter It is therefore not surprising that with such a method a pupil has to devote two or three years to learning to read and to write

When the child can write to dictation, the master dictates verses from the Kur'ān The child writes them one by one As soon as he has finished writing one he says *nʿam yā sīdī* on reaching the last word he has to write The master then dictates the next verse and so on till the slate is completely covered with writing Then the pupil goes to the bottom of the class and begins to learn by heart what has been dictated to him aloud When he knows the text by heart, he recites it to the master If the latter is satisfied he orders the child to clean his slate For this purpose the boy washes it in the *mhī*, the vessel of water in the corner of the school, then he covers his slate with clay again and begins all over again

If we reflect that the master has 30 or 40 pupils in front of him each of whom is at a different place in the Kur'ān and that his method of instruction is individual, we can see that to learn the whole of the Kur'ān, even the most intelligent pupil requires several years if he is not discouraged before reaching the last sūra

The study of the Kur'ān begins with the first chapter, the *fātiha* After this sūra the last and then the second last, then the ante-penultimate is learned and so on back to the second sūra, that of the Cow The Kur'ān is thus learned in reversed order This method is explained by the fact that the sūras have been classed, except for the *fātiha*, in order of length, the shortest being at the end Since at the time of prayer, the believer repeats a sūra, usually one of the last, there is some point in the study of the Kur'ān beginning with the sūras at the end of the book When the pupil has learned the sacred text in the reverse order, he repeats it in the proper order

For study and recitation the Kur'ān is divided into sixty parts called *ḥizb*, each *ḥizb* is divided in its turn into four *rubaʿ* or quarters, each quarter into two *thumn* or eighths, and each eighth into two *kharrūba* or sixteenths

The time-table of the Kur'ānic school is as follows the master and pupils arrive at dawn, at least in theory They study without a stop till lunch-time Some go home to eat and return as soon as possible, others are given their lunch in school and eat either in the class, which is not encouraged, or outside near at hand If the master goes out, his place is taken by an older pupil They continue reciting the Kur ān till sunset when everyone goes home to dinner, they frequently return to the school till the hour of the *ṣalāt al ʿishā'* No recreation is provided for The only relaxation is the recitation by the pupils in a body of panegyrics of the Prophet In the Maghrib there is no school from Wednesday at midday till Friday after the noon *ṣalāt* Tradition has it that the Caliph ʿUmar (who founded the first Kur'ānic schools) prescribed the Thursday rest It is said in explanation that the triumphal return of the Muslim troops after the conquest of Palestine took place on a Thursday, the pupils having had a holiday to take part in the festivities the Caliph ʿUmar decided that hence forth Thursday should be a holiday in the schools In the Ḥiḏjāz the holiday is Tuesday (cf W Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger*, p 184, note 2)

The schools are also closed on the occasion of the religious feasts and the fast of Ramadān for one week or two, each country having its own special habit in this respect (cf especially Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, xvii 77 *sqq*)

When a child knows by heart a fixed portion of the Kur'ān, the first sūra, the first quarter of the book, the half, the whole, his parents give a feast in which all the pupils share, the master and frequently all the other masters of the quarter, needy men who take advantage of every occasion when good cheer is going These feasts are called *khātma* or *sulka* or *takhrīdja*, sometimes *hādka*, according to the country, some of these titles are used on the occasion of its partial recitation of the Kur'ān and others of a complete recitation For the feast the master decorates the boy's slate

with different colours It is to be noted that the mixture used for this purpose always includes eggs Some verses are written on the slate A procession is formed to go to the house of the child, who is the hero of the occasion, a part of the Kur'ān is recited and a copious repast eaten A collection made after the feast and also at the houses of the relatives and friends of the family procures the teacher a supplement to his salary which he much appreciates

Discipline is maintained in the Kur'ānic school by corporal punishment The master keeps in his hand a long stick with which he strikes more or less cruelly inattentive children on the head To punish serious faults he inflicts a certain number of blows on the soles of the delinquent's feet The boy is laid on his back, with his legs in the air and laid together, one of the older pupils holds his feet up to the master who beats them rhythmically with a rod of the wild quince tree If the pupil is too strong for his comrades to be easily able to keep him in the desired position, his feet are fastened to a wooden bench (*falaka*) which two of his comrades hold up These corporal punishments have been frequently condemned (cf especially *Madkhal*) but they continue to be applied with the unanimous consent of the parents Indeed the parents very often commission the master to punish children for faults committed out of school

The master's duty is to give the children a good education, that is to say an education that is entirely religious He generally does his duty very badly, at least from the European point of view

The results obtained in the traditional Kur'ānic teaching are generally bad After long and monotonous years spent in school, the child only knows a few sections of the Kur'ān and like his master is unable to write a letter correctly or read a book Wherever general education has made some progress we find the Kur'ānic schools losing their importance in spite of the piety of the people The child is often taken there to learn a few sūras after which he is taken away and put at the primary school Very often the child goes to the Kur'ānic school outside of the hours of the primary school and only for a year or two On the other hand in cases where the people are at all backward but ardent in their faith, the Kur'ānic schools are numerous and largely attended

The children at the Kur'ānic schools play a certain part in social ceremonies on account of the doubly magic character which their youth and knowledge of the divine word gives them On Thursdays they go in a body under the conduct of the master to recite the Kur'ān over the graves of persons recently buried, when a woman's accouchement is difficult and threatens to be dangerous, the children from the neighbouring school go round the town chanting litanies behind a piece of cloth held by four of them, in the centre of the cloth is an egg, the passers by throw coppers into the cloth and utter good wishes for the sick woman The school children, slate in hand are also sent to seek mercy from a conqueror for a conquered town or tribe, to appeal for rain in time of drought, the Kur'ānic schools are also called upon to take part in processions

The organisation of Kur'ānic teaching is rudimentary In the towns, it is the kādī who in theory supervises the schools, in reality he only interferes in cases where complaints are made against the teacher In the tribes it is the *kā'id* who takes the place of the kādī in this connection

The teacher is very often a stranger to the country, more often from the country than the town, which is to some extent explained by the magic character common to the state of being a foreigner and to Kur'anic study

In the towns he receives a very small sum monthly from the parents of his pupils, on the Wednesday, the children pay him a few coins on leaving school, on the occasion of school-feasts and holidays he receives a few more gifts He also makes amulets which he sells In the country the *tāleb* is paid in kind The relatives of his pupils feed him in turn, giving him, eggs, butter, cereals and lambs, sometimes the village or donor shares the labour of working a plot of ground and gathering its yield for him Payment in kind of the services of the teacher is the subject of a regular contract between the representative of the village or of the douar and the *tāleb* The latter is then called *tāleb mushārit* The teacher is also the imām of the village, he washes the dead and prepares them for burial, he is also occasionally tailor and public letterwriter In brief although he enjoys the respect of those around him he lives very poorly

The choice of a teacher is often decided by the reputation which he enjoys The consent of the parents in the towns, of the *djamā'a* in the country gives him the right to exercise his functions Tunisia however has endeavoured since the French occupation to regulate more carefully Kur'ānic instruction and to demand a certain standard of knowledge and morality in the teacher Kur'ānic instruction by its very nature seems to have remained unchanged from the early days of Islām

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MĀKŪ, a khānate in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān

Mākū occupies the N W extremity of Persia and forms an enclave between Turkey (the old sandjak of Bāyazīd) and Transcaucasia In the west the frontier with Turkey follows the heights which continue the line of Zagros in the direction of Ararat The frontier then crosses a plain stretching to the south of this mountain (valley of the Sarī-su) and runs over the saddle between Great and Little Ararat Down to 1920 Great Ararat formed the frontier between Russia and Turkey while Little Ararat was divided between Russia and Persia Since 1920 Great Ararat has been completely surrounded by Turkish territory, while Little Ararat is divided between Turkey and Persia The Turco Persian frontier at the present day comes down to the Araxes The Lower Kara-su and the Araxes (to its confluence with its right bank tributary Kotur čai) form the frontier between Mākū and the autonomous territory of Nakhčuwān which forms part of the Armenian Soviet republic The third side of the triangle i e the inner boundary between the khānate and the Persian province of Khoi is somewhat vague When the prestige of its khāns was at its greatest, their lands stretched to the districts of Čai-pāra, Čaldīrān (Kara-ʿAinī) and Alānd The little khānate of Awadjīk (30 villages belonging to the Anumlu Khāns) on the Bāyazīd–Čaldīrān–Khoi road forms a little enclave close to the Turco-Persian frontier

The khānate consists of a series of heights and fertile valleys In the centre between the valley of the Zāngimār and that of the Akh čai rises the isolated mass of Sokkar At the foot of the Little Ararat along the frontier chain and on the slopes of Sokkar there are excellent pastures

The lands of Mākū are very well watered The streams that flow into the Araxes on the right bank are as follows 1 in the northwest the lower Kara-su which runs almost parallel to the Araxes and receives on the right bank the waters from Dambat (a high plateau to the S E of Little Ararat where in 1905 Minorsky discovered the ruins of the ancient town which local Armenian tradition identifies with Arshakawan, cf Moses of Chorene, III 27 and ibid, I 30), 2 the mountain torrents Yflandūrasi and Sarī čai, 3 the river Zāngimar (Zāngibār, Mākū-čai) which consists of three main branches, one coming from the khanate of Awadjīk, the other, the Tīghnīt, from the S E corner of the plain of Čaldīrān from the vicinity of the village of Tīghnīt (Armenian *tłmut* = muddy), the third from the central canton of Bābādjik The combined waters run through the defile in which lies the town of Mākū and water the rich district of Zangibasar ("watered by the Zāngimār") Here the Zāngimār receives on its right bank the waters from the central massif of Sokkar (this tributary seems to have been once known as the Kaban), and on the left bank the Sarī-su (different from the above mentioned Sarī su) which rises on Turkish territory in the north of Bāyazīd and flows a considerable distance parallel to the central course of the Zangimār 4 The Akh-čai, the sources of which are on the eastern face of the chain which separates Turkey from Persia and on the southern face of the transverse chain (Alagān) which separates Akh čai from Tīghnīt The waters of the Akh-čai and its tributary irrigate the canton of Sogman āwī, flow into the fertile plain of Čaipāra and flow into the Kotur čai which waters the plain of Khoi Below this confluence the Akh-čai receives on its right bank the waters of the district of Alānd which rise near the Turco Persian frontier to the south of the sources of the Akh čai and the north of those of the Kotur-čai

The town The site of the town of Mākū is very striking It lies in the short gorge through which the Zāngimār here runs The cliffs rise perpendicularly on the right bank The cliffs on the left bank rise to a height of 600 feet above the river The little town lies in an amphitheatre on the slope Above the town at the foot of the rocks, are the ruins of ancient fortifications and a spring Then the mountain wall rises almost perpendicularly and at a height of 180 to 200 feet leans forward There is therefore an incredible mass of rock suspended over the town (According to Monteith's estimate the dimensions of the cavern thus formed are height 600 feet, depth of the cavern 800 feet(?), breadth 1200, thickness at the top of the arch 200 feet) It is only for a brief period daily that the sun penetrates into this gigantic cave Just above is a cave which used to be entered by a perilous scaffolding At a later date when the cave was used as a prison, the prisoners were hoisted up by a rope (The only European who has been inside it is A Iwanowski)

The population The population of Mākū consists of Turks and Kurds The former, who are in the majority, occupy villages along the rivers of the khānate They are the remains of the Turkoman tribes of Bayat, Pornak etc The canton at the foot of the Sokkar is called Karakoyunlu The people (about 900 houses grouped into 26 villages) belong to the Ahl i Hakk faith (*R M M*, xl, p 66) which is indirect but interesting evidence of the character of the heresy of which the Turkoman dynasty of the Kara koyunlu was accused (Munedjdjim bashī, III, p 153) The old enmity between the Turkoman tribes survives in the general name applied by the Kara-koyunlu to their Shīʿa "Twelver" neighbours they call them Ak-koyunlu (Gordlevsky, p 9)

The Kurds of the khānate are semi-nomads The Djalālī (cf on their supposed ancestors, *ʿĀlam-ārāʾ*, p 539 under the years 1017—1018) occupy the slopes of Ararat and in summer betake themselves to the pasturages along the Turco-Persian frontier Many sections of them lead a troglodyte life in the caves of the Dambat region

The Milan live between the Araxes and the massif of Sokkar where they pass the summer At Kara ʿaini (in Kurdish Kałeni) there are Haidarānlu

Before the war there were only 1,200 Armenians left in Mākū It is remarkable that the confidential servants in the houses of the khāns are of this nationality The celebrated and imposing monastery of St Thaddeus (Thadevos Arakel = Kara Kilisa among the Muslims) rebuilt in 1247 (St Martin, *Memoires sur l'Armenie*, II 463) is in the central canton of Bābādjik It is regarded with a certain respect even by Muslims who kiss the Gospels on entering it A long inscription recording the *firmān* of protection given it by Shāh ʿAbbās adorns the doorway At one time the villages at Mākū and

at Khoi belonged to the monastery and paid their rents to it Another Armenian monastery (Sup-Stephanos, Dānīyāl-Peighambar among the Muslims) lies below the mouth of the Kotur čai on the borders of Mākū The little village of Djabbārlu is inhabited by Yazīdīs

Ancient history The oldest monuments of Mākū go back to the period of the Khald (Vannic) kingdom The chamber carved in the rock near Sangar (on the Mākū–Bāzirgān–Bāyazīd road) is one of a number of similar constructions in Bāyazīd and in the country west of Urmia (Minorsky, *Kela-shin*, *Zap*, xxiv, p 171) A Khaldic inscription known as that of "Makū" seems to come from Bastām on the Akh-čai (district of Cai pāra) It is of king Rusa II, son of Argishti (c 680—645 B C, cf Sayce, *A new Vannic Inscription*, *J R A S*, 1912, p 107—113, N Y Marr, *Nadpis Rusî II iz Mākū*, *Zap*, xxv, 1921, p 1—54) The inscription is important as showing that the power of the kings of Wān extended to the region of Khoi

Mākū later formed part of Armenia It corresponds to the canton of Artaz of the province of Vaspurakan (Armenian seventh century *Geography*) According to Moses of Chorene, the district was at first known as Shawarshan but was given the name of Artaz in memory of the old home of the Alān whom Artashēs transplanted hither (cf Ardoz in Ossetia) The name Shawarshakan may be explained from the rule of the Artsruni kings among whom the name Shawarsh (Ἀσσαγίσαν = Ξέρξης = Mod Pers Siyāwush) was frequent (cf Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, p 4, 177) The suggestion of this scholar that Artaz is connected with the older Ἀζαρα etc, Strabo, xi 14, 3, is untenable because Azara is above Artaxata which again is above the land of Artaz = Mākū The Amatuni kings who later established themselves north of the Araxes must also have ruled in Artaz for the diocese of Mākū is called Amatuneac' tan (Adontz)

The names Mākū and Hac'iun (= Hasun) north of Mākū are mentioned in the *History* of Thomas Artsruni written in the tenth century, in the passage (II § 3) describing the frontier of the lands ceded by the Sāsānian Khusraw to the emperor Maurice in 591 (Brosset, *Coll d'Hist Arm*, St Petersburg 1874, I, p 78) On the many Armenian monuments in the land of Mākū cf the work of Minorsky on the antiquities of the khānate, cf also Hubschmann, *Die altarm Ortsnamen*, 1904, p 344 and Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Justiniana*, St Petersburg 1908, index

According to a legend recorded by Moses of Chorene (I 30, II 49), Tigranes, having defeated the Mede (in Arm *Mar*) Aždahak settled his descendants all around Masis (Ararat) Neither the Arab historians (Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr) nor geographers know this corner of Armenia although the name looks very old It would be tempting to explain Mākū as Māh + Kūh = Mountain of the Medes (Pers *māh* and Arm *mār* go back to the old Iranian Māda) The form Mākūya (*Mākōya) which is found in Hamdullāh Mustawfī however presupposes a different final element

History under Islām Hamdullāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al Kulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 89) is the first writer (740 = 1340) to mention Makū among the cantons of the *tuman* of Nakhčuwān It is a castle in the cleft of a rock and at the foot lies a village which stands in the shade till midday In this place lives the Christian chief priest (*kashish*) whom they call Mar-Hāsiyā (this reading is preferable to *Mardjanīthā* of Le Strange, cf Aram *Mar-Khasīā* "the Lord Bishop")

The Spanish Ambassador Clavijo who visited Mākū on June 1, 1404 still found it inhabited by Armenian Catholics ruled by their prince Noradin, who enjoyed practical independence Timūr did not succeed in taking Mākū but by a treaty Noradin agreed to supply him with 20 horsemen when required The eldest son of Noradin was taken to the court of 'Omar Mīrzā and converted to Islām when he was given the name of Sorgatmix (Suyurghatmish), as to another son, Noradin intended to send him to Europe to be consecrated a bishop Clavijo mentions a monastery of Dominicans at Mākū, "en el dicho lugar" (Fiayles de Sancto Domingo, *Vida y hazañas*, ed Sreznewski, St Petersburg 1881, p 158–162 and 376, transl Le Strange, London 1928, p 144–145) Clavijo gives an accurate description of the town (a castle in the valley, on the slope, the town surrounded by walls, higher, a second wall, which was reached by steps cut in the rock)

On the death of Timūr, Kara-Yūsuf the Kara-Koyunlu reappeared on the scene and Mākū was one of the first places he conquered in 809 (1406) (*Sharaf nāma*, I 376) Henceforth the country must have become rapidly Turkicised According to the *Sharaf nāma* (I 295, 308), in 982 (1574) the Ottoman government ordered the Kurd 'Iwad Beg of the Mahmūdi tribe (cf above II, p 1145b) to take Mākū (one of the cantons of Nakhcuwān) from the Persians and to restore the fortress 'Iwad was given Mākū as *odjaklîk* After his death in 1002, Sultān Muhammad II gave the fortress to Mustafā Beg, son of 'Iwad

When in the summer of 1014 (1605) Shāh 'Abbās was in the vicinity of Khoi the Mahmūdi Kurds of the district of Mākū and Pasak (a village on the Aland čai to the west of Khoi) did not come to pay homage to the Shāh 'Abbās I transferred the clan of Mansūr-beg to the 'Irak (Persian) and took the field in person against Mustafā, beg of Mākū The historian Iskandar-munshī mentions two forts at Mākū, one at the foot of the mountain (*pāy-i kūh*) and the other on its side (*miyān-kūh*) The former was soon taken by the Shāh's troops but the capture of the other was "not so easy" Orders were given to plunder the Mahmūdi tribe which was done The women and children were carried off and the Mahmūdi men executed The booty was so great that cows were sold at 2 dirhams = 200 (Persian) dīnārs a head The royal camp remained for 10 days at Mākū but the upper fortress "in spite of the constrictedness of the place and the lack of water" held out and the Shāh left for Nakhčuwān without having obtained its surrender ('*Ālam ārā*, p 479)

The Turks and Persians attached great importance to the position of Mākū Murād IV in the campaign of 1045 himself realised the importance of Kotur and Mākū and in the instructions given in 1048 to Kara Mustafā Pasha ordered him to demand that the Persians should destroy the two fortresses Indeed by the treaty of 1049 (1639) the Persians decided to raze Kotur Mākūr, (read Mākū) and Maghazberd (*Tārīkh-i Na'imā*, I 686) However Murād IV died and in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm the Persians reoccupied Kotur and Mākū (Ewliyā Čelebi, IV, p 279)

The next stage is recorded in the Persian inscription engraved on the rock above the fortress (Minorsky, *Drevnosti*, p 23) It tells us that Shāh ʿAbbās II ordered the destruction of the fortiess because it sheltered the unsubdued (*mufsidān*) The fortress is compared to a Kalʿa yi Kābān, the executor of the Shāh's order was a certain Akbai and the date is 1052 = 1641—1642 (Chronogram *gh-n-b*) The history of ʿAbbās II (*Kiṣas al-Khakānī*, Bibl Nat Paris, Suppl Pers, N⁰ 227) throws no light on the incident but as (fol 74b) an Ottoman embassy to the court of the young Shāh in 1052 is mentioned, it is probable that it was not without influence on the destruction of the fortiess, on the preservation of which Persia had formerly laid stress

Contrary to the tenor of the inscription, Ewliyā Čelebi II, 337—339 claims that it was the Ottomans who, after the peace of 1049, destroyed Makū and at the same time recalled the Mahmūdī Beg who was their representative there In 1057 (1647) the Kurd Beg of Shūshīk (a stronghold on the borders of Persia) rebelled against the Turks The Persians, while protesting against his raids, seized the occasion to introduce to Makū 2,000 riflemen from Māzandarān The Ottomans sent an army of 72,000 men against Shūshīk Mustafā Beg of Shūshīk was defeated and sought refuge in Mākū Ewliyā accompanied the Pasha and the detachment that went to Mākū to demand the extradition of the rebel Satisfaction was given them and the wālī of Erzerūm Mehmed Pasha treated the Persian envoys in a very friendly fashion He told them however that if the Persians did not withdraw their troops from Mākū and destroy the fortress, he would attack Erīwān and Nakhčuwan The result is not known but Persia's possession of Mākū recognised in 1639 does not seem to have again been seriously disputed by Turkey

The family which ruled Makū from 1747 to 1923 belonged to the Bayat tribe, the clan settled around the Sokkar (on the Bayat cf Koprulu zade Mehmed Fūʾād, *Oghuz Etnolojisine dāyir Tārihī Notalar*, *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasi*, Stambul 1925, p 16—23) According to oral tradition Ahmad Sultān Bayat was in Khorāsān in the service of Nādir Shāh After the latter's assassination, he seized one of his wives and a part of his treasure and returned to Makū Very little is known about him or his son Husain Khān (Monteith's host?) who died in 1835 It is possible that under the Zand dynasty and at the beginning of the Kādjārs the real authority in the region N W of Ādharbāidjān belonged to the family of Dumbulī Khāns [cf KURDS], whose headquarters was at Khoi (cf TABRĪZ, the special history of the Dumbulī is not accessible in Europe) The disappearance of the Dumbulī must have opened the way to the Bayat ʿAlī Khān (1775—1865), son of Husain Khān, is often mentioned by travellers (Fraser, Abich, Flandin, Čirikow, Likhutin) as an influential chief jealous of his prerogatives We know that the Bāb was entrusted to the guardianship of ʿAlī Khān from June to December 1847 and that the latter treated him very kindly The Bāb in his esoteric language calls Mākū *djabal-i bāsit* in contrast to *djabal-i shadīd* (= Čahrīk, cf SALMĀS) where his imprisonment was more rigorous (cf Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 1891, ii, p 16, 271—277, Jānī-Kāshānī, *Nuqtat al-qāf*, *G M S*, xv, 1910, p 131—132) During the war of 1853—1856 ʿAlī Khān derived great material advantage from the neutrality of his territory which lay between Russia and Turkey His son Tīmūr Pasha Khān (1820—1895?) profited by a similar situation during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878 In 1881, his appearance at the head of the Mākū horsemen in the district of Salmās accelerated the collapse of the invasion of Kurds under Shaikh ʿUbaidallāh [q v] Timūr Pasha Khān was hailed as the saviour of Ādharbāidjān and the people even called him *Māku Pādshāhī*

His son and successor Murtadā Kuli Khān Ikbal al-Saltana (1863—1923) at first continued the policy of isolation and aggrandisement of the khānate but his activity aroused suspicion on all sides At the beginning of the war of 1914 Russian distrust earned him a forced stay in Tiflis In time Mākū became part of the theatre of war The Russian troops built a light railway from Shāh-takhtī (on the Araxes) to Bāyazid and the station of Mākū became a busy centre In 1917 the Sardār returned home and held his position till the coming of Ridā Shāh Pahlawī, when, accused of intrigues, he was arrested on 25th Mihr 1302 (Oct 17, 1923) and transported to the prison of Tabrīz where he died suddenly A Persian officer was appointed governor of Mākū (Nawbakht, *Shāhinshāh-i Pahlawī*, Tihrān 1342, p 112)

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MĀL (A), means in the old language possession, property, referring among the Bedouins particularly to camels, but also to estates and money, in any case to concrete things The word is formed from *mā* and *l* and means properly anything that belongs to any one As a noun it is of course treated as a med *w* stem from which a

verb is then formed In the meaning "money" the word is used in the expression *māl sāmit* "dumb property" in contrast to *māl nātik* "speaking property", applied to slaves and cattle There is a full definition of the conception in the introduction to the *Ishāra ilā Mahāsin al-Tidjāra* of Abu 'l-Fadl Djafar b ʿAlī al-Dimashkī (Cairo 1318, p 2 *sq*) studied and for the most part translated by H Ritter, *Isl*, vii (1916), 1—91 There and in the *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm* (see *Bibl*), p 59, the different classes of property are enumerated As *māl* includes property in its different aspects the word can also mean "taxes"

The attitude of the Muslim religion to money and property and its acquisition was of course a subject of discussion from the beginning of the literature The authoritative religious and ethical point of view is that of al-Ghazzālī (so to be written, cf Moh ben Cheneb, *R A A*, vii, 1927, p 224 *sqq*) in the second decade of the *Ihyāʾ*, especially book 13 (Ritter, *op cit*, gives an analysis) and 14 (transl by H Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut = Islamische Ethik*, iii, 1922, cf R Hartmann in *Isl*, xiv)

The acquisition, guarding and disposal of property is one of the four main sections of economics (*Tadbīr al-Manzil*), the second part of practical philosophy, which is divided into ethics, economics and politics, just as it entered Islām with the rest of Hellenistic sciences As the *Politics* of Aristotle, the first book of which deals with economics was not translated into Arabic, the Muslims had to be content with the only translated work on economics, composed by the Neo-Pythagorean Ps-Bryson which has had a deciding influence on the whole economic literature of Islām The text, the Greek original of which is lost, was first edited by I Cheikho in *Machriq*, xix (1921) and has been recently published with the Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation by M Plessner (cf *Bibl*) The interesting chapter on *māl* in it was further expanded by Muslim authors of the school of Ps-Bryson, particularly from religious literature A standard work is the *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī* of al-Tūsī [q v] of which the economic section has been analysed and translated by Plessner The view of the origin of money which Aristotle holds in the *Nic Ethics* reached Islām direct, besides coming through Ps-Bryson, it is first found in the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāk* of Miskawaih (this is his correct name and not Ibn Miskawaih [q v]) e g Cairo 1322, p 38 [cf also NĀMŪS and DHAHAB]

The word *māl* very early became a technical term in arithmetic It is first found in exercises in dividing inheritances applied to the property of the testator which is to be divided We later find the word used regularly for the unknown quantity in an equation, in this meaning it was afterwards replaced by *shaʾ* [q v] Used for the unknown in quadratic equations it became the word for the square of a number The fourth power is called *māl al-māl*, the fifth *mālu kaʿbin*, the square of the cube The history of this change of meaning has been elucidated by J Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst* (*S B Ak Heid*, Phil-hist Kl, 1917, N⁰ 2, esp chap vi, cf also index, s v Māl)

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(M PLESSNER)

MĀL AMĪR, more accurately Māl-i Amīr, a ruined site in Lūristān It lies in the centre of a flat plain about 3,100 feet above sea-level, in 49° 45′ East Long and 31° 50′ N Lat, 3–4 days' journey east of Shūstar [q v] and marks the site of a mediaeval town for which during the caliphate the name Idhadj (sometimes vocalised Aidhadj) was exclusively used The modern name Māl-i Amīr seems to be first used in the Mongol period, at least the first known occurrence is in the first half of the xivth century in Ibn Battūta (ii 29) in the Arabic form Māl al-Amir = "estate of the prince" Idhadj under the ʿAbbāsids was the capital of a district of the province, and was also described more precisely as Idhadj al-Ahwāz i e "Idhadj of al-Ahwāz" (Khūzistān), sometimes called after Rām(a)hurmuz to distinguish it from a place of the same or similar name in the region of Samarkand (cf Yākūt, i 416, 417 Idhūdj, ii 496)

Even under the Sāsānians the somewhat inaccessible district of Idhadj seems to have enjoyed a certain independence When the Arabs for the first time invaded Khūzistān in 17 (638) they came to a friendly arrangement with the lord of Idhadj by which the latter was guaranteed the possession of his power (Tabarī, i 2553) Eleven years later (29 = 649) however, the governor of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAmir [q v], was forced by a rising in the newly won province to undertake a military expedition which took him incidentally to Idhadj, see Balādhurī (ed de Goeje), p 382 and above, ii p

Under the caliphate Idhadj played no prominent part During the troubles in the last decade of Omayyad rule Abū Djaʿfar al-Mansūr afterwards Caliph (cf v Vloten, in *Z D M G*, lii 214) administered the district of Idhadj for the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b Muʿāwiya [q v] A son, afterwards the caliph al-Mahdī, was born to him here, apparently by a woman of Idhadj (see Tabarī, iii 527) The family of the latter apparently kept up its connection with Idhadj for Yākūt (i 416) speaks of descendants of al-Mahdī who bore the family name of Idhadjī The name Māl al Amīr, "prince's estate", might date from the time of al-Mahdī when the ʿAbbāsids seem to have had lands in Idhadj But this name of Idhadj, as already mentioned, does not occur in an Arabic source till 500 years later, so it may be assumed with greater probability that it arose in the time of the Atābegs of Lūristān Buzurg [q v = Great Lūr] under whom Idhadj attained its greatest prosperity This ruling family, which traced its origin to a Kurd chieftain of Syria, is also called the Fadlawī dynasty after an ancestor or the Hazāraspid after the proper founder of their power, Malik Hazārasp Their rule over East and South Lū-

rıstān dated from about 550 (1155) The capital was Īdhadj At times the power of these princes stretched eastwards as far as the vicinity of Isfahān and southwards to Basra and to the Persian Gulf They owned the suzerainty of the caliphs or of the Mongol Khāns who replaced the ʿAbbāsids, in practice they were fairly independent Among the Atābegs of this dynasty mention may be made of Ahmad Nusrat al-Dīn (696—730 or 733 = 1226—1329 or 1332) According to Ibn Battūta, he built 160 madrasas in his kingdom, of which 44 were in Īdhadj He also improved caravan traffic by hewing roads through the rocks Under his successor Afrāsiyāb II, Ibn Battūta spent some time in Īdhadj and gives an interesting description of life at the court in this town The Tīmūrids in 827 (1424) put an end to the rule of the Fadlawī dynasty On this dynasty cf above II, p 48 *sqq* and the genealogical tables in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p 460 and E von Zambaur, *Manuel de Geneal et de Chronol pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, p 234

On the later history of Īdhadj nothing is known The town probably became gradually deserted after the fall of the Fadlawīs Its ruins are now represented by a large mound of earth, about 35 feet high, of irregular shape with smaller mounds of rubble around it Cf Layard in *JGRS*, XVI, 1846, p 74 and Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, I 403, and Jéquier, *op cit* (s *Bibl*), p 134

It may be mentioned that the Būyid Sultāns struck coins in Īdhadj, cf Lindberg, *Les Monnaies Coufiques des Buyides = Mem de la Societe des Antiquaires du Nord*, Paris 1840—1844, II 269 and see above III, p 44[b] On coins of the Atābegs minted in Īdhadj cf above III, p 48[a]

The perfectly flat plain of Māl-Amīr out of which rises the mound of ruins of the Sāsānian and Muslim town of Īdhadj is about 4 miles broad and about 7 long according to Jéquier (see *Bibl*) who has given a plan of it (*op cit*, p 133) It runs from N W to S E c 3100 feet above sea-level and is surrounded on all sides by steep, barren but not high hills The most important of these border ranges is in the S E and is linked up to the Mungasht hills farther south (cf Rawlinson in *JRGS*, IX 80—81, de Bode, *op cit*, XIII, 100, Layard, *op cit*, XVI 74 and de Bode, *Travels*, II 30) within which stood the fortress of the same name, which played an important part in the middle ages (Mungasht, Mankhisht, Māndjasht, cf also above III, p 46[b], 47[a]) The ridge which shuts in the plain of Māl Amīr in the east or N E is called Kūh Geshmet According to Jéquier, there is a large artificial lake in the north (northeastern) part of the plain, which finally disappears in the swamp According to de Bode (*JRGS*, XIII 104), there were in his time two small lakes there, the so-called Shatt bend's, which dried up in summer like the marshes and the small streams which run through the plain The water of the latter came in the main from the lake of Deriādje i Bandān, south of the plain of Māl-Amīr, behind which Houtum-Schindler (see *Bibl*) ascended the steep wall of the Tanawsh range The lake called Fam al Bawwāb described by Yākūt may be identical with this stretch of water, cf Le Strange, *op cit*, p 245, Schwarz, *op cit*, p 337

Among the numerous ravines which are to be found among the hills that border the Māl-Amīr plain on the N E the most interesting from the archaeological point of view is that of Kūl-i Fārā (see the plan in Jéquier, *op cit*, p 135) *Kūl*, according to O Mann means in Lūrī "little ravine", cf above III, p 41[b] Dieulafoy and Schindler have erroneously reproduced this to them unintelligible word by Kalʿa or Kūt = fortress see Weissbach, *op cit*, p 743, note, whose suggestion about the meaning of Kūl is now ruled out For Fārā, H Schindler gives the form Ferra and Ferendj (Franks, Europeans), the latter apparently based on a Lūrī interpretation of the male costume in the reliefs there Earlier travellers (Layard, de Bode) write Kūl i Firʿawn, apparently because their Lūrī authorities identified the name Fārā with Firʿawn (Pharaoh) whom they knew from the Kurʾān

The majority of the sculptures of pre-Īrānian (Elamite) origin in the region of Māl Amīr are to be found in Kūl-i Fārā Quite close to the entrance to the ravine is a large stele with a large human figure in high relief, a row of smaller figures with a well preserved 24 line cuneiform inscription and 10 smaller inscriptions (the latter giving the names of the individuals represented) According to the large inscription it is a monument erected by a certain Hanni, son of Tahhihi Opposite, on the other side of the ravine at intervals on blocks of stone and on the wall are five tablets with other reliefs of rude execution Special mention must be made of a great procession with 67 figures The total number of figures in Kūl-i Fāra is according to Layard 341

Opposite the ravine of Kūl-i Fārā, in the hills which bound the S W side of the plain of Māl Amīr is the cave with many corridors of Shikefte i Salmān, "the cave of Salmān" According to the Bakhtiyārīs who hold this place in great honour, the name is derived from that of Salmān al-Fārisi [q v], the first Persian to adopt Islām, who is buried there, contrary to the modern Sunni and Shīʿī tradition which locates the tomb of this companion of the Prophet in al-Madāʾin (Salmān Pāk, cf III, p 79) In Shikefte-i Salmān have survived four primitive bas reliefs of the Elamite period of which two are outside and two inside the cave Among them is a figure, over life size with a 36 line cuneiform inscription which also dates from the Hanni above mentioned On a little esplanade to the south of the cave are the ruins of a little Muslim sanctuary, probably erected on the site of an older sanctuary In the corner of the cave is a spring in which rises one of the little streams that water Māl Amir

Apart from the monuments of Kūl-i Fārā and Shikefte i Salmān there are a series of other monuments and remains of the ancient and mediaeval periods in the plains of Shikefte-i Salmān For example, in the southwest part of the plain near a ruined *imāmzāde* (saint's tomb) which the Lūrs call Shāh-Suwār (the king on horseback) on a slope of the hill is a small stele, obviously also of the Elamite period, with 6 figures and an inscription which has been destroyed According to Layard, there are many popular traditions about this place A little north of Shāh-Suwār at a place called Kūh Wā are the ruins of a palace In the opposite direction in the N E section of the plain rises a round palace on the summit of a rock, called Kalʿa Gʾshdum (= Scorpion Hill) by the natives A ravine near by is called Hong, in it

may be seen a much weathered Sāsānian rock-sculpture of great dimensions, probably of the earlier period (c Shāpūr I)

That the plain of Māl-Amīr enjoyed comparative prosperity in the Sāsānian period is evident from the remains of canals of this date

In the S W of the plain a narrow road runs to the village of Hallādjān (de Bode Halegun) Near it are old ruins of the period of the Atābeg dynasty There is an Atābeg citadel, an Atābeg bridge and well The numerous traces of buildings probably date from a mediaeval town Of recent date is the ruin (mentioned by de Bode) of a palace of Hasan Khān, a chief of the Bakhtiyārī tribe of Čahār Lang who lived here about 1821 Here is another little river called Hallādjān or Shāh Rūben which is probably connected with the lake at Deriādje-i Bandān already mentioned (cf Layard, *J R G S*, xvi 74 and *Early Adventures*, i 403, de Bode, *J R G S*, xiii 100 and *Travels* etc, i 404

In the N E of Māl-Amīr runs an old road paved with huge blocks of stone, which is now called Rāh-i Sultān (the Sultān's path) or Djāddet-i Atābeg (= Atābeg road) to the Sar-i Rāk (Radj) some 3,500 feet high, the highest point, and thence to Isfāhān after several days' journey It has already been mentioned above that the Atābegs did a great deal for road making in their lands But the original planning of the road probably goes back to a great antiquity, cf thereon de Bode, *J R G S*, xiii 102—104, and *Travels* etc, ii 6—8, 35—46 Perhaps, he suggests, the "ladder-road" (*κλίμακος κοίλη*) over which Eumenes passed, as mentioned by Diodoros xix 21, may be identical with the Atābeg road Remains of old roads paved or hewn out of the rock are also found in other places in the neighbourhood of Māl-Amīr, cf iii 51b The natives ascribe them at once to the Atābegs, as they do the ruined caravanserais found everywhere Near the Sar i Rāk pass about 12 miles east of Mal-Amīr is a place called Kal'a i Medjese, where chiefs of the Bakhtiyāris meet every year There are the ruins of two Sāsānian buildings, cf Unvala, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxv, 1928, p 86—88, who gives a detailed description of them Schwarz, (*op cit*, p 340) thinks that this Kal'a i Medrese — in spite of the discrepancy in the distances given — corresponds with the place Hallāfihān mentioned by Ibn Battūtā (ii 41) A ruined site of the same name, also with two Sāsānian buildings is according to Unvala 24 miles S E of Masdjid-i Sulaimān [cf SŪSAN], 4–5 hours N E of Māl-Amir are the ruins of Sūsan [q v]

The Arab geographers of the middle ages reckoned the celebrated stone bridge (*kantara*) of Īdhadj crossing the Dudjail (Kārūn) among the wonders of the world It was also called Kantara Khuriazād from the alleged (otherwise unknown) name of the mother of Ardashir I, who is said to have built this bridge and another in the town of Ahwaz (see Schwarz, *op cit*, p 321) Otherwise we only know the masculine form of the Īrānian name Khurzād (cf Schwarz, *op cit*, p 338 note 4 and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p 180b) In the ivth (xth) century this bridge of Īdhadj was restored by the vizier of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla after two years of work De Bode identifies it with the "Atābeg" bridge at Hallādjān, probably however we should, with Rawlinson, *op cit*, p 83 and Schwarz, *op cit*, p 339, identify it with the "Old Bridge" crossing a small tributary of the Kārūn N E of Kal'a-i Medrese For further information on the Bridge of Īdhadj cf Yākūt, i 416, iv 189 and Schwarz, *op cit*, p 338—339

The rulers who had the sculptures and rock inscriptions of Kūl-i Fārā and Shikefte-i Salmān made, belong to the period of the later Elamite kingdom, to the period between Nebucchadnezar I (1146—1123) and the rise of Assyria in the first half of the ixth century i e about 1000 B C It cannot be decided whether king Hanni, son of Tahhihi, from whom the monuments and inscriptions date, and the Shutur Nakhkhunte, son of Indada mentioned by him, ruled the whole of Elam or whether they are to be regarded as members of a local dynasty ruling perhaps the district of Mal-Amīr The inscriptions are in the Elamite language but contracts written in the Babylonian language have also been found in Māl Amir, cf the *Bibliography*

Here it may be mentioned that following de Bode the town of the Uxians which Alexander the Great passed on his way from Susa to Persepolis after passing the "Susan Gates" has often been sought in the region of Māl-Amir, s de Bode, *Travels* etc, ii 47 *sq*, Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1870, p 409 and Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl d klass Alterthumswiss*, i 1424

Since the late middle ages (beginning of the vii/xiiith century) the Bakhtiyāri Lūrs have settled in the district of Māl Amīr (cf above iii, p 42a, 45b) They spend the winter there on account of the fine green pastures On the Bakhtiyāris see BAKHTIYĀRĪS and iii, p 42b, 45b, 46a, 50a

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Neue Beiträge zur Kunde der susischen Inschriften = *Abh d sachs Ges d Wissensch*, xxxiv, 1894, p 743—747 (based mainly on Layard) and G Husing, *Der Zagros und seine Volker* (*A O*, ix, N° 3—4), Leipzig 1908, p 47—57 (based on Jequier), s also J de Morgan, *Mission scientif en Perse*, vol iv *Recherch Archeolog*, Paris 1896—1897, p 176 *sq*

For the Elamite bas-reliefs in Māl-Amīr and the cuneiform inscriptions with them the reader is referred to Weissbach, *op cit*, p 745, 747—748 for illustrations, squeezes, editions, decipherment and commentaries as regards the *Bibliography* down to 1893 The inscriptions were first edited by Layard in his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London 1851, Pl 31—32, 36—37 Mention should also be made of A H Sayce, *The Inscriptions of Mal Amir*, in *Actes du 6ème Congres Internat des Orientalist a Leyde*, vol ii, Leyden 1885 Weissbach gave a new edition in the publication above mentioned, a new transcription and translation of the Māl-Amīr texts with commentary, cf *op cit*, p 748—752, 759—777 (and plates i—iv) A transcription, differing in many points from Weissbach, of the two great inscriptions of Kūl i Fāra and Shikefte-i Salmān (with notes) was given by G Hüsing in *Elamische Studien* (= *M V G*, iii, Heft 7), Berlin 1898, p 21—34, cf also Husing's short articles in *O I Z*, ix, 1906, col 605—606, xi, 1908, col 337 *sq* The latest edition of all the Māl-Amīr inscriptions — including the fragmentary one of Shikefte-i Salmān omitted by Weissbach — is that of Scheil, s *Delegation en Perse, Memoires*, vol iii, Paris 1901, pl 23—26, transcription and translation under N° lxiii and lxiv, p 102—112 Scheil (ibid) also published autotype facsimiles of the bas reliefs and a picture of the cave of Shikefte-i Salmān cf pl 27—33 In his travels in Lūristān O Mann also visited Māl-Amir and took squeezes of the inscriptions there (cf *O L Z*, xi 605), but so far as I am aware he has published no more about them — On the particular form of cuneiform used in the Māl-Amīr inscriptions see Weissbach, *op cit*, p 752—759 (syllabary) and the epigraphic tables on pl iv—v, cf on the question of transliteration Husing, *Elamische Studien*, p 15—21 with table of characters and do, in *O L Z*, vii, 1904, col 437—440

In Māl-Amīr have also been found cuneiform tablets of a legal nature (contracts) written in the Babylonian language, 16 of these contracts have been edited, transliterated and translated by V Scheil in *Delegation en Perse, Memoires*, vol iv, Paris 1902, pl 19—20 and p 169—194

(M Streck)

MALABAR, a district of the Madras Presidency in British India, situated on the west coast of the peninsula, between 10° 15′ and 12° 18′ N latitude and 75° 14′ and 76° 15′ E longitude, and extending for 150 miles along the shores of the Arabian Sea, on the E the district is bounded by the Western Ghats, the hills of which attain an average elevation of 5,000 feet, but occasionally rise to 8,000 feet Out of a total population of 2,039,333 (according to the Census of 1921) there are 1,004,327 Muslims, of whom 93,60 per cent are Sunnīs, the greater part of them are Mappillas [q v.], the Labbais [q v] form the next largest group, and there are a few Pathans, and in the larger coast towns a few Arabs

Trade with Arabia appears to have led to the introduction of Islām into the Malabar coast at an early period, the exact date of which is uncertain Hindu rādjās encouraged the Arab traders and the commerce of the western coast had passed almost entirely into their hands by the end of the xv^th^ century when the Portuguese arrived to dispute it with them The Arabs did not give way without a struggle, but by the middle of the xvi^th^ century only the petty coasting trade was left in Arab hands, and when the power of the Portuguese declined in the xvii^th^ century their place was taken by English and Dutch traders In 1766 Haidar ʿAlī [q v] added Malabar to his dominions, but found it a turbulent possession, and his son Tīpū Sultān [q v] in 1792 had to abandon this territory to the British

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MALACCA (from the Sanskrit *amlaka* through the Malay *mĕlaka*, Phyllanthus pectinatus Hook fil, Euphorbiaceae) is the name of a town situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in 2° 11′ 30″ N, 102° 15′ E (Gr), of a river which enters the sea at that spot, and of a territory of about 720 English square miles adjacent to and administered from the town Formerly the name was often extended to the Malay Peninsula as a whole, but this usage is obsolete in English though still sometimes found in Continental works

The earliest date in the history of Malacca occurs in Book 325 of the History of the Ming dynasty of China (1368—1643), which relates the sending of a Chinese mission to it in the year 1403, in consequence of which the local chief was shortly afterwards recognized as king by the Chinese Emperor Previous to this time Siam had apparently claimed some kind of suzerainty over the country Two alleged earlier references are very doubtful, one in chapter ix of the Javanese history *Pararaton*, and the other in the Siamese *Kot Monthierabān* (*Mandirapāla*) The latter work certainly mentions Malacca as a vassal of Siam, but in its introduction it speaks of a Siamese king (Paramatrailokanātha) whose reign began about 1435 The oldest strictly contemporary notice of the place occurs in the *Ying-yai Shing-lan* of Ma Huan, which records a Chinese mission to it in 1409 and states that at that time the king and people of Malacca carefully observed the tenets of Islām As Malay traditional history connects the rise of Malacca with the fall of Singapore (probably *circa* 1377), it seems likely that the establishment of Islām as the official religion in Malacca may have occured between these dates

Owing to its position on the trade route from India and Western Asia to the Malay Archipelago, China, and Japan, Malacca became in the xv^th^ century the most important of the Malay states, it was visited by traders from various countries, many of them being Muslims from Northern and Southern India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and it became the centre of a Muslim propaganda of which the earliest successes in this part of the world had already been registered by Marco Polo in North-Eastern Sumatra before the close of the

xiiith century After the middle of the xvth century Malacca territory was increased by the conquest of Pahang (on the East coast of the Peninsula), and for a time the kingdom included all the coasts of the centre and South of the Peninsula to about 4° N together with a suzerainty over the parts of Sumatra lying opposite to it Siam made several unsuccessful attacks on Malacca during this period

The growth of this incipient empire, which however already showed signs of decay in the form of internal divisions and bad administration, was cut short by the Portuguese conquest in 1511, whereby the town and its immediately adjoining territory, together with the command of the sea, fell into European hands Though often challenged by the attacks of their Muslim neighbours (especially the new state of Acheh [Achin] in Northern Sumatra), the Portuguese maintained their hold on Malacca till 1641, when after a prolonged siege it was taken by the Dutch In 1795 it was occupied by the British, in the name of the Prince of Orange, and held until 1818, when it was returned to the Netherlands under the provisions of the treaty of Vienna In 1824 it finally became British and in 1826 it was incorporated in one government with Penang and Singapore and made subject to the East India Company

During the Dutch period the importance of Malacca as a trading centre declined, it was never allowed to compete seriously with Batavia, and in the end it was quite overshadowed by Penang (founded in 1786) and Singapore (founded in 1819) In recent times it has shared in the general economic development of the Peninsula, but it only ranks as the fifth town in British Malaya, with a population (in 1921) of 30,671 (of whom about one fifth were Muslims) in an area of 3 5 English square miles In the whole settlement or territory of Malacca, including the town itself, the population was 153,522, of whom 83,635 were Malays proper (including a considerable number of Minangkabau descent), 2,777 other Muslims (such as Javanese, Banjarese, etc) of similar Indonesian stock, 1,146 Muslim Indians, 257 Muslim Chinese, and 56 Arabs, making an approximate total Muslim population of 87,871, almost all of whom were Sunnis of the school of Shāfi'ī Of the rest of the Asiatic population about four-fifths were Chinese and one-fifth Hindus

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(C O Blagden)

MALAGA, Arabic *Mālaka* (ethnic *Mālakī*), a large town in Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the same name, has at the present day 133,000 inhabitants It is built at the centre of a bay commanded by the hill of Gibralfaro (the Djabal Fāroh of Idrīsī) The town is traversed from north to south by the "rambla" (i e the bed, usually dry [Arabic *ramla*]) of the Guadalmedina (*wādī 'l-madīna*) which, while very often dried up, sometimes overflows in the rainy season To the west of the town lies the Vega or Hoya of Malaga where the vegetation is exotic and extremely luxurious

Malaga, the ancient *Malaca*, was founded by the Phoenicians and retained for long under Roman rule traces of a deep Punic influence, its port under the Empire was one of the most important in the Iberian peninsula At a later date it was the see of a bishop It was taken from the Byzantines in 571 by the Visigothic king Leowigild In 711 it was taken by a Muslim force sent from Ecija by Tārik It soon became an important Muslim town and in time supplanted Arshidhōna (Archidona, q v) as capital of the province of Reiyo (Latin *regio*) where in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khattār al-Husām b Dirār al-Kalbī the Arab *djund* of Jordan (al-Urdunn) was settled in 125 (742) Malaga welcomed the founder of the Omaiyad dynasty of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān I al Dākhil, after his landing at Almuñecar and his triumphal progress through the district of Elvira But, in the second half of the third (ninth) century, the province of Reiyo including Malaga became closely involved in the troubles stirred up by the nationalist 'Umar b Hafsūn In the reign of the Emīr Muhammad b 'Abd al-Rahmān b Hakam, according to the historian Ibn Haiyān, the province supplied for a summer expedition (*sā'ifa*) against Galicia an imposing number of horsemen 2,600 Later, when the rebel was causing anxiety to the Emir 'Abd Allāh an expedition on a large scale had to be undertaken against the province of Reiyo An army under the command of prince Abān son of 'Abd Allah took the field in 291 (904) and inflicted a severe defeat on the troops of Ibn Hafsūn Three years later, the same general had to besiege Malaga which was held by the rebel Musāwir b 'Abd al-Rahmān Another expedition was again led against Malaga in the reign of 'Abd Allāh in 297 (909)

The great caliph 'Abd al Rahmān III, on ascending the throne had no peace until he succeeded in putting down the rebellion of Ibn Hafsūn In the early years of his reign several expeditions were again sent against the rebels in the province of Reiyo of which Malaga was the port but not yet the capital Once order was completely restored by the sovereign, Malaga entered on a long period of prosperity which continued till the end of the Umaiyad caliphate

From being capital of a province, Malaga became the capital of an independent kingdom in the period of the *mulūk al-tawā'if* The Hammūdids after having had to renounce their claims to the caliphate of all Muslim Spain were able to hold out in a little principality in the S E of Spain with Malaga as capital At the same time another branch of the same family founded a little kingdom around the town of Algeciras The Hammūdid dynasty of Malaga survived till 449 (1057) [on it cf the article HAMMŪDIDS] The king of Granada, the Zīrid Bādīs b Habbūs, had hitherto been nominally their vassal He decided to cast off their suzerainty and seize their principality He did this with ease and exiled the last Hammūdids to Africa, his son al-Mu'izz was appointed ruler of Malaga On the death of Bādīs in 466 (1073) his kingdom was divided between his two grandsons 'Abd Allāh and Tamīm and Malaga

fell to the latter The town very soon passed to the Almoravids and then to the Almohads When in 629 (1232) Muhammad I Ibn al-Ahmar founded the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, Malaga and its province formed part of his lands and remained in the power of the dynasty till the period of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella took Malaga from the Muslims on Aug 18, 1487 after a close blockade

The Arab geographers of Muslim Spain almost all give enthusiastic descriptions of Malaga Idrīsī (xith century) mentions two of its suburbs, praises the sweetness of its waters and the flavour of its fruits Ibn Battūta in the second half of the xivth century says much the same and adds that a fine gilt porcelain was made at Malaga which was exported to the whole Muslim world Finally Ibn al-Khatīb frequently speaks of Malaga in his description of the kingdom of Granada, one of his minor works is devoted to a comparison of Malaga with Sale, the *Mufākhara Mālaka wa-Salā* (the Arabic text has been published from two MSS of the Escurial by M J Müller, *Wettstreit zwischen Malaga und Sale*, in *Beitrage zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, p 1—13)

Very few monuments of the Muslim period survive in Malaga, which have not been very much altered The old chief mosque has become the cathedral According to the author of *al-Rawd al mi*^{c}*tār*, this *djāmi*^{c} had five naves and five doors, two on the side facing the sea, one on the east front (*Bāb al-Wādī*) and one on the north side (*Bāb al-Khawkha*) Another mosque of Malaga built in the *Kasba* is said to have been founded by the traditionist Mu^{c}āwiya b Ṣālih of Emesa (d 158 = 775) The old Muslim citadel is still called Alcazaba There are very few relics of Islām in it, a vaulted gateway (Arco de Christo) and a tower (Torre de la Vela) This citadel was joined to another fortress by a double rampart built on the hill of Gibralfaro, it was restored at the end of the xiiith century by the Nasrid rulers of Granada

Malaga in the Muslim period remained an important sea port and an active centre of shipbuilding, less important however than its neighbour Almeria This *Dār al-Ṣinā*^{c}*a*, the name of which has survived in the form *Atarazana*, occupied the actual site of a market and one of the gates with the motto of the Nasrids (*lā ghālība illa'llāh*, "There is no victor but Allāh") is still standing

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

MALAHIM (a, sing *malhama*) came, after a long and obscure development, to mean "destinies", either simply *al malāhim*, or *kutub al malāhim* or in the singular The word was already quite adequately explained by De Sacy in his *Chrestomathie arabe*^{2}, ii 298—302, on the basis of several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *Mukaddima* There Ibn Khaldūn defines *al-malāhim* as "numerous books on dynastic changes and events (*hadīthān al duwal*), written in verse and prose and *radjaz*, many of which are spread abroad amongst the people, some dealing with the changes in the Muslim people (*al-milla*) as a whole, and others with particular dynasties, but all ascribed to well known individuals", although, in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion, it would be difficult to prove the correctness of any of these ascriptions (Quatremère's text, ii 192 foot, De Slane's transl, ii 226) The most famous case of these is the book called *al-Djafr* (q v and the references there) Such predictions as to public affairs have close connection with, and were probably developed from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses As there are many stories, both in sober historians and in popular tales, describing these books as secretly preserved and consulted by dynastic leaders for their own guidance, they have also contacts with the Roman Sibylline books The popular doctrine of the Mahdī [q v] and of the Last Day (*al Kiyāma* [q v]) became inextricably confused with this branch of Muslim literature

The derivation of *malhama* and the development of its meanings are very obscure The word does not occur in the Kur'ān which has the root only in *lahm* and *luhūm* with the concrete meaning, "flesh" Yet the root *l h m*, like the cognate Hebrew root, had apparently two very separate but old meanings, "food" and "fighting" Further, the fact that the Hebrew food word, *lehem*, means "bread", while its exact equivalent in Arabic means "flesh" would suggest a separation very far back rather than a borrowing (cf the comparative treatment and references in Browne Driver Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p 535 *sqq*) In old Arabic the meaning of decisive fighting, leading to defeat, pursuit and slaughter, seems to be certain (cf the treatment in the *Lisān*, xxii 9—11, and add to the quotations there *Hamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 124, 728, *Diwān* of Tufail b ^{c}Awf, ed Krenkow, p [illegible], l 29, with translation and note on p 15) The *Lisān* endeavours to connect the meanings (flesh, warp and woof in weaving, close, entangled fighting) under the general idea "being intricate, mixed" (*ishtibāk*, *ikhtilāt*) or with the picture of the flesh of the slain on the battle field But, in view of the Hebrew usage, it is better to be satisfied with the meaning of *malhama* as "a stricken field", the *Lisān* (p 10) reiterates the idea of war and fighting with much slaughter and especially "in the Fitna" (*bi'l-fitna*), its only allusion to the prophetic and eschatological usage An epithet of Muhammad is "the prophet of the *malhama*" and of that the *Lisān* gives two explanations (i) "the prophet who was sent with the sword" (as in another tradition, *bu*^{c}*ithtu bi'l-saif*), (ii) "the prophet of union and good order" (*ta'līf*, *salāh*)

There is very little general prophecy in the Kur'ān as to future historical events in this world, but in Tradition there is a great deal Even the two *Sahīh*'s have sections on such future *fitan* —

apparently the oldest word for them and frequent in the Kur'ān — especially those leading up to the Last Day In Bukhārī (Būlak 1315, IX 46–61, Book 92 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) the Prophet is quite explicit in foretelling such woes and trials to come and in warning how they must be met In Muslim (Constantinople 1329—1333, VIII 165–210, Book 52 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) there is a similar series of hortatory predictions, but, also, an explicit statement (p 172 *sq*) that the Prophet foretold everything which would happen to his People until the Last Day By Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddima*, ed Quatremère, II 182 *sqq*, transl De Slane, II 212 *sqq*) this tradition is cited and others, by later and less weighty authorities, which make the Prophet give a dynastic history for future Islām, with the names, fathers' names and tribes of all leaders of revolts until the end

The use of the term *malāhim* in connection with those prophecies appears first among the ʿAlids in their doctrine of the Djafr The *Fihrist* gives two occurrences ʿAlī b Yaktin (d A H 182, p 224, l 22) had a *Kitāb min umūr al-Malāhim* and Ismāʿīl b Mihrān (p 223, l 20) had a *Kitāb al-Malāhim* But the use must have spread very rapidly In the *Maṣābīh* of al-Baghawī (Cairo 1318, II 128 *sqq*) those traditions are classified and one section is *Bāb al-Malāhim* (p 130—33) All the traditions bear on the wars of the Last Days but the word *malhama* itself occurs only in the early part of the *Ḥisān* section (p 132 middle) in such phrases as "the Malhama", "the great Malhama", connected with the capture of Constantinople and the appearance of al-Dadjdjāl In the *Miṣhkāt al-Masābīh* (Dihlī 1327, p 396 *sqq*) the text is practically the same, only adding the names of the collections from which the traditions are taken, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī Abū Dāwūd has a separate section on *malāhim* (N° 36 in Wensinck) In such a book of edification as the *Tadhkira* of al-Kurtubī (d 671 = 1272), in the *Mukhtasar* of al-Shaʿrānī (Cairo 1324) the sections on the *Malāhim* have swallowed up the whole doctrine and history of the Mahdī (p 113—21), to the aid of whom there is sent an angel called Damīra (?), *ṣāhib al-malāhim*

Ibn Khaldūn has recorded the final form which these prophecies took Traditions put in the mouth of the Prophet were supplemented and largely displaced by calculations of astrologers and by the speculations of pantheistic Ṣūfīs using the science of *Sīmiyā'* [q v] in the interests of the ʿAlids We have thus to distinguish sharply between (1) the *malāhim*-predictions registered in the canonical books of traditions and in the literature of edification based upon these and (11) the *malāhim* books based upon secret tradition and on astrology which went back to the ʿAlids and are represented best by the Djafī For, besides the Djafr ascribed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādik, there was also an astrological Djafr, ascribed to Ibn Ishak al-Kindī, dealing with the dynastic destinies of the ʿAbbāsids An asserted fragment of this, called the Little Djafr, was in circulation in the Maghrib in Ibn Khaldūn's time, but had apparently been composed in the interests of the Muwaḥḥids Further Ibn Khaldūn had known as in circulation in the Maghrib several poems of this class in the interests of different western dynasties In the Orient he had heard of several such *malāhim* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā and he had actually had knowledge of one such ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī In Cairo he had found another, also ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī, giving a horoscope for that town In the Orient, too, he had seen a *malhama*-poem by a certain Ṣūfī, Muhammad al Bādjirīki, of the Karandalī Fraternity of darwīshes, who left behind him a heretical sect, al-Bādjirīkīya, and who died 724 (1324) Ibn Khaldūn gives a mass of details on this *malhama* and on its author, who called it a Djafr It dealt with the dynasties of the Mamlūks and Ibn Khaldūn knew it in two recensions from which he quotes For still more details on this genre of literature, based on Ibn Khaldūn's personal knowledge, see Quatremère, text, II 193—201 (the Būlāk texts are not complete) and De Slane's translation, II 226—237 In stories, there are frequent references to the science of *malāhim* as one of the esoteric sciences along with astrology and *darb al-ramal* Thus, in Habicht's text of *The 1001 Nights* (ed Breslau, III 218) in the Story of Kamar al-Zamān and Budūr, a form closely akin to the version of Galland and different from that in the second Calcutta and the Būlak editions, Marzawān, the foster-brother of Budūr, is described as learned in the sciences of astronomy and the sphere and reckoning and algebra and *ramal* and *malāhim*

Bibliography is given in the course of the article (D B MACDONALD)

MAL'AK [See MALĀ'IKA]

MALĀ'IKA, angels, is the Arabic broken plural of an early Semitic (Canaanite ?) word *mal'ak*, meaning "messenger" The evidence would suggest that it is a loan word, coming into Arabic from Hebrew there is no trace of a verb in Hebrew (nor in Phoenician, where the noun occurs in later inscriptions), and in Arabic the root, even, is in the greatest uncertainty, being referred to a dubious *'-l-k* (Lane, p 81, *b*, *c*, *Lisān*, XII 272 *sqq*, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I 150) and to a still more dubious *l-'-k* (*Lisān*, XII 370) The singular in Arabic is normally *malak* without *hamza*, and so always in the Kur'ān, although the *Lisān* in two places (XII 274, 8, 371, 5) quotes the same verse as a proof that *mal'ak* does occur, but as an exceptional form (*shādhdh*) Both singular and plural in Arabic are used only in the sense "angel" In the Kur'ān it occurs twice in the dual (*malakain*, II 96, VII 19), of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (q v and under SIHR), and of Adam and Eve being tempted in the Garden to believe that they may become angels The plural occurs very often in the Kur'ān (in Flugel's *Concordance* under *'-k*, p 171) but the singular only 12 times (Flugel under *m l k*, p 183) These are of the people demanding revelation by an angel rather than a human being (*bashar*, VI 8, 9, 50, XI 15, 33, XVII 97, XXV 8), women think Joseph an angel for his beauty rather than a human being (*bashar*, XII 31), an angel's intercession (*shafāʿa*, LIII 26) does not avail, twice as collective for angels, beside the *ʿarsh* (LXIX 17), and in rows and rows (LXXXIX 23)

In XXXII 11 "the angel of death" (*malak al-mawt*) occurs but not by name, see article ʿIZRĀ'ĪL, and references in tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook*, p 22*b* Djibrīl, the angel of revelation, is named three times (II 91, 92, LXVI 4), cf traditions on him in Muslim, I 109—111 of ed Constantinople 1333, and other references in Wensinck, p 59 In Kur'ān XXVI 193—195, Djibrīl, unnamed, is called

"the Faithful Spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*), he brings down the revelation to the *kalb* of Muhammad in a clear Arabic tongue There are other descriptions of him, still unnamed, in Kurʾān liii 5—18 and lxxxi 19—25, as appearing plainly to Muhammad in revelation He, as "our Spirit" (*rūḥanā*), was sent to Maryam (xix 17) He is called "the Holy Spirit" (*rūḥ al-kudus*) in xvi 104 and Allāh aided ʿIsā with the same (ii 84, 254, v 109) Mīkāʾīl (variant Mikāl) is named (ii 92) as an angel of the same rank as Djibrīl, see a long and apparently true story of how his naming came about in Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed , i 74, 18 *sqq*), in traditions he, with Djibrīl, appears to Muhammad and instructs him, he does not laugh (Wensinck, p 152b), Muhammad called the two his wazīr's of the angels To Isrāfīl [q v], the angel with the trumpet of resurrection, there is no reference either in the Kurʾān or in canonical traditions but very much in eschatological legend In Kurʾān xliii 47, the tortured in hell call to the keeper of hell, "O Mālik !" and in xcvi 18, the guards of hell are called al-Zabāniya, an otherwise unused word, meaning apparently, "violent thrusters" (*Lisān*, xvii 55), the number of these, Kurʾān lxxix 30, is nineteen and they are asserted specifically to be angels, apparently to guard against the idea that they are devils, they are called "rough, violent" (*ghilāẓ, shidād*) Another class of angels are those "Brought Near" (to Allāh), *al-mukarrabūn* (iv 170), these praise Allāh day and night without ceasing (xxi 20), Baiḍāwī calls them also *al-ʿalawiyūn* (on Kurʾān ii 28, Fleischer's ed , i 47, 23), and *al-karrūbiyūn* (כרובים) on Kurʾān iv 170 (Fleischer's ed , i 243, 25) as those that are around the *ʿarsh* The same term, *mukarrab*, is used of ʿIsā (Kurʾān, iii 40) as he is in the company of the angels nearest Allāh, cf article ʿĪsā, above, for his semi-angelic character At the beginning of the Sūra of the Angels (Kurʾān xxxv) there is a significant description "making the angels messengers (*rusulan*), with wings two and three and four, He increases in the creation what He wills", this has had much effect on later descriptions and pictures They are guardians (*ḥāfiẓīn*) over mankind, cognizant of what man does and writing it down (*kātibīn*, Kurʾān lxxxii 10—12) In xxi 94 the writing down is ascribed to Allāh himself In lxx 4, lxxviii 38, xcvii 4, there occurs the very puzzling phrase "the angels and *al-rūḥ*" Baiḍāwī on the first two passages shows how perplexing the distinction was found (Fleischer's ed , ii 356, 5, p 383, 4) "the *rūḥ* is an angel set over the spirits (*al-arwāḥ*), or he is the whole genus of spirits, or Djibrīl, or a creation (*khalk*) mightier than the angels", cf , too, Kazwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed Wustenfeld, p 56 For spirits and the conception "spirit" in Islām see article RŪḤ In the Kurʾān there is no reference to the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, who visit the dead man in his grave, on the night after his burial, and catechize him as to his Faith Thereafter, if he is an unbeliever, his grave becomes a preliminary hell, and if he is a believer, it becomes a preliminary purgatory from which he may pass at the Last Day into paradise, it may even, if he is a saint, be a preliminary paradise This is called technically the Questioning (*suʾāl*) of Munkar and Nakīr and, also, the Punishment of the grave (*ʿadhāb al-kabr*) This doctrine, similar to the Lesser Judgement of Christian theology, is one of the *samʿiyāt* (to be believed on oral testimony) and is based on the implicit meaning of Kurʾānic passages (xiv 32, xl 11, 49, lxxi 25) and upon explicit traditions (Taftāzānī's commentary on Nasafī's *ʿAḳāʾid*, ed Cairo 1321, p 109, *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī with commentary of al Djurdjānī, ed Būlāk 1266, p 590 *sqq*) There is a still fuller account and discussion by the Hanbalite theologian Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawzīya (Brockelmann, *G A L* , ii 106, N° 23) in his *Ḳitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed Haidarābād 1324, p 62—144, §§ vi—xiv

The angels are, also, called the heavenly host, or multitude (*al malaʾ al aʿlā*, xxxvii 8, xxxviii 69) and guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the *djinn* and *shaiṭān*'s See further on this under SIḤR, iii , p 410a

The Kurʾān lays stress on the absolute submission and obedience of the angels to Allāh "To Him belong those who are in the heavens and in the earth and those who are with Him (*ʿindahu*) are not too proud for His service (*ʿibāda*) and they do not become tired They praise, night and day, without intermission" (xxi 19, 20) "They do not anticipate Him in speech and they labour in His command" (xxi 27) At the creation of Adam they are distinguished in this respect from him and his future race "while we praise Thee and sanctify Thee" (ii 28) Over the Fire there are set certain terrible and powerful angels, "they do not rebel against Allāh as to what He commands them and they do what they are commanded" (lxvi 6) But does this absolute obedience extend to impeccability (*ʿiṣma*, q v)? The Kurʾān is emphatic as to their obedience, but is in contradiction as to their created nature and as to their relationship in that respect to the *djinn* and to the *shaiṭān*'s Thus, in several passages in the Kurʾān, the story is told of the creation of man out of clay and that the angels were bidden by Allāh to prostrate themselves to him This they all did "except Iblīs" (*illā Iblīs*, Kurʾān ii 32, vii 10, xv 31, xviii 48, xxxviii 74) Iblīs, therefore, must have been an angel, as Baiḍāwī says, "If not, the command to them did not apply to him and his being excepted from them was illegitimate" (Fleischer's ed , i 51, 21) This would mean that the angels were not impeccable But, again, in Kurʾān xviii 48 the statement is expanded, "except Iblīs, he was of the *djinn*, so he departed from the command of his Lord" (*fasaḳa ʿan amri rabbihi*) Further, in Kurʾān vii 11, xxxviii 77, Iblīs pleads in justification that man was created of clay (*ṭīn*) but he of fire (*nār*), and the *djinn* are acceptedly created of fire, "fire of the *samūm*" in Kurʾān xv 27, "of a *māridj* of fire" in Kurʾān lv 14 The meaning of *māridj* is unknown, the *Lisān* (iii 189, 13—19) gives a number of contradictory explanations, but it is probably an unidentified loan-word Iblīs and the *djinn*, then, were created of fire, but there is no statement in the Kurʾān as to the material out of which the angels were formed A tradition traced back to ʿĀʾisha is the foundation of the accepted position that the angels were formed of light "The Prophet said, 'The angels were formed of light (*khulikat min nūr*) and the *djānn* were formed of a *māridj* of fire and Adam of that which was described to you' " (Muslim, vii 226 of ed Constantinople 1333, Baiḍāwī, i 52, 4) Another difficulty in the doctrine of the impeccability of the angels is the Kurʾānic statement as to Hārūt and Mārūt referred

to above These two angels are supposed to have yielded to sexual temptation, to be confined in a pit near Bābil and there to teach magic to men But, it is answered, the Kur'ān says nothing of their fall, (ii) teaching magic is not practising magic, (iii) they always first warn those who come to them, "We are only a temptation (*fitna*) so do not disbelieve" (Kur'ān ii 96), cf, further, Taftāzānī on the *ʿAkā'id* of Nasafī, ed Cairo 1321, p 133

In Baidāwī on Kur'ān ii 32, there is a long discussion of the angelic nature (ed Fleischer, i 51, 20 to p 52, 8) which, however, runs out in the despairing statement that knowledge on the point is with Allāh alone (*al-ʿilm ʿinda-'llāh*) Perhaps Iblīs was of the *djinn* as to his actions (*fiʿlan*) but of the angels as to species (*nawʿ*) Also, Ibn ʿAbbās has a tradition that there was a variety (*darb*) of the angels who propagated their kind (this has always been regarded as an essential characteristic of the *djinn* and of the *shaitān*'s as opposed to the angels) and who were called *al-djinn*, and Iblīs was of these Or, that he was a *djinni* brought up among the angels and identified with them Or, that the *djinn* were among those commanded to prostrate themselves to Adam Or, that some of the angels were not impeccable, although that was their characteristic in general, just as some men, e g the prophets, are guarded against sin but most are not Further, perhaps a variety of the angels are not essentially different from the *shaitān*'s but differ only in accidents and qualities as men are virtuous or evil, while the *djinn* unite both, and Iblīs was of this variety The tradition from ʿĀ'isha is no answer to this explanation, for light and fire in it are not to be taken too precisely, they are used as in a proverb, and light is of the nature of fire and fire of light, they pass into another, fire can be purified into light and light obscured to fire So al-Baidāwī

With this should be compared the scholastic discussion in the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, with the commentary of al-Djurdjānī (ed Būlāḳ 1266, p 576) In it the objector to the *ʿisma* of the angels has two grounds (i) their urging upon Allāh that he should not create Adam showed defects (slander, pride, malice, finding fault with Allāh) in their moral character, (ii) that Iblīs was rebellious, as above These grounds are then answered scholastically Then various Kur'ānic texts, as above, on the submission and obedience of the angels are quoted But it is pointed out that these texts cannot prove that all of them, at all times, are kept free from all sins The point, therefore, cannot be absolutely decided Individual exceptions under varying circumstances may have occurred, just as, while the *shaitān*'s as a class were created for evil (*khuliḳū li 'l-sharr*), there is a definite tradition (*Sharh* by al-Māturidī on *al-Fikh al-akbar* ascribed to Abū Hanīfa, ed Haidarābād 1321, p 25) of one Muslim *shaitān*, a great-grandson of Iblīs, who appeared to Muhammad and was taught by him certain sūras of the Kur'ān

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt suggests that the angels possess sex, although they may not propagate their kind But "they are not to be described with either masculinity or femininity" (*ʿAkā'id* of Nasafī, ed Cairo 1321, p 133) Taftāzānī and the other commentators in this edition explain that there is no authority (*nakl*) on this point and no proof by reason (*ʿakl*), it should, therefore, be left unconsidered and that, apparently, was the course followed by al-Īdjī and al-Djurdjānī They may have sex and not use it In that respect man who has in him the possibility of sin and must himself rule his appetites of lust (*shahwa*) and of anger (*ghadab*) has a higher potentiality of excellency than the angels (Baidāwī on Kur'ān ii 28, ed Fleischer, i 48, 28 *sqq*)

This leads to the second question as to the angels which scholastic theology has considered, the relative excellency of angels and men, and, especially, of angels and prophets This is stated shortly by Nasafī (p 147 of ed cited above) (i) "The Messengers (*rusul*) of mankind (*al-bashar*) are more excellent than the Messengers of the angels and (ii) the Messengers of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind and (iii) the generality of mankind are more excellent than the generality of the angels" Taftāzānī develops that there is general and indeed necessary agreement on the excellency of the messengers of the angels over mankind in general, but that the other two statements (i and iii) will bear argument He urges (i) the prostrating of the angels to Adam, (ii) that Adam was taught all the names of things (Kur'ān ii 29), (iii) that Allāh "chose" (*iṣṭafā*) Adam and Nūh and the family of Ibrāhīm and the family of ʿImrān over all created things (*ʿala 'l-ʿālamīn*, Kur'ān iii 30), (iv) that mankind achieves excellencies and perfections of knowledge and action in spite of the hindrances of lust and anger But the Muʿtazilites and the "philosophers" (*al-falāsifa*) and some Ashʿarites held the superior excellence of the angels They urged (i) that they were spirits, stripped of materiality (*arwāḥ mudjarrada*), complete actually, free of even the beginnings of evils and defects, like lust and anger, and from the obscurities of form and matter (*zulumāt al hāyūlā wa 'l ṣūra*), capable of doing wonderful things, knowing events (*kawā'in*), past and to come, without error The answer is that this description is based on philosophical and not Muslim principles (ii) That the prophets learn from the angels, as in Kur'ān xxvi 193, liii 5 The answer is that the prophets learn from Allāh and that the angels are only intermediaries (iii) That there are multiplied cases both in Kur'an and in tradition where mention of the angels precedes that of the prophets The answer is that precedence is because of their precedence in existence or because their existence is more concealed (*akhfā*) and, therefore, faith in them must be emphasized (iv) In Kur'an iv 170, "*al masih* does not disdain to be an *ʿabd* to Allāh nor do the angels" must mean, because of linguistic usage, that the angels are more excellent than ʿĪsā The answer is that the point is not simple excellency but to combat the Christian position that ʿĪsā is not an *ʿabd* but a son to Allāh In the *Mawākif* (p 572—578) there is a similar but much fuller discussion which involves a philosophical consideration of the endowment — mental, physical, spiritual — of all living creatures from immaterial spirits to the lower animals (*al-bahima*)

In the *ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt* of al-Kazwīnī (ed Wüstenfeld, p 55—63) there is an objective description of the angels in all their classes, in which the statements of Kur'ān and Sunna are adjusted to the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic universe

with its spheres (*al aflāk*), in accordance with al-Kazwīnī's general aim to give a picture of the created universe in its details and wonders Yet, apparently, while the angels possess the quality "life" (*hayā*) and are the inhabitants of the heavens and of the heavenly spheres (*sukkān al-samawāt*) they are not to be reckoned among the animals (*al-hayawān*) Al-Damīrī includes mankind and the *djinn*, even the diabolic (*mutashaitana*) *djinn*, such as the *ghūl*, in his *Hayāt al-Hayawān* but not the angels Equally acute and scholastic with the discussion in the *Mawākif*, and more spiritual than that by Kazwīnī, is al-Ghazzālī's treatment of the mystery of the angelic nature in some of his specialistic smaller treatises For him it is part of the general question of the nature of spirit to which his smaller *Madnūn* is devoted See, too, the larger *Madnūn* (ed Cairo 1303) in *Rukn*, II, p 23 *sqq*, and the translation by W H T Gairdner of his *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (London, *Royal Asiatic Society*, 1924), *passim*

The above is a statement of Muslim ideas as to the angels But Muslim literature also takes account of non-Muslim ideas on them, as those of "philosophers", Christians, dualists, idolaters These will be found given shortly by Baidāwī on Kur'ān II 28 (ed Fleischer, I 47, 18 *sqq*) and in more detail in *Dict of techn terms*, p 1337 *sqq*

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MALAṬYA, an old city, not far from the upper Euphrates It lies at the junction of important roads (in antiquity the Persian royal road and the Euphrates route, in modern times Samsūn–Sīwās–Malatya–Diyārbakr and Kaisarīya–Albistān–Malatya–Kharpūt) in a plain, the fertility and richness of which in all kinds of vegetables and fruits was celebrated by the Arab geographers, as in modern times by von Moltke and others, at the northern foot of the Taurus not very far south of Tokhma-sū (Arab Nahr al Kubākib) which is there crossed by the old bridge of Kīrkgoz The town was supplied with drinking-water by the springs of 'Uyūn Dāwūdiya and by the Euphrates Weaving used to be a flourishing industry there, according to Ibn al-Shihna there were once 12,000 looms for spinning wool in Malatya but they no longer existed in his time

The town appears as Melidda in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions and two "Hittite" stelae have been found there (to be more accurate at Arslān Tepe, a little south of Malatya Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscr Hettitic* in *M V A G*, 1900, part IV, p 13, 1906, part V, p 7) It is probably also to be identified with the district called *M-l-z* (last letter uncertain) in the inscription of king *Z-k-r* of Hamāt, (c 800 B C) which Pognon found in 'Afis near Aleppo Pliny (*Nat Hist*, VI 8) calls the town *Melita a Samiramide condita*, the name of the legendary foundress has perhaps survived in that of the fortress of Shamrīn which Michael Syrus (*Chronicle*, transl, Chabot III, 272) mentions in the XIIth century in the land of Sawād in the region of Malatya To its position on the Oriental *limes* Malatya owed its great prosperity in the Roman period From the time of Titus it was the headquarters of the *Legio XII Fulminata*, it was much extended by Trajan and under Justinian raised to be the capital of the province of Armenia III Anastasius and Justinian refortified and beautified it After his severe defeat at Malatya in the autumn of 575 Khosraw I burned the town (John of Ephesus, VI 9, E Stein, *Studien zur Gesch d Byzant Reiches*, Stuttgart 1919, p 66—8, 83 note 9, 200 Habīb b Maslama al-Fihrī was sent by 'Iyad b Ghānim from Armenia VI (Shimshāt) against Malatya and took the town, but it was later retaken from the Muslims When Mu'āwiya became *wālī* of Syria and al-Djazīra, he again sent Habīb b Maslama against the town He stormed it in 36, left a troop of cavalry in it to guard the frontier and placed a governor in it Mu'āwiya himself visited Malatya on his campaign against Asia Minor and left a large garrison in the town which henceforth became one of the headquarters for the summer campaigns into Bilād al-Rūm When the people abandoned the town in the time of the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd Allāh b al-Zubair, it was taken and sacked by the Byzantines, on their withdrawal, it and the whole of Armenia IV was settled by the Armenians and and Nabataeans, that is Aramaic speaking peasants, driven out of his kingdom by the emperor Philippicus (Noldeke, *Z D M G*, XXV 125, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 185, Michael Syrus, transl Chabot II, 482, according to Theophanes the Armenians were settled in Malatya by Philippicus in 712 A D They increased very much and were valuable allies of the Arabs in the wars against the Byzantines (Michael Syrus, *loc cit*) The caliph Omar settled the fugitive inhabitants of Turanda (now Derende) in Malatya and made al-Djarrāh b al-Harīth of the tribe of the Banī 'Āmir b Sa'sa'a governor In 123 (740—741) a Greek army of 20,000 men under Ashkivash, the general of the Thema Armeniakon, advanced against Malatya and plundered the country round it The inhabitants closed the gates and sent a messenger to Hishām in al-Rusāfa, but the latter soon heard that the Greeks had withdrawn and sent the messenger back with a body of cavalry Later, when he himself took the field against the Byzantines, he camped before Malatya until the rebuilding of the town which the enemy had destroyed was completed (Balādhurī, *loc cit*, Michael Syrus, II 506, Theophanes, ed de Boor, year 743, Ps Dionys, ed Chabot, year 1051) The Emperor Constantine VI Copronymos in 133 (750) advanced on Kamakh and Malatya, whose inhabitants looked in vain for help to Mesopotamia, as a civil war was raging there As the emperor knew this he demanded that the inhabitants should abandon the town After at first refusing they finally agreed, being exhausted by the siege, left the town with all their goods and chattels and went to al Djazīra whereupon Constantine levelled Malatya to the ground, nothing but a half ruined granary remained standing Hisn Kalawdhiya was also destroyed and its inhabitants, like those of the other villages in Armenia IV, carried off into captivity (Balādhurī, *loc cit*, Michael Syrus, II 518, Baethgen, *Abh f d K d Morgenl*, VIII 3, p 54, 127, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, II 15) Six years afterwards (139 A H) al-Mansūr wrote to Sālih b 'Alī b 'Abd Allāh who had in the

previous year defeated an army of 100,000 men under Constantine and retaken Malatya (G W Freytag, *Selecta ex histor Halebi*, Paris 1819, p 62, note 58) ordering him to rebuild and fortify the town He then appointed his nephew, the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b Ibrāhīm, governor of al-Djazīra and its marches (*al-Thughūr*) He arrived there in 140 with al Hasan b Kahṭaba and Khurāsān troops, who were reinforced by Syrian and Mesopotamian troops to the number of 70,000 They camped at the ruined city and collected builders and workmen of all kinds from everywhere and rebuilt Malatya with its mosque and large barracks for the frontier troops, the work was finished in six months Hisn Kalawdhiya was also rebuilt (Balādhurī, *loc cit*, Michael Syrus, II 522, Ps Dionys, ed Chabot, p 67, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 633, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, II 35), a frontier fort was built 30 *mil* from the town and another on the Nahr Kubākib (Tokhma-sū) Al Mansūr settled 4,000 Mesopotamian soldiers in Malatya to whom he gave increased pay and allotted lands as fiefs

In the next year (141) Muhammad b Ibrāhīm was sent to Malatya with a Khurāsān army to protect the town from the enemy The former inhabitants, at least those who were still alive, thereupon returned to Malatya An expedition sent by the Byzantines against Malatya was defeated by Hārūn al Rashīd (Balādhurī, *loc cit*) In the reign of al-Maʾmūn, his son, al-ʿAbbās, who was governor of al-Djazīra conducted a campaign against the Byzantines (Weil, *op cit*, II 239) from Malatya In the summer of 222 (837) the emperor Theophilus went into Armenia via Zibatra, which he sacked and burned, and on his way back passed through the country of Malatya which was also laid waste and its inhabitants carried off prisoners into Byzantium (Michael Syrus, III 89, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, VIII 133 *sqq* Ṭabarī, Yaʿkūbī and other Arabs wrongly date this campaign in 223 [838], cf for the contrary view Weil, *op cit*, II 310, note 1 and Bury, *Hist of the East Roman Empire*, 1912, p 260, 1, Markwart, *Handes Amsorya*, XXVIII, 1914, p 44, 1) The town itself, which was handed over to him by the Roman prisoners there, he spared out of fear of an approaching army of the enemy Towards the end of the following year al-Muʿtasim sent the Syrian amīr Abū Saʿīd Muhammad b Yūsuf against the Byzantines but he only met with moderate success, the people of Malatya under Afshīn and the amīr ʿOmar b ʿAbd Allāh b Marwān al-Aktaʿ of Malatya in alliance with the Armenians and 10,000 Turks then defeated the emperor Theophilus near the fortress of Dazimon (al Masʿūdī, *B G A*, VIII 169, Muralt, *Chronogr Byz*, p 418, 729, Weil, *op cit*, II 312) In 841, however, the Byzantines conquered al-Hadath, Marʿash and the land of Malatya When in the middle of the IXth century the Paulicians (Arab al-Baylikānī, al-Bayālika) some of whom lived in the country west and north of Malatya (Karapet Tēr Mkrtčean, *Die Paulikianer*, Leipzig 1893, p 116 *sqq*) rebelled against Byzantium, the amīr of Malatya, ʿOmar b ʿAbd Allāh al-Aktaʿ (Ἄμερ, Ὄμβρος), protected them from their persecutors, their leader Karbeas built in this region the fortresses of Ἀργαοῦν (Argawān), Tephrikē (Diwrighī) and Amara (Emerlī, near Yarpuz) Fighting went on for some years with varying results (Weil, *op cit*, II 362—365), finally ʿOmar al Aḳtaʿ was completely defeated on a campaign in Asia Minor in Radjab 249 (863) by the valiant Petronas (al-Batrunās), Michael III's general, with his whole army on the Mardj al-Uskuf (Weil, *op cit*, II 380, Tomaschek, *Sasun u d Quellengebiet des Tigris*, *S B Ak Wien*, CXXXIII, vol IV, 1895, p 23, on the site of the "Bishop's Meadow" Le Strange, *Eastern Caliph*, p 138) The Emperor Basil I in 871 went against Tephrikē and Taranton (Derende), he plundered Zibatra and Sumaisāt and then encamped πρὸς τῷ Ζαρνοὺχ ποταμῷ (Nahr al Zarnūḳ, now Čirmiklī-Su), ἔνθα τὸ Κεραμίσιόν ἐστι (Theophan continuat, ed Bonn, p 268, Kastrā Karāmīs in Barhebraeus, *Chron eccl*, ed Abbeloos Lamy, I 460, now Čirmiklī, cf Tomaschek, *Beitr z alten Gesch u Geogr*, *Festschr f H Kiepert*, Berlin 1898, p 141) But he was not able to take Malatya which was fortified (Hergenröther, *Photius*, II 242, Weil, *op cit*, II 471) His army suffered heavy losses during the siege and the emperor himself was nearly captured Whether he undertook a second campaign against Malatya is doubtful (Weil, *op cit*, II 475)

The Arab general Mūnis in 304 (916—917) devastated Cappadocia from Malatya (Weil, *op cit*, II 635), similar invasions took place in 310 and the following years It was not till 314 (926–927) that the Byzantines were able to exact their revenge Under the brave Domestikos Joannes Kurkuas (Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, VIII 221 *al dumustik Kurkāsh*, Michael Syrus, III 122 *sq*, 158 Kyriakos), they entered the district and advanced up to the suburbs of Malatya, laying waste the country and going as far as Shimshāt (Arsamosata) (in 315 according to Hamza al-Isfahānī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed Gottwaldt, p 205, transl p 158, wrongly "*in fines Samosatenos invasere*") Kurkuas forced the amīr of the town to send his son, Abū Hafs (Ἀπόχαψ), and the general Abu 'l-Ashʿash (Ἀπολασάθ) to him and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emperor (Symeon Magister, Bonn, p 741 *sq*, Georg Monach, ed Muralt, p 834, while the Bonn edition p 908 and Theophanes contin, ed Bonn, p 416 and Georg Kedren, II 310 *sq* wrongly write Ἀποσαλάθ) Kurkuas, himself an Armenian by birth, seems to have granted the lands of Malatya and Sumaisāt to the Armenian prince Mleh (Arab Malīh, Greek Μελίας) who was however again driven out of Malatya and Sumaisāt in 320 by Saʿīd al-Dawla, uncle of the Hamdānid Nāsir al Dawla of Mawsil (Weil, *op cit*, II 639, *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, XLIV 102 *sq* following Djamāl al Dīn b Zāfir) But in 934, after the death of the two friends of the Byzantines, Abū Hafs and Abu 'l-Ashʿath, Kurkuas and Mleh again appeared before the town, which at that time was protected by a double wall and a ditch full of water The inhabitants found themselves forced by starvation to negotiate about the surrender of the town During the negotiations the Greeks succeeded by a stratagem in forcing an entrance through the north gate of the town and taking it on May 19, 934 The inhabitants, in keeping with the promise that had been given them, were allowed to leave the town The walls were razed so that the town was henceforth open to all attacks (Michael Syrus, III 122 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr, VIII 221, Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au Xème siècle*, Paris 1870, p 423, 1, Rosen, *op cit*, p 89 *sq*, 106, 108) In the next decade Saif al-Dawla repeatedly raided the territory of Malatya

His mamlūk Naḏjā' in his campaign to Hanzit in 350 (961—962) encountered ʿAbd Allāh of Malatya and put him and his friends to flight (Freytag, *Z D M G*, xi 197, Rosen, *op cit*, p 88) Two years later he again ravaged the land of Malatya for 18 days with fire and sword (Freytag, p 204, 206)

When the emperor Nicephoros conquered Syria, he wished to repopulate Malatya, which was defenceless and deserted But the Greeks refused to live there for fear of Arab razzias His advisers therefore recommended him to invite Syrian Jacobites to the country He did this and promised the Patriarch Mār Yōhannan Sarīgtā, that if he repopulated Malatya, Hanzit and the passes (*κλεισοῦραι*), he would no longer persecute the Jacobites (Michael Syrus, iii 130 *sq* , Barhebraeus, *Chron eccl*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, i 411 *sqq* , Markwart, *Handês Amsôrya*, xxx, 1916, p 121 note) People now flocked to Malatya from all parts (c 969 A D) Monasteries were built About 1100 there were said to be in Malatya and district 53 churches and 60,000 Christians capable of bearing arms, including many Melkites (Michael of Tinnis in Renaudot, *Hist Patr Alexandr* , Paris 1713, p 403, Barhebraeus, *op cit*, i 424, note 1) The emperor did not, however, keep his promise, persecutions again became of everyday occurrence and drove the Jacobites more and more into the arms of the Arabs (Michael Syrus, iii 131, 136, 147)

According to Ibn al-Aṯīr (*al-Kāmil*, iii 65), Malatya at this time was placed in the *Θέμα Ἀρμενιάκων* (*Arminjākus*) which he says stretched to the Bosphorus (*Khalidj al-Kustantinīya*)

The Emperor John Tzimisces (Shimshkik) in Dhu 'l Hidjdja 361 (972) on his campaign to Nisibīn crossed the Euphrates at Malatya (Yahyā al-Antākī in Rosen, *op cit*, p 183 note, Schlumberger, *L'epopee byzantine*, i, Paris 1896, p 255) The rebel Bardas Scleros in 366 (976–977) seized the town of Malatya, imprisoned the strategos who was governing it for the Emperor and had himself proclaimed *basileus* When Scleros was fighting against the imperial general Michael Burtzes (al-Burdjī) there was with him a Shaikh who had been converted to Christianity, the patrician ʿUbaid Allāh al-Mutanassir of Malatya, who is perhaps identical with the ʿAbd Allāh mentioned in 350 Scleros made him *magistros* and sent him with one of his slaves, the eunuch Kantatish (ὁ Ἄνθης ὁ Καλυάτης) whom he raised to the rank of *basilikos* ("Count"), to Antākiya against the *patrikios* Kulaib, the imperial governor of this town Kulaib surrendered to them Antākiya, the Thughūr and the whole of the "Orient", he and the most prominent citizens of Antioch were then sent as prisoners to al Kabādhuk (Cappadocia) (Rosen, *op cit*, p 2 *sq* , and note, p 81–90 *sq* , Schlumberger, *L'epopee byzantine*, i 359, 362, 376 *sq*) Scleros however at once sent the Antioch notables back to their homes and made Kulaib *basilikos* of Malatya (Rosen, *op cit* , Schlumberger, i 386) while on the other hand ʿUbaid Allāh soon went over to the emperor Basil (977—978) When after a seven years' internment on the Tigris island of Madīda near Baghdād, Bardas Scleros succeeded in gaining his freedom, he escaped to Malatya with the help of Bedums, where he at once (in Shawwāl 376 = March 987) seized the *basilikos* Kulaib who had gone over to the emperor, and himself again proclaimed *basileus* (Yahyā, transl Rosen, p 22, Schlumberger, i 678) Bardas Phocas, who took Bardas Scleros prisoner by treachery and then claimed the imperial title for himself, passed through Malatya on Sept 14, 987 on his way westwards straight through Asia Minor (Schlumberger, i 695) In 399 (1008) the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l Haidjā' fled to Malatya before the Mirdāsid Mansūr b Lū'lū', where the emperor appointed him *magistros* (Rosen, *op cit*, p 51, Schlumberger, ii 442)

The most important event during the Byzantine occupation of Malatya was the invasion of the Turks Their first inroad into the area of the town was in 1058, the inhabitants fled before them mainly into the adjoining mountains where they perished of hunger and cold The Turkish force 3,000 strong under the amīr Abū Dīnār remained 10 days pillaging Malatya and laid the country waste for a day's journey round On their retreat the Turks were surprised by the people of the Armenian district of Sanasun (Arab al-Sanāsana, now Sāsūn) and all slain, with the assistance of the prisoners and fugitives from Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii 158 *sq* , according to whose erroneous chronology these incidents took place in the 9th or in the last year of Constantine IX [i e 1050—1051 or 1054—1055], Matthias of Edessa, transl Dulaurier, p 107—109, Aristakēs Lastiveici, in Tomaschek, *Sasun u das Quellengebiet des Tigris*, *S B Ak Wien*, cxxxiii , vol iv , 1895, p 29 *sq*) One of the prisoners who survived, the Syrian monk Joseph, wrote three *mēmrē* on these events, the patriarch Yōhannan X bar Shūshān also composed 4 *mēmrē* on the devastation of Malatya (Baumstark, *Gesch d syr Lit* , p 291 *sq*) By the time of the Emperor Isaac I (1057—1059) we again find the Turks raiding the country of Malatya and carrying off prisoners from it His successor Constantine X Ducas (1059—1067) restored the two walls and the ditch at Malatya (probably in 1060—1061) When the imperial decree regarding this was published, a number of citizens of Malatya, who were in Constantinople returned home and arranged for a large number of workmen and builders to be brought from Asia Minor and Antakiya, in a very short time owing to the continual threat to the town, the fortifications were rebuilt on the old foundations (Michael Syrus, iii 165 *sq*) The Byzantine *κατεπάνω* Krinotes was afterwards killed with his wife and children and the town "henceforth knew no peace" (Michael Syrus, *loc cit*)

These constant invasions of the Turks, which specially affected the region of Malatya (Skylitzes in the ed of Kedrenos, Bonn, ii 660 *sq*) met with very little opposition Then the legions quartered around Malatya, whose pay and provisions had been withheld, refused to cross the Euphrates to meet the enemy along with the local volunteers The Turks did not besiege the town but went on to attack Kaisārīya, which they stormed (Skylitzes, *loc cit*) When Romanus IV Diogenes attacked the Turks in 1068 he sent a general from Goksun, perhaps, as Gfrorer suggests (*Byz Gesch* iii 720), the Bulgar Aluisianos, to Malatya to guard the frontier against the raids of the Turk Afshīn (Ἀψινάλιος) The general however did not leave Malatya so that Afshīn was able to advance against the emperor undisturbed (Skylitzes in Kedrenos, ed Bonn, ii 671, Weil, *op cit*, iii 112, note 2)

In the same year the emperor appointed the

κουροπαλάτης Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος (Skylitzes, *op cit*, p 681, Anna Komn, ed Reifferscheid, i 205 *sq*, Zonaras, ed Dindorf, iv 209, Arab Filardūs al-Rūmī) to be μέγας δομέστικος (Tomaschek, *Sasun*, p 30) He won for himself with his Armenian hordes an ephemeral kingdom on the Syrian frontier and installed the Armenian Thoros (Theodoros) son of Hētom as governor in Malatya Thoros was succeeded as ἡγεμόνες of the town by the Armenian Hareb, then by Balatianos (Valentianus?) and finally by the defeated Greek Gabriel (Michael Syrus, iii 173 *sqq*, in Matthias of Edessa, ed Dulaurier, p 211 *sqq* with mod Greek pronunciation *Khawril*) When the latter recognised that the Byzantines could not permanently hold out against the Turks he got the Caliph to confirm him in his rule over Malatya He was at first able to keep the Turkish hordes from Malatya by various devices But when they besieged Malatya, Gumūshtagīn b Dānishmand of Siwās made peace between them and Gabriel (Michael Syrus, iii 179) Kīlīdj Arslān I besieged Malatya for the first time in 1100 A D, but retired when Gabriel, whose daughter Morfia had been given in marriage to Baldwin of Edessa, summoned the Franks to his assistance (Michael Syrus, iii 187, 192, Will of Tyre, xii 4) When Gumushtagīn besieged the town and laid waste the country around, Boemund came from Antākiya with his relative Riccardo del Principato and a troop of cavalry, but he was ambushed at Marʿash and sent a prisoner to Nīksār (or Siwās) in June 1100 From there he appealed for help to Baldwin of Edessa who relieved Malatya and pursued Gumushtagin for 3 days without overtaking him He then returned to Edessa via Malatya which Gabriel surrendered to him and left 50 horsemen for its protection Gumushtagīn appeared before Malatya again in 1100, where Gabriel had in the meanwhile made himself so detested by the inhabitants that they handed him over to Gumushtagīn, who thereupon entered Malatya on Sept 18, 1101 (Michael Syrus, iii 188, *Recueil Hist Or Croix*, i 5, 203, iii 522, 526, Matthias of Edessa, transl Dulaurier, p 230) The dynasty of the Dānishmandids [q v] thus came to rule there (on them cf also van Berchem-Kh Edhem, *C I A*, iii, p 2, note 3, p 3, note 1, Zambaur, *Manuel d Geneal et de Chronol*, Hanover 1927, p 146 *sq*) At the suggestion of the Emperor Alexios, Gumūshtagīn in the summer of 1103 released Boemund, who had been brought to Malatya, on payment of 100,000 dināis (Michael Syrus, iii 189, Rohricht, *Gesch d Königr Jerusal*, p 45) According to Michael Syrus (iii 192), Tanushman i e Gumushtagīn b Dānishmand died within two years of the taking of Malatya (i e 1103—1104), he was succeeded by his son Aghusian (Yāghibasan?) Kīlīdj Arslān again began the siege of Malatya on June 28 and directed siege artillery against the round N E tower of the town, which had to surrender after several onslaughts had been made on it Kīlīdj Arslān I began his rule there on Sept 2, 1106, when he fell the very next year in the battle on the Khābūr, he was succeeded in Malatya by his youngest son Tughrīl Arslān, in whose reign much evil fell upon the town as a result of the murder of the governor Pizmish (Michael Syrus, iii 194) During the fighting among the other sons of Kīlīdj Arslān, of whom Masʿūd sought refuge in Malatya about 1107 (*Rec Hist Or Croix*, iii 534) Boemund succeeded in conquering Abulustain, the district on the Djaihān and the whole country round Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii 195) The Atābeg of the Sultān of Malatya (probably Bālak), in 1111 again deprived him of his lands on the Djaihān Kīlīdj Arslān's widow left Malatya to marry the doughty amīr Bālak (Michael Syrus, iii 200) A Turkish cavalry leader offered to sell Tughrīl Arslān the fortress of Ziyād, when the young sultān of Malatya wanted to take possession of it, however, it was taken from him by the son of the sultān of Khurāsān without a blow being struck On the 11th March 1118 the amīr Mangudjag of Kamakh pillaged the country round Malatya, the Khātūn of Malatya thereupon turned to Joscelin of Edessa for help (Michael Syrus, iii 204) In the following year the Sultān of Malatya conquered Abulustain and the lands on the Djaihān, the region of Katiʿā passed as a gift to Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii 205) Tughrīl Arslān owed his success to the governor Bālak, who advanced as far as Kamakh, defeated the Greeks with the help of al Ghāzī b Dānishmand, again took Hisn Ziyād and defeated the Armenians of Gargar on the Euphrates (Michael Syrus, *loc cit*) When, after further considerable successes, Bālak fell fighting the Franks before Manbidj his kingdom was divided, the Sultān of Malatya received Masarā and Gargar with the result that there was soon fighting with Sulaimān of Hisn Ziyād On this occasion al-Ghāzī of Siwās and his son in law Masʿūd attacked Malatya and besieged it from June 13 to Dec 10, 1124 The town suffered exceedingly from famine and the Khātūn's reign of terror and the inhabitants breathed more freely when the ruler left the town with her son and all her followers and al Ghazī entered it (Michael Syrus, iii 219 *sq*, Matthias of Edessa, p 315) Under him Malatya enjoyed continued peace His son Malik Muhammad who succeeded him in 1135 left Malatya soon afterwards when the news of the approach of the Byzantine Emperor reached him (Michael Syrus, iii 237) When John II Comnenos invaded Syria, Masʿūd invaded Cilicia from Kōniya and carried the inhabitants of Adhana prisoners to Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii 245) Malik Muhammad in 1139 also invaded Cilicia and took from the Greeks the fortresses of Bahgāy and Gabnūpert (Βακᾶ, Καπνίοπερτι, Armen Vagha, Gaban, Michael Syrus, iii 248, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 211, note 2) Two years later he was fighting with the Franks who had advanced as far as Zibatra, ʿArḳa and Abulustain and encamped at Niksār opposite the emperor John, who had again taken the field against the Turks, for six months without fighting (Michael Syrus, iii 249) After his death (Dec 6, 1143) Dhu 'l-Nūn succeeded him in Malatya (Syr Dānūn in Michael Syrus, iii 253 und Suppl, p lvii, Byz Δαδούνης) When however his brother ʿAin al-Dawla (Michael Syrus only "Dawla") advanced against him, the Turkish garrison of Malatya broke through the Buraidīya gate and surrendered the town to him (Michael Syrus, iii 253) Sultān Masʿūd of Kōniya besieged Malatya, when ʿAin al Dawla would not submit to him of his own accord, first from June 17 to Sept 14, 1143 and again in 1144 without success (Michael Syrus, iii 254, 258 *sqq*, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 226, note 5) After ʿAin al-Dawla's death (June 12, 1152) his minor son Dhu 'l-Karnain succeeded him, for whom his mother first acted as regent but she was soon banished as she

plotted against his life (Michael Syrus, III 305 *sq*) Masʿūd again (July 24, 1152) tried without success to take the town Dhu 'l-Karnain was succeeded in October 1162 by his minor son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad (Mahmūd) who made himself so detested by his excesses that he had to leave Malatya (1170) His place was taken by his brother Abu 'l Kāsim (Fakhr al-Dīn Kāsim, Michael Syrus, III 336 *sq*) In May 1172 when 15, he married the daughter of the lord of Hisn Ziyād During the wedding festivities he fell from his horse while jousting and died of his injuries (Michael Syrus, III 343) He was succeeded by his younger brother Ferīdūn (Afridūn) who had to marry the princess intended for the brother On the news of these happenings, Kilidj Arslān II attacked Malatya, where however preparations were rapidly made for the defence under the direction of the eunuch Saʿd al Dīn Kilidj Arslān had to withdraw but carried off with him 30,000 prisoners from the country round (Michael Syrus, III 346) On Feb 15, 1175, Ferīdūn was murdered by his brother Muhammad, who after many adventures had returned in disguise to Malatya by a secret agreement with the princess of Ziyād who had left her husband (Michael Syrus, III 362—364) When Kilidj Arslān II thereupon again besieged Malatya, the discontent with Muhammad was so great that he no longer felt safe in the town but withdrew to Hisn Ziyād Kilidj Arslān after a four months' siege entered Malatya on Oct 25, 1178 (Michael Syrus, III 373) He repaired the two walls of the town (Michael Syrus, III 388) The Turkomans, who since 1185 had been ravaging wide tracts of Asia Minor also invaded and plundered the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, III 402) In 1189 (Michael Syrus, 1191 according to Arabic sources) Kilidj Arslan gave the town of Malatya to his son Muʿizz al-Dīn Kaisar Shāh (Michael Syrus, III 407, *Rec Hist Or Crois*, II 56, III 269) Kilidj Arslān later found himself forced to hand Malatya over to his other son Kutb al-Dīn Malik Shāh, but Muʿizz al-Dīn went to Salāh al-Dīn (580 = 1191—1192) and regained his position with his help (*Rec Hist Or Crois*, I 57, 68 *sq*, III 269, V 44)

To strengthen the alliance he married the daughter of Malik al-ʿĀdil and accompanied Salāh al-Dīn's army to Tibnīn (*Rec hist or crois*, V 117) In June 1200 Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān of Dūkāt (Tokāt) deprived his brother Muʿizz al Dīn of Malatya, the latter fled to his father-in law Malik al-ʿĀdil (Barhebraeus, *Chron Syriac*, ed Bedjan, p 406, *Rec hist or crois*, II 71) Saladin's son, al Malik al-Zāhir, who had only Sumaisāt left of his inheritance, submitted in 1207 to Rukn al-Dīn of Malatya and Kōniya (Barhebraeus, *Chron Syr*, p 408) In the next year Rukn al-Dīn took Angora, a few days later he died (Barhebraeus, p 418 *sq*) He was succeeded by his young son Kilidj Arslān III, who was however soon thrown into prison by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai Khusraw I (Barhebraeus, p 419) After the latter (d 1205) came his son ʿIzz al-Dīn Kai-Kāʾūs, who while on a campaign against Malik al-Ashraf in Malatya developed consumption from which he died on his return (Barhebraeus, p 437, *Rec hist or crois*, II 150 *sq*) In the reign of his successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kai-Kubād, the Tatars in 1231 penetrated to Hisn Ziyād and to the Euphrates near Malatya (Barhebraeus, p 463) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn took Khilāt from Malik al-Ashraf in 1232 When in the next year the latter along with his brother Malik al Kamil of Egypt occupied Hisn Mansūr, ʿAlāʾ al Dīn collected an army of over 100,000 men, took Hisn Ziyād (Barhebraeus, p 467) and besieged al Ruhā in the following year, the inhabitants of Harrān fearing an attack on Malatya sent him the keys of their town (Barhebraeus, p 468, Kamāl al-Dīn, transl Blochet, *R O L*, V 88) His successor Kai-Khusraw II (1237—1245) at the beginning of his reign drove the Khwārizmians out of his kingdom, on their retreat they defeated the commander (Shūbāshi) of Malatya Saif al Dawla and crossed the Euphrates at Masarā (var Mukra) (Barhebraeus, p 471) In 1241, the amir of Malatya again suffered an annihilating defeat from fanatical Turkoman hordes under the prophet Pāpā (Bāba) (Barhebraeus, p 474) When the news of the victory of the Tatars at Kozā-Dāgh (1243, Barhebraeus, p 475) reached Malatya, the Shūbāshi Rashīd al-Dīn and the other court officials broke into the royal treasury, shared the treasure among themselves, and fled to Halab Many prominent citizens followed them, but they were surprised by the Tatars on the hill of Bēth Gōzē, a day's journey from Malatya and some slain, some taken prisoners The inhabitants of the town, Muslims and Christians, asked the Metropolitan Mār Dionysios ʿAngūr to direct the defence of the town After two months during which Malatya was watchfully defended, the Tatars withdrew In 1244 the Tatar chief Isāwūr (var Nasāwūi) Nuyin besieged Malatya and ravaged the country round until Rashīd al-Dīn caused him to retreat by rich presents (Barhebraeus, p 477—479) After the division of the Saldjūk empire by Hūlāgū, there ruled at first ʿIzz al-Dīn at Malatya, then, after his dethronement, his brother Rukn al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, p 482) At the end of 649 (1251—1252) and in July 650 (1252—1253), the Tatars again besieged the town under Isāwūi and wasted its surroundings (Barhebraeus, p 491) When in 1257 ʿIzz al-Dīn sent al Lughi Hāfā into the district of Malatya to seek recruits and the latter allotted the town to the Kurd chief Sharaf al Dīn Ahmad b Bilās, the inhabitants would not have him as they had sworn fealty to Rukn al-Dīn and feared his Tatar patron Baidjū It was not till ʿIzz al Dīn had sent a second envoy, Bihādur, that they admitted him into the town, but the latter soon fled again before Baidjū and only returned when he had gone, but again found the gates closed against him and was only admitted after famine had broken out in Malatya as a result of his siege (Barhebraeus, p 498—500) In 1260 Hūlāgū built bridges over the Euphrates for his vast host at Malatya, Kalʿat al Rūm al Bira and Karkisīya (Barhebraeus, p 509) The Egyptian governor of al-Bira Hidar (Khidr?) in 1282 laid waste the country round Malatya (Barhebraeus, p 546)

The Mongol Khān Abaka (1265—1282) again divided the kingdom of Rūm between two Saldjūk cousins of whom Masʿūd received Arzindjān, Siwās and Malatya

In the XIIth and XIIIth century lived the two great Syriac historians, both born in Malatya, to whose chronicles we mainly owe our knowledge of the history of the town the patriarch Michael I (1126—99), son of the priest Eliyā, who belonged to the family of Kindasī in Malatya and the Mafrʿyān Gregor Abu 'l-Faradj called Barhebraeus (1226—86, q v), whose father, the baptised

Jewish physician Ahrōn had restrained his fellow citizens in Malatya from stupidly flying before the Tatars (Baumstark, *Gesch d syr Lit*, p 298—300, 312—20) Michael's principal authority, Ignatios (d 1104), was also metropolitan of Malatya (Baumstark, *op cit*, p 291)

The increasing weakness of the Saldjūḳs about 1300 favoured the formation of local Turkoman and Armenian petty states, especially in the east of Asia Minor According to Abu 'l Fidā', Christians and Muslims in Malatya in those days lived on the best of terms with one another, the town took the side of the Tatars and informed them of everything that went on in the country During his war against the Tatars, Sultān al Malik al-Nāṣir in 715 (1315) decided to send a large army under the nā'ib of Damascus, Saif al-Dīn Tunguz who was joined by his vassal Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hamāh, against Malatya The army went by Halab, ʿAintāb, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and Zibatra to Malatya and encamped before the town on April 28 The inhabitants sent their ḥākim Djamāl al-Dīn al-Khiḍr, whose father and grandfather had filled the same office in their time, through the south gate, Bāb al-Kādī, to Tunguz, who was willing to afford them protection and security, if they surrendered the town But he was unable to fulfil his pledge for the soldiers could not be restrained from plundering and ravaging in the town Among the prisoners was the Tatar Ibn Kerboghā' and the ṣāḥib of Ḥiṣn Arkanā', Shaikh Mindū The greater part of the town was finally burned down (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslem*, ed Reiske, v 286—92, ed Stambul 1286, iv 77 *sq*, transl also in *Rec hist or crois*, i 180, Weil, *Gesch d Chalif*, iv 310 *sq*) The Sultān made the territory of Malatya a separate frontier province, which included seven districts (Khalil al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed Ravaisse, p 52) There were seven citadels around the town Mūshār or Minshār, Kūmī, Karahiṣār, Kadarbirt, Kal'at Akdja, Kal'at Nawhamām (?) and Kal'at al-Akrād (Khalil, *op cit*, Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamelouks*, p 97, 1, 105)

Malatya for the next few decades belonged to the Mamlūk Sultāns As their remotest province, it was with Halab in 791 (1389) the scene of a great rebellion led by the governors Mintāsh and Yelboghā against Barkūk [q v] About this time the Turkish family of the Dhu 'l Kadroghlu [q v] began to rise to power in the region of Malatya and Albistān where they ruled till 1515 under Egyptian suzerainty About 794 (1391/2) Bāyazīd I conquered the town and in 1400/1 Timūr By the battle of Kōč Ḥiṣār (1516) it fell into the hands of Selim I [q v] who destroyed the Dhu 'l Kadroghlu This was the cause of his war against Egypt, which was rapidly decided on the field of Marḏj Dābik At a later date the eyālet to which the Sandjak of Malatya belonged was still called Dhu 'l-Kadrīya, Malatya now forms a sandjak of the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz (Khaipūt)

The town in 1838 was the headquarters of the Ser-'asker Hafiz Pasha, with whom Moltke was attaché It is said to have suffered much at the hands of the troops quartered there for months before the battle of Nizib After the earthquake of 1893 Malatya was rebuilt on the site of the suburb of Asbusu S W of the older site now called Eski-Shehr, but the old town continued to be inhabited It has now about 30,000 inhabitants, including many Armenians, Kurds and Kizilbash

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MALAY PENINSULA is a name sometimes rather loosely applied to the whole tract of land South of the Isthmus of Kra (Lat 10° N), but so far as the Northern part of this tract is concerned the name is a misnomer, the bulk of the population there being Siamese and Chinese, not Malay Excluding from the total Malay population of Siam [q v] as a whole some 50,000 Malays scattered in Ayuthia, Bangkok, Chantabun and the rest of the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam, the remaining 350,000 are in Southern Siam and mainly in the parts South of Kra But it is not till about Lat 7° N that one meets with districts where the majority of the inhabitants is Malay, viz on the West coast Palean and Sětul and on the East coast the province of Patani (formerly an important Malay state, finally conquered by Siam in 1832) Of the approximate total population of 370,000 in these three districts the greater part consists of Malays The Southern boundary of Siam, running irregularly between 6° 45′ and 5° 45′ N, separates them from the rest of the Peninsula, which is attached to the British Empire and with which we are here concerned The area of this latter portion is about 52,500 English square miles

The geological structure of the Peninsula includes calcareous rocks and limestone, cherts, shales, quartzite, volcanic rocks granite, alluvial deposits, and the ferrugineous substance known as laterite The most important minerals are tin and tungsten The former has been exported for more

than a thousand years and is still a very important product

Until about fifty years ago the rivers, though mostly small and only navigable for small craft, were the chief and almost the sole means of access to the interior, which was then an almost trackless forest of luxuriant vegetation, traversed by a number of mountain ranges, some running roughly north and south, others transversely or irregularly A few of the highest points exceed 7,000 feet (roughly 2,100 metres) At sea-level the average temperature is about 82 F (about 27 C) with a daily and annual variation of not more than about 10 F (about 4 5 C) in each direction, the annual rainfall varies locally from about 60 inches (about 150 cm) to four times that amount The N E and S W monsoons prevail, but are subject to periods of slight or variable wind The climatic conditions are therefore very favourable to the main staples of native agriculture, viz rice, cocoanuts and miscellaneous local fruits, to these, foreigners have added the cultivation of other products, such as tapioca and coffee (now almost abandoned) and especially Para rubber, in the cultivation of which the Peninsula has led the way The economic development of the Peninsula may be said to date from the institution of the Residential system in three of the Western states in 1874, which led progressively to the making of a network of excellent roads and a State railway system now comprising a trunk line from Singapore to the western part of the boundary with Siam, where it links with the Siamese system, and a number of branches, one of which turning northward through the centre of the Peninsula is destined to join the Siamese railway at a point near the eastern end of the frontier

From the administrative point of view, the British portion of the Peninsula falls into 1 the British colony styled the Straits Settlements (which is an abbreviation of "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca"), comprising the three "settlements" or divisions of Singapore, Penang and Malacca, 2 the Federated Malay States, viz Perak, Sĕlangor, Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan, on the West coast and Pahang on the East coast, which are united in an administrative union under a Chief Secretary to Government at Kuala Lumpur (in Sĕlangor) and 3 the Unfederated Malay States, viz in the extreme North and on the West coast, Pĕrlis and Kĕdah, and on the East coast, Kĕlantan and Trĕngganu, and in the extreme South, Johor Administratively the Island of Labuan off the coast of North Borneo, and the Cocos-Keeling Islands and Christmas Island to the South-West of Java form part of the "settlement" of Singapore, and the State of Brunei (Bĕrunai) in Borneo is an unfederated Malay State ranking with those of the Peninsula

The Colony has the usual administrative machinery, consisting of a Governor (who is also the High Commissioner for the Malay States), together with executive and legislative councils, and a Supreme Court Each of the Malay States has a Malay ruler, who usually bears the title of Sultan, and also a British official, styled in the Federated Malay States the British Resident and in the unfederated ones British Advisor or General Advisor, and a State Council For the Federated States there is in addition a Federal Council and a Judicial Commission In these States the chief administrative departments are federalized under federal heads, and in one or two cases (such as Education) are linked up with the corresponding department in the Colony Both the Colony and the States are divided into administrative districts, and the officials in charge of such districts in the Colony and Federated States are mainly Europeans The same applies to the heads of the principal departments of Government Many of their assistants are also European In the unfederated States the administrative machinery is not so elaborately organized and the proportion of Europeans is smaller Government schools have been established in the principal villages and give elementary instruction exclusively through the medium of Malay In towns there are also higher schools, supported but not founded or managed, by Government, which give instruction through the medium of English The college at Kuala Kangsar, which is bilingual, is mainly for the sons of Malay rajas and chiefs though others are admitted Female education has developed more slowly but is gaining ground

The ancient history of the Peninsula is obscure Palaeolithic and neolithic implements have been found in various places The so called aborigines, amounting in 1921 to about one per cent of the total population, comprise in the extreme North a few thousand woolly-haired Negritos, generally termed Sĕmang, in the centre a much larger number of wavy haired light brown people known as Sakai, and in the South mostly straight haired people of the Indonesian type, often referred to as Jakun The first two groups and a portion of the third speak languages containing a strong Mon Khmer element, the remaining Jakun speak Malay dialects with some alien admixture From about the vth century A D Sanskrit inscriptions on stone found in Kĕdah and Province Wellesley (opposite Penang) attest the presence of Buddhists using a South Indian script An inscription of 775 originally set up at Ligor (Nakhon Sri Dhammarāj) about Lat 8° N indicates that before that date certain points on the isthmus were held by the Sailendra kings of Srī Vijaya (Palembang in Southern Sumatra) who controlled the trade route through the Straits and across the isthmus probably till near the end of the xiith century It would appear from a notice in the History of the Liang dynasty of China (502–556 A D), Book 54, that this isthmus had formerly been controlled by the state of Funan, which centred round the mouths and lower course of the Mekong river An inscription found at Chaiya (Jaiya, near Lat 10° N) and probably dated 1183 gives the king who presumably set it up a princely title which points to the Malayu region of Southern Sumatra, adjoining Srī Vijaya to the North West Another inscription of Chaiya dated 1230 was set up by the local king Candrabhānu who according to the Mahavamsa and other sources raided Ceylon on two occasions (probably about 1236 and 1256) with his "Jāvaka" (i e Malay) forces

It is plain, therefore, that between the viiith and the xiiith centuries the settlement of the Peninsula by Malays from Sumatra had been going on A few years later, but before 1280, the Siamese from Sukhohai (Sukhodhaya) put an end to Malay rule in Ligor, thus beginning the extension of Siamese influence to the southward In the Javanese poem Nāgarakrĕtāgama (1365) a

number of places on both coasts, from Kědah and Sai (in the old Patani state) in the North to Singapore [q v] in the South are claimed as vassals of the Javanese empire of Madjapahit In the same century, but at a date which cannot be precisely fixed owing to the fragmentary condition of the record, the earliest Malay inscription in the Arabic character as yet discovered makes it plain that Islām had recently become the state religion of Trĕngganu In the xvth century Islām was being spread in the Peninsula under the influence of the then most important state, Malacca [q v], and after its fall in 1511 at the hands of the Portuguese its dynasty continued to rule in the extreme South (Johor) and neighbouring islands, while another branch held Pahang, and Perak eventually came into the hands of a family claiming to descend from the senior line of the same stock In or before the xvith century an immigration of Minangkabau settlers from Sumatra founded a number of small states inland of Malacca, which all eventually admitted the suzerainty of Johor, save the southernmost, Naning, which was in theory at any rate a subordinate ally of the Portuguese In the early part of the xviith century the Achinese raided Kědah, Perak, Johor, etc, and for a number of years exercized some sort of suzerainty over Perak Meanwhile the Northern states came intermittently under Siamese influence, which varied with the strength of that power but retained the character of an external suzerainty till Kědah in 1821 and Patani in 1832 (this last finally) were conquered by Siam

The Dutch tenure of Malacca (1641—1795), while it controlled to some extent the external trade of the Malay states, did not interfere with their internal affairs In the eighteenth century Bugis adventurers settled in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and made their influence felt on the mainland, ultimately establishing the new state of Sĕlangor under a still ruling Bugis dynasty British influence dates from the founding of Penang (1786), which was followed by a temporary occupation of Malacca (1795—1818), its final cession in 1824, the founding of Singapore (1819), and the incorporation of all three settlements in one government (1826), which in 1867 was transferred from the control of India to that of the Colonial Office The policy of non-interference with the Malay states was maintained until long continued disturbances in Perak, Sĕlangor, and Sungei Ujong (part of Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan), due to Malay dynastic quarrels and civil war between unruly gangs of Chinese tin miners, coupled with an increase of piracy in the Straits, led in 1874 to the inauguration of the Residential system This ultimately developed into the present system whereby since 1895 Perak, Sĕlangor, Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan and Pahang form a federation administered under the direction of British officials Pĕrlis, Kědah, Kĕlantan and Trĕngganu were ceded by Siam in 1909 in return for certain concessions, one of which was the abolition of the extra-territorial privileges of British subjects

The population in 1921 of the part of the Peninsula and adjacent islands under British administration or protection was about 3,325,000, nearly half being immigrants, mainly Chinese, and to a less extent Indians, among whom males predominated very considerably The great bulk of the native-born population consisted of Malays, and the total number of Malays, properly so-called (including, however, something like 100,000 persons of Minangkabau descent in Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan and Malacca) numbered 1,418,198 The other Muslim Indonesians amounted to 171,315 (including 112,775 Javanese, 37,848 Banjarese, 9,772 Boyanese, 8,388 Bugis, 727 Achinese, 859 Korinchi, and 946 Mendeling) The 47,465 non-Indonesian Muslims comprised 41,337 Indians, 4,315 Arabs, 1,800 Chinese, and a few Persians and Turks, the total Muslim population was 1,636,978, the great majority being Sunnīs of the school of Shāfi'ī Of the non Muslim population roughly three quarters were Chinese and about one-quarter Indians but there were also 32,448 so called aborigines of the Peninsula (a few of whom may, however, have been converts to Islām), 18,178 Siamese, 14,833 Europeans (mostly British, but including Continental Europeans and Americans of European descent), 12,629 Eurasians, 6,989 Japanese, and 2,215 Sinhalese, besides several smaller communities

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MALAYS People In this article only the Islāmic features of the Malay nation will be dealt with, so neither ethnographical nor anthropological questions will be discussed It may be sufficient to say that the Malays originally — we do not venture to say as autochthons — were established in the middle part of Sumatra, especially in Palembang, and spread over the eastern and northern parts of that huge island, and settled in the Straits, mainly in Malacca [see MALAY PENINSULA], and founded colonies in Borneo, along the great rivers, and elsewhere eastward They belong to the widely dispersed Polynesian (or Indonesian) race, whose languages extend from Madagascar to the Philippines and from the peninsula of the utmost S E point of Asia to the remoter islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific The Malay chronicles, for the greater part mythical, and a few epigraphical data, make it clear that there was a highly cultivated Hinduised Malay kingdom in Palembang, the seafaring people of which went over to several adjacent and more distant countries, it was along the ways of commerce that they carried the Malay language to sundry ports and lands It is not exactly known in what century Islām swept away Hinduism, but it is a fact that the new religion on its arrival in the Straits found Malay people settled in the Peninsula and the Malay language introduced there as the generally adopted speech of commerce and political intercourse

Language It is due to Islām that Malay, being already a language enriched with many Sanskrit words, became an idiom of very mixed lexicographical character The Islāmic current brought words of Tamil origin, innumerable Arabic words, some of them in Dekhanised or Persian like garb, many Persian words, some of them with Indian characteristics, and a small quantity of Hindustani vocables In that heterogeneous form Malay became the vehicular language of the new religion Undoubtedly it had found its way already to the most visited ports in the Archipelago in a simplified form fit for intercourse with all kinds of natives and foreign merchants, later also with European, namely Portuguese and Dutch captains and ambassadors It was Islām that gave Malay a literary character, and when it had established itself as a medium into which innumerable Arabic books were translated, its form became crystallised and its orthography was fixed systematically That uniformity made it the appropriate language for literary and liturgical purposes and also a *κοινή* for dogmatics and mysticism, as well as romantic and historical literature It has to be borne in mind that there is a great difference between the patois or *linguaccio* heard in most of the sea-ports, and the cultivated literary language, which became highly developed in Malacca, once the seat of a Muhammadan court and a royal library When Arabic and Indian learned men came to Acheh, they discussed theological questions in Malay and even wrote books in that language The literary form is sustained uniformly to the present day, literary products being written in archaistic formulae, and the colloquial style being used in different parts of the Archipelago, the purest in Johore and Malaya in general and the East-coast-districts of Sumatra, the least pure in Java and more eastern islands In the Moluccas, especially in Ambon (Amboyna), the preaching of Christianity availed itself of Malay, in those islands this language has therefore assumed an individual character As to its linguistic character, it may suffice to notice that Malay, like all Polynesian languages, belongs to the agglutinative type, declension not existing, conjugation being limited within narrow bounds, and amplification of the mainly dissyllabic stems with a quantity of prefixes, infixes and suffixes giving opportunity of forming words for almost all grammatical and logical relations There are some traces of the influence of Arabic grammar on Malay syntax, but on the whole the Muhammadan current has not essentially altered the character of the language, it has only enriched it with an enormous number of words, and given to its written literature an individual Islāmic character

Literature Of pre-Islāmic literature nothing is known As far as may be concluded from a few old inscriptions in Hindu script, it seems that Malay was written in Kawi-like characters, but literature, in its earliest known form, is written in Arabic letters only The oldest manuscripts are preserved in the Cambridge and Oxford libraries, they date from the last years of the xvith and the first decade of the xviith century The only literary-historical evidence of the existence of written literature in the xvith century is the mention, in a xviiith century chronicle, of the use made of a royal library at Malacca at the time when the Portuguese endeavoured to capture that town (1511)

Malay literature, as it presents itself now, is only for a very small part original Hardly any of the chronicles, tales and poems are derived from Arabic sources directly, most of the religious and semi-historical romances having been translated from Persian, but all these literary products are imbued with the Muslim atmosphere, being full of Arabic words and phrases, and laden with Islāmic theory There are, it is true, some indigenous farcical tales, and some fables, especially the sometime highly appreciated mouse-deer-tales, moreover some original romances with Hinduistic influences, and several adapted old Javanese tales, that do not betray real Islāmic influence, but the very fact that all these books are written in Arabic characters makes them overflow with Arabic words, and in that way shows that they belong to Islāmic mentality In this short account there will be no mention of literary products going back to the great Sanskrit epic poems, nor of the tales that do not show traces of Muslim influence, only in so far as Malay literature has Islāmic features, will it be treated here The originally genuine Indonesian deer-fable has undergone an Islāmic correction The historical writings, more or less mythical and semi-romantic, are almost absolutely Islāmised To that class of works the chronicle *Sejarah Mĕlayu*, and other ones, as the chronicles of Kutawaringin, Kutai, Acheh and Pasai are to be reckoned A partly historical, but for the greater part fictitious, romance is the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* A host of romances, dealing with foreign princes and princesses and their endless adventures, has been spread over a great part of the Malay-reading East Indian World, the titles of all those popular, but for European readers less attractive, books, may be found in the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leyden, Batavia and London Some books of fiction have been translated from Persian, Arabic or Hindustani A group of them is to be traced to the *Hitopadeça* collection, another one to the *Tuti-nāma* series, a third one to the Bakhtiyar cycle By way of exception foreign authors have written in Malay, e g the Radjput Nūr al Dīn al-Rānīrī [q v], who wrote a great encyclopaedic chronicle at the instigation of an Achehnese queen A very great number of texts deals with the old prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and friends Those works, like e g the romances of Amīr Hamza and Muhammad b al-Hanafiya, have Persian originals The purely religious books cannot be regarded as Malay literature

Poetical literature has a different character The real Malay kind of poetry, though not devoid of Persian influences, is the *pantun*, i e popular quatrains, whose first two lines deal with a natural fact, or a well known event, and are intended to prelude, phonetically, the 3rd and 4th lines, that contain the real meaning of the usually erotic poem The other "genre" is the *shaʿir* Its form is the stanza of four rhyming lines Some of these very extensive overloaded poems are from the Javanese, some others are versified versions of prose romances, moreover historical events, love-scenes, religious matters, mystical speculations etc are dealt with in innumerable *shaʿirs*, the titles of which may be seen in the following catalogues Leyden Univ Library, by H H Juynboll, Supplement thereto by Ph S van Ronkel, Batavia, the Hague and Brussels by the same, London (R A S) and ibidem E I H (India Office Library) by H N van der Tuuk

Special literary questions have been dealt with by Ph S van Ronkel The papers on Malay Subjects and some numbers of the Malay Literature Series contain some valuable contributions A fuller account is given in the Dutch *Encycl van Nederl-Indie*, s v Literatuur (Maleische)

(PH S VAN RONKEL)

MALĀZGERD, district (*Kadā*) and town in Armenia, to the North of the lake of Wan Of the name, there occur, in old-Armenian, the forms Manavazakert, Manavazkert and Manazkert The middle-Armenian and Byzantine forms, Mandzgerd and Μαντζικίερτ resp as well as the Arabian form Manāzdjird, point to old Armenian Manazkert being the original form, Manavaz(a)kert representing a popular etymological formation, from the name of the noble family of the Manavazean's, which, in olden times, resided in the district For it is phonetically impossible, that an old-Armenian form Manavaz(a)kert should regularly becomes Manazkert This is the theory of Hubschmann, who admits however the possibility, that an earlier Manavaz(a)kert may have been arbitrarily shortened in pronunciation, so as to become Manazkert, the word being otherwise too long W Belck has conjectured, that in the first part of the word, there may be hidden the name of the Urartaeic (pre Armenian) king Menuas of Wan This conjecture is based on the fact, that from an inscription of Menuas it appears, that this king founded a city, which was called Menuahina (= Menuas town), thus it would, according to Belck, be very probable, that Malāzgerd, in whose environs there have been found many inscriptions of Menuas, was this very town, named after him If such be the case, then the old-Armenian form *Manavazkert* must have originated from a later, popular etymology From the fact, that names of towns formed with *kert* (= *-*karta*) seem to have originated not before the Parthian epoch, as Hubschmann observes, it would follow, that the memory of the old king Menuas was still alive in the relatively late Parthian time This difficulty, however is not insoluble, for it seems, that the name of another Urartaeic king of Wan also may survive in classical Armenian quasi-historical tradition as Aram

The oldest and best Arabic spelling of the name of the town is *Manāzdjird*, with *n*, the forms with *l* are later, and on them is based the modern name (*Malāzgerd*) The spelling with *n* we find e g in al-Istakhrī, Yākūt, the author edited by Houtsma in *Rec des textes rel a l'hist des Seldjoucides*, II, al-Nasawī (ed Houdas), in a varia lectio of the text of the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (*G M S*, New Series, II 119), and in the text quoted *J R A S*, 1902, p 797 The spelling with *l*, common in later texts, occurs, among older authors, in al-Mukaddasī, Ibn al-Athīr, the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (the reading adopted by the editor), Djuwainī, and the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* The terminations *djird* and *-kird* also alternate in the spelling this variation is already noted by Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, IV 648) As regards the form Manazav, cited by Marquardt (*Ērānsahr*, p 162) from Thomas Arturi, cf Hübschmann, *Die alt-armenischen Ortsnamen* (in *Idg Forschungen*, XVI), p 450

For the year 1898 the number of inhabitants of the district Malāzgerd is given as 21,000, viz 12,000 Kurds, and the rest Armenians The district belonged to the *wilāyat* Bitlīs, *sandjak* Mūsh In this hilly country, the highest elevation is the Sipān-Dagh (3,000 m), perhaps the same mount as the *Sang-i Safid*, which is, according to Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, III 168), a mountain in these regions The soil of the district is fertile, its main products are wheat, barley, millet, lentils and peas, which are also exported, as are also sheep and horses, e g to Diyārbekr The region of Malāzgerd produces also salt and mineral stone, which becomes hard when brought to the day light Its wild animals are the wolf, the fox and the stone-marten, which is hunted for its fur Textiles are manufactured in and exported from the district

The town of Malāzgerd is situated on a tributary of the Murād Su, called the Tuzla Su, Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihān-numā*, p 426) reckons 2 *marhala* between Malāzgerd and Erzerum The town lies, moreover, on the way from Sīwās to Ardjīsh, and also at the crossing of the two different ways, which connect Mūsh and Bāyazīd The city is surrounded by a high wall and towers, at the East of the town there is the citadel, built from black volcanic stone In the Vth (XIth) century, Malāzgerd had a triple wall, and it was well furnished with drinking water from within (Cedrenus, ed Bonn, II 590) More than one fruitless siege of this place is recorded in its history

Belck supposes, that the well-known battle between the Assyrian king Tiglathpilesar I against the allied Naïri-kings took place in the plain of Malāzgerd (*Z D M G*, li 560) If, at that remote time, the town of Malāzgerd existed already, is not certain That it existed in the time of the Urartaeic king Menuas, who, as Belck thinks, gave his name to the town, is made probable by an inscription of that prince, from which it would appear, that he rebuilt an older citadel and an older palace on that place The environs of the modern city of Malāzgerd are remarkably rich in cuneiform inscriptions, which were discovered by Lehmann and Belck during their stay there They found an Assyrian inscription of Tiglathpilesar I and several Urartaeic inscriptions, among others, of Menuas (± 800 B C) and Argistis II (714—ca 690 B C) It appears from these documents, that Menuas devoted great attention to the irrigation of the land, by constructing several canals

In the early Middle ages, the town of Malāzgerd (Manazkert), lying on the confines of the cantons Haikh and Apahunikh, was sometimes assigned to the former, sometimes to the latter That in old-Armenian times here resided the family of the Manavazean's, has already been remarked For these matters, and also for the quotations from Byzantine and Armenian authorities regarding them, cf Hubschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p 328, 330, 449 *sq*

Malāzgerd belonged, since the beginning of their dynasty, to the realm of the Bagratides of Armenia, who allowed it to be ruled, as well as Akhlāt, Ardjīs and "Perkri" (= Bergiri?), by a family of their vassals This family, whose members bear Arabic names, became in course of time independent of the Armenian kings, but, on the other hand, was obliged to pay tribute to the emperor of Byzantium (Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De admin imp*, ed Bonn, p 192 *sq*)

Yākūt says, that the inhabitants of Malāzgerd are Armenians and Byzantines (*Rūmī*), a native of this town was Abū Nasr al-Manāzī (this, therefore, is the *nisba* of the name), who was wazīr to one of the Marwānid princes of Diyārbekr This Abū

Nasr died 437 (1045—1046) and, according to our authority, was a good poet Yākūt cites two fragments from his poems (*Muʿdjam*, iv 648 *sq*) Regarding another al-Manāzī, cf *J R A S*, 1902, p 788, note 1

Among political events connected with the town of Malāzgerd, it may be noted that, on the occasion of the campaign, which the great Hamdānid Saif al Dawla undertook into Armenia (328 = 940), there is mentioned one ʿAbd al Hamīd, prince (*sāhib*) of Malāzgerd and Sibalwark (Sewerek) (*J R A S*, 1902, p 797) the name Ἀβελχαμίτ occurs among the names of the dynasty of Malāzgerd, recorded by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, and this contemporary of Saif al-Dawla doubtless belonged to that family But he cannot be the Ἀβελχαμίτ of the Greek text, who, from a chronological point of view, must have lived two generations earlier (cf the genealogical table of these dynasts of Malāzgerd in Bandurius *Animadversiones in Const Porph Lib de Administ Imp*, in the Bonn edition of Constantinus, iii 372) In 353 (964) a certain Nadjā, a *ghulām* of Saif al-Dawla, revolted against his master, after taking possession of that part of Armenia, which was ruled by one Abu 'l-Ward The latter was slain, and, among the places conquered by Nadjā, Malāzgerd also is cited (Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, viii 408), in the year 359 (969—970) Malāzgerd was taken by the Byzantines (*ibid*, viii 445), they must have lost it again before 382 (992—993), for in that year they besieged not only Akhlāt and Ardjīsh, but also Malāzgerd, but this time they could not take it, but returned home after concluding a treaty for ten years with Abū ʿAlī al Hasan b Marwān (*ibid*, ix 67) In 440 (1048—1049) it must have belonged to the Byzantines, for the *ghazwa*, which Ibrahim, Toghrīl Beg's brother, undertook into the Byzantine empire, affected also the territory of Malāzgerd (*ibid*, ix 372) And it is explicitly stated by Ibn al-Athīr (ix 411), under the year 446 (1054—1055), that Malāzgerd was in possession of the Byzantines, for there he relates, that this strong city resisted a siege by Toghrīl Beg himself (cf also Cedrenus, ed Bonn, ii 590 etc) The most important historical event, with which the name of the town is connected, is the battle of Malazgerd (463 = 1071) between Alp Arslān and the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes, in consequence of which the eastern part of Asia Minor, viz Armenia and Cappadocia, was lost for ever to the Greek empire [Ibn al Athīr, x 44, *Rec des textes rel a l'hist des Seldjoucides*, ed Houtsma, ii 38 etc, *Rāhat al Sudūr* (*G M S*, New Series, ii), p 119, Zonaras, ed Dindorf, iv 213 etc, cf also H Gelzer in K Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*², p 1010] After this event, therefore, Malāzgerd passed into the possession of the Saldjūks In 531 (1137) it was given by king Malikshāh, along with Erzerum and part of the territory of Akhlāt, to his brother Saldjūk, as a *kitʿ* (*Rec de textes*, ed Houtsma, ii 185)

In course of time, the city was besieged in vain (587 = 1191) by Takī al-Dīn ʿUmar b Ayyūb In 601 (1204—1205) its environs suffered from the inroads of nomads from the direction of Ādharbāidjān (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 41, 134) During the disturbances, of which Armenia was the scene in the beginning of the viiith—xiiith century, mention is several times made of Malāzgird In 603 (1206—1207), a former *mamlūk* of the Shāh Arman took possession of Malāzgerd, and, after that, also of Akhlāt He had, in addition, control of Ardjīsh and other places This man, whose name was Balbān (the vocalisation of the first syllable is uncertain), was assisted by the prince of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrīl Shāh b Kilidj Arslān, against al Malik al-Awhad, son of al Malik al-ʿĀdil of Egypt Later on, Balban was murdered by his ally of Erzerum, who tried to enter Akhlāt and Malāzgerd, but in vain, so that he was obliged to return to his own states (Ibn al Athīr, xii 168 *sq*, 180 *sq*) In 623 (1226), Djalāl al-Dīn b Khwārizmshāh ʿAlā al-Dīn Muhammad occupied Malāzgerd, as he intended to attack Husām al-Dīn ʿAlī, the *nawwāb* of al-Malik al Ashraf, in Akhlat But, since his attempt on this town did not succeed, and as the winter also set in (he had entered Malāzgerd on Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 13, November 5, 623), and the Turkomans invaded his own realm, he was obliged to retire (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 301) In 626 (1229) however he succeeded in taking Akhlāt, after which he besieged Malāzgerd, first in person, afterwards leaving one of his generals in charge of the siege, but on this occasion without success (al-Nasawī, ed O Houdas, text, p 205, 208, translation, p 342, 344, 347)

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(V F Buchner)

MĀLDA (properly, Māldah or Māldaha), a district in Eastern Bengal and in the Rādjshāhī Division of the Presidency of Bengal Area 1,899 sq m Pop in 1911, 1,004,159, of whom 465,521 were Hindus, and 505,396 Muslims In old times it was famous for its two capitals of Gaur [q v] or Lakhnawti, and Pandua, where there are many ruins of the mosques and other buildings of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal

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(H Beveridge)

MALDIVE ISLANDS, a group of coral islets in the Indian Ocean, lying between 7° 6′ N and 0° 42′ S lat, and 72° and 74° E long, and consisting of seventeen atolls with a great number of islands, of which about 300 are inhabited, the population being estimated at 70,000 The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battūta, lived for more

than a year (1343—1344) in the islands, but the first Europeans to visit them were the Portuguese, who established a factory in them in 1518 The Maldives were much harassed by Māppilla (Moplah) pirates from the Malabar Coast and in 1645 the king, who is entitled "Sultān of the Twelve Thousand Isles", placed himself under the protection of the Dutch in Ceylon, with which island the Maldives have, since that time, been politically connected The natives are Muslims and fall into three ethnographical divisions, (1) the northern, with a strong admixture of Dravidian blood from India, (2) the central, under the immediate rule of the Sultān, who resides in Male, which has acquired from Arab traders and settlers a strain of Semitic blood, and (3) the natives of the southern clusters, who have had little communication with the central group and preserve more of the primitive type, resembling the Sinhalese villagers of Ceylon All are peaceful, intelligent and industrious, growing their own crops and weaving their own cloth and mats The chief exports are copra, coir, and dried fish products The language is a dialect of the Sinhalese, somewhat Muhammadanized, but many read Arabic more or less fluently

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(J W Hale)

MALHAMA [See Maiāhim]

MALI, a town, which no longer exists, the old capital of the Mandingo empire, in the western Sūdān, also called Mali, Milli, Melli, Melle, Mani or Manc All these names are dialectic or local variants of the same word which is the name of the country of origin of a people whom the French call Malinké, following the Pul and Tuculors, and the English "Mandingo", following the form used by one section of this people on the Lower Gambia

The name found in the Arab authors for this town was not the one used by the inhabitants themselves and the latter is not given us by the geographer Idrīsī, nor the historian Ibn Khaldūn, nor the traveller Ibn Battūta, nor Leo Africanus It was only in 1913 that the translation of an Arabic manuscript not long before discovered in the Sūdān, the *Ta'rīkh al Fattāh*, enabled us to learn that in reality there were two successive capitals of the Mandingo empire or of Mali the older was called Djaliba or Djéliba and there was later another called Niani

Recent researches in the valley of the Niger have enabled the sites of these two towns to be discovered The first was situated at the junction of the Niger and the Sankarani, and at the place called Mani or Mali Tombo, i e ruins of Mali There are still traces of a very ancient and important town, which the natives regard, according to their traditions, as the ancient residence of their former sovereigns and the place where the latter are buried

As to the second town, a copyist's error in the text of Ibn Khaldūn concealed the true name till the publication of the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāh* in 1913 It was recently recognised that the capital in question should be located on the left bank of the Sankarani, and at the level of Siguiri, not far from the place where there is still a town of the same name, Niani

Djeriba was no doubt the cradle of the Mandingo dynasty of the Keita of the xiith—xiiith century We have no information about it We are more accurately informed about Niani It is supposed to have been founded in 1238 after Sundjata Keita, ruler of the Mandingo, had defeated in 1235 at Kirina the emperor of Sōsō, Sumangurur Kante, his rival and enemy Gongo Mūsā, often wrongly called Kankan Mūsā, was ruling there a century later, when on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he attracted to his court an Arab poet named al Sahili who belonged to a Granada family By orders of Gongo Mūsā, this foreigner built in Gao a mosque with battlemented terrace and pyramidal minaret According to tradition, this was the first building of the type, now so widely spread in the western Sūdān, the origin of which is North African

In 1352—53 in the reign of Sulaimān Keita, brother of Gongo Mūsa, the Arab traveller Ibn Battūta visited the town It was then a completely Muslim metropolis, in which lived Egyptian and Moroccan legal authorities, students of Islām, readers of the Kur'ān in the mosques, and merchants No description of the different quarters of the town has come down to us but we have a fairly detailed account of the sovereign's palace The ruler gave his audiences in a room looking out on a courtyard, with six windows of wood, three of which were covered with plates of silver and above these three covered with plates of gold These windows were hidden by curtains, which were lifted to show that the hour of audience had come

The empire of Mali retained its power down to the beginning of the xvth century when its decline began According to Leo Africanus who visited the Sūdān in the first half of the xvith century, the capital Mali or better Niani was inhabited by about 6,000 families who included many artisans and traders Islām was flourishing, the town had still a number of mosques and prosperous schools but it had lost its former glory

In 1545, Dā'ūd, brother of the *askiya* of Gao, marched to Niani, the ruler of the Mandingo having succeeded in escaping, Dā'ūd occupied the town which he plundered for a week before withdrawing, ordering his soldiers to defile the palace of the king with ordure

In the xviith century the growth of the Bambara kingdoms of Segu and Kaarta contributed to overthrow what was left of the old Mandingo power, the last chiefs of which, leaving Niani, took refuge in Kangaba

There is no doubt that Niani was visited on several occasions by the Portuguese We know nothing of the expeditions which set out from their factories in Lower Gambia to the interior, on the other hand, we have notes about the Mandingo capital on the journey made in 1483 of an embassy from Elmina (now the Gold Coast Colony) João de Barros describes it in his Book III of his *Asia* "By the route of the fortress of Minas (Elmina) he (John II) also sent an embassy to Mahmūd b Manzugul, grandson of Mūsā, king of Songo This city is one of the most populous of this great country which we usually call the

ınd of the Mandıngoes" Another author, Barth, laims to ıdentıfy the Songo of the Portuguese ıstorıan wıth the land of the Songhoy on the ıger Thıs ıs clearly wrong But ıs Songo a name pplıcable to the Mandıngo capıtal? M Delafosse oes not thınk so, he calls attentıon to the fact hat the country of the Mandıngoes ıs stıll known mong the coast peoples of the Gulf of Guınea nd ın all the Fantı and Ashantı country under he name of Songo, so that among those wıth whom the Portuguese of Elmına mıxed, the word was sımply a synonym of Mandıngo or Malı

Bıblıography Ibn Battūta, *Voyage dans le Soudan*, transl de Slane, Paris 1843, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hıstoire des Berbères*, transl de Slane, Algıers 1852—6, Leo Africanus, *Descrıptıon de l'Afrıque tierce partıe du Monde*, mise en françois par Jean Temporal, nouvelle edition annotée par Schefer, Paris 1896—8, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Saʿdī and Tombouktī, *Taʾrıkh al-Sūdān*, transl Haudas, Paris 1900, M Delafosse, *Haut-Senegal-Nıger*, Paris 1912, Marquart, *Die Benınsammlung des Reıchsmuseums fur Volkerkunde ın Leıden*, ındex s v Mallı, Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, transl Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p 52 *sqq* (Hᴇnrı Lᴀbouret)

MALIK (A), Kıng In the Kurʾān the word, ın addıtıon to beıng used of the kings of thıs world, ıs also applıed to Allāh, e g xx 113 So ıs Allāh exalted, the Kıng, the Truth" In ıı 25, Allāh ıs the *mālık al mulk*, the possessor f royal power, whıch he gıves to and takes from whom He wıll, ın the *Fātıha* many Kurʾān readers ead *malık* (for *mālık*) *yawm al dīn*, God's kıngdom s also descrıbed as *mulk* and *malakūt* [cf ALLĀH]

Muslım rulers do not generally call themselves ıngs, as ın the Kurʾān, the use of the word was onfined to the rulers of foreıgn peoples ın so ar as ıt had an earthly sıgnıficance The applı ation of the word to Muslım potentates was garded not so much as blasphemy but rather as nplyıng a form of rule whıch was contradıctory o Muslım polıtıcal theory It was consıdered very ıuch to Muʿāwıya's dıscredıt that he descrıbed ımself as the first kıng ın Islām, and as a ıngdom, whıch ıs contrasted wıth the ımāmate, he dignıty alone worthy of the Muslım rulers, he rule of the Omaıyads was attacked and des- ısed by the pıous old fashıoned party

Whıle religious constıtutıonal lıteıature does not ecognıse the word *malık* as a term for Muslım onditions, ıt plays a very much greater part ın he lıterature of mırrors for prınces whıch ıs ın- ıfferent to religıon, but, only when ıt ıs a ques ıon of a ruler ın general and not of specıfically ſuslım rulers Al Djāhız gıves hıs *Aʿ al-Tāǧ* the ubtıtle *Fī Akhlāk al-Mulūk* and al-Fārābī deals ery fully wıth the duties of a kıng In the ethical ncyclopaedıas whıch deal wıth all three moral ciences, ethıcs, economıcs and polıtıcs [cf MĀL], ke the *Sulūk al-Mālık fī Tadbır al-Mamālık* of bn Abı ʾl-Rabıʿ, the kıng appears as the subject f specıal chapters ın the scheme of dıvısıon of ıts kınd of lıterature

Wıth the spread of Islām and the Arabıc language ato Asıa, *malık* became used as the equıvalent f the Persıan *shāh* and as a royal tıtle was ıarticularly favoured by medıaeval dynastıes of ʾurkısh orıgın We find the tıtle *malık* as early s the Sāmānıds and ın the next century the Būyıd Bahāʾ al-Dawla calls hımself *Malık al-Mulūk*, a tıtle modelled on the ancıent Iranıan tıtle of "Kıng of Kıngs" Among the Saldjūks, Atabegs and Urtukıds, ıt ıs the regular tıtle of sovereıgnty, usually combıned wıth an honorıfic epıthet It ıs not so generally used by the Aıyūbıds and Mamlūks In the femınıne ıt ıs the royal tıtle of the Mamlūk queen Shadjaı al-Durr, who calls herself "queen of the Muslıms" (*Malıka al-Muslımīn*) One of the rare occurrences ın Indıa of the tıtle ıs also ın the femınıne *Malıka*, whıch queen Razıya of Dehlī uses ın place of the *Sultān* of the other members of the dynasty After beıng practıcally extınct for several centurıes ın the Muslım world *malık* has quıte recently been adopted as the royal tıtle ın the new kıngdoms of Egypt, ʿIrāk, the Hıdjāz and Afghānıstān so that ıt has suddenly, ıf somewhat artıfıcally under the ınfluence of the western con ceptıon of kıng, come to be the royal tıtle *par excellence* ın the Muslım world

Bıblıography *Lısān al-ʿArab*, s v, Hughes, *Dıctionary*, s v "Kıng", Kremer, *Gesch d herrsch Ideen*, p 323, Goldzıher, *Muh St*, ıı 31 *sqq* (M Pᴇssnᴇr)

MALIK ʿAMBAR HABASHĪ, an Abyssınıan slave, who rose to great power and ınfluence ın the Deccan When Ahmadnagar was conquered by prınce Danıyāl ın 1009 (1600), Malık ʿAmbar and Rādjā Mınnān, a Deccan chıef, dıvıded the remaınıng terrıtorıes between them About thıs perıod owıng to the rebellıon of Sultān Salım, the death of Akbar, and the revolt of Sultān Khusrū, ʿAmbar found tıme to regulate hıs country and raısed large armıes, and even dared to seıze several of the ımperıal dıstrıcts He ıntroduced a new revenue system ınto the Deccan, perhaps ın ımıtatıon of Todar Mall When the authorıty of the emperor Djahāngīr was establıshed, he sent several expedıtıons to the Deccan, but ʿAmbar could not be subdued At last he restored the places taken from the Mughals to Shāh Djahān, to whom he became attached and remaıned loyal to hım untıl hıs death, which occurred ın 1035 (1626), ın the 80th year of hıs age He was buried ın Dawlatābād [q v]

Bıblıography *Maʾāthır al-Umaraʾ*, ı 115—116 *sq*, Elphınstone, *Hıstory of Indıa*, 1889, p 553, Elliot-Dowson, *Hıstory of Indıa*, vı 104, 105, 395 and 428, *Imperıal Gazetteer of Indıa*, ıı 389 *sq* (M Hıdayᴇt Hosaın)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL I, Nāsır al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Maʿālī Muhammad b al-Malık al-ʿĀdıl, an Aıyūbıd, was born ın Rabıʿ I 576 (Aug 1180) and knıghted wıth full ceremony on Palm Sunday (May 29) 1192 ın ʿAkkā by Rıchard Cœur de-Lıon who was on frıendly terms wıth hıs father A few years later hıs name begıns to appear ın the hıstory of the Aıyūbıd wars When hıs father, who was besıegıng Mārıdīn [q v] wıth hıs army, left ıt after the death of al-ʿAzız, Saladın's brother, on 27th Muharram 595 (Nov 29, 1198) to seize the capıtal, Damascus, for hımself, he entrusted the conduct of the sıege of Mārıdīn to hıs son Kāmıl The governor of the town had begun to negotıate wıth hım for surrender, when reınforce ments arrıved and after a fight whıch went badly for al Kāmıl, the latter was forced to wıthdraw and joın hıs father ın Damascus Al-ʿĀdıl's death (7th Djumādā II, 615 = Aug 31, 1218) left hım the dıfficult task of clearıng Egypt of the Crusaders, who had landed near Damıetta ın the begınnıng of summer and had begun to besıege the town.

On the news of their landing, al ʿĀdil [q v], who was then in Syria, sent troops to Egypt and al-Kāmil endeavoured to defend the land as best he could The Christians gained the upper hand at first and by the end of Shaʿban 616 (beg Nov 1219), Damietta had fallen into their hands It took nearly two years for al Kāmil, who had had homage paid to himself as sultān of Egypt and Syria after the death of his father, to retake the town with the help of the other Ayyūbids, particularly his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, the Christians by this time were tired of fighting and in Radjab 618 (the end of August 1221) they offered to abandon the town if given a free passage Al Kāmil, who feared not without reason that they would soon receive reinforcements from Europe, gladly accepted their terms whereupon the Franks left Egypt But then troubles broke out within the Ayyūbid ranks When al Muʿazzam died (end of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 624 = Nov 1227) al Kāmil and his brother al Malik al Ashraf attacked his son and successor al-Malik al-Nasir Dāwūd and finally took Damascus from him (Shaʿbān 626 = June/July 1229), al-Kāmil next occupied southern Syria and Palestine and al-Ashraf was recognised as ruler of Damascus under the suzerainty of al Kāmil, while their nephew Dāwūd received al-Karak, al Shawbak and some other remote fortresses as compensation Al Kāmil had previously entered into negotiations with the Emperor Frederick II and concluded a treaty with him by which he ceded Jerusalem to him with a corridor to Jaffa and the Emperor in return promised to help him against all his enemies After some time the Ayyūbids came into conflict with the Saldjūks Kai-Kāʾūs I [q v] had previously quarrelled with al-Ashraf and sought to bring against him a confederacy of petty Mesopotamian dynasties and under his brother and successor Kai-Kobād I [q v] it came to open fighting The successes won by al Kāmil in this war, however, aroused the jealousy of his relatives and they formed a coalition against him [cf AYYŪBIDS] Al Kāmil then set out for Egypt and advanced victoriously as far as Damascus He succeeded in taking this city also but died very soon afterwards (in Radjab 635 = March 1238) As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished of the Ayyūbids He was a brave soldier and a skilful diplomat and rendered lasting services to the development of his country He devoted special attention to irrigation and in his reign the defences of the citadel of Cairo were completed He also took a lively interest in the cause of learning

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (ed Wustenfeld), N⁰ 705 (transl de Slane, iii 240), Ibn al-Athīr, *al Kāmil* (ed Tornberg), xii, see Index, Abu 'l Fidāʾ, *Annales* (ed Reiske), iv, passim, Ibn Khaldūn, *al ʿIbar*, v 345 *sqq*, Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* (Būlāk 1311), i 77 *sqq*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist orient*, i, v, passim, Weil, *Gesch der Chalifen*, iii 433 *sq*, 441 *sqq*, Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p 221 *sqq*, Rohricht, *Gesch des Konigreichs Jerusalem*, see Index (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL II [See SHAʿBĀN]

MALIK SARWAR, KHWĀDJA-I DJAHĀN was a eunuch given by Sālār Radjab to his grandson Muhammad, son of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlak in whose service he rose to be chief eunuch and controller of the elephant stables He was faithful to his master in all his troubles, and in 1389 received the title of Khwādja-i Djahān and was made *wazir* Muhammad's son, Mahmūd Shāh, sent him in March, 1394, to govern the eastern provinces, with his headquarters at Djawnpūr, and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Shark, or lord of the east He took thither with him Karanful, a slave and water-bearer of Fīrūz Tughlak, whom he had adopted, and his brothers His administration was most successful and his adopted son Karanful served him loyally On the disruption of the kingdom of the Tughlak dynasty after Timūr's invasion, Malik Sarwar assumed the title of Sultān al Shark and established his independence in Djawnpūr Karanful received the title of Malik al Shark, and his brother Ibrāhīm was made commander of the fort and city

Malik Sarwar died in 1400 and was succeeded by Karanful, who ascended the throne of Djawnpūr under the title of Mubārak Shāh

Bibliography Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhimī*, Bombay 1832, *Taʾrikh i Mubārak Shāhī* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol iv, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, by Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Series, vol i, N W P and Oudh (*Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpūr*, by A Fuhrer), 1889 (J W HAIG)

MĀLIK B ANAS, a Muslim jurist, the imām of the *madhhab* of the Mālikīs, which is named after him, and frequently called briefly the Imām of Medina

I The sources for Mālik's biography

The oldest authority of any length for Mālik, Ibn Saʿd's account (d 230) based on al-Wākidī (d 207) in the sixth class of the Medīna "successors", is lost as there is a hiatus in the manuscript of the work, but it is possible to reconstruct the bulk of it from the quotations preserved, mainly in Tabarī (iii 2519 *sq*), in the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (*Iraqm hist arab*, i 297 *sq*), in Ibn Khallikān and al Suyūtī (p 7, 6 *sq*, 12 *sq*, 41, 46) From this it is evident that the brief biographical notes in Ibn Kutaiba (d 276) and the somewhat more full ones in the *Fihrist* (compiled in 377) are based on Ibn Saʿd The article on Mālik in Tabarī's (d 310) *Dhail al-Mudhayal* is essentially dependent on the same source, while a few other short references there and in his history are based on other authorities Al-Samʿānī (c 550) with the minimum of bare facts gives only the legendary version of an otherwise quite well established incident, while in Ibn Khallikān (d 672) and particularly in al-Nawawī (d 676) the legendary features are more pronounced although isolated facts of importance are also preserved by them Al-Suyūtī (d 911) gives a detailed compilation from Ibn Saʿd and other works, most of which are now no longer accessible but are for the most part of later date and unreliable, like the *Musnad Hadīth al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of al-Kāfikī, the *Hilya* of Abū Nuʿaim, the *Kitāb al-Muttafak wa 'l-Muthtalaf* of al-Khatīb al Baghdādī, the *Kitāb Tartīb al-Madārik* of al-Kādī ʿIyād, the *Fadāʾil Mālik* of Abu 'l Hasan Fihr The bulk of the later *Manākib*, for example that of al-Zawāwī, is of no independent value

II Mālik's Life

Mālik's full name was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mālik b Anas b Mālik b Abī ʿĀmir b ʿAmr b al-

Hārith b Ghaimān b Khuthail b ʿAmi b al-Hārith al-Aṣbahī, he belonged to the Humair, who are included in the Banū Taim b Murra (Taim Kuraish)

The date of his birth is not known, the dates given, varying between 90 and 97 are hypotheses, which are presumably approximately correct As early as Ibn Saʿd we find the statement that he spent three years in his mother's womb (over two according to Ibn Kutaiba, p 290), a legend, the origin of which in a wrong interpretation of an alleged statement by Mālik on the possible duration of pregnancy is still evident in the text of Ibn Saʿd According to a tradition preserved by al Tirmidhī, Muhammad himself is said to have foretold his coming as well as that of Abū Hanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī His grandfather and his uncle on the father's side are mentioned by al-Samʿānī as traditionists, so that there is nothing remarkable in his also being a student According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, he is said to have first wanted to become a singer, and only exchanged his career for the study of Fikh on his mother's advice on account of his ugliness (cf Goldziher, *Muh Stu dien*, II 79, note 2), but such anecdotes are little more than evidence that some one did not particularly admire him Very little reliable is known about his studies, but the story that he studied Fikh with the celebrated Rabiʿa b Farrūkh (d 132 or 133 or 143) who cultivated *raʾy* in Medina, whence he is called Rabīʿat al-Raʾy can hardly be an invention, although it is only found in somewhat late sources (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 80) Later legends increase the number of his teachers to incredible figures 900, including 300 tābiʿūn are mentioned He is said to have learned *kirāʾa* from Nāfiʿ b Abī Nuʿaim He transmitted traditions from al-Zuhrī, Nāfiʿ, the Mawlā of Ibn ʿUmar, Abu 'l-Zinād, Hāshim b ʿUrwa, Yahyā b Saʿid, ʿAbd Allāh b Dinar, Muhammad b al-Munkadir, Abu 'l-Zubair and others, but the isnāds of course are not sufficient evidence that he studied with the authorities in question, a list of 95 shuyūkh is given by al Suyūṭī, p 48 *sqq*

A fixed chronological point in his life, most of which he spent in Medīna, is his being involved in the rising of the ʿAlid pretender Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh in 145 (on the other hand the story of Mālik's alleged dealings with Ibn Hurmuz in the same year gives the impression of being quite apocryphal) As early as 144 the caliph al-Mansūr sent to the Hasanids of Mecca through him a demand that the two brothers Muhammad and Ibrāhīm b ʿAbd Allāh suspected of being pretenders should be handed over to him, this shows that he must have already attained a position of general esteem and one at least not openly hostile to the government, he was even rewarded out of the proceeds of the confiscated property of the captured ʿAbd Allāh, father of the two brothers above named This mission met with no success When Muhammad in 145 by a coup made himself master of Medīna, Mālik declared in a *fatwā* that the homage paid to al-Mansūr was not binding, because it was given under compulsion, whereupon many who would otherwise have held back joined Muhammad Mālik took no active part in the rising but stayed at home On the failure of the rebellion (147) he was punished by flogging by Djaʿfar b Sulaimān, the governor of Medīna, when he suffered a dislocation of the shoulder, but this is said to have still further increased his prestige and there is no reason to doubt that the stories of Abū Hanīfa's ill treatment in prison are based on this episode in the life of Mālik He must have later made his peace with the government in 160 the caliph al-Mahdī consulted him on structural alterations in the Meccan sanctuary, and in the year of his death 179 the caliph al Rashīd visited him on the occasion of his pilgrimage While this fact may be considered certain, the details in the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* are already somewhat legendary and in Suyūṭī, following Abū Nuʿaim, quite fantastic The story of al Mansūr found as early as Ibn Saʿd, in a parallel *riwāya* in al Tabarī of al-Mahdī, is quite fictitious and is given again with fantastic detail in al-Suyūṭī (from Abū Nuʿaim) of al-Rashīd, that the caliph wanted to make the *Muwatta'* canonical and only abandoned his intention on the representations of Mālik

Mālik died, at the age of about 85 after a short illness, in the year 179 in Medina and was buried in al-Bakīʿ ʿAbd Allāh b Zainab, the governor there, conducted his funeral service An elegy on him by Djaʿfar b Ahmad al-Sarrādj is given in Ibn Khallikān Pictures of the *kubba* over his grave are given in al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hidjāzīya*[2], opposite p 256 and in Ibrāhim Rifʿat Pasha, *Mirʾāt al Haramain*, vol I, opposite p 426

As early as Ibn Saʿd (certainly going back to al Wākidī) we have a fairly full description of Mālik's personal appearance, his habits and manner of life, which however cannot claim to be authentic, nor can the sayings attributed to him which became more and more numerous as time went on The few certain facts about him have been buried under a mass of legends the most important facts have already been noted and the others will be found in al-Suyūṭī and al Zawāwī

On the transmitters of his *Muwatta'* and the earliest members of his madhhab see Sect III and V, here we will only mention the most important scholars who handed on traditions from him These were ʿAbd Allāh b al Mubārak, al-Awzāʿī, Ibn Djuraidj, Hammād b Zaid, al-Laith b Saʿd, Ibn Salama, al Shāfiʿī, Shuʿba, al-Thawrī, Ibn ʿUlaiya, Ibn ʿUyaina, Yazīd b ʿAbd Allāh and his shaikhs al-Zuhrī and Yahyā b Saʿid, al Suyūṭī, p 18 *sqq* gives a long list of transmitters but most of them are not corroborated We may just mention the apocryphal story of Mālik's meeting with the young al Shafiʿī (*Iraqm hist ar*, I 359, Wüstenfeld, *Gott Abh*, 1890, p 34 and 1891, p I *sqq*), which is simply an expression of the view that was held of the relation between the two Imāms

III Mālik's Writings

Further sources for his teachings

I Mālik's great work is the *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*, which, if we except the *Corpus Juris* of Zaid b ʿAlī, is the earliest surviving Muslim law book Its object is to give a survey of law and justice, ritual and practice of religion according to the *idjmāʿ* of Islām in Medina, according to the *sunna* usual in Medina and to create a theoretical standard for matters which were not settled from the point of view of *idjmāʿ* and *sunna* In a period of recognition and appreciation of the canon law under the early ʿAbbāsids, there was a practical interest in pointing out a "smoothed path" (this

is practically what *al-muwaṭṭaʾ* means) through the far reaching differences of opinion even on the most elementary questions Mālik wished to help this interest on the basis of the practice in the Ḥiḏjāz and to codify and systematise the customary law of Medina Tradition, which he interprets from the point of view of practice, is with him not an end but a means, the older jurists are therefore hardly ever quoted except as authorities for Mālik himself As he was only concerned with the documentation of the *sunna* and not with criticism of its form, he is exceedingly careless as far as order is concerned in his treatment of traditions The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* thus represents the transition from the simple Fikh of the earliest period to the pure science of Ḥadīth of the later period

Mālik was not alone among his contemporaries in the composition of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, al Mādjashūn (d 164) is said to have dealt with the consensus of the scholars of Medina without quoting the pertinent traditions, and works quite in the style of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* are recorded by several Medina scholars of the same time (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 219 *sq*) but nothing of them has survived to us The success of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is due to the fact that it always takes an average view on disputed points

In transmitting the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Mālik did not make a definitive text, either oral or by *munāwala*, to be disseminated, on the contrary, the different *riwāya*'s (recensions) of his work in places differ very much (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 222) The reason for this, besides the fact that in those days very little stress was laid on accurate literal repetition of such texts and great liberty was taken by the transmitters (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 221), lies probably in the fact that Mālik did not always give exactly the same form to the same lectures in different "classes" But the name *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, which certainly goes back to Mālik himself, and is found in all recensions is a guarantee that Mālik wanted to create a "work" in the later sense of the term, although of course the stories which make Mālik talk of his writings reflect the conditions of a later period In later times the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* was regarded by many as canonical (cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 213, 265 *sq*, al-Suyūṭī, p 47) and numerous legends deal with its origin (al-Suyūṭī, p 42 *sqq*)

Fifteen recensions in all of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* are known, only two of which still survive in their entirety, while some five were studied in the IIIth/IXth centuries A H in Spain (Goldziher, *op cit*, p 222, note 2 and 4) and twelve were still available to al-Rudānī (d 1094) (Heffening, *Islamendrecht*, p 144, note 1)

a the vulgate of the work transmitted by Yaḥyā b Yaḥyā al Masmūdī (d 234), often printed, e g Delhi 1216, 1296 (without isnāds, with Hindustānī translation and commentary), 1307, 1308, Cairo 1279—1280 (with the commentary of Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Bakī al-Zurkānī, d 1122), Lahore 1889, Tunis 1280, numerous commentaries, editions and synopses, cf Brockelmann, *GAL*, I 176, Ahlwardt, *Katalog Berlin*, 1145, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy al-Lakhnawī (Introduction to the edition of the recension *b*), Lucknow 1297, p 21 *sqq*, al-Suyūṭī, p 3 and passim (work of al Fāsī), p 57 (on Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr) and p 58 (chief passage), Goldziher, *op cit*, p 230, note 2, Schacht, *Abh Preuss Ak*, 1928, N⁰ 2 *c*, and al-Suyūṭī, *Iʿtāf al-Mubaṭṭaʾ bi-Riḏjāl al Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Delhi 1320 and Muḥammad b Ṭāhir al-Patnī, *Madjmaʿ Biḥār al-Anwār*, Lucknow 1283,

b the recension of Muḥammad b al Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (d 189) which is also an edition and critical development of Mālik's work, as al-Shaibānī at the end of most chapters gives his own views and that of Abū Ḥanīfa on the questions discussed, sometimes with very full reasonings, often printed e g Lahore 1211—1213 (with Hindustānī translation and notes), Ludhiana 1291, 1292, 1293, Lucknow 1297 (with introduction and commentary by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy al Lakhnawī), Kasan 1910 (do), several commentaries, cf Brockelmann, *op cit*, Schacht, *op cit*, N⁰ 2, 2*a*, 2*b*, and the works quoted under *a*

On the relation of these *riwāyas* to one another cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 223 *sqq*

c The quotations from the recension of ʿAbd Allāh b Wahb (d 197) which are preserved in the two fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fukahāʾ* (ed Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, *op cit*, N⁰ 22) are fairly comprehensive, this *riwāya* follows that of Yaḥyā b Yaḥyā quite closely

The other recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* are given by al Lakhnawī, *op cit*, p 18 *sqq*, further lists of transmitters of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* are given in al-Suyūṭī, p 48, 51 and in al-Nawawī

2 Whether Mālik composed other works besides the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is doubtful (the statements in the *Fihrist*, p 199, 9 *sq*, which speak of a number of writings by Mālik are quite vague and uncertain) The books ascribed to him fall into two groups legal and otherwise Among the legal we read of a *Kitāb al-Sunan* or *al Sunna* (*Fihrist*, p 199, 9, 16) transmitted by Ibn Wahb or by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, a *Kitāb al-Manāsik* (al-Suyūṭī, p 40), a *Kitāb al Muḏākalasāt*, transmitted by Ibn Wahb (*ibid*) a *Risāla fi 'l-Akḍiya*, transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al-Djalīl (*ibid*, p 41) and a *Risāla fi 'l Fatwā*, transmitted by Khālid b Nazzār and Muḥammad b Mutarrif (*ibid*) The genuineness of all these is, however, uncertain and even if they go back to Mālik's immediate pupils (sometimes they are actually attributed to the latter, cf al-Lakhnawī, *op cit*, p 19) Mālik's own share in them would be still uncertain A book (Gotha 1143) said to have been transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī and heard by him along with Ibn Wahb and Ibn al Kāsim is certainly apocryphal and besides does not pretend to give any utterances of Mālik himself

Of other titles are mentioned a *Tafsīr*, a *Risāla fi 'l Kadar wa 'l-Radd ʿala 'l Kadarīya*, a *Kitāb al-Nuḏjūm* and a *Kitāb al Sirr* (al Suyūṭī, p 40 *sq*) which are in the usual style of the apocryphal literature The suspicion of falsity is also strong in the case of the *Risāla* containing advice to the caliph al-Rashīd, mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* alongside of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (printed Būlāk 1311, cf Brockelmann, *op cit*) which look like a Mālikī counterpart of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf even al Suyūṭī doubted its genuineness, although for reasons which are not convincing to us

3 There are two other main sources for Mālik's teaching (setting aside the later accounts of the doctrine of the Mālikī madhhab)

The more important is the *al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā* of Sahnūn (d 240) which contains replies by Ibn Kāsim (d 191) according to the school of Mālik or according to his own *raʾy* to questions of Sahnūn as well as traditions and opinions of

Ibn Wahb (d 197) (cf Brockelmann, *op cit*, p 177, Heffening, *op cit*, p 144, Krenkow, in the article SAHNŪN)

Al-Tabarī who in his *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fukahā'* has preserved fragments of the *Muwatta'*-recension of Ibn Wahb (cf above), also quotes frequently traditions and opinions of Mālik in his commentary on the Kur'ān on the "legal" verses

IV Mālik's position in the history of Fiḳh

Mālik represents, in time, a stage in the development of Fikh in which the reasoning is not yet thorough and fundamental but only occasional and for a special purpose, in which the legal thought of Islām has not yet become jurisprudence and, in place, Medīna where the decisive foundations of Muslim law were laid down One of the main objects in the juristic thought that appears in the *Muwaṭṭa'* is the permeation of the whole legal life by religious and moral ideas This characteristic of the formation of legal ideas in early Islām is very clear, not only in the method of putting questions but in the structure of the legal material itself The legal material, having in itself no connection with religion, that has to be permeated by religious and moral points of view, is the customary law of Medīna, by no means primitive but adapted to the demands of a highly developed trading community, which for us is the principal representative of old Arabian customary law it appears in Mālik sometimes as *sunna* "use and wont", sometimes it is concealed under the Medīna *iḏmā'* which he ascertains with great care, broadly speaking this only means that objections on religious grounds have not been raised by anyone against a principle etc of customary law The older jurisprudence had another main object the formation of a system which sets out from principles of a more general character, which aim at the formation of legal conceptions in contrast to the prevailing casuistry and is to some extent rounded off in a codification, if still a loose one, of the whole legal material

While the islamisation of the law had been already concluded in its essential principles before Mālik, many generations had still to work at its systematisation, therefore Mālik's own legal achievement can only have consisted in the development of the formation of a system How great his share in it was cannot be ascertained with certainty from the lack of material for comparison The surprising success achieved by the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik out of a number of similar works, would in any case be completely explained by the fact that it recorded the usual consensus of opinion in Medīna without any considerable work of the author's own and came to be regarded as authoritative as the expression of compromise (just as the works on Tradition came to be regarded as canonical) The *Muwaṭṭa'* would in this case have to be regarded less as evidence of Mālik's individual activity than as evidence of the stage reached in the general development of law in his time It may be said that this average character was just what Mālik aimed at (cf Sect III 1)

The high estimation in which Mālik is held in the older sources is justified by his strict criticism of Hadīth and not by his activity in the interest of Fiḳh (al-Tabarī, III 2484, 2492, al Samʿānī, al-Nawawī, Goldziher, *op cit*, p 147, 168, do, *Zâhiriten*, p 230), even this only means that with his hadiths he kept within the later consensus That al-Shāfiʿī devoted special attention to him out of all the Medīna scholars (cf his *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī*) is explained by the fact that he was a disciple of his

As to the style of legal reasoning found in the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Hadith is not by any means the highest or only court of appeal for Mālik, on the one hand he gives the *ʿamal*, the actual undoubted practice in Medīna, the preference over traditions, when these differ (cf al-Tabarī, III 2505 *sq*) and on the other hand in cases where neither Medīna tradition nor Medina *iḏmāʿ* existed, he laid down the law independently, in other words he exercises *raʾy*, and to such an extent that he is occasionally reproached with *taʿarruk*, agreement with the ʿIrākis (cf Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, II 217, do, *Zâhiriten*, p 4 *sq*, 20, note 1) According to a later anti *raʾy* legend, he is said to have repented of it on his deathbed (Ibn Khallikān) It is scarcely to be supposed that he had diverged seriously from his Medina contemporaries in the results of his *raʾy*

V Mālik's Pupils

The Mālikī Madhhab

In the strict sense Mālik no more formed a school than did Abū Hanīfa, evidence of this is found in the oldest names *Ahl al-Ḥiḏjāz* and *Ahl al-ʿIrāḳ* resp, compared for example with *Aṣḥāb al-Shāfiʿī* These names at once indicate the probable origin of the Mālikī madhhab, after a regular Shāfiʿī school had been formed, which in view of al-Shāfiʿī's personal achievement, is quite intelligible in the development of Fikh (cf Bergsträsser, *op cit*, p 76, 80 *sq*), it became necessary for the two older great schools of Fikh, whose difference was probably originally the result of geographical conditions in the main, also to combine to form a regular school, when a typical representative of the average views like Mālik or Abū Hanīfa was regarded as head In the case of Malik the high personal esteem, which he must have enjoyed even in his life time (cf Sect II) no doubt contributed to this also But it is to his pupils that his elevation to the head of a school is mainly due Traces of this process are still to be found in the varying classification of old jurists as of the Ḥiḏjāz school or as independent mudjtahids (cf also *Fihrist*, p 199, 22)

Among Mālik's pupils and companions who soon became known as Mālikīs may be mentioned al-Laith b Saʿd (d 161 or 165 or 175), ʿAbd al-Rahmān b al-Kāsim (d 191), ʿAbd Allāh b Wahb (d 197), Maʿn b ʿĪsā (d 198), Ashhab b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d 204), ʿAbd al-Malik b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d 212), ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al Hakam (d 214), ʿAbd Allāh al-Kaʿnabī (d 221), Ismāʿīl b Uwais (d 226) and his brother Abū Bakr, Sahnūn (d 240) Sahnūn was too late to hear Mālik himself, with him the formation of the Mālikī madhhab is already concluded

Of the later Mālikī Fikh literature two short compendia attained special fame as text-books the *Risāla* of ʿAbd Allāh b Abī Zaid al-Kairawānī (d 386) whom the author of the *Fihrist* mentions as an important contemporary (p 201, 12) and the *Mukhtasar* of Khalil b Ishāk (d 767), numerous commentaries on and editions of both exist and they have also been discussed in Euro-

pean languages (cf *Bibl*) Their importance has sometimes been exaggerated in Europe, development did not stop with them (cf Probstei, *Zeitschr f vergl Rechtswiss*, xlii 422 *sqq*, Probster deals with an important later jurist in *Islamica*, ii 430 *sqq*) His immediate pupils are not to be regarded as opponents of *raʾy* any more than Mālik, and the Mālikī madhhab is not at all more conservative or traditionalist than the Hanafī for example (B Ducati in *Islamica*, iii 214 *sqq*, even endeavours to show that it is the most juridical of the Muslim schools of law)

The Mālikī madhhab spread mainly in the west of the Muslim world, after it had succeeded in driving out the madhhab of al Awzāʿī and the Zāhiri school, it prevailed not only in the Maghrib (Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, including Muslim Spain) but in all the rest of Africa, so far as it has adopted Islām The Mālikī school has many followers in Egypt in Upper Egypt it occupies about the same position as the Shāfiʿī in Lower Egypt This geographical distribution seems to go back to corresponding conditions existing before the formation of the madhhabs Particularly ardent or successful disseminators of Mālik's teaching were ʿAbd al-Malik b Habīb al-Sulamī (d 238 or 239) and Ismāʿīl b Ishāk (d 282, *Fihrist*, p 200, 3) but there must also have been earlier scholars for whose time the existence of a regular school is doubtful

Bibliography On Mālik's life Ibn Kutuba, *Kitāb al Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 250, 290, al-Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, Index, s v, *Kitāb al Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p 198, al Samʿānī, *Kitāb al Ansāb*, *G M S*, xx 41a, Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N° 560, al-Nawawī, ed Wustenfeld, p 530, de Goeje, *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Index, s v, al Suyūtī, *Tazyin al-Mamālik*, in Ibn al-Kāsim, *al-Mudawwana*, vol i, Cairo 1324, ʿIsā b Masʿūd al-Zawāwī, *Manākib Sayyidnā al Imām Mālik*, ibid, the further *Manākib* and Mālikī *Tabakāt*-literature, a modern list by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Hayy al-Lakhnawī in the introduction to his edition of the *Muwattaʾ* of al Shaibānī (cf above iii 1b)

On Mālik's writings Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 175, Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii 213 *sqq*, al Lakhnawī, *op cit*

On Mālik's position in the history of Fikh Bergstrasser, *Isl*, xiv 76 *sqq*, Goldziher, *op cit*

The older Mālikīs are given in *Fihrist*, p 199 *sqq* Of the Mālikī *Tabakāt* works there have been printed e g *al-Dībādj* of Ibn Farhūn (d 799) along with the *Takmil al-Dībādj* of Ahmad Babā (d 1032), Fez 1898 and *Nail al-Ibtihādj bi-Tatrīz al-Dībādj* of the same Ahmad Baba, Fez 1317 (cf Fagnan, in *Festschrift Codera*, p 105) On individual Mālikī jurists cf the articles on them On the spread of the Mālikīs Ahmad Pasha Taimūr, *Nazara tārīkhīya fi Hudūth al-Madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1344, Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p 28, do, *Handleiding*[3], p 21, Ibn Farhūn, *op cit*, p 17, Bergsträsser, *Z D M G*, 1914, p 410 *sq*

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(J SCHACHT)

MĀLIK B ʿAWF, a contemporary of Muhammad, called al-Nasrī, to distinguish him from several men of the same circle in his time, and also because he traced his descent through Nasr b Muʿāwiya to the eponymous ancestor of the powerful Kaisī tribe of the Banū Hawāzin We know very little about his history previous to the day of Hunain [q v] to which he owes his dubious fame We may assume that he early found opportunities to display his personal bravery He was still *amrad*, "beardless" (*Aghānī*, xix 81) — that is, barely out of his first years of adolescence — when he commanded a detachment of the Hawāzin in the Fidjār [q v] war

This distinction he perhaps also owed to the consideration which his clan, the Banū Nasr b Muʿāwiya, enjoyed among the Banū Hawāzin Allies of the tribe of Thakif (*Aghāni*, xii 46), the Banū Nasr found themselves in the same position with regard to the latter and the town of Tāʾif as the *Ahābish* with respect to the Kuraish and Mecca They supplied mercenaries to Tāʾif and were given the task of defending the town and protecting against the depredations of marauders the fine gardens that covered the Thakafi territory Their relations were, as a rule, peaceful and friendly, but occasionally it happened that the anarchical instincts of the Beduins gaining the upper hand drove them to encroach on the domain of their allies, the citizens of Tāʾif This situation enables us to understand how in the struggle that was about to develop against Islām, the Tāʾifīs were ready to march under the banner of a Beduin generalissimo

In the year 8, Muhammad at the head of a strong force was preparing to attack Mecca This news disturbed the people who lived on the hills of the Sarāt They asked themselves, if, once master of Mecca, the Prophet would not be tempted to invade their country It was then that Mālik b ʿAwf succeeded in combining for their joint defence the majority of the Kaisi tribes, settled in the frontiers of Nadjd and of the Hidjāz The Thakafīs joined their forces to those of their Hawāzinī allies The only result was the defeat at Hunain The commander-in chief Mālik had had the unfortunate idea of bringing the women, children and flocks along with the actual combatants The whole of this enormous booty fell into the hands of the Muslims

The defeated side did not distinguish themselves by bravery on the battlefield, the tradition of the Banū Hawāzin attempts the impossible when it endeavours to hide this failure and save Mālik's reputation After the debacle, he is said to have bravely sacrificed himself to cover the retreat of his comrades-in arms This same tradition attributes

to him a series of poetical improvisations on this occasion, in which, after the fashion of the old Bedouin paladins he explains and excuses his flight

The defeated leader tried to make a stand at Liya, a few hours south of Ṭāʾif where he had a *ḥuṣn* What was a *ḥusn*? In Medīna at the time of the Hidjra the name was given to an enclosure commanded by an *utum* or tower Mālik's had probably only brick walls like the little strong holds in Yemen described by the geographer Makdisī (*Ahsan al-Takāsīm*, ed de Goeje, p 84) A century ago, the traveller Maurice Tamisier (*Voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1840, ii 5) passing through Liya saw there "une forteresse flanquée de tours" intended, as in the days of Mālik, to guard the road In any case, whatever the strength of the little building, Muhammad easily destroyed it When Mālik learned of the approach of the Muslims, he thought it prudent to seek refuge behind the ramparts of Ṭāʾif

In the interval all the booty taken by the Muslims at Hunain had been collected in the camp at Diʿrāna including Mālik's family and flocks To the Hawāzin deputies sent to negotiate the ransom of the prisoners, Muhammad said "If Mālik comes to embrace Islam, I shall return him his family and property with the addition of a gift of a hundred camels" Whatever the decision adopted by Mālik, this declaration could not fail to compromise him with the Thakafis He rightly recognised that his position in Ṭāʾif had become untenable He succeeded in escaping from the town and presented his submission to Muhammad who fulfilled his promise to the letter Mālik then pronounced the Muhammadan confession of faith and, to use the traditional formula, "his Islām was of good quality"

The new proselyte had extensive connections and was remarkably well acquainted with the Thaḳafī region The Prophet was glad to use him against Ṭāʾif which he had been unable to take by force He put Mālik at the head of the Kaisī tribes who had adopted Islam Mālik therefore organised a guerilla war against his old allies in Thakīf No caravan could leave Ṭāʾif without being intercepted by Mālik's men Exhausted by this unceasing struggle, the Thakafis decided to sue for terms Mālik then became the representative of the Prophet among the Banū Hawāzin, and the caliph, Abū Bakr, later confirmed him in the office He took part in the wars of conquest, and was at the taking of Damascus and the victory of Kādisīya in the ʿIrāk

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p 840, 852, 854, 867, 872, 879, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, ed Sachau, vi 17, Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed Wustenfeld, p 539, *Aghānī*, viii 160, xvi 141, xix 81, Ibn al Athir, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv 289—90, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 119, 152, 162 *sqq*, 189, 359, 559, Wustenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, p 282, H Lammens, *La cite arabe de Ṭāʾif à la veille de l'hegire*, p 61, 63, 65, 74—5 (extract from *M F O B*, viii 4)

(H LAMMENS)

MĀLIK B NUWAIRA, chief of the Banū Yarbūʿ, a considerable clan of the Banū Hanzala, who were in turn a branch of the confederation of the Banū Tamīm [q v] His liberality, magnanimity and especially his courage had earned him a great reputation before the Hidjra His contemporaries said that in the last respect he was without a peer There was a proverbial saying *fatā wa-lā ka mālik*, "a hero no doubt, but not comparable to Mālik" His fame, however, came principally from the impression made by his tragic death and from the collection of elegies, which his brother Mutammim [q v] devoted to him

Along with several other Tamīmī notables he embraced Islām in the lifetime of Muhammad In return the latter appointed him to collect the canonical taxes, *sadaḳāt*, from among of his fellow-tribesmen By giving him an appointment like this the Prophet hoped to bring him definitely to his side The death of the Prophet and the incident of the *ridda* [q v] served to show the foolishness of this hope Like most of the nomads, Mālik had joined Islām as a political organisation, having clearly made up his mind that he would not be absorbed by it to the extent of sacrificing the independence of his tribe and his own prerogatives

When the Muslims, or more accurately the Kuraish, of Medina gave their votes for Abū Bakr, Mālik refused to recognize the validity of this election which had been carried through without his participation in it He argued for the strictly personal character of the *baiʿa*, as the Bedouins interpreted it He explained himself in verse, for he was also a poet — "If the thing turns out badly, we shall bring a remedy, crying — long live the faith of Muhammad!" He did not stop at this but passing from words to deeds, he divided among the Tamīmīs the taxes which had been collected An even graver step, he next plundered a caravan which was taking to Medīna the contributions of those nomads who had remained loyal Then — an eminently Bedouin trait — he celebrated in verse this strange exploit, which was equivalent to a declaration of war He finally compromised himself completely by joining his cause with that of the prophetess Sadjāh [q v]

In Medina, Abū Bakr had at first to shut his eyes to these things But as soon as he felt himself master of the situation, he decided to act vigorously Khālid b al-Walid was sent against the secessionists His orders were to spare only those who declared themselves Muslims The individualism of the Bedouins singularly facilitated the task He attacked separately the tribes, who were divided or hesitating, and succeeded without difficulty in defeating the rebels in small sections Thus he came to the Banū Tamīm The chiefs were suspicious of one another and declined to combine for joint action Surprised by Khālid and finding himself almost alone, Mālik had to refrain from fighting forces so markedly superior to his He surrendered on an assurance that his life would be spared and finally declared himself a Muslim

The prisoners including Mālik were, nevertheless, executed with refinements of cruelty It was said there had been some misunderstanding of Khālid's orders for which dialectic differences were to blame, so say those authors who feel the need of exculpating Khālid It was by no means the first action of the kind of the impetuous Makhzūmī Did he want to get rid of a rival or deal the last blow to a rebellion by sacrificing, even against the laws of nations and his own orders, a person so highly esteemed as the chief of the Yarbūʿ? As he had been anxious to marry Lailā, the vivacious wife of Mālik, he was credited with the first aim ʿOmar demanded that the

ruthless leader should be dismissed and brought to judgment, but Abū Bakr refused "Never", he replied, "shall I put back in the scabbard a sword which Allāh has brought out of it" The elegies on Mālik by Mutammim remained celebrated in literary tradition "No dead man", said the Arabs, was ever lamented as Malik was by Mutammim"

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(H LAMMENS)

MĀLIK AL ṬA'Ī, Abū Walīd Mālik b Abi l-Samh, was one of the great singers and composers of the Umaiyad and early ʿAbbāsid period He was born during the reign of Muʿāwiya I 40—60 = 660—680) in the land of the Tai', his father belonging to the Banū Thuʿl, a branch of the Tai', whilst his mother came from the Banū Makhzūm In this way Mālik could claim to be one of the aristocracy of Islām, and as a child he was adopted by ʿAbdallāh b Djaʿfar, the famous art patron of Madīna, and was given a good education In the year 64 (684), he became enamoured with the singing of the celebrated Maʿbad [q v] whom he heard at the house of Hamza b ʿAbdallāh b al-Zubair, and the event changed his whole career Taking lessons from Maʿbad and Djamila [q v] in singing, he soon astonished everyone by his abilities, and he became very popular with the aristocracy He thus came to be recognised as a professional musician, for indeed his protector, ʿAbdallāh b Djaʿfar, had made his house a veritable conservatory of music (al Masʿudī, *Murūdj*, v 385, text) On the death of ʿAbdallāh b Djaʿfar, Mālik attached himself to Sulaimān b ʿAlī the Hashimite In spite of this however (cf *J A*, Nov—Dec, 1873, p 499), Mālik was favoured by the Umaiyads Yazīd b Abd al Malik and al-Walīd b Yazīd On the accession of the ʿAbbāsids (132 = 750) Sulaimān was appointed governor of the Lower Tigris, and Mālik accompanied him to his seat at Basra After a short stay in this city, Mālik returned to Madīna, where he died over eighty years of age about the year 137 (754)

Mālik was certainly a fine singer In one place in the *Aghānī* at least (i 98, cf ii 127), he is mentioned as one of the "four great singers", by no less an authority than Ishāk al-Mawsilī, although the latter in another place ranks him after Ibn Suraidj, Ibn Muhriz, Maʿbad, and al-Gharīd *Aghānī*, ii 151) He was apparently not an original composer but a good adapter it would seem *Aghānī*, i 173, xiii 64) Certainly, he was at a disadvantage in not being a performer on the ute (ʿūd), and Maʿbad had to correct his compositions for him

Bibliography *Aghānī*, ed Būlāk, iv 168—175, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888, iii 187, Kosegarten, *Lib Cant*, p 17, *J A*, Nov —Dec , 1873, p 497–500, al Buhturī, *Dīwān*, Constantinople 1300, ii 193, al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi 10

(H G FARMER)

MALIKSHĀH B ALP ARSLĀN ABU 'L-FATH, Saldjūk Sultān (465—485 = 1072—92), born on the 9th or 19th Djumādā I, 447 (Rāwandī and *Lubb al-Tawārīkh* wrongly 445) = Aug 6th or 16th, 1055 He accompanied his father on his last campaign into Transoxania and homage was at once paid to him as Sultān by the vizier Nizām al-Mulk and the Turkish amīrs on Alp Arslān's death His uncle Kāwurd [q v], the ruler of Kirmān, was not satisfied with this, however, because he thought that, as the oldest member of the family, he had the best claim to the throne and set out with his troops for Hamadhān When attacked by Malikshāh they made but feeble resistance Kāwurd himself was captured and later strangled (April 1078) Malikshāh then returned to Transoxania by forced marches for the Khakān of Samarkand, Shams al-Mulk, on hearing of the death of Alp Arslān, had seized the opportunity to occupy Tirmidh and even Balkh had opened its gates to him The Saldjūk governor Ayāz, a brother of Alp Arslān, happened to be away at the time and when he hurried back, he suffered a terrible defeat and died soon afterwards Shams al-Mulk, however, did not dare to risk another breach with Malikshāh, so the latter re occupied Tirmidh and proceeded to Samarkand The Khakān thereupon submitted, Balkh and Tokhāristān were granted to Malikshāh's brother Takash These campaigns prevented the Sultān from going at once to Baghdād to receive the homage of the Caliph in person, and an ambassador was sent to carry through the ceremony The Caliph was quite ready to do so, and gave the Sultān the honorific titles of Djalāl al-Dawla, Muʿizz al Dīn, Kāsim Amīr al-Muʾminīn Our sources are silent about the happenings of the next few years, it is not till 472 that we hear of a campaign against Kirmān, which, however, came to a peaceful termination for Sultānshāh, Kāwurd's son, submitted to the Sultān and was confirmed by him in the hereditary possession of this province In Ibn al Kalānisī (ed Amedroz, p 115), we are told that in 475 Malikshāh came to Halab, but Ibn al-Athīr and the other sources accessible to me make no reference to this At this time the Sultān made the mistake of discharging 7,000 of his soldiers, although the vizier advised him against it, pointing out that if these men were deprived of their livelihood, they would in desperation become robbers or rebels and a public danger This is what actually happened The men went to Takash and he thought that with their help he was strong enough to rebel against his brother He took several towns and was preparing to occupy all Khorāsān so that Malikshāh was forced to take the field against him Takash then retired to Tirmidh, and submitted when besieged there, on this occasion he was pardoned, but when he again rebelled without success a few years later (477 = 1084), he was blinded and thrown into prison in Takrit In 479 (1086) Malikshāh left Isfahan which he had made his capital and went via al Mawsil, Harrān, al-Ruhā and Kalʿat Djaʿbar to Halab His object was to establish and re organise Saldjūk rule securely in these places, but one great inducement for this campaign was that the commander of Halab had appealed to Malikshāh because he was threatened by the latter's brother Tutush [q v] The latter had conquered the Saldjūk ruler of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b Kutulmish [q v], and was trying to

bring Halab under his rule also, but retired when he heard of the approach of Malikshāh The town was granted to Aksonkor, father of Zangī, another general Burān received al-Ruhā and Yaghisiyān, Antākiya which had just been retaken from Sulaimān while Sulaimān's son Kilidj Arslān [q v] who was still a youth was taken back by the Sultān to the ʿIrāk There was no further campaign in Asia Minor, Malikshāh left the war against the Byzantines to be conducted by the above mentioned amirs, to whom should be added Buisuk, although the author of the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* makes him besiege Constantinople in person The fiction narrated in the *Taʾrikh i Guzida* and in Mirkhwānd is well known, according to which Malikshāh was taken prisoner by the Byzantines without their recognizing him, and only regained his liberty by the stratagem of the vizier, Nizām al Mulk The story in al bondārī is more credible that the Byzantines had to pay the Sultān an annual tribute of 300,000 dīnārs plus a lump sum of 30,000 dīnārs On his return from Halab, Malikshāh visited Baghdād for the first time and he was received in ceremonial audience by the Caliph al-Muktadī bi Amr Allāh The latter had previously in 474 sought a daughter of the Sultān in marriage but as she had been then still a child, the opportunity was now taken to conclude the matrimonial alliance The wedding took place next year with great splendour and amid the jubilation of the people of Baghdād The chroniclers give a full account of it and give no hint that this marriage was soon to be a source of trouble to the Caliph as well as to the Sultān Before we deal with that, it must be mentioned that in 482 (1089) Malikshāh undertook a second campaign against Bukhāra, Samarkand and Kashghar as a result of the tyrannical conduct of the young prince Ahmad, a nephew of Shams al Mulk who was now dead He gained great successes, took Ahmad back a prisoner to the ʿIrāk and then forced the ruler of Kashghar to recognize Saldjuk suzerainty Later however, he allowed Ahmad to return to his kingdom and resume his rule, probably at the intercession of his wife Tarkān Khatun (so to be read, not Turkan Khatun) who was Ahmad's aunt On these incidents, cf Barthold *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p 316 *sqq* Towards the end of the reign of Malikshāh the Saldjūk empire thus reached its greatest extent, especially when in 485 some Turkish amirs were sent even so far as Yaman, who subdued the land for the Sultān, temporarily only, it is true

As regards the internal administration of the country, the Sultān left this in the hands of his vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, who was given unlimited power by him at the very beginning of his reign, which he wielded till his death, although as a result of his great age his prestige began to decline towards the end of the reign of Malikshāh and to be threatened by intrigues in the palace His services will be appreciated in the article NIZĀM AL-MULK, here it is sufficient to characterize his policy briefly, which was to restore the dominion of orthodox Islām under its supreme head, the Caliph, with the help of the sword of the Saldjūks He had, therefore, to do all he could to maintain harmony between the Sultān and the Caliph, but the course of events led to a breach between the two Malikshāh had several sons by his wife Zubaida Khatun, and the eldest, Ahmad, had been designated successor to the throne but died in 481 (1088) The obvious thing was for Prince Barkiyaruk to take his place as was desired by Nizām al Mulk and the Turkish amīrs but Malikshāh had in the meanwhile married another wife, the Princess Turkan Khatun, who made every effort to secure the throne for her son Mahmūd born in 480 Malikshāh, however, was more anxious about his daughter who had married the Caliph, for she was unhappy in Baghdād and complained of being neglected by her husband, so that finally the Sultan demanded that she should be sent home with the little son whom she had borne to the Caliph She, therefore, returned to her father but died soon afterwards in 482, her son Djaʿfar however, became his grandfather's pet and he gave him the name of "Little Commander of the Faithful" in the hope that he would one day bear this title in reality At the same time he decided to make Baghdād his winter capital and had extensive building operations carried out in the N E of the town when he was there in the winter of 1091/92, including a great mosque, the Djāmiʿ al Sultān, he also ordered Nizām al Mulk and his amirs to build residences for themselves there During this period the great amirs from the west, Aksonkor, Tutush etc, had come to Baghdād, great hunts and other pleasure parties were held, but the Caliph was completely ignored When in the autumn of 1092 he was on his way from Isfahān to Baghdad for the third time, the aged vizier Nizām al Mulk was stabbed by a *fidāʾī* at Sahna It was now for the first time apparent how much the existence of the Saldjūk empire depended on this one man, for when the Sultān and his wife were no longer guided by his advice, they committed the gravest errors, which were very soon to plunge themselves and their empire into destruction Scarcely had the Sultān arrived in Baghdād than, with the intention of making his grandson Caliph, — which was contrary to Muhammadan law as he was a minor — he announced to Muktadī that he must at once abdicate and leave the town With difficulty the Caliph obtained a few days respite which he was spending in prayer and fasting, when suddenly the news came that the Sultān was dead The exact date is not certain but it was about the middle of Shawwal 485 (middle of November 1092) He was said to have caught a severe fever while out hunting, which they attempted to cure without success by bleeding, and he died soon afterwards But it can hardly be doubted that he was poisoned, as some writers expressly state (cf Houtsma, in *Journal of Indian History*, Sept 1924, p 147 *sqq*) The usual funeral ceremonies were not held, the body was sent to Isfahān and buried there The Caliph had no difficulty in coming to terms with Tārkān Khatun, he offered to recognize her young son Mahmūd as Sultān, if she would hand over to him his own son, the Sultān's grandson This was done The little "Commander of the Faithful" died the very next year, when the course of events took a disastrous turn for the Caliph and Tārkan Khatun with the rise of Barkiyāruk The tragic deaths of the Sultān and his vizier were celebrated in verse by Muʿizzī, cf Schefer, *Siassetnameh*, suppl, p 62 *sq*

Malikshāh's was a highly honourable character, he was loyal to his relatives and to his servants, brave, just and gentle His rule is, therefore, much praised by Christian as well as Muslim

authors, but he was uncultured and owed to his vizier the reputation of a patron of learning, whose name is associated with a reform of the calendar [cf the article DJALĀLĪ], and with certain new legislation, cf *al-Masāʾil al-Malikshāhiya*, in *ʿUrāda fī Ḥikāyat al-Saldjūkiya*, ed Sussheim, p 69 *sq* His connection with the *Risāla i Malikshāhiya*, a geographical work used by Hamd Allah Mustawfī, is unknown but it was certainly not written by the Sultān himself, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa says (s v)

The name Malikshāh was further borne by 1 Malikshāh, the infant son of Barkiyāruk, who after the death of his father in 1104 held the title of Sultān for a short time, but had soon to give way to his uncle Muḥammad 2 Malikshāh b Maḥmūd who, after the death of his uncle Masʿūd in 1152 became Sultān, but after a few months was thrown into prison as he was quite an incapable ruler, escaped from confinement, spent some time in Khorāsān and died in 1160 We also find individuals of this name among the Saldjūks of Rūm and Syria and among the Khwārizmshāh's

Bibliography cf the article SALDJŪKS The best sketch of the character and reign of Malikshah is in the article on him by Ibn Khallikan, who had taken many of his facts from a history by al-Ḥamdhānī (MS of vol i till the year 367 in Paris, *Bibl Nat*, No 1469)

(M TH HOUTSMA)

MALTA, the chief island of the Maltese archipelago (Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominotto, Filfola and minor rocks), inhabited in ancient times by a Mediterranean race, whose megalithic monuments are preserved at Hagiar Kim ("standing stones"), Hal Tarxen and Hal Saflieni It was colonized very early, certainly before the xth century B C, by the Phoenicians, and formed a base for their trading ships

It is not certain that the name of Malta is derived from the Phoenician, while the Phoenician origin of Gaulos (Gozo), meaning "a merchant boat of round shape", seems certain

The Carthaginians became masters of the island in the viith—vith century B C, and kept it four or five centuries The Romans conquered it in 218 B C, and for the next ten centuries Malta remained under Roman and Greek influence, being situated near Eastern Sicily Gozo had only Greek coins, and Greek and Roman coins in great number were minted in Malta Very early, with St Paul in the first century, the island was converted to Christianity, during the Western Empire's decay the Byzantines established themselves in it, after their conquest of Northern Africa the possession of Malta became indispensable to them

The Muslim conquest of Malta is usually ascribed to the year 256 (869—870), in reality it was occupied long before Ibn al Athīr informs us that in 221 (835—836), the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm "despatched a fleet against the islands", we have every reason for believing that he refers to the islands between Africa and Sicily, comprising the Maltese islands Further when Ibn al-Athīr speaks of an army sent to Malta from Sicily in 256, he adds that at that moment "the Christians raised the siege" If Malta was besieged, undoubtedly by the Greeks of Byzantium, it may be concluded that it had already been occupied by the Muslims, who probably, having landed in 824 at Mazara, in Sicily, had occupied the Maltese islands beforehand

The raids against Sicily and Malta began in the viiith century A D, and it is not rash to believe that Malta fell before 800 A D under Muslim influence This is also de Goeje's opinion (*Z D M G*, lviii 905, note 2)

In Malta the Muslim occupation was certainly more permanent and strongly established than in Sicily, the narrow island was completely subjugated by the conquerors, and this helps us to understand how the Arab-Berber Muslims of Africa succeeded in forcing upon Malta the Arabic language, from which the modern Maltese dialect is derived

The question of the origin of the Maltese dialect has occasioned many discussions between those who sustained its Phoenician origin (Vassalli, Bres, Bellermann, Cumbo, L Caruana, Preca) and those who derived it from Arabic (Gesenius, de Sacy, L Bonelli, Stumme, Noldeke) The conclusion must be accepted that Maltese is an Arabic dialect, which in some ways shows resemblances to the Eastern Arabic dialects, in many others recalls the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib Peculiarities of Maltese phonetics are the *imāla* of *ā*, which tends to become *ī* and *ie* (*je* at the beginning of words, as *jenā* for *ānā*), the pronunciation of ء as *hamza*, the existence of *p* and *c* sounds in neo latin and arabic words, in morphology the use of ي as prefix of the 1st person singular forms the main affinity with the Maghrib dialects The accent tends to fall towards the beginning of words In Malta itself are to be found dialectal varieties between town and country, in the country and in Gozo the dialect is nearer the original Arabic, sounds like *ḳh* and *ġ*, not heard in Valletta, are noticeable in the Gozo vernacular

A study of the Maltese lexicon, to show how affinities with Arabic dialects, Eastern and Western, may be explained, and how word-fossils have been preserved in Maltese, is still to be undertaken The prevalence of the Latin Italian race and the flourishing of Italian civilization and culture in the island have influenced its dialect, both as to syntax and as to phonetics The percentage of Latin, or rather Italian, words in spoken Maltese varies according to the degree of individual culture

The Maltese, up to a few centuries ago, had not chosen any particular alphabet for their dialect, as they did not use it as a written language In the xviiith century Agius de Soldanis, a Maltese, turned his attention to the dialect and began to study it, since his time several attempts have been made to systematize the writing of Maltese, it was also proposed to use the Arabic alphabet, and a diacritical transliteration, precise and scientific, was tried In practice the use of the common Latin alphabet, with the modification of some few letters, was continued The last attempt of this kind, which has not met with public favour nor with the approval of the vernacular press, was that of the *Ghaqda tal kittieba tal malti* "Association of the writers of Maltese", which has published a small grammar, particularly concerned with the spelling, called *Tagħrif fuq il kitba maltija*, Malta 1924, the preface mentions the precedent systems of writing Maltese The same *Ghaqda*, in 1925, began to publish a quarterly review called *Il-Malti*, it is mostly concerned with grammatical questions, and has promoted a movement in favour of pure Maltese (*malti safi*)

Since about 1850 the question of the Maltese dialect has also acquired a political character the English rulers favoured the development of the dialect at the expense of the Italian language (which remains the language of culture, of the Church and of the Bar) Bibliographical information on Maltese literature to about 1900 is to be found in the works of L Bonelli and H Stumme

Besides the Arabic dialect and place-names, the Muslims have left in Malta a few coins and a considerable number of inscriptions on tombstones, one of them, the celebrated inscription called of Maimūna, dated 1173 A D, was published more than a century ago, and repeatedly studied by orientalists (Italinski, Lanci, Amari, Nallino etc), another one, found in Gozo, is to be seen in the Malta Museum, about twenty more have been found in the excavations made in 1922—1925 at Rābato (near the city Notabile), they are preserved in the Museum of the Villa Romana, near the place of excavation

The Muslims lost Malta in 1090, when the Normans conquered it, they were however allowed to live on the island under the Norman government until 1249 From 1530 to 1798 Malta was the seat of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which the Turks had expelled from Rhodes in 1522 The Order organized there an important war navy The island was in constant relations with the East and with Barbary, thousands of Muslim slaves were taken to Malta, the Maltese ships had repeated encounters with those of the Porte and of the Levantine and Barbary pirates The Turks attempted to occupy Malta in 1565, with their well known expedition which ended in disaster, and again in 1614, more than once they threatened to invade it under Sultan Muhammad IV

Considering the Order's relations with the Muslim East and the fact that an important portion of the registers of Rhodes was saved, the importance of the Order's archives for the history of the Mediterranean Levant and of North Africa in the xivth–xviiith centuries is easily understood

A few Arabic MSS and nautical charts, of no great value, are preserved in the Public Library of Malta and in its Museum

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MALTHAI, or properly MAʿALTHĀYĀ, the Arabic name of two villages in the kadā of Duhūk in the old wilāyet of Mawsil They are about 40 miles N N W of Mawsil at the point where the river of Duhūk (left bank tributary of the Tigris) enters the plain, whence the Aramaic name Maʿallthā > Malthai, "entrance"

The pass of Maʿalthāyā giving access to the country to the south of Lake Van must have played an important part in ancient times Its importance is indicated by the famous bas reliefs carved on the rock half an hour's walk to the south of Maʿalthāyā They reproduce the same scene four times a king standing in an attitude of adoration before a procession of seven gods, six of whom are standing, each on a mythological animal, and the seventh is seated on a throne placed on the back of a lion There are no inscriptions accompanying them Since, however, they are evidently connected with the similar bas-reliefs at Bāwiyān (30 miles N E of Mawsil on the Khazir, a right bank tributary of the great Zāb) and these belong to the kings Salmanassar II (860—825 B C) and Sennacherib (689—681), it is supposed that the bas-reliefs of Maʿalthāyā were also executed in the time of Salmanassar II The figures of the gods are especially interesting as forming a link between Assyrian and Hittite art

Among the Nestorian Christians Maʿallethā gave its name to a diocese (also called Bēth-Nuhādhrē) A Nestorian bishop of Maʿallethā is mentioned as early as the fourth century (Hoffmann, *op cit*, p 52, 210), there are other references to the years 497, 544, 554, 576, 585, 605, 962, 1063, 1074, 1092, 1265 (Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris 1902, Index, and Hoffmann, *o c*) In the seventh century the Metropolitan of the Jacobites, Mārūtha, still numbered among his subordinates a bishop of Maʿallethā (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire grec*, 1904, p 240) At the present day Maʿalthāyā is still inhabited by Nestorians (in part in union with the Catholic Church)

Balādhurī, p 331, mentions al Maʿalla (*sic*) among the places in Mawsil conquered by ʿUtba b Farkad in 20 (641) Mukaddasi, p 139, 145—146, talks highly of the wealth of the vicinity of Maʿalthāyā in coal, fruits, salt, meat and camphor He locates the little town on the road from Mawsil to al-Hasanīya (= Zakhō on the little Khabur, cf M Hartmann and G Bell) The importance of this route for communication with the lands of the Kurds is evident from Ibn al-Athīr (viii 521) Yakūt, iv 578, knows Maʿalthāyā as a little town (*bulaid*) the name of which is occasionally mentioned in the history of the later period

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Ninlil, wife of Assur (a lion), Enlil (a horned lion), Sin (a dragon), Shamash (a harnessed horse), Adad (a horned lion and a bull), Ishtar (a lion) According to Thureau-Dangin the bas reliefs should be attributed to Sennacherib, as to the motif of the mounted gods, usually explained as showing Hittite influence, examples are found in Sumero-Accadian art Cf also Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien (Bawian, Malthai und Gunduk)*, publ by the *Deutsche Orient Gesell*, Berlin 1927 (V Minorsky)

MAʿLŪLĀ, a town in Central Syria north-east of Damascus It is mentioned as early as Georgios Kyprios (ed Gelzer, p 188, N⁰ 993) as Μαγλούλων (MSS μαγλούδων, μαγαιγλούδων) κλίμα in Phoinike Libanesia Yākūt also calls Maʿlūlā in *iklīm* (κλίμα) near Dimashk with many villages The modern Maʿlūla, a village of Christians, is picturesquely situated at the west end of a deep ravine of the Antilebanon, which splits into a western and southern arm "At the entrance to the northern lies the monastery of Mār Yaklā built half into the rocks The two ravines form the way to the other monastery of Mār Serkis, which stands on a rocky plateau above the village" Numerous caves, mostly ancient dwelling places, have been found on the west and southern corner of the rock on the eastern slopes of which the modern village is built in the form of an amphitheatre Some Greek inscriptions have been found in the caves (Waddington, *Inscriptions*, N⁰ 2563—2565, Moritz, p 145—147, N⁰ 3–8, including one dated 107 and 167 A D) Maʿlūlā and the adjoining villages of Bakhʿa and Djubb ʿAdin are noted for the fact that the Western Aramaic dialect still spoken there represents the last remnants on Syrian soil of the Syriac spoken throughout Palestine and Syria in the time of Christ

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(E Honigmann)

MĀLWĀ proper is an inland district of India bordered on the south by the Vindhyas, and lying between 23° 30′ and 24° 30′ N and 74° 30′ To this tract, known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* as Nishadha, and later as Avanti, from the name of its capital, now Udjdjain, was afterwards added Akara, or Eastern Mālwā, with its capital, Bhilsā, and the country lying between the Vindhyas and the Sātpūras The province formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, the Western Satraps, the Guptas of Magadha, the White Huns, and the Kingdom of Kanawdj, and then passed to the Malawās, from whom it has its name These, when Hinduized formed the Paramāra (Pawar) tribe of Rādjputs, which bore sway in Mālwā from 800 to 1200, and was overpowered in 1053 by a confederacy of the Čalukyas of Anhilvāda and the Kalacuris of Tripurī In 1235 Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish of Dihlī captured Udjdjain, demolished the temple of Mahākāl, and sacked Bhilsā Mālwā became a province of Dihlī, and, with interludes of Hindū revolt, remained so until, in 1392, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Dihlī after Timūr's invasion, the Afghan governor, Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī, made it an independent kingdom He was murdered in 1405 by his son Alp Khān, who ascended the throne under the title of Hūshang Shāh He transferred the capital from Dhar to Māndū [q v] and founded Hūshangābād On his death in 1435 he was succeeded by his son Ghaznī Khan, who, after a reign of a few months, was succeeded by his infant son Masʿūd Khān The child was removed by his cousin and guardian, Mahmūd Khaldjī, who in 1436 ascended the throne as Mahmūd I, and whose reign of thirty three years was the most glorious in the annals of Mālwā He waged war successfully against the kings of Gudjarat, the Dakhan, and Djawnpūr, the small state of Kalpi, and Rānā Kumbha of Čitor, he retired, but without disgrace, before the superior power of Dihlī, and he extended the frontiers of his kingdom on the north, the east, and the south On his death in 1469 his third son, ʿAbd al Kādir Ghiyath al Dīn, who succeeded him, surfeited with public business during his father's strenuous reign, retired into his harem and left the administration of the kingdom to his son, Nāsir al-Dīn, who in 1500 poisoned his father and ascended the throne Nasir al-Dīn met his death in 1510 by falling, in a fit of drunkenness, into a tank or cistern, where his attendants, thankful to be rid of the monster, let him lie He was succeeded by his son Mahmūd II, who was as unfortunate in war as the first of that name had been fortunate With the help of Muzaffar II of Gudjarāt he rid himself of his powerful Rādjpūt minister, Medni Rāi, but in doing so embroiled himself with Sangrama Rānā of Čitor, who defeated him in the field and took him prisoner, but generously released him He then, with inconceivable folly and ingratitude, bitterly offended Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, who invaded Mālwā and, after giving Mahmūd every opportunity of atoning for his error, carried Mandū by assault on March 21, 1531 Mahmūd and his sons were sent in custody towards Čāmpāner, but the officer in charge of them, apprehending a rescue, put them to death

Mālwā now became a province of Gudjarāt, and in 1535 the emperor Humāyūn, invading that kingdom, defeated Bahādur Shāh at Mandasor and captured Māndū, but was recalled to Hindūstān in the following year by the menacing attitude of Shir Khān in Bengal, and Mallū Khan, an officer of Mahmūd II, established himself in Mālwā and assumed the title of Kādir Shāh Shudjāʿat Khān and Hādjdjī Khān, two officers of Shīr Shāh, drove him from Mālwā and assumed the government of the province Shudjāʿat Khān died

in 1554, and was succeeded by his son Malik Bāyazīd, known as Bāz Bahādur, who, during the decline of the power of the Sūr emperors, became independent A severe defeat at the hands of the queen of the Gond kingdom of Garha Mandla engendered in him a distaste for warlike enterprise and he devoted himself to music and to the embraces of the beautiful Rūpmatī In 1561 Akbar's army under Adham Khān surprised the voluptuary at Sārangpur, defeated his troops, put him to flight, and captured his mistress, who took poison rather than become the conqueror's paramour Bāz Bahādur fled into Khāndesh and Pīr Muhammad Khān, second-in command of Akbar's army, who followed him thither, was defeated by Mubārak Khān of Khāndesh and drowned in the Narbadā Bāz Bahādur returned and again reigned in Māndū, but in 1562 another army under ʿAbd Allāh Khān the Uzbak invaded Mālwā and compelled him to flee to Čitor He remained a fugitive until 1570, when he submitted to Akbar and entered his service

Mālwā was now a province of the empire, and remained so until, in 1743, the Marāthās extended their rule over it, and the Peshwā was made deputy-governor

It was afterwards divided between the great Maratha generals whose descendants, Sindhya of Gwalior, Holkar of Indor, and the Ponwārs of Dhār and Dewas still hold most of it

From 1780 until 1818, when British supremacy was firmly established, the province was one of the principal arenas in which Muslim, Marāthā, and European contended for empire Since then its history has been uneventful, but sporadic risings took place at six military stations during the mutiny of 1857

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MAʿMAR B AL-**MUTHANNĀ** [See ABŪ ʿUBAIDA]

MAMLŪK (A , plural *mamlūkūn* and *mamālīk*), participle passive I of *malaka* "to possess", denotes the slave as his master's possession The term owes its origin probably to the current phrase of the Kurʾān *mā malakat aimānukum* "what your right hands possess", a general designation of slaves without specialisation of gender Mamlūk occurs once only in the Kurʾān (sūra xvi 77), in the expression *ʿabd mamlūk* "a slave in the possession of his master", mamlūk alone not yet being a technical term for slave, to all appearance In *hadīth*, *ʿabd mamlūk* occurs likewise (Dārimī, *Siyar*, b 34), but throughout the literature of *hadīth* mamlūk alone is already a technical term synonymous with *ʿabd* — The distinction between a slave born and a slave born from free parents, must be made by the addition of a genitive to *ʿabd*, in the former case *kinn* (*ʿabdu kinnin*), in the latter *mamlaka* (*ʿabdu mamlakatin*)

It may be remarked that neither in *hadīth*, nor, to all probability, in Arabic literature, has the term mamlūk ever received the religious meaning of devotee, as is the case with *ʿabd*

The Kurʾān enjoins the master to be humane towards "what his right hands possess" (sūra iv 40) *Hadīth* is copious on this point It assures us that Muhammad on his death-bed did not cease repeating "(I recommend to you) *salāt* and what your hands possess" (Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 117, cf i 78) "Whosoever does not treat his mamlūk as he ought to do, shall not enter Paradise" (Ahmad b Hanbal, i 12) "When the mamlūk performs *salāt*, he is thy brother" (Ibn Mādja, *Adab*, b 10) "The mamlūk may claim his food and raiment" (Muslim, *Aimān*, trad 41) "The Apostle of Allāh used and to protect the mamlūk who appealed to his help" (Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, b 16) "The mamlūk who acquits himself of his obligations towards Allāh and towards his master, will receive double wages" (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, b 31) and "one is bound to pardon his mamlūk even unto seventy times a day" (Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 111)

For the legal position of slaves see ʿABD

For the Egyptian dynasties called the Mamlūks, see the following article — It may be finally remarked that in certain circles mamlūk had the special meaning of white slave See Fagnan, *Addition aux lexiques arabes*, s v

(A J Wensinck)

MAMLŪKS, a dynasty of rulers of Egypt and Syria

A Period from 1250 to 1517 The history of this dynasty is dealt with under the separate rulers, the general questions of art, religion and economics of their time are also dealt with in these articles and notably in Becker's article EGYPT [q v] and Hartmann's article DAMASCUS [q v] Only a brief survey of the whole period is given here

They were, as their name shows [cf MAMLŪK], former slaves from the bodyguards of the sultāns and amirs who had distinguished themselves by ability and been given their freedom by their masters A somewhat arbitrary distinction is made between two dynasties, the Bahrī [q v] from 648—792 = 1250—1390 and the Burdjī from 784—922 = 1382—1517 The name Bahrī Mamlūks was given to the guards of Sultān Nadjm al Dīn Aiyūb (637—47 = 1340—49), whose barracks were upon the island of Rōda [q v] in the Nile (Bahr) Except for the first three the Bahrī Sultāns were chosen by the Mamlūks from among the descendants of the Sultān Thus after Baibars [q v] there ruled two of his sons, after Kalāʾūn [q v] two sons, a series of grandsons and a great grandson It was different with the Burdjī Mamlūks, a bodyguard founded by Kalāʾūn, who were quartered in the towers of the citadel of Cairo The first Burdjī, Barkūk, [q v], was able to secure the succession of his son and even a second son succeeded for a brief period to the throne, but after this the Mamlūk guards never tolerated hereditary succession again, no Sultān's son, who was proclaimed heir-apparent, ever succeeded in keeping the throne (the only exception is al Nāsir Muhammad II who occupied the throne for nearly three years) The Mamlūks did not always choose the ablest, but more often the oldest, a kind of system of seniority developed The first Mamlūk on the throne was ʿIzz al-Dīn Aibak (648—55 = 1250—57), the husband of Shadjar al Durr [q v] a slave whom Aiyūb had married

In the period of its greatest extension under the Mamlūks, the frontiers of Egypt were in the west the Lybian desert as far as Barka, in the

south Nubia as far as Massawʿa, in the north the Mediterranean Sea The frontiers of Syria in the east stretched to the Euphrates to Dēr al-Zōr through Rakka, in the south to the Arabian deserts and in the north to the Taurus The two countries met in Sinai and were separated by the Red Sea The sultāns usually exercised suzerainty over the holy places in Mecca and Medīna, Sultān Kānsūh Ghūri [q v] even maintained garrisons in South Arabia for a time

The first task of the Mamlūk sultāns was to consolidate the kingdom Their most dangerous enemy, the Tatars under Hūlāgū, was defeated in Syria in 658 (1260) at ʿAin Djālūt [q v], the Crusaders were destroyed by Sultāns Baibars, Kalāʾūn and Khalil, the remnants of the ʿAlids and Assassins [q v] rendered harmless by Baibars Their power was finally consolidated and justified to the Aiyūbids by the petty kingdoms left to them, by Baibars welcoming in Cairo the Caliph who had been driven from Baghdad by the Mongols, restoring the caliphate here in 659 (1261) and then having himself appointed by the Caliph participator in power (*Kasim al Dawla*) and having the power ceremoniously transferred to him This remained the position till the end of Mamlūk rule The Caliph paid homage to the Sultān on his accession and ceded all his rights to him He thus lost all authority and became the shadow of a ruler without power, without money and without influence, only now and then an Indian Sultān sought a diploma of investiture from the Caliph

The rule of the Sultān was absolute He was assisted by a council in which the chief commanders of the Mamlūks sat to the left and right of the ruler according to their rank (this sitting in order of rank dated from the early Mamlūk period) the representative of the Sultān (*nāʾib kāfil*, later only appointed in case of absence of the ruler), the commander in-chief (*amīr kabīr*), later combined with the office of Atābeg, the commander of the guards (*rās nawbat al nuwwāb*, see AL-AMĪR AL-KABĪR) the War Minister (*amīr silah*, ibid), the president of the council who was the chief civil official (*amir madjlis*), later the minister of the Interior (*dawādār kabir* [q v]) and the ministers of the palace and domains (*ustādār*) gained more influence and became numbered among the highest officials, as did the chief military judge (*hādjib al-hudjdjāb* [q v], properly high chamberlain) and at times the chief marshall (*amīr akhūr* q v) The officers and their relative rank (cf e g under AMĪR AL-KABĪR for the composition and order of precedence in later times) changed These members of the council were military officers, the so called lords of the sword (*ashāb al-suyūf*), they belonged to the class of amīrs of 1,000 (*mukaddim al ulūf*) From this class were chosen the governors of the Syrian provinces (Damascus, Aleppo, Tripolis, Hamā, Safad) and frequently also the governors of the citadels of Damascus and Aleppo who were appointed by the Sultān himself The next class was formed by the *Ṭablakhānā*, amirs of 40 Mamlūks, who had the right to be accompanied by a band They were followed by the amīrs of 10 and those of 5 Mamlūks All the amīrs of 1,000 were appointed by the Sultān himself, the other amīrs in the provinces sometimes by the sultān and sometimes by the governor The administrative system at the Sultān's court was reproduced on a small scale in the provinces Every governor was a little Sultān who had to some extent the same retinue as the Sultān in Cairo The Syrian governors were in general independent of one another (very few like the Amir Tengiz [see DAMASCUS, i, p 908] had other governors subordinated to them) In the beginning the Mamlūks, perhaps influenced by the Mongols, had the tendency to make all offices secular and fill them with Mamlūks who, as lords of the sword (*ashāb al-suyūf*), belonged to the military caste They kept this up in the highest offices throughout the dynasty, but they had to create the important offices of private secretary (*kātib al sirr*) and head of the chancellory (*sāhib Diwān al inshāʾ*) and fill them with civilians and even admit Christians, Jews, and especially converts to Islām to them, because the Turkish ruling caste was not fitted for them The above mentioned chief offices on the military and administrative side remained however reserved for the constantly increasing oligarchy, into which neither Arabs, nor the sons of Mamlūks were admitted It hardly ever happened (I only know of 3 cases of Arabs) that Arabs or sons of Mamlūks became amirs of 1,000, or rose to the highest posts in the legal and scholastic world and in the other branches of the civil service

The Mamlūks were purchased on behalf of the government by a high officer, the purchaser of Mamlūks (*tādjir al-mamālik*), educated in the first place in the Mamlūk School in Cairo, then distributed in the different branches of the corps of pages to act as armour-bearers, cup-bearers, carvers, polo-grooms, club-bearers etc, for further training and then placed in the service of the amirs or of the Sultān as vacancies occurred The Sultān's lifeguards were called *khāṣski* and the amirs had also similar bodyguards The army consisted of *a*) the bodyguard of the Sultān, *b*) the *djund al khalka*, enlisted troops, who were paid in money and with the yield of the crown estates, *c*) the guards of the great amirs and former Sultāns In later times there was a body of reserves, *awlād al-nās*, who were only called up for service in times of war but also received pay in times of peace Military expeditions were usually decided upon by the council of state, the amīrs were given money to equip and maintain their troops, to be able to lead them into the enemy's country

In addition to the military officers there were civil officials, *aṣhāb al-kalam* (lords of the pen) *a*) the religious officials (*al ainīya*), who filled posts in the legal and scholastic worlds and a series of other offices, *b*) the regular administrative officials (*al-diwāniya*) for the rest of the civil service

The Sultān's revenue was made up of the ground, poll and poor-tax, from the yield of the fiefs (on the Egyptian system of appanages cf ii, p 9b) out of which he gave the necessary funds for the army and officials, the customs, the state factories and extraordinary taxes on goods and markets, which, not being laid down in the Kurʾān, were considered illegal and resisted He also sometimes made money by forced purchases and sales The government bought up goods at a fixed price and forced purchasers to take them at a definite price Finally there were monopolies out of which the Sultān made profits Another favourite means of raising money was for the Sultān to visit some great man from whom he extorted large sums while a guest (especially Kāʾitbāʾī [q v]) Things

seem to have been similar in Syria but we know very little about the division of the fiefs there

The importance of the Mamlūks in history lay in the fact that, protected by the deserts and their armies they stemmed the flood of Asiatic conquerors, they conquered Čingiz Khān's Mongols and later the hords of Tīmūr Lenk, who had conquered Syria for a short time, and other conquerors After the defeat of the Tatars and the retreat of Timūr, the Sultāns were forced to concentrate on the struggle with the gradually increasing power of the Ottomans The struggle was long avoided by the formation of buffer states on both sides, among these the most notable were the dynasties of Dhu 'l-Ghadir and of the White and Black Sheep (so-called from their standards) The success of Kā'itbā'ī's policy postponed the end but the rulers who followed him were weak The rule of the Mamlūks lost its vigour They were weakened in long wars, their finances became quite hopeless as a result of their immoderate expenditure, not commensurate with their means and a defective system of taxation, which in the later period enabled the owners of large estates to escape the taxes They therefore could not permanently resist the Ottomans, especially as the lack of discipline among the Mamlūk leaders and the weakness of their field artillery made the army useless The well equipped fortresses were not defended against the Ottomans, they fell through treachery The himself able Sultān Kānsūh Ghūrī was defeated and slain in 922 (1516) at Marǧ Dābik (in the province of Aleppo) The way to Egypt was thus opened to Sultān Selim, after six months' resistance the last Sultān Tumanbā'ī had to surrender He was hanged from the Bāb Zuwaila in Cairo A number of the great amīrs and the Caliph were taken to Constantinople The caliphate ceased as no new Caliph was appointed, the Sultān of Constantinople became the first ruler in Islām The protection of the holy places also passed automatically to him

The period of the Mamlūks was marked by great activity in building (ii 23[a]) Of secular buildings, few palaces have survived, on the other hand fortresses (Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus and Birediǧik) which were entirely rebuilt in the Mamlūk period, as well as a large number of fine tombs, hospitals, baths, fountains and aqueducts still exist Of religious buildings splendid mosques with schools attached to them were built While even under the Ayyūbids there had been only one "great mosque" in each town or independent suburb, where the Friday service was held, it became the custom under the Mamlūks that many Sultāns and governors and occasionally even one of the guilds built "great mosques" for the Friday service in the large towns Mention may be made of the mosques of Baibars, Kalā'ūn, Muhammad al Nāsir, Sultān Hasan, Barkūk, Mu'ayyad, Kā'itbā'ī in Cairo, as well as the mosques in the provincial capitals Aleppo, Damascus and Tripolis While agriculture, industry and art showed great prosperity, trade suffered very much under the later Mamlūk Sultāns through the extortionate taxes of the government The trade through Egypt, based on treaties with Frankish and Oriental rulers, yielded huge sums The customs and the treatment of merchants by the Sultāns finally became so intolerable that the European powers did everything possible to secure the sea-route to India in order to avoid the transit through Egypt with its enormous expense and the roguery to which it was exposed

The object of the last wars of Sultān Kānsūh Ghūrī was to gain a footing in South Arabia and nearer India to secure the Egyptian share in Indian trade

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(M Sobernheim)

B Period from 1517 to 1798 It is a significant fact, that even this period of nearly three centuries, during which Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, may still be designated as a third Mamlūk period The change brought about by the conquest of Sultan Selim in 1517 was, after all, not a radical one, from the point of view of government Egypt and its inhabitants remained under the rule of a powerful minority of foreign race The antagonism that existed in the beginning between Ottoman Turks and Mamlūks and which had led at first to much bloodshed (execution of 800 mamlūks by Selim I in Cairo) did not last very long after the troubles of the occupation were over The Turkish soldiers and officials who entered Egypt during Ottoman rule soon became mixed up to a large extent with the numerically more powerful class of the Mamlūks, whose aid was, moreover, indispensable, for the government of the country Besides, the number of Mamlūks (*al-Sharāhisa*) continued to receive additions by purchase of slaves from the Caucasus An author of the xviith century (Vansleb, p 13) says that Egypt, in his day, was inhabited by Copts, Moors (by whom he means the islāmised population), Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews and Franks The "Turks" were the governing class and composed of Mamlūks and Ottomans, between whom no distinction is made We may even speak of a mamlūkisation of the Ottoman element, the real ottomanisation of the country belongs to the xixth century In accordance with what is said, the history of those centuries never shows, among the parties and factions into which the Mamlūks were divided, a pro- or anti-Ottoman party, those quarrels were only of local and personal character Even the first governor of Egypt, Khāʾir-bek, was a Mamlūk, although, after him, the Pashas were sent, without exception, from Constantinople

During the first 100 years, it is true, the authority of the Pashas sent from Constantinople to govern the country was undisputed The Pasha could rely on seven contingents of troops (*odjak*) six of which were instituted by Selim I, while a seventh contingent was added under Sulaimān I, composed of Mamlūks Their nominal strength was 20,000 men in all They were not commanded by the Pasha, but by their own commander, who belonged to the *odjak* of the Janissaries and resided in the citadel of Cairo Afterwards these troops behaved more and more independently and were even able to depose Pashas whom they did not like, until, in the xviiith century, this military force became the instrument of some all-influential Mamlūk beys Important matters of administration were treated by a great *Dīwān* or State Council, which only met in extraordinary cases and in which the high functionaries were represented, as well as the military chiefs and the high religious dignitaries Local and special government functions were exercised by twelve Sandjak Beys, these represented at the same time the feudal aristocracy, from the beginning however, the ties that linked them to particular provinces seem to have been rather loose, for among them are mentioned the *Kʿāya* of the

Pasha, the *Daftardār*, the *Amīr al-Ḥadjdj* and the *Amīr al-Khazna*, the three first of whom were also members of the great *Dīwān* The other Beys were commanders at Suez, Damietta and Alexandria, and governors of the five big provinces in the Nile delta Besides these twelve Beys there were twelve other Beys with similar functions The real provincial administration was exercised by a class of functionaries called *Kāshif* Their chief task was the collection of the revenues They may be considered as a kind of governor, some of the great Beys themselves were also *Kāshif* in their districts or had different *Kāshifs* under them Vansleb mentions 36 *kāshifliks* As to the revenues, they were collected in various ways, the local customs in different parts of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt varying considerably The most common form was the farming out of revenues (*iltizām*), the *multazims* had different kinds of right of possession on the lands, which were hereditary They collected the revenue, in taxes or in kind, from the fellāhs, generally through the village notables called *Shaikh al-Balad* In the tax-collecting there were further employed, a host of subordinate technical and financial functionaries, many of whom were Copts Some *Kāshifs* were at the same time *multazims* This system of administration showed the close relation between administration and landowning, which has always been characteristic of Egyptian conditions [cf EGYPT] It was the continuation of the system which had prevailed under the Mamlūk Sultāns (regulation by Ḳā'it Bay) and was regulated again in the *Kānūn-nāme-i Misr* of Sulaimān I (cf J von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i 101—142), here a special stress is laid on the rights and obligations of the *Kāshifs*

In Cairo a large chancery, the chief of which was the *Rūznāmedjī*, had to collect these taxes and to keep the registers, the revenues collected were reserved partly for the pay of the troops and works of public utility such as irrigation, building of bridges and dikes, etc and partly for the yearly tribute to the Sultan, which was in the beginning 800,000 ducats and afterwards lowered to 600,000 and later to 400,000 ducats In the xviiith century the paying of tribute practically fell into disuse

Besides the land-tax, there existed a great number of other taxes, under different denominations, they were collected more or less arbitrarily, and, as in course of time, the anarchy in the government assumed greater proportions, they pressed ever heavier on the population The rural population had as much to suffer from the exactions of their Mamlūk administrators and proprietors as from the raids of Arab tribes, which the government was unable to control

The history of Egypt during this period is a not very interesting succession of domestic intrigues, struggles and revolts Until the beginning of the xviiith century the Pashas could more or less maintain their authority, but they were replaced too often to have a lasting influence No less than 117 Pashas governed Egypt until the arrival of the French (a complete list of them is given in Thureiyā, *Sidjill i ʿOthmānī*, iv 835 *sqq*) Many of them tried to make their short stay as profitable for themselves as possible, and several of them had to pay their cupidity with their lives after their return to Constantinople. In the xviiith century the real power in the country was exercised by the great Beys in Cairo, who had the troops in their hand and tolerated only those Pashas who did not interfere with their affairs By this time the two most powerful positions in the country were those of the commander of Cairo, called the *Shaikh al Balad* and of the *Amir al Ḥadjdj* Some of the *Shaikh al-Balads* are reputed as good rulers, especially Ismāʿīl Bey, who held that office from 1707 to 1724 But the changes of power were always of a violent kind and prevented the forming of a dynasty, Ismaʿīl's *shaikh al balad*ship itself had been preceded by a curious struggle between the two rival parties of the Dhu 'l-Fikārīya and the Kāsimīya, which had lasted for three months outside Cairo In 1747 the Porte tried for the first time to reestablish its authority by ordering the governor Raghib Pasha to exterminate the Mamlūk Beys, this attempt failed, however, completely and the disorders continued until the appearance of the young Mamlūk ʿAlī Bey [q v] who made himself for a short time independent *Shaikh al-Balad* and ruler of Egypt, for the years 1770—1771 By this time the Porte began to take more serious measures to retain its hold on Egypt, but the regime of the Mamlūk Beys did not end until a foreign power, France, temporarily occupied Egypt [cf KHEDIVE]

Under such a regime the conditions of living of the population could not be flourishing It was not so much the position of Egypt as an Ottoman province that caused the suffering of the population, as the lack of a strong central power European travellers like Vansleb and Lucas point to the fact that Egypt was, in the xviiith century a rich country and that by the practical stopping of the payment of tribute, all the money remained in the country itself But the riches remained only in the possession of the ruling minority, while the rural population was oppressed very hardly The bad organisation caused, moreover, from time to time terrible famines, while, about the middle of the xviiith century, began a series of ravaging epidemics of plague Since the last period of the Mamlūk Sultans the country had lost, moreover, a rich source of revenue by the change of the trade route to India The transit trade was now restricted to inner African products and coffee and aromatics from Arabia, while the exportation of Egyptian products such as corn, cotton and sugar was limited The timber that the country needed had to be imported from Turkey Moreover, the trade with Christian countries often experienced serious hindrances from the arbitrary measures of the local authorities At the same time the local industries declined rapidly, one of the causes may have been the transportation of a large number of skilled craftsmen to Constantinople by Salīm I, the once flourishing guild organisation was paralysed by this measure (cf Thorning, *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, p 81 and al-Djabartī, i 20)

The decline of Egypt's economic strength, on the other hand, made Egypt a relatively quiet possession for the Porte Only in the very beginning of Ottoman rule, in 1524, a Turkish governor, Ahmad Pasha, tried to take the title of sultan of Egypt, but afterwards no attempts to recover independence were made until the time of ʿAlī Bey Then, however, the political needs of the European colonial powers

made Egypt appear again as an important stage on the way to India and opened new possibilities of a more independent development, which were to be realised in the XIXth century In the meantime the possession of Egypt had been useful to Turkey in many respects, the Porte could always count on an Egyptian contingent of troops in its wars and the country itself was a base of action for the military operations in Syria, the Ḥidjāz and Yaman The reconquest of Yaman under Selim II was carefully prepared in Cairo As soon as the tendency to independence appeared, however, as under ʿAlī Bey, the Turkish hold on Syria and Arabia was immediately endangered seriously

The predominant position of Egypt in Islām was not seriously affected by the Ottoman occupation Al-Azhar [q v] remained one of the most important centres of Islamic learning, the Turkish Pashas and other dignitaries showed their acknowledgement of this fact by gifts and by the execution of restorations to the building, as they did occasionally for other religious institutions in the country Though Islāmic science continued to flourish, Egypt did not produce many prominent figures in this period In the domain of *fikh* the most important figure was al-Ramlī (q v , d 1596), the commentator of al Nawawī, further the mystic al-al-Shaʿrānī (q v , d 1565), and, as representative of Arabic philology, ʿAbd al Kādir al-Baghdādī (q v , d 1682) In popular mysticism the veneration of Aḥmad al-Badawī [q v] by the Aḥmadīya held a large place

The period of Ottoman domination in Egypt is not wholly without interest from the point of view of architecture and art Several governors, beginning with Khāʾirbek have constructed mosques, these mosques show a kind of transition from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman architectural style There are also in Cairo several mosques founded by the Mamlūk Beys, like the mosque of Abū Dhahab, the traitor of ʿAlī Bey, constructed in 1773 Some beautiful palaces have likewise been built by the Mamlūks, but only few of them are still extant (cf on this subject Mme R I Devonshire, *L'Egypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p 115 *sqq*)

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(J H KRAMERS)

AL-MA'MŪN, ʿABU 'L ABBĀS ʿABD ALLĀH [B HĀRŪN], ʿAbbāsid caliph, born in Rabīʿ I 170 (Sept 786), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a Persian slave named Marādjil After a desperate struggle, which ended in the assassination of the Caliph al Amin [q v] in Muharram 198 (Sept 813), the latter's brother al-Maʾmūn ascended the throne, it was six years, however, before he could make his entry into Baghdād On account of his sympathy for things Persian, which was stimulated by the vizier al-Fadl b Sahl [q v] the Caliph was not

at all popular with the Arabs An ʿAlid Muhammad b Ibrāhīm, usually called Ibn Tabātabā, therefore set up as a pretender to the throne in Kūfa in Djumādā II 199 (Jan.-Feb 815) and was supported by a former adherent of al Ma'mūn, Abu 'l-Sarāyā The rebels had some success at first but Ibn Tabātabā died suddenly and when the general Harthama b Aʿyan [q v] advanced against him, Abu 'l Sarāyā had to take to flight Soon afterwards he was taken prisoner and put to death (Rabīʿ 200 = Oct 815) In the meanwhile the movement had spread, but the ʿAlids made themselves so hated that Harthama's troops were able to restore order everywhere without difficulty The victorious Harthama, however, was shamefully rewarded for his services After he had occupied Merw, the suspicious Caliph had him thrown into prison where he soon died (Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 200 = June 816) This increased the general discontent While al-Ma'mūn remained for the time in Merw, the people of Baghdād rebelled and placed al-Mansūr, a son of the Caliph al Mahdī, at the head of the movement When in Ramadān 201 (March 817) al-Ma'mūn designated an ʿAlid, ʿAlī al-Ridā [q v], as heir apparent and assumed the green of the ʿAlids instead of the black of the ʿAbbāsids, the people of the capital elected Ibrāhīm, another son of al-Mahdī, Caliph (Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 201 = July 817) Then there were troubles in Egypt and in Ādharbāidjān, the people were stirred up by the Khurrami Bābak [q v] who terrorised the northern provinces for nearly 20 years In these circumstances al Ma'mūn had finally to leave Merw and go to the ʿIrāk (202 = 817) But when the Arabs murdered the vizier al-Fadl who was particularly hostile to them, and ʿAlī al-Ridā died suddenly, and in addition, the governor of Wāsit, al-Hasan b Sahl, the vizier's brother went mad, or at least was treated as such, the people of Baghdād had really no longer reason to support Ibrāhīm and in Safar 204 (Aug 819) al-Ma'mūn entered the capital and the ʿAlid colours were exchanged for the ʿAbbāsid Al Hasan b Sahl was then restored to his governorship, and a few years later the Caliph married his daughter Būran [q v] As soon as the Caliph had left Khurāsān a rebellion broke out there among the Harūris At the end of 205 (June of 820) or beginning of 206, Tāhir b al-Husain [q v] was appointed governor of Khurāsān He proved in every way fitted for his difficult post but carried his independence so far that in 207 (822) he renounced his fealty to the Caliph Although he died the following day, the Caliph did not dare to deprive his sons of Tāhir's governorship, and in this way the dynasty of the Tāhirids was founded in Khurāsān In 210 (825–826) ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir [q v] after defeating Nasr b Shabath went by the Caliph's orders to Egypt Here the Yamanīs, who were loyal to al-Ma'mūn, had begun to fight with the Kaisīs who sided with al-Amīn, and the struggle lasted till the latter's death A more peaceful period ensued, but soon new troubles broke out, and with the arrival of the Spanish Muslims banished by the Caliph al-Hakam I [q v] the situation became still more complicated The latter seized the town of al-Iskandariya, but when ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir arrived in Egypt the native rebels had to submit, and the Spanish intruders retired to Crete When ʿAbd Allāh was appointed governor of Khurāsān, the Caliph made his brother, afterwards the Caliph al-Muʿtasim, governor of Egypt But in 214 (829) the Egyptians rose again against his deputy so that al-Muʿtasim had to go himself to Egypt to bring the rebels to terms Two years afterwards the people of Lower Egypt again rebelled against al-Muʿtasim's officers The Copts defended themselves with desperate vigour until the Caliph himself arrived with fresh troops and ruthlessly put down all resistance Towards the end of the reign of al Ma'mūn, the old struggle with the Byzantines broke out again The cause is unknown but probably Babak was being supported by the Emperor Theophilos In any case the Caliph in Muharram 215 (March 830) took the field against the Byzantines accompanied by his son al-ʿAbbās [q v] In the next two years campaigns were conducted by al-Ma'mūn in person, as usual the fortune of war varied, but the Muslims succeeded in taking the fortress of Lu'lu'a after a long siege, whereupon Theophilos wanted to make peace But his offer was refused by al-Ma'mūn and in 218 (833) he again invaded Byzantine territory but died in Radjab (August) of the same year in Budendūn not far from Tarsus, after having had al-Muʿtasim proclaimed as his successor

In spite of all political troubles al Ma'mūn found time to devote his attention to religious problems and to the cause of learning His rationalistic tendencies made him join the Muʿtazilīs, whose most prominent representative then was the Kādi Ahmad b Abū Du'ād [q v] Urged on by him, the Caliph went so far as in Rabiʿ I 212 (June 827) to publicly proclaim the dogma of the creation of the Kur'ān and therefore to raise the Muʿtazila to be the State religion While he persecuted the orthodox and catechised them severely about the soundness of their belief in the Muʿtazila, he treated the ʿAlids with the greatest consideration In his reign poetry and learning reached their golden age It was then that lived men like Abū 'l-ʿAmmām and al-Buhturī, each of whom collected a *Hamāsa*, the historian al-Wākidī, the traditionist al-Bukhārī and the jurist Ahmad b Hanbal The Caliph also took a special interest in philosophy and the exact sciences In Baghdād he built an astronomical observatory with a fine library, and the medical school in Djundai Sābūr [q v] was an object of his special care Scientific works by Greek physicians and natural philosophers had previously been translated into Arabic through the Syriac, but under al-Ma'mūn there was a great revival of activity in this branch of learning

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AL-**MA'MŪN**, honorific *lakab* of the principal sovereign of the dynasty of Berber origin of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn, who founded a kingdom with Toledo as its capital on the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova in the first quarter of the eleventh century [cf the article DHU 'L-NŪN]

Al Ma'mūn, whose full name was Yahyā b Ismā'īl b 'Abd al Rahmān b 'Āmir b Mutarrif b Dhi 'l-Nūn, succeeded his father, Ismā'īl al Ẓāfir, on the latter's death in 429 (1037) and spent his long reign in incessant warfare with all his Muslim neighbours, the dynasties of Saragossa, Valencia, Badajoz, Seville and Cordova

The beginning of his reign was mainly occupied by a struggle with the powerful king of Saragossa, Sulaimān b Hūd al-Musta'īn, who disputed the possession of Guadalajara (Wādi 'l Ḥidjāra) with him and took this town Al-Ma'mūn set out against him but was defeated and had to retire to Talavera in which he was besieged He was then reduced to seek an alliance with and to own the suzerainty of the king of Leon and Castile, Ferdinand I In spite of the help of the Christian king he could not bring his enemy Ibn Hūd to terms Al Ma'mūn then turned for help to the king of Seville al-Mu'tadid b 'Abbād and to obtain it had to declare himself the vassal of the pseudo caliph Hishām II Ibn 'Abbād then fighting the Aftasids of Badajoz [q v] did not give al-Ma'mūn the help for which he hoped and Ibn Hūd becoming bolder, laid waste the country of Toledo and forced its inhabitants to submit to him He would undoubtedly have deprived al Ma'mūn of his kingdom if he had not died in 438 (1046)

The rest of al-Ma'mūn's reign was spent in a struggle with the Aftasid prince of Badajoz, Muhammad b 'Abd Allāh al Muzaffar, and hostilities between the two dynasties continued for several years with varying success In 457 (1065) al Ma'mūn seized Valencia The king of Valencia, al Mansūr 'Abd al 'Aziz b Abi 'Āmir, had died at the end of 452 (1060—1061) and his young son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar had succeeded him but his lands aroused the cupidity of Ferdinand I who besieged him Under the pretext of assisting him, al-Ma'mūn came to 'Abd al-Malik in Valencia and soon deprived him of his throne

A few years before his death, al-Ma'mūn was asked by the Berber lord of Carmona, al-'Izz b Ishāk al-Burzālī, to come to his assistance against the attacks of the 'Abbādid king of Seville al-Mu'tadid on his little kingdom Al Ma'mūn occupied Carmona and as a result of negotiations with al-Mu'tadid, he abandoned this town to him in return for a promise of his assistance in taking Cordova, then ruled by a prince of the family of the Djahwarids Once more the 'Abbādid failed him at the last moment On his death his son and successor al-Mu'tamid [q v] took up al-Ma'mūn's plan on his own account, seized Cordova in 461 (1068) and left his son 'Abbād there as governor But a few years later in 467 (1075), al Ma'mūn with the help of a Cordovan of low birth, Ibn 'Ukāsha, was able to hatch a plot which made him master of Cordova Six months later, al Ma'mūn was poisoned on the 11th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 467 (June 28, 1075) either at the instigation of al-Mu'tamid, king of Seville, or of Ibn 'Ukāsha His son Yahyā al-Kādir succeeded him A few years later, Alfonso VI took Toledo

The long reign of al-Ma'mūn is quite characteristic of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* of the Iberian Peninsula He certainly increased his dominions but his conquests were ephemeral and he was one of the first to have no scruples about an alliance with the Christian princes of Castile and Leon in order to fight other Muslim rulers of al-Andalus He even afforded hospitality at his court for nine months to Alfonso VI when the latter was deposed by his brother Sancho of Castile

Bibliography Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira*, *passim*, Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, vol iii (ed E Lévi-Provençal, in the press), p 227—283, R Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, *passim*, do, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iv 119, 127, 155 *sqq*, A Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p 23, 41, 53—54 (E Lévi-Provençal)

AL-**MA'MŪN**, Abu 'l-'Alā' Idrīs b Ya'kūb al-Mansūr b Yūsuf b 'Abd al-Mu'min b 'Alī, ninth sovereign of the Almohad dynasty, born in 581 (1185—1186) in Malaga, of the marriage of his father with the Spanish princess Safiya, daughter of the amir Abū 'Abd Allāh b Mardanish (Martinez) The Arab historians pay high tributes to the good qualities of this prince who was very well read, equally well versed in profane and religious learning At a time when the Almohad dynasty was much troubled by the strife stirred up by pretenders, he was able by his energy to postpone for several years its final collapse

At first al Ma'mūn served in Spain as the lieutenant of his brother Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Ādil then on the throne The latter had soon to leave the Peninsula and return to Morocco without having been able to subdue the rebel leader Abū Muhammad al Bayyāsī supported by Ferdinand III of Castile, but he was soon betrayed by his own men in his own land and assassinated in 624 (1127) His murder was followed by the almost simultaneous proclamations of al-Ma'mūn and another Almohad pretender, nephew of the preceding, Yahyā b al-Nāṣir b al-Mansūr, who took the honorific *lakab* of al-Mu'tasim bi'llāh On his accession and without leaving Spain, al-Ma'mūn was soon able to make himself recognised in the greater part of his empire and to get rid of the rebel al-Bayyāsī But almost immediately a rebellion broke out in the east of al-Andalus, in which Muhammad b Yūsuf of the powerful family of the Banū Hūd was proclaimed caliph in the town of Murcia At the same time the prestige of Yahyā al-Mu'tasim increased in Morocco and his partisans became more and more numerous Feeling himself powerless in Spain and forced to turn his eyes towards Africa al-Ma'mūn was forced to seek an alliance with the king of Castile The latter agreed to support al-Ma'mūn under very harsh terms, including the surrender of ten Muslim strongholds of the *frontera* and the building of a church and the granting of freedom of worship in Marrākush In return, al-Ma'mūn received a body of 12,000 Christian mercenaries with whom he at once went to the Maghrib He was soon able to enter Marrākush in triumph, after having

defeated the army of al-Mu'tasim in 627 (1230)

Enraged at the defection of the Almohad Makhzen so devoted to his predecessors, al-Ma'mūn took a decision at Marrākush, that was quite unprecedented in the annals of the dynasty He stigmatised the memory of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, denied him "impeccability" ('iṣma) and had a large number of Almohad shaikhs executed whom he suspected of having betrayed him The rest of the reign of al-Ma'mūn was spent in trying to put down several rebellions in the Maghrib, but he did not succeed in bringing his rival to terms for the latter was able to take and plunder Marrākush On hearing this, al-Ma'mūn, then busy with the siege of Ceuta, hurried off to the capital at once but fell ill and died on the way in the valley of the Wādī 'l-'Abīd at the end of Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 629 (Oct 1232)

Bibliography Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawd al Kirṭās*, ed Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniae*), Upsala 1843, p 166—169, *al Hulal al mawshīya* (Tunis 1329), p 123—125, Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar, Histoire des Berbères*, ed de Slane, i 342—344, transl do, ii 233—237, al-Nāsirī al-Salāwī, *al-Istiksā'* (Cairo), ii 197—200, transl I Hamet (*Archives Marocaines*, xxxii, Paris 1927), p 213—225, R Millet, *Les Almohades*, Paris 1923, p 145—150

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'MŪNĪS, name of a dynasty

In the ivth (xth) century Djurdjānīya, to the north of modern Khīwa, was a dependency of Bukhārā and was ruled by a line of princes called the Ma'mūnis Nothing is mentioned about them by the Oriental historians till 382 (992) when Ma'mūn b Muhammad b 'Alī, ruler of Djurdjānīya, is said to have assisted Amir Nūh b Mansūr the Sāmānid in his exile during the temporary occupation of Bukhārā by Bughrā khān, ruler of Kāshghar In 385 (995) Ma'mūn attacked Abū 'Abd Allāh, ruler of Khwārizm, in order to punish him for his treachery to Abū 'Alī Simdjūrī, took him prisoner and annexed Khwārizm Ma'mūn was assassinated in 387 (997) His son Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī succeeded to the throne, and married a sister of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna Abu 'l Hasan died about 399 (1008—1009) and was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn Abu 'l-Abbās married his brother's widow, the sister of Sultān Mahmūd Shortly after this he gave offence to his army by doing homage to Sultan Mahmūd The commanders of the army organised a rebellion against him, put him to death on Shawwāl 15, 407 (March 16, 1017) and raised one of his sons to the throne On hearing this, Sultān Mahmūd marched to Khwārizm to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, defeated the rebels at Hazārasp on Safar 5, 408 (July 3, 1017), and executed the leaders of the insurrection All the scions of the royal house were taken prisoners and sent to Khurāsān The kingdom of Khwārizm was annexed and placed under the command of Altūntāsh with the title of Khwārizmshāh But after the return of Sultān Mahmūd to Ghazna, Abū Ishāk, father-in-law of Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn, tried to establish himself in Khwārizm but he was defeated by Altūntāsh

The rulers of this dynasty were famous patrons of learning, and it was at the court of Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn that Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī, the astronomer, Abū 'Alī b Sīnā and Abu 'l-Khair b Khammār, the physicians, and Abū Nasr b 'Arrāk, the mathematician, flourished

This dynasty has been confused by the *Ta'rīkh-i Gu.īda* and *Ta'rīkh i Djahān Ārā* of Kādī Ahmad Ghaffārī, with the Farighūnis who were the rulers of Djūzdjānān

Bibliography al-'Utbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, ed Lahore, p 77 *sq*, 94—96, 106, 300—303, Abu 'l Fadl Baihakī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed Morley, p 834—853, Nizāmī Samarkandī, *Cahār Makāla*, *G M S*, p 76—80, 241—244, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, ix 93 *sq*, 184 *sq*, E de Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et de chronologie*, p 205 (MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

MA'MŪRET AL-'AZĪZ, the name given to the new town of Mezre, built beside Kharpūt [q v] in honour of Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz In time the name became applied to the new wilāyet formed in 1879 around Kharpūt Mezre, this consisted of three sandjaks al-'Azīz, Khozāt and Malatiya As a result of the administrative reforms of 1340 (1921) each of these sandjaks became an independent wilāyet but later modifications were made

According to the official annual of 1925—1926, the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz has an area of 11,299 sq km or 12,428,900 *donums*, of which 3,124,596 are arable It contains 6 kādās the central kādā, Pālū, Kharpūt, Kebān, 'Arabkir, Kemāliye (this new name replaces the historical one of Egin)

The annual of 1926—1927 records an even more radical reorganisation The area of the wilāyet of al-'Azīz is given as 17,268 sq km with 1,562,296 *donums* of arable land The wilāyet which lost the western kādās ('Arabkīr and Egīn) has been extended on N and E It has 11 kādās subdivided into 32 *nāhiyas* with names little known and difficult to transliterate

1 the kādā al 'Azīz, with the *nāhiye* Khankendi, Mullī kendi, Icme, Khuhafliya (?), Frenlei (Āyuwus), Bālī-Bey, Kharpūt, Conguch, Sarnī (Dishidi)

2 Kebān, with only one *nāhiye* Tahir

3 Bāskil Mushār Huyuk, Izoli (Komur khān), Karabekān (Meriwān), Seywān

4 Pālū Gok-dere (and Bulanik) Okhi (and Lower Bulanik), Kara-cor

5 Khozat (Dersim) Balikan (Elghāzī), Kermili, Amutka, Sin, Dere Aghzunik

6 Cemish-gezek Waskowān, Bash-Wartenik, Kermili, Waskerū (Pāshāweng), Cārsandjak, Shawak (Albishker = Awi-shekei ?)

7 Māzgerd Pakh, Ieieshmek, Mukhandī (Mučundī ?)

8 Čabakčur Perkhenguk (Kamrān)

The kādās without *nāhiye* are

9 Owadjik

10 Gendj-merkez (Dārhīni)

11 Ma'den

Number of the kādā	Number of villages	Number of inhabitants
1	241	52,700
2	78	22,494
3	?	16,117
4	333	17,496
5	127	12,000
6	?	?
7	180	13,000
8	104	12,000
9	87	6,180
10	?	5,649
11	?	11,476

The wilāyet (without Cemish gezek) has therefore 171,631 inhabitants The events of the war and the suppression of the Kurd rising in 1925 must have had far reaching effects on the ethnical aspect of this territory Before the war the population was mixed Kurd, Armenian and "Zaza" (a people speaking an Iranian dialect, q v)

Bibliography cf the fundamental article KHARPŪT, *Turkiye Djemhuriyeti Dewlet Sālnāmesi*, 1925—1926, p 836—841, do, 1926—1927, p 694 (V MINORSKY)

MAʿN B AWS, an early Muhammadan poet of the tribe of the Banū Muzaina His period can be established with some accuracy From the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* we know that he composed a panegyric on ʿOmar I and a lampoon on ʿAbd Allāh b al Zubair for his lack of hospitality, the latter is preserved in the *Aghānī* as is the beginning of the former The panegyric survives also in the *Dīwān*, where it is dedicated to ʿOmar's son ʿĀsim The *Aghānī* further records that Maʿn lived to the beginning of the *fitna* between ʿAbd Allāh and Marwān b al-Hakam, i e to 64 (684) The poet must therefore have been born about the beginning of the Muslim era The *Aghānī* further gives details of his private life and the *Dīwān* also gives similar information He had an estate in Arabia and made journeys to Syria and the ʿIrāk One of his wives came from Syria He also took part in the wars of his tribes In his old age he became blind

Up till recently all that we knew of Maʿn's poems were the fragments preserved in the *Aghānī* and elsewhere P Schwarz however discovered in the Escorial an incomplete manuscript of the *Dīwān* with a commentary, the work of al-Kālī [q v] which he published in 1903 with a short introduction and translation of the notices in the *Aghānī* H Reckendorf supplemented this In 1927 Kamāl Mustafā published an edition in Cairo It lacks some poems given by Schwarz, on the other hand it has two fragments not given by him The introduction is in part a literal translation of Schwarz, who is mentioned by name It is not clear from it on what the edition is based It seems however to be based simply on Schwarz's edition without new manuscripts and, compared with it, only shows corruptions of the text, omissions and additions from other sources

Bibliography *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x 164—168, P Schwarz, *Gedichte des Maʿn Ibn Aus*, Leipzig 1903 (cf Noldeke, in *Z A*, 1903, p 274 *sqq* and Reckendorf, *O L Z*, 1904, p 138—140), where further sources are given, *Maʿn Ibn Aws*, *Hayātuhu*, *Shiʿruhu*, *Akhbāruhu*, *djamaʿahu* Kamāl Mustafā, Cairo 1927 (M PLESSNER)

MAʿN B MUHAMMAD B AHMAD B SŪMĀDIH AL-TUDJIBĪ ABU 'L-AHWAS or ABŪ YAHYĀ, founder of a dynasty in the little principality of Almeria, in Eastern Spain in the middle of the xiᵗʰ century A D The principality had been founded in 1025 by the two ʿĀmirid "Slavs" Khairān and Zuhair On the latter's death in 1037, their overlord ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Abī ʿĀmir, king of Valencia, declared it his property and in 1041 placed his brother-in-law Maʿn b Ṣūmādiḥ as governor there The latter belonged to a noble family of Arab origin, his father had been one of the generals of the celebrated Hādjib al-Mansūr [q v] and was governor of the town of Huesca Maʿn remained loyal to the king of Valencia for nearly four years, then cast off his allegiance and declared himself independent He reigned at Almeria for a few years longer and died in Ramadān 443 (Jan 1052)

Bibliography Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, vol iii (ed E Lévi-Provençal, in the press), p 167, R Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litterature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, Leyden 1881, vol i, p 241 and appendices xix and xx, A Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p 40, 44, 61 (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MAʿN B ZĀʾIDA, ABU 'L WALĪD AL-SHAIBĀNĪ, a Muslim general and governor In the Omaiyad period Maʿn was in the service of the governor of the ʿIrak, Yazid b ʿOmar b Hubaira, and took part in the fighting against the ʿAlid rebel ʿAbd Allāh b Muʿāwiya and the general of the ʿAbbāsids Kahtaba b Shabīb as well as against his son al Hasan He thus gained the enmity of al-Mansūr and after the murder of Ibn Hubaira had to go into hiding to escape the vengeance of the ʿAbbāsids But when the Rawandīs [q v] went to al-Hāshimīya (probably in 141 = 758—759) and tried to storm the palace of the caliph, because he had had their ringleaders arrested, Maʿn came out of his retirement, drove back the rebels with his men and rescued al Mansūr, who at once pardoned him and gave him the governorship of the Yaman Here he favoured his fellow tribesmen, the Banū Rabīʿa, while the Yamanīs were treated with the greatest severity He was transferred to Sidjistān, according to the usual date, in 151 (768—769) and his son Zāʾida followed him as governor of the Yaman Soon afterwards, probably the next year, Maʿn was murdered in Bust by some Khāridjis, who had gained an entrance to his house by pretending they were workmen doing repairs 151 and 158 are given for the year of his death, in addition to 152

Bibliography Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 389 *sq*, 448, 462 *sq*, Tabarī, ii 1978—1980, iii 16, 63—65, 130—133, 368 *sq*, 394—397, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, vi 45 *sq*, 168—170, 256 *sq*, 316 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, v 284, 309, 336 *sq*, 383—385, 464, vi 15, 16, Ibn Khallikān, ed Wüstenfeld, N⁰ 742, transl de Slane, iii 398—408 (K V ZETTERSTEEN)

MAʿN (BANŪ), Emirs of the Lebanon Their political history begins with the Turkish conquest of Syria We do not know if they were of Arab origin like the Banū Bohtor, or Kurds like the Djunblāt, or Maghribī like the ʿAbd al Samad, the Talhūk etc, who came to the Lebanon in the retinue of the Fātimids When, in the xviiᵗʰ century, the biographer Muhibbī (*Khulāsat al-Athar fī Aʿyān al-Karn al-hādī ʿashar*, iii 266) was collecting the records of the family of the Banū Maʿn, he found they were not agreed about the genealogy of their ancestors But he is certain that they had long been in possession of the emirate of Shūf (Southern Lebanon) He is certain that they did not belong to the princely family of the Lebanon Tanūkh It is none the less surprising that in the monograph, which he devotes to the latter family (*Taʾrīkh Bairūt*, ed Cheikho) Sālih b Yahyā deliberately passes over the Banū Maʿn

The Maʿn seem to have early adopted the teaching of the Druses This step secured them the sympathies of the Druses of the Lebanon and

of the Wādi 'l-Taim at the foot of Hermon In the latter district they were allied with the Shihāb emīrs Enfeebled by the struggles with the ʿAlam al Dīn — their relations and also their secular rivals — the Banū Tanūkh, themselves divided into Kaisīs and Yamanīs, underwent the fate of such exhausted organisms and ended by breaking up The Maʿnids were only waiting the opportunity to seize their political heritage This was given by the Ottoman conquest of Syria

On the eve of the battle of Dābik (1516) between the Turks and the Mamlūks of Egypt they divined in time to which side victory would incline and wiser than the Tanūkh declared for the Turks Their chief at that time was the emīr Fakhr al Dīn I He was one of the first of the Syrian chiefs to hasten to Damascus to congratulate Selīm I on his victory Favourably impressed by his protestations of devotion, the Sultān sent him back to the Lebanon with enhanced prestige and authority at the expense of the Tanūkh In this accession of power, the Maʿnid emīr was much assisted by Ghazālī, a traitor to the Mamlūk cause, to whose fortunes he had decided to link that of his family We do not know how he escaped the catastrophe that overwhelmed (Jan 1521) his protector Ghazālī, who in the end played traitor to the Turks also

In 1544 the emīr Kurkmās succeeded his father Fakhr al Dīn and in 1585 there took place at Djūn ʿAkkār the plundering of the caravan which was taking to Constantinople the taxes collected in Egypt and Syria The Ottomans accused the Maʿn of complicity and of having sheltered the criminals Their troops invaded the Lebanon The emīr Kurkmās shut himself up in the inaccessible rock of Shakīf Tīrūn near Djizzīn (Southern Lebanon) and died there of chagrin or poison (1585)

The most remarkable of the Maʿnids was undoubtedly the son and successor of Kurkmās, called Fakhr al-Dīn (1585—1635), like his grandfather The partisans of the cause of independence in the Lebanon regarded him as a precursor and have never ceased to invoke the example of his efforts for his country For an account of his career see the article on him (II, p 45) The conquests beyond the Lebanon and his relations with European powers brought down upon him the vengeance of the Porte He had to go into exile in Italy and leave to ʿAlī, the eldest and most gifted of his sons along with his own brother Yūnus, the administration of the Lebanon (1613) On a promise to dismantle the chief fortresses of the Lebanon the Porte recognised ʿAlī and even, after five years of exile, allowed his father Fakhr al-Dīn to return to the Lebanon His son ʿAlī displayed no enthusiasm at his return (1618) The new conquests of his father soon began to disturb the Porte, who resolved to make an end of the troublesome Maʿnid vassal Surprised by superior forces in the Wādi 'l-Taim his son ʿAlī fell fighting bravely and Fakhr al Dīn was taken to Constantinople and put to death (1635)

The Central and Southern Lebanon, "the Mountain of the Druses" as it was officially called, was then handed to the family of the ʿAlam al Dīn, whose ambitions had never ceased from the beginning of the rise of the Banū Tanūkh, to thwart the efforts of all the rulers of the Lebanon One of their first acts was to exterminate the last scions of the Tanūkh This crime facilitated the rise to power of the Shihāb Their excesses and the regret for the Maʿnids soon made the ʿAlam al-Dīn unpopular After their expulsion from the Lebanon the Maʿnid emīr Mulhim followed, his son Ahmad succeeded in regaining a precarious authority under the jealous supervision of the Turkish Pashas The more distinguished of the two emīrs was Mulhim, son of the emir Yūnus and nephew of the great Fakhr al-Dīn He ruled for about 20 years Both continued the liberal traditions of their illustrious ancestor Like him they protected the colonies of Christian agriculturists whom he had invited from northern Lebanon and for whom he had built churches and monasteries

Ahmad, grand nephew of Fakhr al-Dīn II, died in 1697 without leaving male heirs and the family of the Maʿnids thus became extinct Turkey could no longer have any illusions about the rebellious nature of the Lebanese and their impatience under a foreign yoke To assume the direct government of the Lebanon was not attractive to the Porte and would have forced it to undertake its conquest The grave political crisis through which Turkey was then passing prevented a new expedition being undertaken, the risks of which were very well known On the other hand the rule of the ʿAlam al Dīn with official support had not given satisfactory results On promise of the payment of an annual tribute, the notables of the Lebanon were authorised to form a general assembly at Sumkānīya (province of Shūf) to elect a governor to inherit the legacy of the Banū Maʿn Their choice fell upon the Shihāb emīrs, allies and relatives of the old emīrs

MAʿNID EMĪRS

Fakhr al-Dīn I († 1544)
|
Kurkmās († 1585)
|
Fakhr al Dīn II († 1635) — Yūnus
|
ʿAlī († 1635) — Mulhim († 1657)
|
Ahmad († 1697)

Bibliography see that of the article FAKHR AL-DĪN and the notices of XVIIth century individuals scattered through Muhibbī's biographical work quoted above, among them I 381—387, III 266 *sqq*, 299—303, IV 396, 409, 426—427, Haidar Shihāb, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo 1900, p 709—717, 722—725, 731—741, Iannūs Shidyak, *Taʾrikh al Aʿyān fi Djabal Lubnān*, Beirūt 1859, p 247—345, Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris 1918, p 18—21, H Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Beirūt 1921, II 57, 66—94 (H LAMMENS)

MAʿNĀ (A) means in the old language sense, significance and is so used as a grammatical term In philosophical language the use of the word varies from the most general to the most particular so that it is impossible to give a general translation for it It occurs in quite untechnical connections as "thought", "what is meant" or simply "thing" etc but also has the special meaning of "conception" or as the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed by Sprenger, has it "an image of the intelligence (*ṣūra dhihnīya*) in so far as a word corresponds to it, i e in so far as

it is meant by a word" Horten has investigated the special meaning of the word in metaphysics (*Was bedeutet* معنى *als philosophischer Terminus?*, in *Z D M G*, lxiv 391 *sqq*) According to him, *ma'nā* is an "incorporeal reality" not merely a subjective conception In this use it is regularly contrasted to *ṣifa*

The plural *ma'ānī* is the name of a branch of study, namely, rhetorical style

Bibliography in the article, cf also the dictionaries and Ṭāshkopruzāde, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* s v *'Ilm al-Ma'ānī* (M PLESSNER)

MANĀF is the name of an early-Arabian idol which was venerated by Kuraish and Hudhail, as may be concluded from the fact that among these clans the name 'Abd Manāf "servant of Manāf" occurred It is said that one of Muhammad's ancestors — the pedigree being Muhammad b 'Abd Allāh b 'Abd al-Muttalib b Hāshim b 'Abd Manāf — received this name, because his mother consecrated him to Manāf, who was then the chief deity of Makka

Whether this last statement be true or not, it does not restore to life a deity whose individuality remains to us as dim as that of all its companions Ibn al-Kalbī knows nothing of its whereabouts, except that menstruating women were bound to keep themselves at a distance from it

The name does not occur either in the Kur'ān or in classical *hadīth* It derives from a root *n-w-f*, which in several Semitic languages conveys the meaning of "being elevated"

Bibliography al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1091 *sq*, Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed, p 56 *sq* (A J WENSINCK)

MANĀKIB (A), plural of *mankaba*, means the merits and doings of a miraculous nature of celebrated holy persons of Islām, heads of schools, saints and founders of *ṭarīka* Other terms like *karamāt*, *faḍā'il* are used with the same meaning but less frequently We have the titles or manuscripts of several works on eastern *manākib* Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa gives a long list of them Among the most notable may be mentioned the *manākib* of 'Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb, of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, of al Shāfi'ī and of Abū Ḥanīfa

The literature of the *manākib* assumed a special development in Morocco from the end of the middle ages The majority of the shaikhs who played a part in the great renaissance of Islām in this country at that time had one or more monographs devoted to their *manākib* after their deaths

For a more detailed study of the place occupied by the genre of *manākib* in the Arabic literature of Morocco cf my *Historiens des Chorfa*, *Essai sur la litterature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIeme au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, p 44—54 and 220 *sqq* (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MANĀRA, tower, minaret

Material, structure and adornment The use of brick or stone for manāras depended on the material generally used for building in the country in question The manāras in Spain were therefore of stone so far as one can judge from those still extant, in the African Maghrib mainly of brick, in Cairo of stone, in Arabia, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia and Mesopotamia of both, in the 'Irāḳ, Persia and Afghānistān of brick and in India of both In Persia there are isolated exceptions, like the manāra in Kerāt, a structure of stone and lime with an outer covering of tiles, indeed stone and lime were very often used for the foundations and bases without affecting the character of the edifices themselves in brick Of considerable importance from the artistic point of view is the outer covering of a layer of tiles in Persia and the 'Irāḳ, from the variations and patterns of which the manāras receive their decorative exteriors, by alternating horizontal and vertical layers (*hazārbāf*, bonding), by alternating reliefs and depressions, ornamental areas are formed from which strips of ornament or script arise formed of tiles specially prepared for the purpose The Turkestān and Timūrid manāras are decorated with coloured glaze In the post-Timūrid period also the glaze continually appears, especially in the pair of minarets which now commonly flank the entrance to a mosque (Tabrīz, Mashhad, etc) It is in the Guldests, the balconies round the top, that the art of working decoratively in brick reaches its height Here the necessary basis for the balcony was formed by brackets arranged in layers or rows of cells (stalactite-like cornices, *mukarnas*)

Object and Significance The term *manāra* or *minār* is applied to all Muslim towers They were used not only for religious purposes as places from which to call to prayer and to mark mosques but also, as before the Muslim conquest, for profane purposes as watch- and signal-towers The tower on the top of a hill at Kerāt in Khorāsān (cf below) is from its isolated commanding position intended as a signal-tower or column of victory and it shows that these towers were built in the Muslim period exactly like the manāras of mosques In form and style these erections, serving different purposes, form one category, into which they also fall objectively from having the same name There are a number of early references to such manāras, which were intended to be indicators for caravans and watch-towers (cf Diez, *Persien*, *Islam Bk in Khurâsân*, p 59) Such towers were however found all over the Asiatic plains and through China to the Pacific Ocean Of course very few of them were works of art There are a number of exceptions in the contemporary names for such towers, like that of Mahmūd of Ghazna which is called an *āmah* in an inscription (see below) One of the minarets of the musallā in Herāt is called simply *'imarat* in the inscription (cf Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p 59) The *stambhas* or *lāts* erected by king Asoka in India between 250—232 B C may be claimed as precursors of the minarets of eastern Islām, although actually pillars of much smaller size than a minara, many of them already show the same division into a polygonal and a cylindrical section Their object was also half religious and half monumental in character They in turn came from the Indo Aryan columns of wood which were put up from the earliest times as symbols of the deity The Indo-Buddhist stambha of brick in Kabul of uncertain date is a connecting link between these and the earliest Muslim memorial towers in Ghazna (see below)

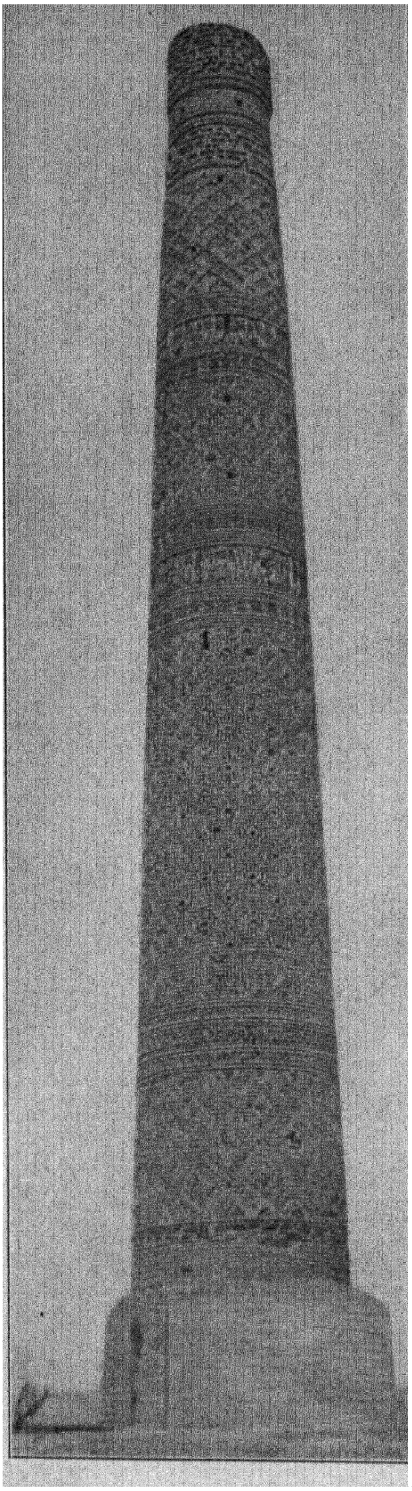
Shape From this similarity just mentioned, it is evident that the manāras follow the traditional shape of the towers of the country in question In the Mediterranean lands, as H Thiersch has shown, it was the lighthouses and in Syria the watch-towers, dwelling and church-towers that

were the predecessors in form of the manāras The malwīya's of Sāmarrā and the manāra of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo again go back to old Oriental models In Persia and Sidjistān also, Nestorian church towers may have given the early manāras their square and polygonal shape (cf Diez, *Persien*, *Isl Bk in Khurâsân*, p 75), but in the rivalry of shapes in the eastern empire the slender cylindrical manāra, which is often also called *mīl*, won. It was the victory of the monumental building without windows over the western dwelling-tower with windows Their earliest precursors were, as already mentioned, the Indian lāts The observatory towers built by Sulṭāns Mahmūd and Mas'ūd III in Ghazna were built as memorials of victories like the Indian *Djayastambhas* Their shape was suggested by India but remodelled by the spirit of Muslim Persia and given a character of their own (cf Diez, *op cit*, p 76 and 151 *sqq*) The best monumental evidence of Indian inspiration is the Kutb Mināŕ [q v] in Dehlī (beg of viiith = xiiith century, cf M v Berchem, in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkm*, p 109 *sqq*) The fact that the Persians called them *mīl* points to their ancestry, the primitive poles and pillars used as indicators To such poles, which can still be found at the present day at saints' tombs, revered by the common people in the country districts of Persia, may perhaps be traced the square and octagonal decorative shafts of the city and mosque Iwāns, found in pairs in Persian towns with Turkish inhabitants and in Asia Minor Although they are frequently in the shape of minarets and have a gallery, their object is as a rule merely decorative Both groups of manāras, the square and the round, are hollow towers with a staircase winding up inside opening out on the gallery In the old Persian minarets of brick, these galleries or *guldest*s have been completely destroyed as they were made of wood We must imagine them to have stood on cornices of cells with carved wooden railings, rafters and roofs such as may be seen everywhere in the surviving mināras at popular places of pilgrimage like Karbalā', Kum and Mashhad A comparison with the galleries in the towers of the wooden churches of Eastern Europe (e g in Transylvania) points to the descent of the minaret galleries from wooden buildings of an everyday character

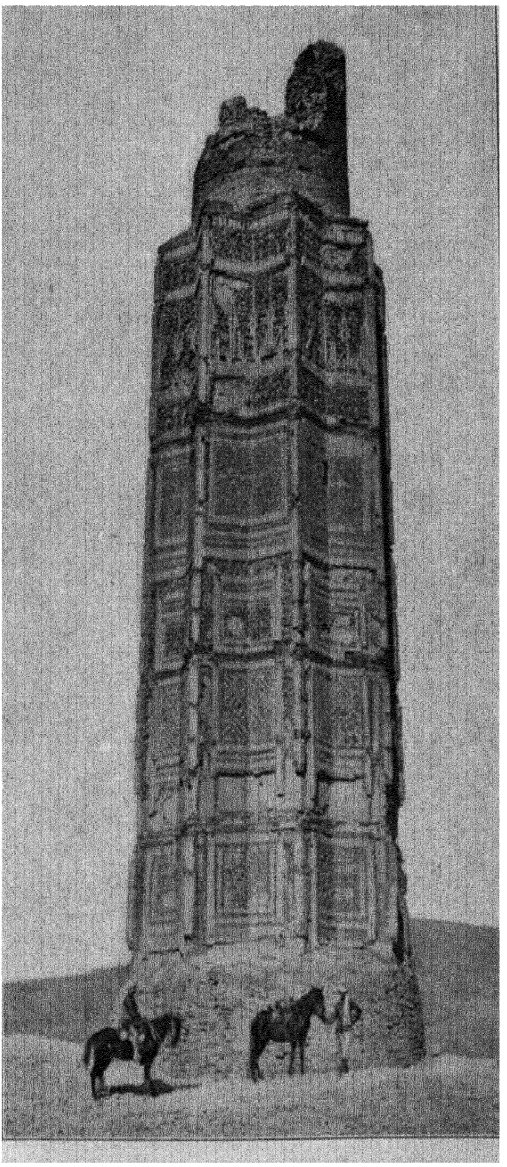
Form and Significance of the manāras In spite of the similarity of purpose there is a marked difference, indeed contrast, between the minarets of eastern and western Islām The square and polygonal minarets of the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria are still essentially buildings for habitation, the cylindrical manāras of the eastern lands are on the other hand distinctly monumental buildings, pillars symbolic of the deity The angular minarets of the west are divided into stories by mouldings and have windows for communication with the outer world, they are usually heavy on a broad base, while in contrast the cylindrical minarets of the east incorporate the symbol of the absolute which has this form, the unique, the abstract, the irresistible ascension to the deity without transitions or stopping places The minarets of the west remain individual towers, of which hardly two are alike, in the east of the vith (xiith) century the cylindrical form was already established as the absolute and only one, never to be altered nor made capable of ascension, as the only possible form of manāra The minarets of the west thus remain ex-watch-, church- or lighthouse-towers without bells or lights, decorative survivals of a culture foreign to their nature, those of the east on the other hand were etherealised and became spiritual manāras The Cairo minarets were an interesting sport in their shape, the Persian and Turkish on the other hand a confession of faith in monumental form They soar up to the heavens with unimpeded vigour The silhouette of their tiled decoration rises upwards on close inspection till finally the eye of the beholder is held by the marked effects of light and shade on the guldest The form of the guldest however is chosen with an idea of magical effect The spire rests on a gallery of cells, the secret of the construction of which the spectator cannot easily grasp and the decorative gallery of wooden rafters and railings glitters with bright colours above it A coat of glaze and the gilt top reflect far and wide a magic reflection like the glazed domes

Shape and development of the manāra in different countries —Syria is the original home of the square manāra, which there took over the old native form for watch towers, dwelling-towers or grave-towers and the church-tower which succeeded them Islām at first used the existing pre Islāmic towers as minarets, on to which mosques were frequently built, when old churches which already had towers were not taken over and adapted (cf Brünnow in Thiersch, *Pharos*, p 101) The oldest minarets of this kind are in Hawrān, the land of stone building κατ' ἐξοχήν, which contained many old undecaying stone-towers (Bosra, manāra of the mosque of 'Omar b al Khattāb, inscription of the time of the Caliph 'Omar, Dār al-Muslim etc) In Damascus the two southern minarets of the Omaiyad mosque begun by Walīd in 86 (705 [?]) belonged to the old church of St John, while the northern minaret was a completely new building of Walīd's This is therefore the oldest independent Muslim manāra The manāras of the Omaiyad mosque became models not only for Syria but through the Omaiyad migration to Spain (Cordova) for the Maghrib also Wherever we later find in Syria the Egyptian tower-form, there is always definite Egyptian influence present and as a rule they are Mamlūk foundations It is still hardly possible to compile a chronological list of Syrian manāras (cf Thiersch, *op cit*, p 99—110 and the illustrations)

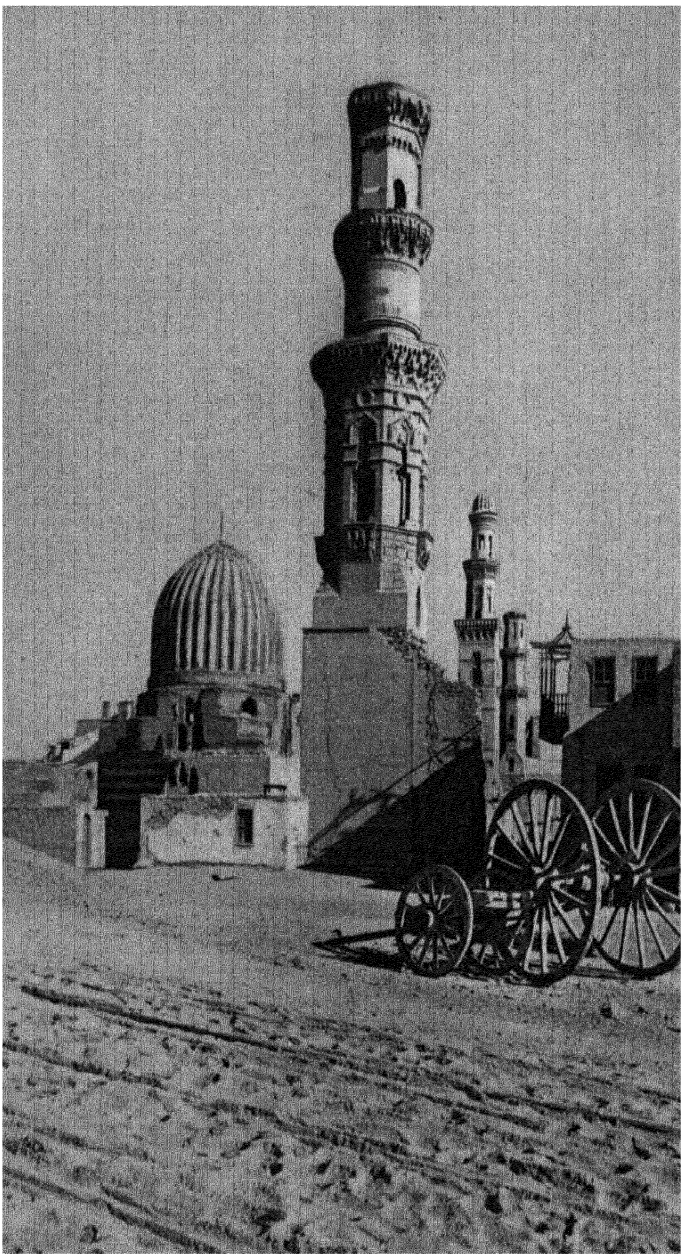
Palestine In this country on the borders of Egypt, the influence of the latter country made itself felt The octagonal manāra on a square base predominates The manāra of the chief mosque in Ghazza shows an octagon diminishing in width by successive stages, while the minaret of the mosque of al-Hāshim there has the same diameter throughout and is only divided into four stories with windows by large mouldings The smaller mosques have short squat octagonal towers The manāra of 'Alī Bakka in Hebron is half rectangular and half octagonal with a high mihrāb-like niche in the lower story The octagonal tower is found as far as Jerusalem, where it meets with the northern Syrian square towers The latter is again found at Harām al-Sharīf and in the mosque of Sīdna 'Omar beside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and along the coast in Jaffa, Haifā, Sidon, Tyre and Bairūt, and in the interior in Tiberias, Safed, Nāblus, etc On the other hand



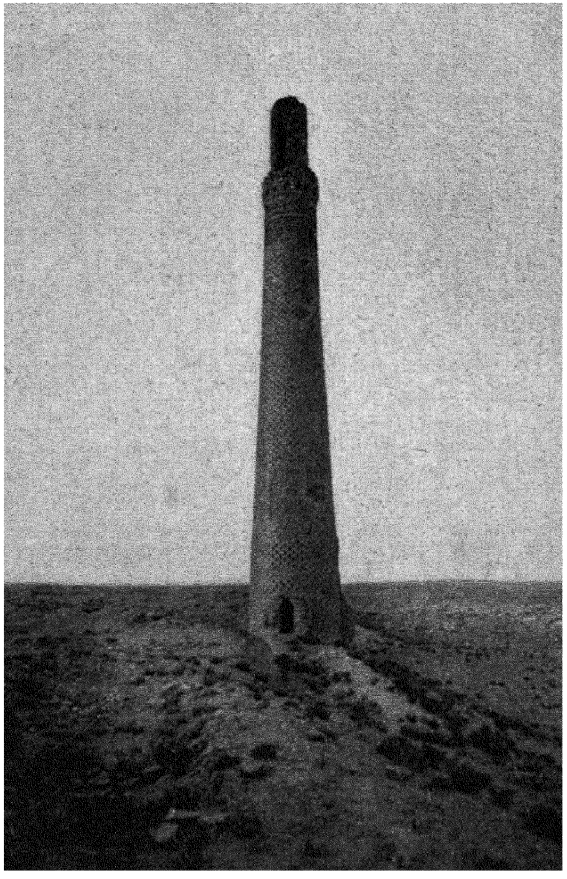
Khusrawgird near Sabzawar in Khorāsān: Manāra of 505 (1111)



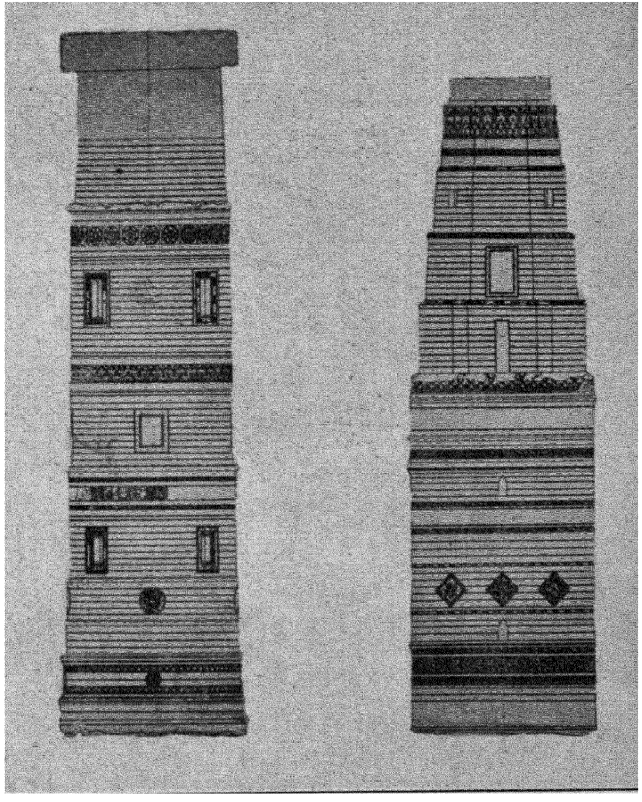
Ghazna: Manāra of Masʿūd of 495 (1101—1102



Cairo: Manaras of the Mamluk period



Sangbast near Mashhad in Khorāsān: Manāra of a *Ribāṭ*, vith (xiith) cent.



Cairo: sketches of the two Manāras with outer covering of the Mosque of Ḥākim

the manāra in Ramla of the viiith (xiiith) century is unique with its buttresses and pointed arched niches and dwarf pillars and columns Thiersch takes it to be a copy of the most celebrated Christian tower of the country, the bell tower of the Holy Sepulchre built in 1160—1180 in Jerusalem, of which only the base is still standing, (cf Thiersch, *op cit*, p 119 *sqq* and the pictures there)

Egypt The oldest manāra in Egypt is the tower of the Djāmi^{c} b Tūlūn Like the Malwīyas of Sāmarrā, this minaret stands outside the mosque and resembles them in form also, although it differs in its material which is limestone The first storey is a square tower with a window with horseshoe arches, the second is cylindrical and an outer staircase leads up around them The two upper octagonal stories are later in date, having been erected by the Mamlūk Sultān Lādjin Nothing final can be said about this manāra, apparently erected by a foreign architect and combining a number of foreign influences The manāras next to it in time are the five towers of hewn stone of the mosque of Hākim with their covering of tiles of a later date, they must be contemporary with the mosque, which was built in 393—404 (1002—1013), and were covered by Baibars II and given new spires (703 = 1303—1304) They are of different shapes The northern tower is cylindrical on a square base, the southern has a square lower half and four octagonal upper stories, each narrower than the one below it, the first of which has four semi-cylindrical cornices in the corners The decoration in relief on the stone has analogies in the gateway of the same date (pictures in Diez, *K d isl Volk* [1], p 58, [2], p 54) Of these two towers the southern one may be considered the ancestor of the minarets of Cairo Its square-octagonal form, usually crowned by a cylindrical storey, survives The further development is limited to the proportions, which aim at greater elegance and slenderness, and the breaking up of the surface with niches and muḳarnat cornices Towards the end of the second Mamlūk period, say under Kā'it Bey, it reached its culmination The minaret of the mosque at his tomb was never to be surpassed in grace and wealth of ornament A list of the most important minarets of Cairo between 1000—1356 A D is given by Thiersch with many illustrations

Arabia As in Palestine, in Arabia there was no native type of manāra and indeed Arabia never developed any sacral architecture with a character of its own The minaret of the mosque of Walīd in Medīna may have been Syrian in form The manāras at present standing in Medīna belong to the sixth restoration of the mosque by Kā'it Bey in 888 (1483) They are slender minarets of the Mamlūk type with octagonal and cylindrical stories. The seven manāras in Mecca, the sanctuary of which was ten times restored, only show modern forms of tower, frequently influenced by the slender Turkish form (cf Thiersch, *op cit*, p 123) Two slender round minarets of the ixth (xvth) century still flank the ruined mosque on the island of Bahrain (cf Diez, *Jahrb d as Kunst*, 1925, II 2)

Maghrib. The oldest *ṣawma^{c}a*, as the manāras of the Maghrib are called, in Africa is in Kairawān, the massive three storied tower of the mosque of Sīdī ^{c}Ḳba of 105 (724) The two upper receding stories with blind niches are probably of later date than the unadorned upper storey with loop holes on three sides and three windows only on the side that looks on the court The cistern in the basement and the measurements of this tower which are exactly half those of the Pharos, suggested to Thiersch that it was an imitation of the Pharos Another *ṣawma^{c}a*, also of the IInd (viiith) century was the minaret of the Djāmi^{c} al-Zītūna in Tunis before its restoration in the xixth century Old pictures of it show a plain square lower storey with a narrower octagonal upper storey and the platform on top enclosed by a breast-high parapet with a pillared gallery Of this probably only the lower part is old, while the second storey and the parapet date from the restoration of 1653 (pictures in *K d O*, ix, Kuhnel, *Maurische Kunst*, vi) Egyptian influence, in so far as such existed, extended to Tunis West of Tunis begins the Spanish sphere of influence, the model for which was the *ṣawma^{c}a* in Cordova built by ^{c}Abd al-Rahmān III in 339—340 (951) and destroyed in 1593 A description of it is given by Idrīsī (c 548 = 1154). According to him, the minaret of Cordová was a high quadrangular tower, square in plan, the sides of which were richly adorned with inscriptions in relief The upper section terminated in two rows of blind arcades probably like those still to be seen in the mosque of Cordova and on other minarets of the Maghrib On the platform was a second, probably also square, storey with four doors and upon the dome which crowned it shone three balls of gold and two of silver and lily leaves (cf Thiersch, *op cit*, p 127) This minaret however had a predecessor in a more modest tower built by ^{c}Abd al-Rahmān I, the model of which according to Marçais (*Rev Afr*, 1906) was Walīd's minarets in Damascus The second, imposing and splendid, minaret at Cordova seems to have served as a model for the *ṣawma^{c}as* of Seville and Morocco At the same time we must consider the claims of the minaret of the Kal^{c}a Banī Hammād built in 393 (1001), the only tower that survives of the Fātimid period, which was half destroyed by the Almohads in 1152 (cf Saladin, *Bull arch*, 1904, p 243 *sqq*) It is a high square tower of hewn stone, smooth on three sides and embellished on the courtyard side only with shallow blind niches and balcony doors in three layers above one another (pictures in Thiersch, *op cit*, p 130, Kühnel, *op cit*, xviii, Saladin, *Manuel*, p 217, Marçais, *Manuel* and *op cit*) This tower already shows the scheme of decoration of the Giralda and allied towers, namely the vertical combination of two windows or doors of the middle axis above one another by flanking double high shallow niches The almost contemporary Giralda in Seville of about 1190 A D, the so-called Tower of Hasan in Rabat and the Kutubīya in Marrākush are allied to it, the two latter of the end of the vith (xiith) century (pictures in Thiersch, Kuhnel, Marçais), all square with narrower square top stories, of which only that of the Kutubīya still survives These towers already show the system of decorating the surface now becoming typical in the later Maghribī manāras, the network of geometrical patterns in high relief and the beautiful windows with horseshoe and toothed arches and muḳarnat niches In the other towers of Morocco, in Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, etc, are more modern minarets The characteristic type of Algeria is best seen in the numerous minarets in Tlemcen, mainly of the xiiith—xivth

century They continue the form, characterized above, only the geometrical decoration in relief gains the upper hand and the windows disappear, their appearance is not quite so solid On the other hand, the huge minaret of the great mosque of Mansūra is highly thought of in Morocco for its size as well as its decoration, because it was built by a Moroccan Marinid (701–702 = 1302) The square tower therefore dominates the whole of the west It is only later in the xvith century that we find the octagonal tower appearing in Tunis, which Saladin attributes to Hanafī influence

The ʿIrāḳ and Djazīra give a picture of development similar to that of Persia and the lands east of Persia The oldest manāras still standing, the two malwiyas in Sāmarrā of the iiith (ixth) century, have remained the only examples of spiral towers but they are significant monuments of the early Muslim Arab variation of Babylonian architecture (the spiral as motif[1]) These genuinely Arab buildings were followed by a reaction towards the Mediterranean style with square and octagonal towers and with the coming of the Turkish peoples and Saldjūk rule the cylindrical minaret, usually on a polygonal base The following list is given by Herzfeld (*Arch Reise*, ii 229) Rakka, mosque extra muros, rectangular tower of the ivth (xth) or vth (xith) century, Rakka, intra muros, a round tower, Nūr al-Dīn 561 (1166), Abū Hurairа, round, Bālis, octagonal, 589 (1193) to 615 (1218), Irbil, round on octagonal base 586—630 (1190—1232), Sindjār, round on polygonal base 598 (1201), Baghdād, Sūk al-Ghazl, round on a base (?) (630 = 1232), Mōsul, minaret of the great mosque, round on a cubical base, Mōsul, minaret of the Kalʿa, round on a cubical base, Mōsul, Manāra al-Maksūra, Taʿūk, round shaft on a polygonal base In addition there is the unique octagonal minaret built of small broken stones with a covering of plaster, on the island of ʿAna in the Euphrates of the vth (xith) century (Herzfeld, *op cit*, ii 319, and Pl 137) and the bulk of the later minarets from the viiith (xivth) century onwards, which repeat this type

Persia The oldest manāras of Īrān and the countries adjoining on east and north, Afghānistān, Sidjistān and Turkestān seem to have been usually octagonal, as the ruin of the manāra, possibly of the iiith (ixth) century in Zarandj, Nād ʿAlī, Sidjistān (now 25—30 feet, originally twice as high, cf G P Tate, *Seistan*, Calcutta 1910, p 202 and Plate) shows The models for these earliest manāras may have been the watch-towers found all over the Asiatic steppes, hence the blind window and the great diameter Octagonal manāras still exist in Amiān, Sidjistān (vth—viith century ?), octagonal with cylindrical upper storey are the two observatory towers of Ghazna of about 410 (1019—1020) and 495 (1101—1102) (the original height was estimated at about 140 feet, the inscriptions on the two towers only say that their erection was ordered by Mahmūd and Masʿūd respectively, both with full titles, cf Diez, *Chur Bdkm*, p 162 *sqq*) Counterparts to these towers in two parts are the manāras in Sirwān, east of Herāt (c 100 feet high) and Kerāt in eastern Khurāsān (c 80 feet high), with octagonal bases and cylindrical shaft, both of the vth (xith)—vith (xiith) centuries Cylindrical manāras of the vth—vith (xith–xiith) centuries still survive in Persia and the lands east of it in Sangbast, Fīrūzābād, Kāsimābād (Sidjistān), Khosrugird (Sabzawar) of the year 505 (1111), Damghān, (2) Bastām, Sawa, Semnān, Tabas, Kunya Urgendj (old Khīwa), Termes on the Amū Daryā, Bukharā, Manār-i Kalyān 542 (1147—1148), Kāshān, Mestoryān (Turkoman steppes north of the Atrek, 2 towers) and Isfahān (4) (cf the list in Diez, *Persien*, *Isl Bk in Churâsân*, b 168—169) In the Timūrid period with the general flourishing of architecture the manāras are given a further last increase in their embellishment, a few examples of which are still to be seen in the Timūrid ruins in Herāt Here we still have the ruins of nine polygonal-cylindrical manāras the socles of which are usually of slabs of white marble with inscriptions in relief, the shafts to the top covered with glazed mosaics of fabulous beauty which in their delicacy recall the work of the carver in ivory (cf Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p 58 *sqq* and illustrations, p 157 *sqq*) To this Timūrid group also belong the manāras in Samarkand mostly in ruins and the minarets of the Masdjid-i Shāh in Mashhad built by the amir Malik Shāh and the two minarets now destroyed of the Blue Mosque in Tabriz, built in the time of Djahān Shāh (841—872 = 1437—1467) The last mentioned minarets belong to the group of double towers found all over Persia and Turkestān which either flank the doors or stand at the corners of the wall of a mosque or are built on the top of the doors These double towers which become more and more common after the Saldjūk and Mongol invasions never of course attained the height of the single manāras just described and their importance lies mainly in their decoration

Asia Minor and Turkey Among the Saldjūks and Ottomans the manāra lost the character and individuality which it revealed among most other peoples, at least in the early period Apart from isolated exceptions like the very interesting fluted minaret at Adalia (pictures in Lanckoronski, and Thiersch, *op cit*, p 149), the minarets are henceforth subordinated in the general architectonic scheme to the main building, either placed as a pair at the gate or as a single tower built into the wall of the mosque It is true that these arrangements are found also in Persia, which was filled with Turkish tribes, but there was constant change there, while in Asia Minor a certain style soon became predominant which culminated in the absolute uniformity of the Ottoman minarets The early minarets of Asia Minor of the xiiith century usually have their surfaces broken up into round and smooth areas which give them a certain charm, especially when this plastic ornamentation is combined with the painting of frescoes and with relief (Laranda Masdjid and Indje Minareli, Konia, Giok Medrese, Sīwās, etc) The Ottomans heightened the minaret which they had taken over from the Saldjūks, made it still more slender and gave it a long conical spire which has become typical According to the importance of the mosque, it was given one tower on the front or flanked with two or even 4 or six minarets (the Mosque of Sultān Ahmad, Constantinople) and these were given one, two or three galleries

India In India there is only a single old manāra of importance the Kuṭb Minār (q v and the illustrations) in Old Delhi built by order of Aibek Kutb al Dīn and completed by Iltutmish (diameter 45 feet and height 240 feet) The three lower stories of this, the highest and finest ma

nāra in the Muslim world, are built of red sandstone, the two upper, which have been restored, of white marble with layers of sandstone The pavilion which once crowned the top fell down in 1803 during an earthquake and was put up again on the ground The exterior is of angular and round flutings and ornamented with inscriptions from the Kur'ān There is no reason to doubt that the numerous mosques of the Pathan dynasties also had minarets but most of them seem to be destroyed and so far as I am aware no one has yet studied the subject Isolated surviving manāras like the detached slender round minaret of the Lat-ki-Masdjid in Hisār show however that they were usual (cf *Arch Surv India*, *Annual Report*, Pt I, 1913—1914, Pl I) But their occurrence in India was confined to particular areas The mosques of Djawnpur, Sikej, Manda, Kulbargah and other places usually of the xiv^th—xv^th century have no minarets On the other hand they are characteristic of the xv^th—xvi^th century mosques in Ahmadābād, built in pairs flanking the doors or at the corners of the surrounding wall, as in the Mongol mosques of Persia In shape, the towers of Ahmadābād are quite Indian with well marked outlines, many mouldings outside and three to six galleries In the Moghul empire again the smooth round or facetted minaret of Persian origin again became predominant but was hinduised by the pavilion placed on the top and by other alterations

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MANĀT, an old Arabian goddess Her character can only be deduced from her name, which may safely be connected as a plural (for *manawāt*) with the Aramaic *menātā*, plur *menāwātā*, portion, lot, Hebrew *mānā*, plur *mānōt* and also with the god of fate *meni*, Is LXV 11 (cf LXX) In Arabic we have corresponding to it, *manīya*, plur *manāya*, "the allotted, fate, especially of death" She was therefore a goddess of fate, especially of death Her main sanctuary was a black stone among the Hudhailis in Kudaid, not far from Mecca on the road to Medīna near a hill called Mushallal She was however worshipped by many Arab tribes, primarily by the Aws and Khazradj in Yathrib In Mecca she was very popular along with the goddess al Lāt and al-'Uzzā [q v], the three (according to the Kur'ān) were regarded as Allāh's daughters, and in a weak moment Muhammad declared their worship permitted (cf Sūra LIII 19 *sqq*) The obscure expression "Manāt, the third, the other" is probably due simply to the rhyme According to Ibn al-Kalbī, she was the oldest deity, whose worship gave rise to that of the others, because names compounded with Manāt occur earlier than other theophoric names Another view is found in the poem of Ibn Hishām, p 145, where "the two daughters of 'Uzzā" are Manāt and al-Lāt As an independent deity we find her in the Nabataean inscriptions of al-Hidjr, where מנותו (the Aramaic plural form, cf above) is often found along with Dushāra and others Manāt is connected in a peculiar way by some writers with the great *hadjdj* [q v], for we are told that several tribes including the Aws and Khazradj assumed the *ihrām* at the sanctuary of Manāt and on the conclusion of the rites cut their hair there and dropped the *ihrām* [q v] Wellhausen sees in this an erroneous confusion of an independent pilgrimage to Manāt with the great *hadjdj*, as later writers acknowledge none but the latter, it is however possible that some such confusion may really have taken place in pagan times

That Manāt was also a domestic deity is evident from the story in Ibn Hishām, p 350 (cf Wāḳidī, ed Wellhausen, p 350) The destruction of the

great sanctuary in Kudaid after the capture of Mecca is attributed by some to ʿAlī, according to Wākidī, *op cit*, Ibn Saʿd, III/II 15, 25, to the Awsī Saʿd b Zaid

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MANĀZGERD [See MALĀZGERD]

AL **MANĀZIL** (A), pl of *al-manzil*, more fully *manāzil al-kamar*, the stations of the moon Just as for the sun the zodiacal circle is divided into 12 stations each of 30°, which it traverses in the course of a year, so the course of the moon is connected with 28 groups of stars, each of which corresponds to one day of its course, so that on an average each is an arc of 13° apart The settings of the sun at these stations, Arabic *naw*², pl *anwā*², are of decisive importance for the beginning and forecasting of the phenomena of the weather and the fertility or otherwise of a year which depends on them, i e for the peasant's calendar As regards the testimony of the Arab poets, the reader may be referred to the verses given by al-Kazwīnī M Steinschneider in particular has published very thorough investigations of the importance of the stations of the moon among the Hindus and Arabs from Arabic, Hebrew and late Latin sources The Arabic names of the stations and the constellations belonging to them are as follows

1 *al-Sharatān*, "the two signs", also *al-Ashrāt*, the Horns of the Ram (β γ Arietis)

2 *al-Butain*, "the little paunch", the paunch of the Ram (ε δ ρ Arietis)

3 *al Thurayyā*, "the Pleiades" [q v]

4 *al-Dabarān*, "the Aldebaran" (α Tauri) with the Hyades

5 *al Hakʿa*, three small stars on the head of Orion

6 *al-Hanʿa*, the stars *al-Zirr* and *al Maisān* (γ ξ Geminorum)

7 *al Dhirāʿ*, "the Lion's Paw", Castor and Pollux (α β Geminorum)

8 *al-Nathra*, "the nostril" of the Lion or fence with asses (in Cancer)

9 *al-Tarf*, i e *Tarf al-Asad*, "the eye" of the Lion (ξ Cancri λ Leonis)

10 *al-Djabha*, i e *Djabhat al-Asad*, "the forehead" of the Lion (ζ γ η α Leonis)

11 *al-Zubra*, i e *Zubrat al Asad*, "the mane" of the Lion (δ θ Leonis)

12 *al-Sarfa*, "the weathercock" (β Leonis)

13 *al-Sawwāʾ*, "the barkers" or Dogs (β η γ δ ε Virg)

14 *al-Simāk*, "the prominent", more accurately *al Simāk al-aʿzal*, the unarmed S (α Virg = Spica, cf *E I*, III 456)

15 *al-Ghafr*, "the cover" (φ ι κ Virginis)

16 *al-Zubāna*, i e *Zubānat al ʿAkrab*, "the pincers" of the Scorpion (α β Librae)

17 *al-Iklil*, "the crown", i e the head of the Scorpion, the three stars (β δ π Librae)

18 *al-Kalb*, "the heart" of the Scorpion, the Antares (α Scorp)

19 *al-Shawla*, "the tail" or sting of the Scorpion (λ υ Scorp)

20 *al Naʿāʾim*, "the ostriches", 8 stars in Sagittarius (γ δ ε η σ φ τ ζ Sagitt)

21 *al-Balda*, "the town", an area in Sag without stars

22 *Saʿd al-Dhābih*, "the luck of the slayer" or sacrificers (α β Capric)

23 *Saʿd Bulaʿ*, "the luck of the devourer" (μ ν Aquar)

24 *Saʿd al-Suʿūd*, "the greatest luck" (β ξ Aquar)

25 *Saʿd al-Akhbiya*, "the luck of the tents" (γ ζ π η Aquar)

26 *al-Fargh al-awwal*, "the fore socket" on the pail (α β Pegasi)

27 *al-Fargh al thānī*, "the hinder socket" on the pail (γ Peg α Androm)

28 *Batn al Hūt*, "the fish-belly", a number of stars in the form of a fish (β Androm the brightest)

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MANBIDJ (Bambyke, Hierapolis), an ancient city in northern Syria, two days' journey or 10 farsakh N E of Halab, about 3 farsakhs from the Euphrates It lay in a fertile plain, and had a double wall built by the Greeks According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, there was a very fine church there, built of wood (*B G A*, VI 161 *sq*) Ps Dionysios (ed Chabot, p 47, 68) mentions a church of the Virgin and another of St Thomas in Manbidj There were no buildings in the neighbourhood of the town (Nāsir-i Khusraw, ed Schefer, p 31), Abu 'l Fidāʾ mentions the many canals, fruit- and particularly mulberry-trees there, the latter for the silkworm culture As K Ritter (*Erdkunde*, X 1057 *sqq*) has shown, the name Βόμβυξ for the silkworm can hardly be connected with "Bambyke", the old name of Manbidj, on the other hand, the Levantine trade-name *bombassino*, *bombagio*, common in the middle ages for raw cotton, seems to be derived from Manbidj, it is perhaps also concealed in the name of the ancient Phrygian Hierapolis, Pambuk-Kalʿesī (as early as Michael Syrus, ed Chabot, I 148 Mabbug in Phrygia) The Arabs called the robes made in Manbidj, *manbidjānīya* (Lammens, *Fātima*, Rome 1912, p 71)

Kamāl al-Dīn b al-ʿAdīm gives the following account of its origin Khusraw [I] built it, when he conquered Syria (in reality the town in 540 A D ransomed itself from a threatened siege by paying tribute), built a fire-temple there and made a certain Yazdānyār of the family of Ardashīr b Bābak its governor According to other authorities, Manbih was the name of the fire-temple, from which the town took its name (Ibn al-Shihna, *al Durr al-muntakhab fī Taʾrīkh Halab*, ed Sarkīs, Bairūt 1909, p 227) Mahbūb (Agapios) b Kustantīn of Manbidj says in his history of the world written

in the tenth century, at the end of the history of the patriarchs (ed Vasiliev, *Patrol Orient*, v [1910], p 664) "in the year 31 after the birth of Levi, the son of Jacob, queen Samrīn built a great sanctuary for the worship of the idol *K-y-w-s* in a town on the banks of the Euphrates (?), installed 70 priests and called the town Hieropolis (Mahbūb اپروپولس, Ibn al-Shihna, p 227 اپروپولس, var اپروفوس), i e the City of the Priests, this was the town *Manbidj al-ʿAtika*" For *K-y-w-s Kawān* should be read, on the coins of Hieropolis this deity seems also to be depicted (Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadoc and Syria* [Brit Mus], 1899, p liii), and the Armenian Epiphanios (ed Finck, p 12) says "Hrapōlis consists of 3 towns it is called Mnpēčn, in it is the idol *Kaynana*", with Preuschen (*Gotting Gel Anz*, clxvii [1905], ii, p 837, note 3) we should here also read *Kaywan*

In reality Manbidj seems to have already been known to the Assyrians (as Nappigi or Nampigi in Salmanassar, *Kar kh-Monolith*, iev 35, Johns, *Assyr Bibl*, xvii 11, 82, cf also Bambuki on the cuneiform tablet *Brit Mus K 180*, in Johns, *Assyr Deeds and Documents*, N° 773, Cheyne's *Encycl Bibl*, s v *Carchemish*) If the name is of Semitic origin, it perhaps goes back to a Syriac word *mambog*, "spring" (Noldeke, *Nachr G G W*, 1876, p 5—8) The Greeks knew as the name of the town besides Hierapolis (on coins always Hieropolis) also the native form of Βαμβύκη (rarely Βανβύκη *Papyr Oxyrh*, xi [1915], p 197, col v, l 100), in the common proper name Μαμβογαῖος etc, Nabataean Mambogītā, the name of the town is concealed (for references see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz*, suppl vol, iv, p 733) The town which at first was included in Kyrrhestikē and afterwards was made, probably by Constantius, the capital of the Syrian Euphratesia, played an important part in ancient times as the centre of the worship of Atargatis Bardaisān was brought up here by a heathen priest Anūdūzbar and his son Kuduz After the triumph of Christianity, the pagan cult was supplanted by the worship of holy relics, which also brought numbers of the faithful to Bambyke (Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyr*, ch 18, in Migne, *Patr Grace*, lxxxvii, iii, col 2817) From the third century onwards the town is frequently mentioned as a place for the concentration of troops for campaigns against the east or for the defence of Syria In the Byzantine period it was a great centre of the Monophysites, according to whose tradition Justinian married Theodora in Hierapolis, she is said to have belonged to the neighbourhood of the town (Michael Syrus, ii 189) After the end of the Byzantine period, it was for a considerable period a stronghold of the Maronites (Michael Syrus, ii 412, 511)

In the year 16 Abū ʿUbaida went to Halab al-Sādjūr and sent ʿIyād b Ghānim on to Manbidj The inhabitants capitulated under the same conditions as the people of Antioch, when Abū ʿUbaida reached the town, the agreement was ratified (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 150, al-Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 161, Ibn al-Shihna, ed Bairūt, p 228, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, p 792, § 281, p 794, § 284, p 797, § 290, p 816, § 325) Manbidj seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of independence down to the time of Yazīd I, the inhabitants of the town, for example, asked ʿUmar for permission to trade within the caliphate (Lammens, *M F O B*, vi 437, note 1) The vicinity of the town was settled by Yamanī tribes (Michael Syrus, iii 47), notably the Banī Taghlib (Lammens, *op cit*, p 445, note 1) Yazīd, when he created the *djund* of Kinnasrīn threw Manbidj into this military province (al-Balādhurī, p 132, Lammens, p 437 *sqq*) Hārūn al-Rashīd separated it again, made it the capital of the frontier district of the ʿAwāsim [q v] in 786 and appointed ʿAbd al-Malik b Sālih b ʿAlī as wālī there in 173, to whom the town owed many buildings (al-Balādhurī, *loc cit*) In 131 (748) it was severely damaged by an earthquake, in which the church of the Jacobites collapsed during mass and buried many of the worshippers in its ruins (Pseudo-Dionysios, transl Chabot, p 42, Michael Syrus, ii 510, Beathgen, *Abh f d Kunde d Morgenl*, viii/iii, 1884, p 126) The brother of the caliph al-Muʿtasim, al-ʿAbbās, who had taken part in the mutiny led by the general ʿUdjaif b ʿAnbasa, was tortured to death by Haidar b Kāwus, the Afshin of Usrūshana, at Manbidj in 223 (838) (Tabarī, iii 1265, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, vi 349, Michael Syrus, iii 101, Weil, *Gesch d Chalif*, ii 320) The conquest of Syria by Ahmad b Tūlūn in 264 (877—878) brought Manbidj also under Egyptian suzerainty (Ibn al-Shihna, p 228) In the account of the εἰκὼν ἀχειροποίητος of Edessa, said to have been compiled by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, a miracle is mentioned that took place in the time of Christ at the κάστρον Ιεραπόλεως, ὁ τῇ μὲν Σαρακηνῶν φωνῇ Μεμβιχ λεγεται, τῇ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Μαβούκ (*De imag Edess*, in Migne, *Patr Gr*, cxiii, col 432, better in von Dobschutz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u Unters z altchristl Lit*, xviii, 51**) Abgar's envoy, who was spending the night in a brickworks near Manbidj on his way back from Jerusalem hid there among the bricks the sacred handkerchief with the portrait of Christ Terrified by the bright light like that of fire, the heathen inhabitants of the neighbourhood hurried next morning to the brickworks and found there a brick with a miraculous copy of the portrait, which they carefully preserved in their city

The Hamdānid Saif al-Dawla, soon after the capture of Manbidj in 947, made his cousin, the poet Abū Firās, governor of Manbidj (Dvořák, *Abū Firās*, p 75) When the Domestikos Nicephoros Phocas invaded Syria in 962, Abū Firās, who happened to be hunting outside the town, was taken prisoner by the strategos Būdrus (Theodoros ?, Petros ?), a nephew of the emperor, and taken first to Khaishana and then to Constantinople (Dvořák, 98 *sq*, Weil, iii 17) where he wrote poems full of longing for Manbidj and his mother there (Dvořák, p 300, 302, 323 *sq*) In 966 when emperor, Nicephoros encamped before Manbidj and made the people of the town produce the sacred brick (*al-Kirmida*, i e κεραμίδιον) but did them no other injury (Yahyā al-Antākī, *Cod Parisin Bibl Nat, anc fond ar No 131 A*, fol 96a, the translation by Freytag, *Z D M G* xi 212, has been corrected by Rosen, *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, xliv, 1883, p 97—98, note d) The Byzantine writers who apparently did not know that Μέμπεττζε was the Arabic name of Hierapolis and sought to locate it in Palestine or near Hims, wrongly make Nicephoros take Manbidj in 968 and carry off the brick and some hairs from the head of John the Baptist (which was only done

by his successor) (Leo Diaconos, Bonn, iv 10, p 71, John Skylitzes, ii 364, Zonaras, xvi 25, p 503, Glykas, Bonn, p 569 etc) but this statement cannot be reconciled either with the route given for his campaign of 968 (cf v Dobschutz, *op cit*, p 172, note 1, Schlumberger, *Nicéph Phocas*, p 704—706, note 5), nor with the bounds of his conquests given by Kamāl al-Dīn (in Freytag, *Z D M G*, xi 232) It was his successor John Tzimisces, who first took the fortress (*φρούριον*) of Manbidj in 974, and found there Christ's sandals and some still bloody hairs of John the Baptist, which he brought as relics to Byzantium (Leo Diaconos, x 4, p 165)

In the year 1025 the Mirdāsid Sālih took the town (J J Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum ex Halebensibus Cemaleddini annalibus excerpta*, Bonn 1819, Rosen, *op cit*, p 68) By the treaties between Mahmūd and ʿAtīya [cf HALAB, ii, p 345a] Manbidj passed in 456–457 to ʿAtīya (Muller, *op cit*, p 56 *sq*) In 472 (1079—1080) Tādj al-Dawla Tutush occupied the town (Muller, p 88) The emperor Romanus IV Diogenes took it on his Syrian campaign in 1068 and strengthened the defences of the citadel (John Skylitzes, Bonn, ii 673, 675, 685, Michael Attaliates, Bonn, p 108 *sq*, 111, 116, Zonaras, xviii 11, 26, Bonn, iii 691, Michael Syrus, iii 168, Matthēos of Urhay, transl Dulaurier, p 162, Weil, iii 112, Kamāl al Dīn, transl Muller, *op cit*, p 63 *sq*, where it is wrongly stated that Manbidj remained Greek for 70 years) It was not till 479 (1086) that Malik-shāh deprived the Greeks of Manbidj and al-Ruhā', and gave the rule over Halab, Hamā, Manbidj and al-Lādhikīya to Ak Sonkor (Ibn al-Athīr, x 98, Weil, iii 131)

In 504 (1110—1111) the Franks conquered Manbidj, occupied and plundered the town and advanced as far as Bālis which they burned (Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerusalem*, p 88, Weil, iii 193, according to Michael Syrus, iii 215, probably wrongly, in the year 502) But they lost Manbidj again in the same year (504) (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal Muslem*, ed Reiske, iii 370) Baldwin II in 513 (1119) invaded the lands east of Halab as far as Manbidj and al-Nukra, and Joscelin, in the following year, on the pretext that one of his followers had been imprisoned in Manbidj and that no compensation had been given to him for it, plundered the lands of al-Nukra and al-Ahass (*Recueil hist or crois*, iii 623, 625) When Nūr al-Dawla Balag enticed the amīr of Manbidj, Hassān al-Baʿalbakkī, within his power and then imprisoned him in Pālū, Hassān's brother ʿĪsā seized the citadel of Manbidj, which Balag then attacked with siege artillery (1124) ʿĪsā then appealed for help to Joscelin and had him proclaimed lord of Manbidj, but Joscelin suffered a severe defeat before the walls of the town On the next day, however, Balag was mortally wounded by an arrow shot by an unknown hand (according to Kamāl al-Dīn, by ʿĪsā himself, according to Matthēos of Edessa, by a sun-worshipper) In 518 (1124) Hassān was liberated and returned to Manbidj (Ibn al-Athīr, x 436, Michael Syrus, iii 211, Matthēos of Edessa, transl Dulaurier, p 311 *sq*, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 161 *sq*) The Crusaders never again took the town after the brief occupation in 504 Although we know of Frankish archbishops of the town (cf William of Tyre, xiii 11, xv 14, xvii 17) one of whom, Franco, took part in the Council of Antioch of Nov 30, 1139 (Rohricht, *op cit*, p 223), we also know that they did not reside in Manbidj itself but in Dulūk (Doliche) (Michael Syrus, iii 191) In the old French text of William of Tyre, the archbishopric is called *Geraple* (ed Paris, i 489, ii 68, 167), a name which has often been identified with the modern Djerābulus (*Djerabīs*) (Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, Paris 1883, p 315, cf also Bischof, in *Ausland*, 1873, p 136) This equation must however be rejected on phonetic grounds (Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol and Anthrop*, Liverpool, ii [1909], p 166, note) as well as historical (*Djerābulus* = Syr *Agropos*, *Εὔρωπος*)

The Atābeg ʿImād al Dīn Zangī in 521 (1127–1128) seized the towns of Manbidj and Hisn Bizāʿa and entered Halab on the 17th Djumādā II, 522 (*Recueil hist or crois*, i 17, 380, ii/ii 69) The emperor John II Comnenos on his campaign against Zangī (1142) only captured Bizāʿa (*Πιζά*), while he passed by Manbidj (*το Βέμβετζ*) because, as Niketas (Bonn, p 37) disparagingly remarks, it was considered easy to take and lay in the hollow of a valley (*ὡς εὐκαταγώνιστον κριθὲν κ'ἀπι πεδίου κείμενον υπτιάζοντος*), a statement, which in view of the luck of success at the sieges of Halab and Shaizar hardly seems credible Anna Comnena mentions (Bonn, i 331) a certain *Βεμβετζιώτης* (i e al Manbidji), *τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης λαχών*, as in the Byzantine service, but the Byzantines never occupied the town itself after the eleventh century

An amīr Hassān of Manbidj, probably a descendant of the same name of the Hassān already mentioned, distinguished himself frequently in the fighting against the Crusaders, especially by the capture of Tell Bāshir on July 8, 1151 (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl Blochet, *R O L*, iii 526 *sq*, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 197, 268, note 3, 281) He was succeeded by his son Ghāzī (Kamāl al Dīn, *op cit*, p 543) He rebelled against Nūr al Dīn from whom he had received Manbidj as a fief Nūr al Dīn sent troops to Manbidj, deposed Ghāzī and made his brother Kutb al Dīn Īnāl (in Kamāl al Dīn Niyāl) his successor (*R O L*, iii 543, *Recueil hist or crois*, ii/ii 241) After ruling for eleven years, this well beloved amīr, who had built a Hanafī school in Manbidj (*R O L*, iii 544), was deposed in 572 (1176—1177) by Saladin (*Recueil*, i 46 *sq*, ii/ii 241, iv 132, Michael Syrus, iii 366) According to a note in Kamāl al-Dīn (*R O L*, iv 147), in the same year (572) Ghars al-Dīn Kilidj set out with his followers to Manbidj against al-Duwaik to whom Malik al-Nāsir had granted the town as a fief, but this al-Duwaik is otherwise quite unknown Takī al-Dīn ʿUmar of Hamā, a nephew of Malik al-Nāsir who was in Manbidj in 577, wished to bar ʿIzz al-Dīn's way to Halab, when he failed in this, he retired to Hamā, but was not allowed to enter it by the inhabitants (*R O L*, iv 156) ʿImād al Dīn attacked Manbidj in 578 (1182—1183) and laid waste the country round it (*R O L*, iv 162) Saladin made his brother Malik al ʿĀdil governor of Manbidj and he went there in Ramadān 579 (1183—1184) (*Rec or hist crois*, iv 249) He seems to have spent most of his time in camp, for in 582 (1186—1187) the sultān gave Manbidj to Takī al-Dīn along with other towns (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal Musl*, iv 72) Among the leaders, whom Saladin sent in 1190 against the Germans who after Frederick's death were trying to reach ʿAkkā', was Nāsir al-Dīn b Takī al Dīn of Manbidj (*Recueil*

hist or crois, III 165) Saladin's third son Malik al Zāhir Ghāzī in 589 (1193) was allotted Hārim, Tell Bāshir, Manbidj, Aʿzāz and other fortresses (*Recueil*, II/1 76, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 658) In 591 (1195) the latter set out from Kinnasrin to Karā Hisār in order to besiege Manbidj which then belonged to al-Malik al-Mansūr of Hamā but on receiving disquieting news hastened to Damascus (*R O L*, IV 209) Saif al-Dīn Tughril al-Zāhiri defeated a division of the army from Hamā, which attacked Manbidj in 595 (1199), took many prisoners and brought them to Malik al-Zāhir, who however released them again (*R O L*, IV 218) The lord of Hamā in 596 (1200), at the request of al Malik al-ʿĀdil, gave ʿIzz al Dīn Ibrāhim al Mukaddam the towns of Manbidj, Fāmiya and Kafartab in compensation for Bārin (Weil, III 434, note 4) When the latter died in Famiya, Manbidj was to go to his brother Shams al-Din ʿAbd al Malik whom however Malik al Zāhir in 597 deprived of his rule over Manbidj and Kalʿat Nadjm and carried off a prisoner with him, he offered the two towns to al-Malik al-Mansūr of Hamā, who once previously in 588 (1192—1193) had refused Manbidj (*Rec hist or crois*, III 298), if he would assist him against Malik al ʿĀdil, which however he declined to do (Rohricht, *op cit*, p 685) Al-Zāhir thereupon destroyed the citadel of Manbidj lest it should fall into an enemy's hands and gave the town, now deprived of its defences, in 597 (1201) to al-Hadjdjāf as a fief (*R O L*, IV 222) and in the following year to ʿImād al Din b Saif al-Dīn ʿAli b Ahmad al-Mashtūb (Abu 'l Fidā', *op cit*, IV 195) But very soon afterwards, al Zahir had again to send the amir of Halab, Mubāriz al Dīn Akdjā, to the siege of Manbidj the latter however with drew on the approach of Malik al Fā'iz, son of Malik al ʿĀdil Malik al-Fā'iz entered Manbidj, rebuilt the citadel and fortified it He then re turned to his father al-ʿĀdil in Nābulus, while the Halab troops avoided an encounter (*R O L*, IV 223) Soon afterwards the Halab army again marched on Manbidj but was recalled by Malik al Zāhir, who was besieging Damascus A little later, al-Zahir himself set out against Manbidj to avenge himself on the inhabitants who had taken the side of al Fā'iz, but he was appeased by his amirs, pardoned the town which submitted to him and gave it as a fief in 598 (1202) to Ibn al Mashtūb (*R O L*, IV 224) The Saldjūk Kai kā'ūs in 615 (1218—1219) went to Manbidj, which opened its gates to him, placed one of his officers, Sārim al Dīn al-Manbidjī, as governor there and repaired the walls of the town, but when al-Malik al Ashraf approached, he left the town again and suffered heavy losses in his retreat (*Re cueil hist or crois*, II/1 146, Kamāl al Dīn, in *R O L*, VI 57, Abu 'l Fidā', *Ann Musl*, IV 266) When the Sultān of Halab, al Malik al Nāsir, concluded an alliance with the Sultān of Rūm for their mutual defence against the raids of the Tur komans, he sent the kādī of Manbidj Awhad al Dīn, as a confidential envoy to him (*R O L*, V 94) Al Malik al Mughīth of Harrān fled in 635 (1237–1238) before the Khwārizmians to Manbidj to seek protection with his aunt (*R O L*, V 103) When the Khwārizmians three years later invaded Syria, a Halab army met them but suffered an annihilating defeat on the Nahr al Dhahab (*R O L*, VI 3) Thereupon the Khwārizmians advanced on Manbidj, the inhabitants of which retired be hind its walls and barricaded the place where the walls were no longer standing The town was stormed on the 21st Rabīʿ II 638, numerous inha bitants put to death, the houses destroyed and rich booty taken, the enemy even entered the mosque where many women had taken refuge and violated them (*R O L*, VI 6) After the Khwārizmians had been driven back, al-Malik al Mansūr re-entered Manbidj (*R O L*, VI 17) In the treaty between Sultān Kala'ūn and Leo of Armenia of the 1st Rabiʿ II 684 (June 6, 1285), Manbidj is mentioned among the Egyptian towns (Makrīzī, ed Quatre mere, *Hist des Sultans Mamlouks*, II/1 168, transl, p 205)

According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairūt 1909, p 228), Manbidj which previously, excluding its 8 suburbs, had paid annually 510,000 dirhams to the Sultan's Dīwān, was destroyed by the Tatars (who invaded Syria several times between the end of 699 [1299] and 702 [1302]), perhaps there is here a confusion with the Khwārizmians According to Abu 'l Fidā', the fortifications and the town were for the most part in ruins in his time, Khalīl al-Zāhiri does not mention it at all

After the Russo-Turkish War (1879) Circassians were settled in Manbidj since that date the few remains of antiquity noticed by earlier travellers have almost completely disappeared

The ruins of *Bumbudj*, as the name of the place is now pronounced by the natives with a marked echo of the ancient Bambyke (Euting in M Hartmann, *Zeitschr d Gesellsch f Erdk*, Berlin, XXIX 525, Littmann, *Americ Archaeol Exped to Syria*, III 171, note 3), have been visited by Maundrell (1699), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1747), Sachau (1879), Cumont (1907) and Hogarth (1908) The old town walls, surrounded by a broad ditch which were several times restored in the middle ages, still survive almost in their entirety (Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I, 1888, p 238)

Bibliography al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed v Mžik in *Bibl arab Histor u Geogr*, III, Leipzig 1926, p 20 (N° 273), al Battānī, *al Zidj al-sābi*, ed Nallino (*Pubbl del R Osservat di Brera in Milano*, XL), II 41 (N° 154), III 238, al-Istakhrī in *B G A*, I 62, 65, 67, Ibn Hawkal in *B G A*, II 120, 125–127, al Makdisī in *B G A*, III 54, 60, 154, 190, Ibn al-Fakih in *B G A*, V 111, 115, 117, 134, Ibn Khurdādhbih in *B G A*, VI 75, 98, 117, 162, Kudāma in *B G A*, VI 228 *sq*, 246, 254, Ibn Rusta in *B G A*, VII 83, 97, 107, Yaʿkūbi in *B G A*, VII 363, al Masʿūdī, *Tanbih* in *B G A*, VIII 44, 152, do, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard, VI 437, note 3, al Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister in *Z D P V*, VIII 26, Abu 'l Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed Rei naud, p 271, do, *Annales Muslem*, ed Reiske, III 370, 430, IV 24, 72, 108, 140, 266, Nāsir-i Khusraw, *Sefer-Nāme*, ed Schefer, p 31, Ibn Djubair, ed Wright, p 250, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, IV 654, Safī al-Din, *Marāsid al-Ittilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, III 153, *Beschreibung von Haleb* in Paris ms arab, N° 1683, fol 79r, transl Blochet in *R O L*, III 526, note 4, al-Tabari, *Annales*, I 959, II 779, 1876, III 47, 654, 694, 1103, 1265, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 132, 150, 188, 191, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, *Index*, vol II, p 813, al-Kalkashandī,

Subḥ al-Aʿshā, ed Cairo, IV 127, Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Taʾrīkh Halab*, ed Serkīs, Bairūt 1909, p 191 f, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p 500 *sq*, do, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 107, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p 92, Hitzig, *Drei Stadte in Syrien*, in *ZDMG*, VIII, 1854, p 211 *sqq*, Noldeke in *Nachr G G W*, 1876, p 5—8, Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* [6], Oxford 1740, p 153 [8, London 1810, p 204], Pococke, *Description of the East*, II/1, London 1745, p 166, Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Asia*, London 1754, p 209, 289, Chesney, *Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, I 510, Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p 146—152, Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol and Anthrop*, II, Liverpool 1909, p 183—196, Chabot in *JA*, ser IX, vol XVI, 1900, p 277, Cumont, *Revue de l'histoire des relig*, lxii 1910, p 119—122, do, *Etudes Syriennes*, Paris 1917, p 23—26 and Index, p 358, Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et medievale*, Paris 1927, p 474 *sq*, 518 — On the ancient town cf my article *Hierapolis* in Pauly Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, Suppl-Bd IV, col 733—742 (E HONIGMANN)

MAND (?), a people whom the Arabs found in Sind Only the outline of the name is certain ﻣﻨﺪ = *MYD (Mīd, Maid), *MND (Mand, Mund) In the reign of Muʿāwiya (41–60), Rashid b ʿAmr lost his life on an expedition against the Mand (Balādhurī, p 433) During the governorship of al-Hadjdjādj, some Mand from Daibul [q v] seized on the high seas the Muslim women who were being repatriated by the king of the Rubis islands (Djazīrat al Yāḳūt), this act of piracy served the Arabs as a pretext to send an expedition against Daibul (*ibid*, p 435) After 95 (714) Muhammad b Kāsim concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Surast (?) who were "Mand, pirates of the sea" (*yaktaʿūna fi 'l-bahr*), *ibid*, p 440, the name of this place recalls Surāshtra = Kāthiāwār In the reign of al Muʿtasim (218–227), ʿAmrān b Mūsā attacked the Mand, of whom he slew 3,000 and built a dyke (canal ?) of the Mand (*sakr al-Mand*) probably to disturb their irrigation Then with the Zutt whom he had conquered ʿAmrān resumed the campaign against the Mand, a canal (*nahr*) was dug from the sea and the lagoon (*batiha*) of the Mand inundated with salt-water (*ibid*, p 445) In the same period Muhammad b Fadl, commander of the fort of Sandān (Damān to the south of Sūrat ?, cf Elliot, I 402), undertook a naval expedition against the Mand with a fleet of 70 ships (*ibid*, p 446)

Of the geographers, Ibn Khurdādhbih (p 56, 62) is the first to mention the Maid (?) who were four days' journey from the Indus (to the east) and who were robbers Masʿūdi (*Murūdj*, I 378), who visited India after the year 300 says that the country of Mansūra is continually at war with the Mand of Sind and other peoples, cf also Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 55 Istakhrī, p 176 (= Ibn Hawḳal, p 231) mentions the Budha and the Mand among the infidel peoples of Sind The latter lived on the banks of the Indus (*shuṭūt al-Mihrān*) from Multān to the sea, and occupied pasturages in the desert which stretched between the Indus and Kāmuhul According to Idrīsī (548 = 1154), transl Jaubert, I 163, the Mand dwelt on the borders of the desert of Sind They pastured their flocks up to the borders of Māmahal (Kāmuhul ?) They were numerous and owned many horses and camels, their raids extended as far as Dūr (read Rōr, cf LŪLĪ) and sometimes even to Makrān This last detail is curious for it indicates an extension of the Mand towards Persia, but the text is not certain perhaps we should read Multān After this the name Mand disappears from Muslim literature

The town of "Kāmuhul", the site of which is important to fix the limit of the habitations of the Mand, is sometimes located in Hind (Istakhrī, p 176), sometimes between Sind and Hind (Idrīsī) The form of the name is uncertain (Fāmhal, Māmhal, Amhal) Elliot, I 363, identified it with Anhalwāra, cf al-Birūnī, p 100 This last town (Anhilwāra, Nahrwāra, founded in 746 A D) is identical with the modern Pātan (on the Saraswatī in northern Baroda, cf *Imp Gazett of India*, 1908, vol XX, Cunningham *op cit*, p 290, places "Māmhal" at Umarkot) In any case Kāmuhul must mark the limit of the pasturages of the Mand to the S E of al Mansūra (= Haidarābād, on the Indus, cf Elliot, I 370)

Among the Muslim sources a special place is occupied by the *Mudjmil al-Tawārikh*, written in Persian in 520 (1126) This work gives extracts from a book which was composed first in an Indian language, then translated into Arabic by Abū Ṣālih b Shuʿaib b Djāmī (in 417 = 1028) and finally translated from Arabic into Persian by Abu 'l Hasan ʿAlī b Muhammad al-Halabī, librarian in Djurdjān This source which is a very inaccurate resumé of the *Māhabhārata*, begins with a chapter on the *Maid and the Zutt, two peoples in the land of Sind, descendants of Cham (Hām), son of Noah The Maid had conquered the Zutt, who withdrew to the banks of the river Pahn (or Bahr ?) and from there attacked the Maid by water Finally tired of fighting, the two peoples agreed to approach king Dahūshān b Dahrān (Duryodhana, son of Dhrtarashtra) to ask him to appoint a king over them Dahūshān sent them his sister Dusal (Duççalā), married to Bdjndrt (Jayadratha) who became a powerful king At the request of Dusal, Dahūshān sent 30,000 Brahmans to people Sind One part of the country was given to the Zutt, who were given as a ruler Djūdrt (Yudhishthira, eldest son of Dhrtarāshtra) The Maid (Maidiyān) also were given a special area, cf Reinaud, *Fragments arabes et persanes relatifs a l'Inde*, 1845, p 2—3, 25—27

Here we have an attempt to connect the history of the Maid and Zutt with Indian tradition by quoting a passage in the *Māhabhārata* which says that Duççalā was given in marriage to Jayadratha, "king of the lands watered by the Indus" (transl Fauche, Paris 1863, I 290, çloka 2742) Indian tradition however contains nothing definite of value about the Mand In the *Brhat-Samhita*, transl Kern, *JRAS*, 1871, p 81—86 which is one of the sources for the enumeration of the peoples of India in al-Bīrūnī (ed Sachau, p 150—157, transl I 299—303), we find a Māndavya people (located in the centre, north or northwest of India) The derivation of the Arabic Mand from some such name may be suspected (cf the name of the

modern town on the coast of Kāthiāwār Māndvi) On the other hand in Central India alongside of the Māṇḍavya the Medha are mentioned (al-Bīrūnī Maidha, the final *a* being only indicated by means of a *fatha*)

The question of the Maid/Mand has been discussed by Elliot and A Cunningham, the former (*Hist of India* [1867], i 519—531) says that the Meds still exist on the borders of Sind and Jodhpūr, as well as to the west in the little harbours of Makrān (the clans of Gazbur, Hormārī, Djallar-zā'ī, Čelmar-zā'ī) The name *Med has even undergone a phonetic change to Mer (which we find in the mountains of Ārāwālī and in Kāthiāwār) Elliot also thinks it possible that the Meds or one of their branches bore the name Mand of which traces can be found in place names (Mand-ar, Mand hro, etc) Cunningham in his *Report 1863—1864* connected the Zutt and the "Mayd or Mand" with the Iatii and Mandrueni whom Pliny (*Nat Hist*, vi, ch xviii) mentions near the Oxus and calls the "Med or Mer" the first Indo-Scythic invaders of the Pandjāb In *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p 290—294, Cunningham finds a variant of the name Mand in the name of the town Μινναγάρα of the *Periplus mar Erythr* (cf Ptolemy, vii/1, § 63 Μιναγάρα to the east of Indo Scythia), which would be "the town of the Scythians, Min" = Manhābarī (Mandjābarī) of the Arabs = Thatha, etc

The question of the Mand evidently deserves a new special study Was there only one, or two peoples *Maid and *Mand? The statements of the Muslim authors seem to refer to a single people The toponymy of the land south of the Indus reveals the presence of an old element *Mand*, cf Ptolemy, vii/1, § 7 Mandagara When its origins have been studied, it will be interesting to compare its possible connection with the oldest name of the Aryans, *Manda*, found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the third millenium B C according to E Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti Reiches*, *Z D M G*, lxxvi, 1922, p 247 According to E Meyer, *Die Volksstamme Kleinasiens*, *Sitzb A W Berlin*, 1925, p 244—261 (cf do, *Gesch d Altertums*[2], vol ii, sect 1, p 35, note 3), the name "Manda" meant the Scythians who in the seventh century B C had invaded nearer Asia and was sometimes transferred to the Medes along side of whom the Scythians were settled A diame trically opposite process would be to compare *MND with the name of the Mundā language (of the Mon Khmer family), cf in this connection Przyluski, *Un ancien peuple du Penjab*, *Les Udumbara*, *J A*, 1920, N° 1, p 53, where a theory is advanced according to which, before the arrival of the Indo Aryans the valley of the Indus was peopled by "Austro Asiatics" from the Himalayan zone to the sea The influence of the Austro-Asiatic substratum, i e languages of the Mundā type, would also explain the preservation in Sanskrit of the aspirated sonants (V Minorsky)

MĀND (Mūnd, Mund), the longest river in Fārs (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb* 50 farsakhs, E C Ross over 300 miles in length)

The name As a rule in Persia, sections of a river are called after the districts through which they flow Mānd is the name of the last stretch near its mouth The name seems to appear for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma* (before 510 = 1116) but only in the composite Māndistān (cf below)

The old name of the river is usually transcribed in Arabic characters Sakkān (Istakhrī, p 120, Ibn Hawkal, p 191, Idrīsī, tr Jaubert, i 401) but the orthography varies Thakān, *Fārs nāma*, *G M S*, p 152, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 134, Zakkān or Žakkan, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 217, Sitāragān, *Djihān-numā*, p 247, cf also Saihkān in Hasan Fasā'ī

The identification of the Sakkān with the Σιτακός mentioned in the *Periplus* of Nearchus (Arrian, *Indica*, xxxviii 8) is generally recognised The identity of Sitakos with the Sitioganus (Sitiogagus) mentioned by Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi 26 is also usually admitted (Weissbach 1927), but Herzfeld (1907) relying on the existence of another river, the Shādhkān (= Sitioganus?), has suggested doubts about the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus Now, according to Istakhrī, p 119, the Shādhkān flows into the Persian Gulf at Dasht al-Dastakān (north of Būshir?) This Shādhkān must be identified with the river Shāpūr The *Fārs nāma*, ed Le Strange, p 163, mentions Rūdbāl-i Sittadjān ("the banks of the S") as a station on the road from Shīrāz to Tawwadj From this fact and especially from the name, Sittadjān seems to be applied to the left bank tributary of the Shāpūr Pliny, who follows Onesicritos, adds that by the Sitioganus one reaches Pasargades in 7 days (*quo Pasargadus septimo die navigatur*) Whatever be the identity of the Sitioganus, the exaggeration in this statement is evident (especially in the direction of the sea to Pasargades) and the waters of Pasargades (Mashad-i Murghāb) do not flow into the Persian Gulf But there is nothing to prove the absolute impossibility of using the Sakkān as a subsidiary means of transport in the season of floods (the winter) According to Arrian, Nearchus found at the mouth of the Sitakos large quantities of corn which Alexander had brought there for the army Istakhrī, p 99 places the Sakkān among the rivers of Fārs which are navigable at need (*al-anhār al-kibār allati tahmilu al sufuna idhā udjriyat fī hā*)

Another question is the phonetical identity of the names Sitakos (Sitioganus?) and Sakkān According to C F Andreas, Σιτακός is a nominative restored from a supposed genitive *Σιτακῶν (Sitakān), Sitiogan-us is a mistake for Sittagan-us, lastly the peculiarity of the Arabic script could explain the change of Sittakān to Sakkān Here we may add that Hasan Fasā'ī gives one of the stretches of the river the strangely written form Saihkān (< *Stkān?) Istakhrī however derives the name of the river from that of the village of Sakk (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb* Zakān) in the district of Karzīn considerably below the Saihkān stretch of the river

To sum up the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus does not seem sufficiently established

The course of the river The Sakkān (Mānd) describes a great curve At first it runs in the direction N W -S E, to the northern base of the Kūh i Marra-yi Shikaft, which separates it from the valley of the river Shāpūr It follows this direction (c 100 miles) to the end of Āsmān-gird mountains around which it makes a bend and turns south (70 miles) It then meets the parallel ranges which run along the Persian Gulf and continues its winding course to the sea in a westerly direction (140 miles)

The Sakkān (Mānd) and its tributaries drain and irrigate a considerable area. Istakhrī says that

its waters contribute the largest share to the fertility of Fārs (*aktharu ʿimārat^in*)

The sources of the river (Kān-i Zaid, Čihil-čashma and Surkh-rag) rise in the mountains of Kūh-i Nār and Kūh-i Mairayi-Shikaft in the N W and W of Shīraz These streams unite before Khān i Zinyān in the district of Māsarm on the great Shīrāz-Kāzrūn-Būshīr road Istakhrī, p 120, places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Shādhfarī (?) in the district of Ruwaidjān (?) In the same author, p 130, Khān al-Asad on the Sakkān corresponds to the modern Khān i Zinyān The *Fārs-nāma* (and the *Nuzhat al Kulūb*) places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Čatrūya (?) Under the Turkish name of Karaaghač, i e "[the river of] the elm", the combined streams flow through the districts of Māsarm (= Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikaft), Siyākh (Istakhrī, p 120 Siyāh) and Kawār In this last district, Rivadaneyra, iii 81, going from Shīrāz to Fīrūzābād crossed the river by a "substantial bridge" It is in the district of Kawar that Hasan Fasā'ī gives the river the name of Saihkān In Kawār (Hasan Fasā'ī) there used to be the barrage of Band i Bahman, where by a subterranean channel (*kanāt*) part of the water was led into reservoirs (*čāh*) and then to the fields In the bulūk of Khafr (Istakhrī, p 105 Khabr), which must be distinguished from the district of the same name in the kūra of Istakhr, the river turns south Aucher-Eloy, who crossed the river on the road from Fīrūzābād to Djarrūn (Djahrum) calls it "Tengui Tachka" (= Tang-i Kashkar?) and speaks of its "beautiful valley" Rivadaneyra continuing his journey from Fīrūzābād to Dārāb crossed the river by a ford between the villages of Tadwān and "Assun-Dscherd" (Āsmangird ?) He also admires the pleasant and flourishing aspect of Khafr Below the latter, the river enters the bulūk of Simkān where, near the village of Sarkal, it receives on its left bank, the brackish (*shūr*) river of Djahrum, and then flows through the ravine of Kārzīn, and waters the bulūk of Kir-wa-Kārzīn Abbott coming from Fasā crossed the river by a ford between ʿAlī-ābād and Lifardjān (cf the name of the ramm of Kurds in Fārs al-Liwāldjān, Istakhrī, p 113), where it was 100 yards wide and the water rose up to the horse's belly Farther down below the ford, Stack, going from Kir to Kāriyān crossed the river, here 60 yards broad, by the bridge of ʿArūs, built in a zig-zag and in two stories ("the queerest structure in the way of a bridge") Near the village of Nim dih, the river enters the bulūk of Afzar After having wound round the fort of Kalʿa yi Shahriyār the river receives (near the place called Čam-i Kabkāb) the name of Bāz and then irrigates the bulūk of Khundj (cf Ibn Battūta, ii 241 Khundjbāl = Khundj + Bāl) In the district of Diz gāh of the bulūk of Galla dār the river has two tributaries near the village of Gabrī, the Dār al-Mizān, and two farsakhs lower, that of Dihram The Dār al-Mizān comes from the left (east) side of the bulūk of Asīr The Dihram much more important comes from the right side after watering the historic district of Fīrūzābād (the ancient Gūr, capital of Ardashīr-Khurra, cf the details in Le Strange, p 256) Istakhrī, p 121 makes this tributary come from Dārdjān (of Siyāh) and water first Khunaifghān and then Gūr [in place of the name of the river Tīrza, Istakhrī, p 99, 121, one should probably read Burāza, cf the *Fārs-nāma*, p 151, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 117—118 Hakīm Burāza was the sage who dried up the Lake of Gūr]

After Diz-gāh, the river enters the district of Sanā-wa-Shumba of the bulūk of Dashtī and near the village of Bāghān receives on the right bank the river Čanīz which comes from the district of Tasūdj i Dashtī Finally near the village of Dūmānlū the river enters the coast district of Māndistān and receives the name of Mānd It flows into the sea near the village of Ziyārat, halfway between the old harbours of Nadjiram (to the north) and Siāf (to the south)

Māndistān The district forms part of the bulūk of Dashtī (which is to be distinguished from Dashtistān to the north of Dashtī up to Būshīr) Dashtī (36 × 18 farsakhs) is composed of 4 districts 1 Bardistān, the part of the coast in which is the port of Daiyir 2 Māndistān on the coast to the north of Bardistān and the two banks of the river Mand 3 Sanā and Shumba on the river above Māndistān 4 Tasūdj-i Dashtī, a very narrow valley (11 × 1/2 farsakhs), watered by the Čanīz and separating Sanā and Shumba from the bulūk Arbaʿa (on the lower course of the river of Fīrūzābād)

The whole of the bulūk belongs to the torrid zone (*garmasīr*) of Fārs Māndistān (12 × 5 farsakhs) includes lands so flat that the current of the river is imperceptible and the water cannot be used for irrigation Agriculture (wheat, barley, palm-trees) is dependent on the winter floods The district has 40 villages The capital of the district and of the bulūk is Kākī There used to be two rival families in Māndistān the Shaikhiyān and the Hadjdjiyān During the disturbances under Afghān rule (1722—1729) the Hadjdji Raʾis Djamāl exterminated the Shaikhiyān and founded a little dynasty of hereditary governors who were able to annex the district of Bardistān through matrimonial alliances One of his descendants, Muhammad Khān (d at Būshīr in 1299 = 1881), was noted as a poet under the pen name of Dashtī

Hasan Fasā'ī explains the name Māndistān by a popular etymology "the place where the water flows slowly (*wāmānda*)" Names in *-stān* are common in Fārs (Lāristān, Bardistān) but even if such a formation was possible in a river name, the element Mand would still be a puzzle It is curious that Hasan Fasā'ī sometimes writes it Mānd (read *Mūnd*) and sometimes Mund (read *Mönd*) It might be suggested as a pure hypothesis that there is a connection with the people M N D (cf MAND), of which there might have been a colony in Māndistān

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(V MINORSKY)

MANDINGO, a people of the Western Sūdān whose country of origin was on the Upper Niger stretching from Bamako to Siguiri inclusive This region includes the gold-bearing district of Bouie, Bute, or Bito as well as the provinces of Lower Faleme and of Bambuk which also produce gold At the present time the Mandingoes have spread into the mountainous country in which the two branches of the Senegal arise, they occupy Sangaran, Gangaran, Bambuk, and the valley of the Gambia to the South while to the North they extend as far as the Western Sahara In the xith century, they colonised a part of the modern Mauretania and, according to the Arab authors of this period, who mention them under the name of *Gangara* (sing *Gangari*) or *Wangara* — a word which seems to be a corruption of the name of their country of origin Gangaran, Gwangaran or Gbangaran — they were to be met with in Hodh In our time the first of these names has been kept by the Moors and the Sarakole, the second by the Songhoy, the Pul of Massina and the Hausa

The country of these natives is called according to the different dialects Manding, Mandi, Mani, Mandeng, Maneng, Mande, Mane The inhabitants are called by the names of Mandinka, Maninka, Maninga, Mandenka, Manenka or Manenga in the dialects of the Centre and of the East and Mandinko or Mandingo, in those of the North, South and West This last form in use in the British possessions of Gambia and Sierra Leone has been adopted by the English while the French keep the form Manding or Mandingue

The name of the country corrupted by the Pul has become in the language of these natives Māli, Mālli, Malli, Melli, and that of the inhabitants has become Mallinke or Malinke This last word has now come to stand for the South-Western portion of this people or for their dialect

Ethnography The Mandingo group constitutes a well marked ethnological group, but it does not form an organised people under one rule Three chief divisions can be distinguished, and these can again be subdivided into many sections They are the Malinke, the Bambara, or Banmana, and the Diula or Giula

A Sudanese historian of the xvith century, Mahmūd Kōti, who wrote the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāh* in Arabic, distinguished in his time between the Malinke and the Wangara, regarding the former as warriors and the latter as merchants and traders The Malinke are the least advanced of the Mandingoes from the social point of view, many of them remaining faithful to the matriarchal system and are still cultivators of the soil, hunters and gold diggers

An attempt has been made to derive their name from that of the hippopotamus *mali* or *meri*, and thus "malinka" would signify the "people of the hippopotamus!" This explanation is erroneous, the suffix "*ka*", signifying the nationality, can only be joined to the name of a country or of a tribe and never to that of an animal It is possible however, that the name of the country which was the cradle of their race, could come from *ma*, mother, and *deng* or *ding*, child, this word then would signify "child of the mother", in allusion to the descent by the female line which is custom ary amongst them

The Bambara inhabit the valleys of the Niger and of the Bani as far as Lake Debo, they are numerous in the Sahel They are more advanced agriculturists than the Malinke and they recognize descent by the male line An attempt has been wrongly made to derive their name from that of the crocodile *bamba* or *bama* Some authors, on the other hand, have held that their name signifies "refusal to obey a master" (*ban* refusal, *ma* master, *na* towards) This explanation, although it could be accepted linguistically, must, according to M Delafosse, be rejected He prefers that of "renunciation of the mother" (*ban* refusal or renunciation, *ba* or *ma* mother, *na* or *ra* to)

The Diula or Giula inhabiting some fairly important centres are chiefly merchants and traders They are met with in small colonies, settled amongst the indigenous peoples to the East of Bani as far as the Upper Volta and the Gold Coast Having been converted at an early date to Muhammadanism, they have remained fervent Muslims and there are amongst them quite a large number of learned men

Their name is said to signify "from the foundation, from the stock" (*diu*) According to their own account, it was given to them because their ancestors belonged to families of noble birth

At the basis of Mandingo society is an extended family (*gba* or *gwa*) comprising all the living descendants of an ancestor, sufficiently near in place and in time for all the ties of relationship not to have been forgotten In general this extended family covers four generations the patriarch, his brothers and cousins, their children, the children and grand-children of the latter, and an equal number of generations of slaves Persons of the same generation placed on the same level are called by the same name father, brother, son, without distinguishing the fathers from the uncles, the brothers from the cousins, the sons from the nephews, all are collectively sharers in the family property, which they have helped to acquire and to augment by their labours This family property consists of crops, of animals, arms, surplus utensils and clothing, as well as treasure in gold, silver or cowries gathered together by the founder of the family It is administered by the patriarch who cannot dispose of it without the consent of the majority of the other members Each of those, man or woman, possesses in addition a private store of which he has the free use

The chief exercises a political, domestic and religious authority In this capacity he is charged with making sacrifices and offerings to their ancestors and to the patron deities of the family A number of families observing the same religious prohibitions and bearing the same name (*diamu*) form a clan, the members, who form a clan are of the same origin, but so far removed by birth

that it is impossible to trace their descent back to a common origin

The chief Mandingo clans are those of Keyta, Kante, Taraore, the Dembele, the Konate, the Kulubali, the Kuruma, the Diara, the Samake, the Mareko, the Kamara, the Bakayoko etc None of them is either organised or under a single ruler

There exists between persons of different clans a particular tie called *senakuya*, without doubt the remains of an ancient phratry which obliges them to assist one another and to exchange presents on certain occasions, the same persons can also quarrel among themselves or fight with one another without involving any serious consequences

The organisation which is lacking in the clan and in the tribe shows itself on the contrary in each inhabited centre in the form of the hierarchical brotherhoods, which combine all the young people and the men of the same age who have together submitted to circumcision and to the tests of successive initiation The first is that of *ntomo*, grouping together the boys from the ages of 7 to 14 years, then there come the so-called secret societies, such as those of the *komo* or of the *nama* which consist of politico religious groups within the village

The village or *dugu* is the administrative unit, the union of a number of villages and the lands which surround it forming a district or *kafo*, a number of districts constitute a province or a kingdom, *diamana*, at the head of which there was in former times the *Mansa* or *Massa* The latter was surrounded by different ministers and assisted by a treasurer

Although Muhammadanism has long penetrated amongst the noble families of the Mandingo, the greater portion of the population has remained faithful to the worship of natural forces and of protecting deities, *dugu la siri*, *gnena* and *boli* The great religious festivals are the agrarian feasts and the most important correspond to the periods of seed time and harvest

The Language The Mandingoes properly speaking are in number about 2,800,000 of whom 77,000 are in Senegal, 1,000,000 in French Sūdān, 200,000 in the Upper Volta, 2,500 in Nigeria, 290,000 on the Ivory Coast, 550,000 in Fench Guinea, more than 680,000 live in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Liberia In addition to these natives, whose mother tongue is Mandingo, more than 2,000,000 other people speak this idiom, for this reason it is often spoken of as a language that is still spreading

The Mandingo belongs to the African Negro language and more especially to the group which M Delafosse calles Nigero-Senegalese, D Westermann Mandingo, and A Drexel Nko-Nke, it is closely allied to Susu Foreign idioms seem to have had little influence, although it has borrowed certain abstract and religious terms from the Arabic, from Phoenician or Punic it has borrowed expressions relative to horsemanship and cotton, from Berber about a dozen words, and finally during the space of the last fifty years it has further borrowed from several European languages

The roots are monosyllabic or dissyllabic and many of them can be traced to an ancient African Negro origin For example *fara*, the action of killing or being dead, seems to come from a root *far* or *fag*, cf in Susu *faxa*, Hausa *fawa*, Mossi *fare*, Fang *war*, Pul *war* (*de*), Musgu *fada*, Congo *fwa*, Swahili *fa* and *wa*, Ancient Egyptian *fex* The nominal class does not exist in this language

Mandingo uses derivative suffixes which are used to form distinct substantives used as substantives only, for example *ka*, *nka*, or *nga*, the suffix for nationality *Mandenka*, *la* or *ra*, the instrumental suffix *tege*, to cut, *tege-la*, the instrument for cutting, axe It employs also adjective suffixes, for example *ma* or *mã* indicating the possession of the thing mentioned *gyi*, water, *gyi-ma*, "full of water", *tã* indicating on the contrary the lack of the thing expressed *gyi n-tã*, "without water" Certain suffixes, joined to a simple or derived root, indicate the possession of a quality or of a state, for example *ya suru*, "short, little", *suru ya*, "shortness" and also "to shorten or to approach" Suffixes also exist, indicating determination or relationship

The Mandingo conjugation employs prefixes denoting the perfect, the aorist, the injunctive Certain auxiliary prefixes serve to indicate time It has a considerable number of verbal forms, affirmative as well as negative

This language does not possess any trace of a system of syntax of agreement, the relations between one element of a sentence and another are entirely determined by the respective position of the two elements and their grammatical function is often determined only by the place which they occupy in the sentence

In the syntax of this language, the complement of a noun, pronoun or verb always precedes the noun, pronoun or verb in question, the adjective qualifying or determining a noun always follows this noun, the noun of number always the noun of the thing numbered, an adverb modifying a word follows it The order of the words in the sentence is subject, prefix or auxiliary of conjugation, direct complement of the verb, verb root or derivative, indirect complement of the verb, adverb modifying the statement

Mandingo is divided into a fairly large number of dialects revealing differences more or less marked We distinguish the Bambara or Bamana dialects, the Diula dialects and lastly the Malinke dialects, which are themselves divided into the Malinke of the East, of the North (sometimes Khassonke), of the West and of the South

History The wide diffusion of this language is due to certain historical circumstances, and to the rise of the Mandingo hegemony which extended over almost all the Western Sūdān from the year 1250 to 1500

According to local tradition, the Mandingo sovereigns bore the title of Mansa or Massa, they belonged to the Keyta and married into that of the Konde or Kone In the beginning, they owed their influence to their knowledge of sorcery and magical practices and little by little they emerged from obscurity Ibn Khaldūn has transmitted to us the name of the first of them, Baramendana, who about the year 1050, was converted to Islām, in order to obtain, according to al-Bakrī, the end of a drought, which was cruelly trying the country of Mande, thereafter he made the pilgrimage to Mecca Native tradition has kept the name of two of the descendants of this prince, Hamana and Dyigui-Bilali The son of the latter, Mūsā, called Allakoy, reigned from the year 1200 to 1218 Four times he made a pilgrimage to Mecca,

and he extended the power of his dynasty On the other hand, his son Nare Famaga (1218–1230) suffered a great reverse and was defeated by his neighbour, the king of Sōsō, Sumanguru Kante, who annexed Mandingo in 1224 and put to death eleven out of the twelve sons of the conquered monarch The last son, Sūn Diata or Mari Diata (1230–1255), who was weak and delicate suddenly recovered his health and strength after touching his father's sceptre Little by little he got together a powerful army, with the help of which he conquered a part of Futa Djalon, the country situated between the Niger and Bani, in the region of Kita and that of Beledugu In 1235 he attacked his enemy Sumanguru Kante and defeated him at Kirina, not far from the Niger After having subdued shortly afterwards the whole of the Sōsō, he advanced in 1240 as far as the celebrated city of Ghāna which he plundered During the following years, Sun Diata took possession of Gangaran and of the gold bearing district of Bambuk, without neglecting the good administration of his lands in which he encouraged agriculture and extended the cultivation of the cotton plant Towards the year 1240 he abandoned the ancient capital of the Mandingoes, Djeriba, and transferred it to Niani, wrongly called Mali or Melli by the Arab historians He died in 1255 in the vicinity of this town One of his sons succeeded Sun Diata, whose name only is handed down to us, namely Mansa Ule or the Red King (1255—1270) After him reigned the princes Wali, Khalifa and Abu Bakari between the years 1270 and 1285 about whom we possess no information After the death of the latter, the power passed into the hands of a slave of the Keyta called Sakura or Sabakura, who kept it from the year 1285 to 1300 Then the Keyta regained the throne and under Gan, Mamadu, and Abu Bakari they held it from 1300 to 1307 At the end of this undistinguished period, Kankan Mussa, also called Gongo Mūsā (1307—1332), the son of the last of these sovereigns, seems to have raised to its zenith the power of his dynasty We owe to Ibn Khaldūn some details about his person and the events of his reign He was an ascetic prince and full of piety, and he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325 and on his return he brought back with him to the Sūdān, al-Mamer, a descendant of the founder of the dynasty of the Almohads, as well as the Arab poet al-Sāhilī When he was still in the Sahara, Kankan Mussa learnt that his troops had seized Gao, Tumbuktu, Walata and the kingdom of Songhoy He decided to visit the first two of these towns, and on the advice of the strangers who accompanied him, he built in each of them a mosque and a palace, thus introducing Arab architecture into the country When he died in 1322, his authority extended from the valley of the Bani to that of the Faleme, and from the Sahara as far as the thick forest, and he had entered into relations with the Sultān of Fez

His son and successor Maghan (1332—1336) was not able to keep intact the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father During the reign of this prince the Mossi pillaged Tumbuktu, and Songhoy cast off the Mandingo yoke

On his death, Sulaimān (1336—1359), the brother of Kankan Mussa, ascended the throne According to Ibn Khaldūn, the first care of the new sovereign was to assert his authority in his possessions in the North He was not successful in regaining Songhoy, but he established peace and security in his kingdom, which he reorganised The traveller Ibn Battūta, who passed through Mandingo in the year 1351—1352 furnishes us with valuable information on the country, the administration, justice and the court

Kamba, the son of Sulaimān, succeeded his father but was deposed at the end of a few months by Mari-Diata, the son of Maghan who kept his power until 1374 He died of sleeping sickness and is remembered as a cruel, debauched and extravagant prince

His successors Mūsā II (1374—1387), Maghan II, Sandigui Maghan III, Mūsā III and Mūsā Ule II reigned until the beginning of the xvth century From this time onwards exact information ceases, as our authority, the historian Ibn Khaldūn, died in the year 1406

The decline of the Mandingo empire was hastened during the xvth century by the attacks of the Tuareg, the Songhoy, the Mossi and the king of Tekrur In the year 1481 Mansa Mamadu feeling himself to be in danger, approached the Turks who were established on the coast of Africa and sought their protection This move and others similar which followed it influenced the kings John II and John III in sending to the court of the king of the Mandingoes two ambassadors, the one in 1483, the other in 1534, but without lending any military aid

In the year 1545 the Askia Dā'ūd of Gao came and plundered the Mandingo capital The Moroccans who had come from Tumbuktu some months before, joined in the year 1591 the enemies who surrounded the kingdom The period from 1600–1670 marks the last stage of Mandingo power But two new principalities were formed on its ruins at Segu and in Kaarta

According to the legend, the Bambara under the guidance of two brothers, Baramangolo and Niangolo, were flying before their enemies They were on the point of perishing under the blows of their enemies, since a river barred their route when they were saved by a miraculous fish which carried them to the opposite bank After this miracle they took the name of "Kulu bali", that is to say the men "without boats"

In the middle of the xviiith century the descendants of Baramangolo had spread into the valley of the Niger and of the Bani but they paid tribute to the inhabitants of Djenne and to the Moroccans of Tumbuktu, their capital was Segu Biton Kulubali (16601—710) liberated them from this tutelage Having collected a powerful army and fortified Segu, he made war first against the sovereign of the Mandingoes, then seized the right bank of the Niger and finally Massina and even Tumbuktu He died of tetanus after organising his kingdom and dividing it into sixty districts

His son Denkoro (1711—1736), a cruel and debauched prince, was assassinated, ʿAlī, the brother of Denkoro, only reigned a few days and was deposed by the army of the Fondion or government troops The period 1736—1750 was troubled by internal disorders, and in the year 1750 the power passed to the family of the Diara, who kept it until 1861 At this time the conquering al-Hādjdjī ʿOmar seized Segu and put ʿAlī, the last king of the dynasty, to death

The descendants of Niangolo Kulubali are cal-

led "Massasi", that is to say "royal race" At the end of the xviiith century they occupied all the province of Kaarta itself and they were the rivals of the Bambara of Segu In the middle of the xviiith century, Massa Bakari succeeded in bringing under his authority Kaarta, Kingui, Bakunu, Gui diume and Diafunu One of his successors, Bessekoro, received the explorer Mungo Park at Guemu in the year 1796 In the year 1854 the last sovereign of the line of the Massasi, called Kandian, was reigning at Nioro when al Hādjdjī ʿOmar seized the village and executed all members of the royal family

After these events the Mandingoes remained divided and until the year 1860 only played a modest part in history In this year, there arose in the vicinity of Kankan, in the district of Wassulu, Samori Ture, at first the leader of a band and then the sovereign of the province of Bissandugu This new conqueror, although he was quite illiterate, seized in a short time the whole of Wassulu and took the title of "Almami" Crossing the Niger he extended his warlike expeditions into Sankaran and advanced within 80 miles of Kita, a post recently founded by the French The latter fought against Samori first from the years 1881 to 1886 and in the next year imposed upon him the treaty of Bissandugu, which he respected for only a few months From 1888 to 1891 Almami attacked Tieba, the king of Sikasso, without any success, thereafter he resumed hostilities against the French, who at the end of the year 1893 occupied Wassulu Samori then fled into the Upper Ivory Coast, which he ravaged from the year 1894 to 1897, and he destroyed Kong, Bonduku and Buna In front of this town, a detachment commanded by Captain Braulot was exterminated in the year 1897 by the warriors of Sarantie Mori, his son and his lieutenant France thereupon determined to settle with Almami against whom a combined force was sent It resulted in the capture of Samori and of his army on 29th Sept 1898 at Guelemu on the Upper Ivory Coast Samori was deported with his family to Gabon where he died in 1900, he was about 65 years old Since the disarmament of his warriors, no event of importance has disturbed the peace of Mandingo

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(H T Houdas)

MĀNDŪ, a fortress now in ruins, was formerly the capital of Mālwā [q v], and stands in 22° 21′ N and 75° 26′ E It has probably been a stronghold from time immemorial, but little is known of its history until the fortifications were erected in their present form by Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī (1392—1405), the first independent Muslim king of Mālwa, and his successors His son, Hūshang Shāh, made it his capital, and it remained the capital of the kingdom and province of Malwa throughout the period of Muslim rule, and has stood many sieges Its streets ran with the blood of 19,000 Rādjpūts, slain by Mahmūd II of Mālwā when he recovered his capital from his rebellious troops

Of the ten gates of the fortress (two on the south, two on the west, one on the east, and five on the north), the Tārapūr Gate was built by Dilāvar Khān, the Djahāngīrpūra Gate by the emperor Djahangīr, and the ʿĀlamgīr Gate by an officer of the emperor Awrangzib in A D 1668 The Bhagwānia Gate was built in 1517 in the reign of Mahmūd Khaldjī II, and the Songarh Gate is an old gate rebuilt early in the nineteenth century by Maina Bai, the great Rānī of Dhār The Lawānī, Rāmpol, Dihlī, and Bhangī Gates are old, but bear no inscriptions The last has

its name from the legend that a sweeper was buried alive on the completion of the gateway The Gārī or Carriage Gate bears no inscription and its age is unknown

The principal buildings in the fortress are the mosques of Dilāvar Khān (1405), Malik Mughīth (1432), and Hūshang (1454), the last being one of the finest specimens of Pathān architecture in India, the Hindola Mahall with the Nahār Djharokha, the Taweli and Djahāz Mahalls, the palaces of Nāsir al-Dīn (1509) and Čishti Khan, the Campa Bāoli or Well, Rūpmatī's pavilion, the tombs of Hūshang Shāh and Daryā Khān, the Hāthī-khāna (actually a tomb), and the Tower of Victory of Mahmūd Khaldjī I These buildings are now carefully conserved by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India

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(T W Haig)

MANDŪB. [See Sharī'a]

MANF, or, according to Abu 'l-Fidā (p 116), Minf, the ancient Egyptian capital Memphis, on the left bank of the Nile, not far from Cairo, is well known in Arabic literature as a very old town The geographers cite, among the *kūra*'s of Egypt, that of Manf and Wasim (cf e g Ibn Khordadhbih, p 81), but the town was already ruined in Muhammadan times (al-Ya'kūbī, *Kit al Buldān*, p 331) — by 'Amr b al-'Ās, according to Abu 'l Fida' (*loc cit*) — and was no more than a village in the time of Ibn Hawkal (p 106)

Most Arab writers speak of the ancient traditions connected with Manf, often together with 'Ain Shams [q v] It is said to have been the first town inhabited in Egypt after the Flood, founded by Baisar b Hām b Nūh (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūh Miṣr*, ed Torrey, p 9) or Misrāyim b Baisar (al-Makrīzī, ed Wiet, i 73), the name is said to mean thirty (*māfa*, sc the Coptic *maab*), because the first inhabitants were thirty in number Further it is said to have been the town, where the Kur'ānic stories of Mūsā and Yūsuf took place (Yākūt, iv 667), namely the Madīnat Fir'awn, which possessed 70 gates and from which flowed the four great rivers of the earth (Ibn Khordādhbih, p 81) The temple (*barbī*) of Manf was built under the queen Dalūkā herself or by the sorceress called *al-'adjūza*, and had magical properties Manf had also a tradition as a Christian town, the ruins of the monastery Dair Hirmis are still to be seen, and the Arab authors know of some churches in the place (e g Kanīsat al-Uskuf, cf Yākūt, *loc cit*), which reminded them of the ancient enormous prosperity of the town

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(J H Kramers)

MĀNGIR, the general name for copper coin under the early Ottomans, corresponding to *altun* (gold) and *akče* (silver) As a particular denomination it was a copper coin struck in the reign of Sulaiman II during a period of financial stress In 1099 (1687) it was resolved to issue temporarily a token coinage in copper to be withdrawn from currency when the finances of the state improved 800 māngirs were struck to the oke of copper and put into currency as half aspers When the situation did not improve, the value was raised to one asper, the remedy proved worse than the disease for very soon the country was flooded with copper coins and gold and silver driven out of circulation

Māngir is also the name given to imitations of sequins in brass or other cheap metal worn as ornaments

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(J Allan)

MANGĪSHLAK, a mountainous peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, first mentioned under the Persian name Siyāh-Kōh ("Black Mountain", cf *B G A*, i 218), the same name was given to the hills west of the Sea of Aral (*op cit*, vii 92, see Āmū-daryā) According to Istakhrī (*op cit*, i 219), the peninsula used to be uninhabited, it was only shortly before his time (or that of his predecessor al-Balkhī) that Turks, who had quarrelled with the Ghuzz [q v], i e with their own kin, had come there and found springs and pastures for their flocks Ships which were wrecked on the cliffs of the peninsula used to be plundered by these Turks Mukaddasī (or Makdisī) mentions the mountain of Binkishlah as marking the frontier between the land of the Khazars and Djurdjān [q v] (cf *B G A*, iii 355)

In the form Mankīshlāgh (vocalised Mankashlāgh by Yākūt) the name first appears in documents of the vith (xiith) century (W Barthold, *Turkestan*, i 34, 44 and 79) and in Yākūt (iv 670) According to Yākūt, this name was borne by a strong fortress near the sea between Khwārizm [q v], Saksīn [q v] and the land of the Rūs The peninsula was evidently no longer, as it had once been, a place held in terror not only for its natural conditions but also for its inhabitants, via Mangīshlak there ran, as later almost into modern times, an important trade route from the Volga territory to Khwārizm, goods were unloaded in the bay near Cape Tub Karagan and taken to Khwārizm by caravans Before its conquest between 1127—1128 and 1138 by the Khwārizmshāh Atsīz [q v], Mangīshlak was a separate and practically independent principality on the frontiers of the Muslim world (it was of course regarded as within the empire of the Saldjūks, q v) As the verse quoted shows, the conquest resulted in the destruction of the town No permanent settlement is again mentioned on the peninsula until its occupation by the Russians, in spite of its importance for commerce

For the last few centuries (perhaps even earlier) the peninsula has been inhabited by Turkomans Towards the beginning of the xth (xvith) century these were the Salur [q v], on the coast lived the "inner Salur" (*iči Salur*), on the road from Khwārizm to the coast (about 500 miles, it took 20 days to traverse) lived "the outer (*tashkī*) Salur" (*Zap*, xv 208) Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed Desmaisons, p 267) gives the Eisari for the Salur, towards the end of this century, this tribe was almost completely driven out by the Mangīt [q v] i e by the Nogai, later we find the Kalmucks [q v]

conquering here On their rule in Mangïshlak, cf Abu 'l Ghāzī, p 316, the name of the peninsula is written by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (see Index), Mānkïshlāk, Mankïshlāk and Mankïshlāk In addition to the regular traffic by sea with Astrakhan [q v], frequently mentioned in Russian sources, there was also a connection with Shīrwān mentioned by Abu'l-Ghāzī (p 257 and 273) and other sources Three Turkoman tribes, the Čawdur, the Igdïr and the Somadjï, were deported by the Kalmucks under Ayuka (1670—1724), according to others as early as the reign of Puntsuk-Mončak (1667—70) from Mangïshlak to the nothern part of the Caucasus, but a section of the Čawdur continued to dwell in Mangïshlak When, under Russian rule, the land of the Turkomans was organised as the "Trans-Caspian territory" (*Zakaspiyskaya oblast'*), the "district of Mangïshlak" was included in it, the capital was the little settlement founded in 1839 as "Novo-Petrovskoye ukrepleniye" and known from 1859 as "Fort Aleksandrowsk" (now Fort Uritckogo) In the XIXth century the Turkomans were gradually driven out of Mangïshlak by the Kazak [cf KIRGIZ], therefore after the Revolution the district of Mangïshlak was separated from the land of the Turkomans and now belongs to the republic of Kazakistān

After the western shore of the Caspian Sea had passed under Russian rule, it was recognised that the Gulf of Balkhān [q v] formed a better gateway to Central Asia than Mangïshlak In 1819 the ambassador Murawyew proposed to the Khān of Khiwa, Muhammad Rahīm, that the caravan route from the Caspian Sea to Khīwa should no longer start from Mangïshlak but from the port of Krasnowodsk on the Gulf of Balkhān The Khān replied "It is true, the road via Mangïshlak is much longer than the road via Krasnowodsk but the people in Mangïshlak are my subjects, whereas the Yomut as far as Astarābād belong for the most part to the Kādjār" [q v] (N Murayew, *Puteshestviye v Turkmeniyu i Khivu*, Moscow 1822, p 134) It was only after Russian rule was firmly established in Central Asia that this question could be settled in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān Since Krasnowodsk became the starting point for the Central Asiatic railway, Mangïshlak has lost any importance it had in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān According to the census of 1897, the population of Krasnowodsk was 6,322 and of Fort Aleksandrowsk only 895

Bibliography given in the article Descriptions of the district of Mangïshlak will be found in all works on Turkestan, e g V Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, St Petersburg 1913, p 621 *sq* (W BARTHOLD)

MANGĪT, the name of a tribe and a people In the time of Čingiz-Khān [q v] the word Mangït appears as the name of a Mongol people in Rashīd al-Dīn (*Trudï Vost Otd Arkh Obshč*, VII 205 *sq* Mangkūt) From the Mongol period onwards the name Mangït (written Mangkït, Manghūt, Mānghīt, Mankït, Manghït and Manghït) like many other Mongol names (Naiman, Kungrat etc) appears as the tribal name of Turkish or Turkicised peoples According to the *Zafar-nāma* (Ind ed, I 277) the Mangït were a tribe (*ūtmāk*) of the Golden Horde, which produced the celebrated Emīr Idegu (in Russian sources Yedigei), the contemporary and opponent of Timūr and Tokhtamïsh The people called Nogai in Russian sources is always called Mangït by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (see Index) and other Oriental sources of the same period Now Nogai alone is used as the name of the people The statement that the Mangït tribe makes up about 90% of them wants more careful investigation (M Tïnïshpaev, *Materialï k istorii Kirgiz-Kasakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925, p 28), the name Mangït is said to be also found as the name of a family among the Yakuts In the *Bahr al-Asrār* of Mahmūd b Walī (MS Ind Off, N° 575, f 35^{a}) the tribe (*ulūs*) of the Mangït and the tribe (*il*) of the Kungrat are mentioned as the two most important branches of the Ozbegs The Mangït tribe was of some political importance for the political life of Bukhārā and Khwārizm In the fighting with other tribes the Mangïts of Bukhārā were supported by their brethren in Khiva and vice versa but it was only in Bukhārā that they became supreme On the dynasty of the Mangït see the article BUKHĀRĀ (there written Mankit), the dynasty was overthrown in the revolution of 1920 In Khiva the Mangïts combined with the Nukūz to form a double tribe (the other double tribes were the Uigur-Naiman, Kitai Kïpčak and Kïyat Kungrat)

The place called Mangït on modern maps was only founded in Radjab 1215 (Nov–Dec 1800) by members of the tribe who had been driven by the Turkoman Yomut to the east (History of Khiva MS of the Asiatic Museum, p 590 *supra*, f 75^{b})

At the present day the Mangïts number 99,200 in Bukhārā (of whom 44,000 are in Bukhārā itself and 31,000 in Karshi, q v) and only 10 300 in Khiva

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MANGU [See MÖNGKE]

MANGŪ-TIMUR, so on his coins, Mongo Möngke-Timur, as in the article BERKE, [q v written Mūngkā (e g Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet p 109), in the Russian annals Mengutimer and Mengutemer, Khān of the Golden Horde (1266—1280), grandson of the Khan Bātū [q v son of Tūkūkān According to Egyptian sources the death of his predecessor Berke took place in 665 (Oct 1266–Sept 1267), in Safar 666 (Oct Nov 1267) an embassy left Cairo which was to bring the new Khān an expression of sympathy and congratulations from Sultān Baibars I [q v In 667 (Sept 1268–Aug 1269) an embassy from the Khān arrived in Egypt The exchange of embassies was maintained throughout the whole of the Khān's reign When in 670 (1271—1272 an embassy on the way to Egypt was captured by a Frankish ship from Marseilles, the ambassadors and all their goods had to be released on the Sultān's demand When in 680 (April 1281–1282) an Egyptian embassy left for the Golden Horde nothing was yet known of the death of the Khān Only later did they learn that he was no more, having died in Rabī^{c} I 679 in the district of Aklūkiyā (apparently nowhere else mentioned)

his death is said to have been caused by the unskilful removal of a boil on the neck In Rashīd al-Dīn (ed Blochet, p 142) the date of Mangū Timur's death is given as 681 (Apr 1282–March 1283), there are coins of his brother and successor Tūdā-Mangū struck in this year

The Egyptian government tried to induce the Khān to resume the war on the Persian Mongols begun by his predecessor Berke, but soon after his accession Mangū-Timur concluded peace with Abākā and never again attacked Persia Rashīd al-Dīn by an oversight attributes to Mangū-Timur the campaign against Arghūn of the year 689 = 1290 (in Blochet's edition in p 140, we have *sabʿ* for *tisʿ*), d'Ohsson (*Hist des Mongols*, iv 42) and Barthold (article ARGHŪN) have been misled by this

On Mangū-Timur's participation in events in Central Asia down to the Kuriltāi of 667 (1269) (sending an army of 50,000 men under Berkedjār, a brother of Bātū and Berke) see the article BURĀK KHĀN Accounts of this are found in the still unprinted parts of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn (reign of Abākā, cf d'Ohsson, *op cit*, iii 428) The alliance between Mangū-Timur and Kaidū, whom he was then supporting, is also mentioned later, when in 1277 two sons of the emperor Kubilai Khān were taken prisoners in the war with Kaidū, the latter had the princes sent to the court of Mangū-Timur, from which they were later sent back to their father (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet, p 8, d'Ohsson, *op cit*, ii 452 *sq*)

Russian rulers appealed to Mangū-Timur for support as they had done to his predecessors and successors Lev of Galicz received assistance from him against the Lithuanians but the Tatar auxiliaries proved a great burden not only to his enemies but also to their proteges In 1277, a Russian army was fighting in the Caucasus against the Alans under the Khān's orders From Mangū Timur dates the earliest extant edict of a Khān of the Golden Horde on the privileges of the Greek orthodox clergy, it is dated in the year of the Hare (probably 1267) The bishop of Sarāi, Theognostes, was sent by Mangū-Timur as an ambassador to Constantinople

In contrast to the last two decades of the xiiith century the Golden Horde under Mangū-Timur was a great power, free from internal troubles Coins were still struck only in the old commercial city of Bulghārī [q v] but, unlike those of his predecessors, in his own name not in that of the Great Khān On his coins, the seal of the Golden Horde appears for the first time

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MĀNĪ [See ZINDIK]

MANI is the name given in Ottoman Turkish to popular songs in quatrains The name is a corruption of the Arabic word *maʿnā*, meaning "thought, idea", and is by no means found throughout the whole area where Ottoman Turkish is spoken In many districts isolated quatrains, like songs of several verses, are simply called *turku* Songs in quatrains are known among almost all Turkish peoples they must therefore be considered to have been known to the original Turkish stock

The rhythm of the mani is, as in Turkish popular poetry generally, sometimes purely syllabic (a definite number of syllables without a fixed caesura), and sometimes depends on the accented syllables (with a fixed caesura and therefore with the order of weak and strong syllables to some degree fixed) The lines show as a rule 7 syllables (4–3, 3–4, rarely 2–3–2) Quatrains with all four lines alike are rare, the third line usually differs from the others (3–4, 3–4, 4–3, 3–4, or 4–3, 4–3, 3–4, 4–3 and so on) The original arrangement of the rhyme in Turkish quatrains is *a b c b* (two lines rhyming) which clearly shows the quatrain was originally a distich In the Ottoman mani we have a development of this form also, with three rhyming lines (*a a b a*) The rhyme however which connects the second and fourth lines is often fuller and more distinct than that which connects the first and second lines Alliteration, which is highly developed among many Turks, especially in the north, is only found sporadically in the mani, it is found both as line alliteration (similarity in the initial letters of the words of a line, e g *kara koyun kawurmasī, betime benzime bak*, etc) and as verse alliteration (similarity of the initial letters of the lines in a verse, e g *sarī gulum yerinde, senin insaf nerende, suc bende yok sewdiyim, sana gonul werende*)

As regards matter, the majority of the mani fall into two distinct parts, an introduction dealing with nature, and a concluding part of a personal character Originally the two parts must have been very closely connected It would however be a mistake to find such a connection in all the manis, because the singers very often only improvise new conclusions to ready made introductions taken from older poems, without troubling in the least about the train of thought The great majority of mani are tinged with eroticism, but we also find satirical ones, also soldiers' and robbers' songs in the form of quatrains The quatrains composed on the Anatolian brigand Čakydjy have been much admired by European scholars Isolated, originally independent mani are now often strung together to form ballads of some length It would therefore be wrong to regard mani and *turku* as two fundamentally different classes of songs

The number of mani current among the people is enormous They are sung at all kinds of festivals and ceremonies, and by people over their work in the house in the long winter nights On *Hedrelez*, St George's Day (April 23), they are used as oracles by young girls

Very popular also among the Ottoman Turks are the so-called *djinasli mani* punning mani These are quatrains, the rhymes of which are identical syllables but have each a different meaning

Bibliography I Kunos in the introduction of Ottoman Turkish popular songs, especially in the second volume of the *Oszman torok nepkoltesi gyujtemeny*, Budapest 1889 and in the eigth vol of the *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stamme*, ed by Radloff, St Petersburg 1899, G Jacob, *Turkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901, p 23 *sq*, T Kowalski, *Ze studjow nad forma poezji ludow tureckich*, Kraków 1922, p 63 *sq*, 72 *sqq* — Collections of mani's are also found in the following works Kúnos, *Turkische Volksleder*, *W Z K M*, iv (1890),

Chrestomathia Turcica, Budapest 1899, E Littmann, *Tschakydschy, ein Rauberhauptmann der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1915, T Lowalski, *Piosenki ludowe anatolskie o rozboyniku Czakydzym*, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, i 337—355, W Heffening, *Turkische Volkslieder*, in *Isl*, xiii 236—267, Wl Gordlewskiy, *Obrazcï osmanskago narodnago tworčestwa*, Moscow 1916, M Rasänen, *Eine Sammlung von Mäni-Liedern aus Anatolien*, *Journal de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne*, xli (1926) (a collection of 290 mani mainly from N E Anatolia), Sa'd al-Dīn Nuzhet and Mehmed Ferid, *Konya Wilâyeti Khalkiyât we-Harthiyâtï*, Konya 1926, p 155–177 (a collection of 375 mani from the Wilâyet of Konya), *Anadolu Turklerinin Khalk Edebiyâtï*, I *Manileri* (collection of texts with a very full introduction by Koprulu-Zâde Mehmed Fu'âd is to be shortly published by the Turkological Institute in Constantinople), cf also the *Bibl* to the article TÜRKU (T Kowalski)

AL-**MĀNI'**, one of Allāh's names [See ALI ĀH]

MANISA, Machnisa (> Mā'nisa), in Arabic Maghnīsiya, capital of the district of Sārūkhān in western Anatolia

Maghnisa is two hours' journey distant on the south from the river Gediz or Gedus (the ancient Hermon, on its course, cf Ichihatchef, *Asie Mineure*, ii [1866], p 232) on the northern slope of Mount Maghnisa daghï or Yamanlar (the ancient Sipylos) which separates it from Smyrna (the distance between the two towns by the Sabunči beli pass is only 20 miles, by railway 40 miles)

In ancient times the town ("Magnesia ad Sipylum") was mainly noted for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria (190 B C) The town was then incorporated in the Roman empire It flourished until the fifth century as its coins show Magnesia is also often mentioned in Byzantine history after the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 John Ducas retired to Magnesia where he held out till 1255

The Turkoman chief Sārū-Khān [q v] who had formed a principality for himself on the ruins of the Saldjūk kingdom of Konya, took Magnesia in 1313 and the town was the capital of his dynasty for 78 years It was in the reign of Sārū Khān that Ibn Battūta (ii 312) visited the town where he stayed in a *zāwiya* of the brotherhood of the *fityān* The town was large and beautiful, rich in gardens and with a plentiful supply of water On the buildings erected by the Sārū Khān dynasty see the article on them

After the battle of Angora (805 A H) Timūr ordered his grandson Sultān Muhammad to lay waste (*tākhtan*) the district between Brussa and Magnesia and to take up his winter quarters in the latter town The author of the *Zafar nāma*, ii 466–467, 480, calls it "Maghnī-siyāh in the Sarhān eli" [cf Urudj-beg, p 32 Sār-khān] and comments on the excellence and abundance of its water-supply and the pleasantness of its climate According to Turkish sources (cf Urudj, *Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed Babinger, p 34–35, 'Āshik pāshā, p 70, Munedjdjim bashï, iii 33), Timūr restored the fiefs of Anatolia to their old holders (*beyli-beyine*) but by 813 (1410) Sultān Muhammad I had retaken the region of Sārū khān [q v]

Maghnisa became the residence (*Dïkhān-numā*, p 635 *dār al-amān*) of the Ottoman princes but for a time (1405—1425) its district was within the sphere of influence of the rebel Djüneid (son of the Ottoman governor of al Aydïn, von Hammer, *op cit*, p 271—327) Murād II having abdicated the throne in 1444 chose Maghnisa as his place of retirement The Hungarian offensive drew him out of it but after the victory of Warna (Nov 10, 1444) he returned to Magnesia (v Hammer, *G O R* ², i 351, 357) where the remains of his palace and gardens can still be seen Murād III (1574—1595) and his wife also contributed to beautifying the town, cf *Dïkhān numā*, p 635 Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1775, p 207—209 and 266—268 speaks of the palace and pretty mausoleum of Murad (III ?) and of his foundations (*tekye* = college of dervishes, lunatic asylums etc)

In 1633 in the reign of Murād IV, the governor of Karasi [q v] Ilyās Pāshā rebelled and laid siege to Magnesia which was taken and plundered for three days Ilyās was taken prisoner and the Sultān in ordering him to be beheaded reproached him with having devastated "the residence of his ancestors" (*l c*, iii 113—114)

In the xviiith century Magnesia became the capital of the powerful family of the Kara 'Othmān-Oghlu whose authority extended from the Maeander to the Propontid It was not till 1814 that these hereditary chiefs, whose administration is praised by Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcans*, London 1831, ii 294—301, were replaced by a regular Turkish governor

With the introduction of the system of wilâyets, Maghnisa became the capital of the sandjak of Sarukhān in the wilayet of Aydïn (Smyrna) Sāmï-bey, *Kāmūs al A'lām*, Constantinople 1898, vi 4348 estimated the population of the town at 36,252 of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2000 Armenians etc Maghnisa which is divided up by streams into 3 quarters had 25 *djāmi'*, 38 mosques, 25 *medreses*, 18 *tekiye* etc The kadā of Maghnisa had 4 nāhiye Amlāk, Yont-daghï Palamut and Belek Cumet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii , 1894, p 523—534 gives the following as the nāhiye of the sandjak Maghnisa, Soma, Kïrk-Aghac, Ak-Hisār, Kasaba, Gurdus, Demirdji, Sālihlï, Kule, Ala-shehir, Eshme After the reform of 1921 Saru khān became a wilâyet with 11 kadās (the old nāhiyes) The population of the new wilâyet is 302,752 souls and of the kadā Maghnisa, 75,021 souls, cf the *Turkiya Djemhuriyetinin Sāl-nāmesi*, 1926—1927, p 926—933 In view of the movements of the population the ethnical composition of the sandjak must have undergone profound modifications

(V Minorsky)

MANSHŪR (A) means literally "spread out" (as in the Kur'ān xvii 14 and lii 3, opposite *matwī* "folded"), or not sealed (opposite *makhtūm*) hence means a certificate, an edict, a diploma of appointment, and particularly a patent granting an appanage

In Egypt in the early Arab period *manshūr* seems to be a name for the passes which the government compelled the *fellāhīn* to have in order to check the flight of colonists from the land, which threatened to become overwhelming (*Dïāhya*, cf above, ii , p 14ª and 994ª) In any case in the *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*), N° 631 (cf also N° 601—602) such a certificate of the year 180 (796) is called a *manshūr* and in Makrīzī, *Khitat*, ii 493, we are told

of the period of the financial controller Usāma b Zaid al-Tanūkhī (104 = 722—723) that Christians who were found without identification papers (*manshūr*) had to pay 10 dīnārs fine (cf Becker, *Beitrage zur Gesch Ägyptens*, p 104) In the texts of such passports themselves (cf Becker, *Papyr Schott Reinhardt*, I 40, 1) however, we have, so far as I can see, not the word manshūr but only *kitāb*

Manshūr seems also to have a quite general meaning of pass, when we are told in Kalkashandī, *Subh al-Aʿshā*, XIII 142, that it was written on an ʿAbbāsid grant of a fief dating from the year 373 (983—984) that no one could demand for the holder that he should show a *hudjdja* or a *tawkīʿ* or a manshūr

The Egyptian Fāṭimids usually called all state documents, appointments, etc by the general term *sidjill*, but they had also special terms for particular diplomas of appointment, including manshūr

Thus among the examples of Fāṭimid documents given by Kalkashandī, X 452—466 there are several which in their texts are described as manshūrs Among these are for example, appointments to the supervision of inheritances (*mushārafat al-mawārīth al-hashrīya*), of the poll-tax (*mushārafat al-djawālī*), to a professorship (*tadrīs*) etc A grant of an appanage could also be called manshūr at this time, so Kalkashandī, XIII 131 *sq* from the lost Fāṭimid *Mawādd al-Bayān* of ʿAlī b Khalaf and the regulation that the manāshīr must not have an address (*ʿunwān*) and that in place of this the head of the Dīwān must write the date with his own hand seems to be first found in Ibn al Ṣairafī, *Kānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, p 113 *sq* = Kalkashandī, VI 198

Under the Ayyūbids also, manshūr had quite a general meaning Thus in Kalkashandī, XI 49 *sq* a "noble marshall" (*nakīb al ashrāf*) is appointed by a manshūr and in 51 *sqq* governors (*wulāt*) of different provinces In the text of it the name manshūr is given to the edict on the equation of taxation and lunar years (*tahwīl al-sinīn*) which is quoted from the *Mutadjaddidāt* of the Kādī al-Fādil for the year 567 (1171—1172) in Makrīzī, I 281, ed Wiet, IV 292 (cf also Kalkashandī, XIII 71 *sqq*), and according to a further quotation, for the year 584 (Makrīzī, I 269 = Wiet, IV 248) the so-called "lord of the new year" (*amīr al-nawrūz*) issued his manāshīr

The term manshūr became limited and specialised in the Mamlūk period, for which we have very full sources The increasingly complicated system of the administration brought about a minute distinction between and special names for the various diplomas of appointment, edicts, etc and the term manshūr was henceforth used exclusively of the grants of appanages These manāshīr were always written in Cairo in the chancellory (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) in the name of the sultān, only in exceptional cases they might be in in the name of the *nāʾib kāfil* (see Kalkashandī, IV 16, XIII 157) According to the very full description in Kalkashandī, XIII 153 *sqq* and Makrīzī, II 211, the procedure in granting a fief was as follows if a fief became vacant (*mahlūl*) in a provincial town, e g in Damascus, the governor there (*nāʾib*) proposed a new holder and had a document (*ṭukʿa*, also called *mithāl* or *murabbaʿa*) drawn up about his proposal by the inspector of the army (*nāzir al-djaish*, cf Kalkashandī, IV 190, XII 97) in the military Dīwān (*dīwān al-djaish*) of his town This document was then sent by courier (*barīdī*) or pigeon post (*ʿalā adjnihat al-hamām*) to Cairo to the government (*al-abwāb al-sharīfa*) Here it was received by the postmaster (*dawādār*), later by the private secretary (*kātib al-sirr* = *ṣāhib dīwān al-inshāʾ*), who placed it before the sultān in audience (*djulūs fī dār al-ʿadl*) for approval, to receive the sultāns signature (*khatt sharīf*) and the note *yuktab* ("let it be written out", see Kalkashandī, IV 51) The document then went to the Military Dīwān in Cairo (*dīwān al-djaish*, occasionally also called *dīwān al iktāʿ*), where it was filed, after what was called the *murabbaʿa* had been made out The latter was sent to the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* and the private secretary, the head of this Dīwān, wrote his requisition (*taʿyīn*) for the *inshāʾ* writer concerned and now finally the patent of the appanage (manshūr) proper could be made out in the *dīwān al inshāʾ* in Cairo, while the *murabbaʿa* of the army Dīwān remained filed in the *dīwān al inshāʾ* as *shāhid* (proof) (cf Kalkashandī, VI 201)

Full particulars are given of the formulae used in these manāshīr and of their outer form in Shihāb al Dīn b Fadl Allāh, *al Taʿrīf bi 'l Mustalah al-Sharīf*, p 88 *sq*, Kalkashandī, XIII 153 *sqq* and Quatremere, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, I/I 200 *sq*, note 82 There are many variants of format (*kaṭʿ*, q v) and script according to the military rank of the recipient Thus manāshīr for the *Mukaddamu 'l-Ulūf* were written on *kaṭʿ al-thulthain*, for the *Umarāʾ al-Tablkhānā* on *kaṭʿ al nisf*, for the *Umarāʾ al-Aʿsharāt* on *kaṭʿ al thulth* and for the *Mamālik al sultānīya* and *Mukaddamu 'l-Halka* on *kaṭʿ al ʿāda* Many rules were laid down for the wording to be used, the text is to be shorter and less florid than in the other appointments and there are none of the usual rules about service (*wasāyā*), an original "virgin" (*mubtakarat al-inshāʾ*) is recommended as the finest form of a manshūr Special formulae are further required for grants of appanages which were concerned with renewal (*tadjdīdāt*), addition (*ziyādāt*) or substitution (*taʿwidāt*) A regular signature of the sultān, such as is usual on appointments as confirmation (*mustanad*), is not found on the manāshīr, instead of this the sultān writes formulae like God is my hope (*Allāhu Amalī*), God is my Protector (*Allāhu Walīyī*), God is sufficient for me (*Allāhu Hasbī*), To God belongs the rule (*al-Mulku li 'llāh*), or God alone has grace (*al Minna li 'llāhi wahdahu*)

Occasionally the manāshīr for the highest ranks (*Mukaddamu 'l-Ulūf* and *Mukaddamu 'l-Tablkhānā*) had a *tughrā* [q v] at the top The tughrās were prepared by a special official beforehand and gummed on to the finished diplomas In Kalkashandī, VIII 165 *sq* the tughrās of Nāṣir Muḥammad b Kalāʾūn (693—741 with interruptions) and Ashraf Shaʿbān b Husain (764—778) are reproduced and described, they differ considerably from the better known form of the tughrā of the Ottoman Sultāns After Ashraf Shaʿbān tughrās were no longer used on the manāshīr, these were only used for purposes of display on letters to infidel rulers

The completed manshūr was then again taken back by a courier from Cairo to the town concerned, e g Damascus and handed over to the tenant of the appanage The inspector of the army there (*nāzir al djaish*) however first entered it in his register for he had to keep a roll of the holders of fiefs in his province Kalkashandī, XIII 167—199 gives as examples of manāshīr no fewer

than 26 texts, beginning with one drawn up by Muhyī 'l-Dīn b ʿAbd al-Zāhir in the reign of Kalāʾūn for the latter's son Nāsir Muhammad, which for its remarkable beauty he calls a regular sultān al-manāshīr The other texts are for the above mentioned military ranks, as well as for sons of emīrs (*awlād al-umarāʾ*) and for emīrs of the Arabs, Turkomans and Kurds

The term manshūr was also used for patents of appointment in the Ottoman empire, but it does not seem to have been used so definitely or exclusively in this sense, there are however manāshīr for viziers, generals, and governors (*wezāret menshūru, mushīrīyet menshūru, eyālet menshūru*), and in the treaties of peace made after the Balkan War in 1913, it is still provided that the chief muftis to be appointed in Bulgaria and Greece are to receive their menshūr from the Shaikh al-Islām in Stambul and they have also to put forward for approval the manshūr of the ordinary muftīs subordinate to them (cf e g Karl Stiupp, *Ausgewahlte diplomatische Aktenstucke zur orientalischen Frage*, Gotha 1916, p 295, 308)

The name manshūr was also applied to the pastoral letters and epistles of the Christian patriarchs and bishops In conclusion it may be mentioned that manshūr in mathematical language means "prism" (varieties e g *M māʾil* oblique prism, *M kāʾim* straight prism, *M mutawāzī 'l-adlāʿ* parallel prism, *M muntazam* regular prism, *M muthallathī* triangular prism, *M nākis* truncated prism), and that in the language of the Persian poets the nightingales are called "the menshūr-writers of the garden" (*menshūr-newīsān-i bāgh*)

Bibliography In addition to the passages quoted, cf Ibn Shith, *Maʿālim al-Kitāba*, p 43, Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, p 100, 102, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamlouks*, Index, W Bjorkman, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Agypten*, Index I

(W BJORKMAN)

MANSŪKH [See NĀSIKH]

AL-MANSŪR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR ʿABD ALLĀH B MUHAMMAD, the second ʿAbbāsid caliph His mother was a Berber slave girl called Sallāma, his brother the caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh [q v] In the fighting against the Omayyads he distinguished himself and took part in the siege of Wāsit, which had been fortified by Ibn Hubaira [q v], the last important supporter of Marwān The treacherous murder of Ibn Hubaira, to whom the two ʿAbbāsids had expressly promised a pardon, is however not out of keeping with Abū Djaʿfar's character His brother gave him the governorship of Armenia, Ādharbāidjān and Mesopotamia, which he administered till his accession On the way back from the pilgrimage, he learned that Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had died in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 136 (June 754) and that he himself had been proclaimed caliph His uncle ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī [q v] wished to dispute the succession but was defeated by Abū Muslim [q v] Soon afterwards the Caliph had the latter put out of the way, which led to a rising in Khorāsān The leader of this was a Persian named Sunbādh, he advanced far into Media but was defeated between Hamadhān and al Raiy by the caliph's troops led by Djahwar b Marrār and soon afterwards slain When Djahwar also cast off his allegiance to the caliph, the latter sent an army under Muhammad b al-Ashʿath against him (138 = 755—756) Djahwar was defeated and fled to Ādharbāidjān, where he was put to death About the same time the Khāridjīs rebelled in Mesopotamia under Mulabbad b Harmala al-Shaibānī who inflicted severe reverses on al Mansūr's armies, until the rebellion was finally suppressed by Khāzim b Khuzaima in 138 and Mulabbad slain, in al-Hāshimīya also there was a rising (probably in 141 = 758—759) A body of the so called Rāwandī [q v] who identified the caliph with God himself, went to the capital and when al Mansūr had some of them arrested, they were forcibly rescued by their friends But for the valiant Maʿn b Zāʾida [q v] it would hardly have been possible for the caliph to dispose of these mad fanatics A few years later, the ʿAlids also rebelled under their leader ʿAbd Allāh b al-Hasan [q v] In the autumn of 145 (762), a rebellion broke out in al-Medīna, and Muhammad son of ʿAbd Allāh was proclaimed caliph there, but in Ramadān of the same year (Dec 762) defeated by the Caliph's nephew ʿĪsā b Mūsā ʿĪsā then attacked Muhammad's brother Ibrāhim, who had risen in Basra and severely defeated him at Bākhamrā [q v] where the latter was slain (Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 145 = Febr 763) In Spain the Omayyad ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Muʿāwiya had founded an independent kingdom in 138 (756) and in Africa there was fighting for several years with the Berbers and Khāridjīs It was only after the Abādī Abū Hātim [q v] had been defeated by the Caliph's troops under Yazīd b Hātim in Rabīʿ I, 155 (March 772) and killed that order was restored there Yazīd remained in Kairawān as governor till his death in 170 (786—787) In Khorāsān a new rebellion broke out in 149 (766–767) or 150 The leader Ustādhasīs declared himself a prophet and gathered numerous followers around him but was defeated by Khāzim b Khuzaima, who wrought a fearful massacre among the rebels

The frontiers also resounded with the noise of battle The war against the Byzantines was continued under al-Mansūr, but was confined mainly to raids or the destruction of individual strongholds Al-Mansūr devoted special attention to protecting the frontier by building fortresses, and the two towns of Malatya (Melitene) and al-Massīsa (Mopsuestia) were rebuilt in his reign Several expeditions were sent against Dailam and Tabaristan in the early years of al-Mansūr's reign and after the extinction of the old line of Ispahbads of the Banū Dābūya [q v] in Tabaristān, this province too received Arab governors In 147 (764—765) the Khazars invaded Armenia, seized the town of Tiflīs and defeated the caliph's troops but retired again There were also encounters with the people beyond the Oxus and in India, but these were of minor importance At first al-Mansūr lived at al-Hāshimīya near Kūfa, as did his predecessor, he later decided to build a new capital and in 145 (762) the foundation stone of Baghdād [q v] was laid Khālid b Barmak is said to have been his adviser in this matter, he played an important part in other respects in al-Mansūr's reign [cf BARMECIDES] Al-Mansūr devoted himself with the greatest energy to his duties as a ruler but troubled little about the means he used and never hesitated to act in the most faithless manner if he could only attain his aim He was always kept very well informed of everything that went on in the different parts of his wide empire, and devoted special attention to the improvement of the finances of the State in

order to leave his successor a full treasury He took an active interest in literature and was a brilliant speaker, on the other hand he did not tolerate music and song at his court and in general led a very simple life His nephew ʿĪsā b Mūsā [q v] had been destined by al-Saffāḥ to succeed al-Manṣūr but was induced by the latter to withdraw his claims on condition that he should succeed after al-Mahdī [q v] Al-Manṣūr died in Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 158 (Oct 775) in Bi'r Maimūn, when on the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried near the holy city [cf the article AL MŪRIYĀNĪ]

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AL **MANṢŪR** BI 'LLĀH AL KĀSIM, the name of two Zaidī imāms of the Yemen

I AL-KĀSIM B ʿALĪ AL-ʿAIYĀNĪ (? according to others al-Ilyānī) His genealogy goes back through a certain ʿAbd Allāh and a Muhammad to al Kāsim b Ibrāhim Tabātabā (d 246 = 860), the spiritual founder of Zaidism in the Yemen, he is however not a descendant of the latter's grandson, al-Hādī Yaḥyā b al-Husain, the creator of the secular power of the Zaidis in the Yemen The latter was succeeded in the imāmate by his two sons the weak Muhammad al-Murtadā and the more capable Ahmad al Nāṣir With his death in the year 322 (934) the imāmate came to an end for a time Although in 345 (956) al Kāsim al Mukhtār, a son of al Nāṣir, seized the capital Ṣanʿā', he was soon defeated by al-Dahhāk, the chief of the tribe of Hamdān, who put Ṣanʿā' under the suzerainty of the Ziyādids of Zabīd, the hostile tribe of Khawlān however played it (352 = 963) into the hands of the Yaʿfurid ʿAbd Allāh b Kahtān In the midst of this civil strife, a nephew of the defeated Mukhtār, Yūsuf b Yaḥyā b al Nāṣir succeeded for a short time in gaining power and being recognised by the Zaidis at least as a *dāʿī* Driven out by the Yaʿfurids, his power became limited to the old Zaidī stronghold of Saʿda in the north Al-Kasim b ʿAlī, with the support of the Banū Hamdān, rose against him, claiming the imāmate with the title al Kāsim b Mansūr bi 'llāh in 389 (999), he occupied Saʿda, forced his way through the Wādī Shuwāba and al Bawn southwards to the highlands in the N W of Sanʿā' and from there forced the capital to recognise him His career however was brief and his power unenduring for when in 393 (1003) he died, his governor in Sanʿa' had already gone over to Yūsuf al-Dāʿī He was however the first since al-Nāṣir Ahmad, and the fourth in all to be entered — although not by everyone — in the lists as Imām of Yemen (but cf on the above claimants Munadjdjimbashī, in Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *Abh Pr Ak W*, *Phil hist Kl*, 1923, i 22)

Only for an equally short time from 401–404 (1010–1013) his son al-Husain al-Mahdī was able to regain his father's office His early death in battle is noteworthy because it produced a quite un-Zaidī belief in his return and for a period founded a special sect, the "Husainīya" in the name of this concealed imām Some years later another son of al-Kāsim, Djaʿfar, began a struggle full of vicissitudes with the other ʿAlid claimants to the imāmate, which was complicated by a party grouping of the tribes of the country, about 453 (1061) Ṣanʿā' fell to the Ismaʿīlī Sulaihids and then to Hamdān chiefs Only in 545 (1150) Ahmad b Sulaimān al-Mutawakkil, whose genealogy also goes back to al Nāṣir Ahmad b al-Hādī but neither through al Kāsim al-Mukhtār nor Yūsuf al Dāʿī, succeeded in restoring the imāmate for a long and brilliant period For the history of the following centuries, which were full of incidents and individual imāms of importance cf the article AL-MAHDĪ LI DĪN ALLĀH *a* and *b* The family of Yūsuf al-Dāʿī remained victorious in the end His descendant in the twelfth(? 14th) generation

II AL MANṢŪR AL-KĀSIM B MUHAMMAD (cf *supra*, p 119a), was the founder of the modern Yemen dynasty At the end of 1005 (1597) he appeared in the field and held his own against five Turkish governors Not only did he find opponents and people he could not trust among his own Zaidis, who went over to the Turks but among the latter the change of governor frequently led to trouble and even to mutiny the tribes were an incalculable element, the Turks were often able to call to their help the Ismāʿilis (Karmatians), always hostile to the Zaidis The lack of equipment was a great hardship to the Imām, for example in one battle he is said to have mustered only 20 rifles against the Turks' 2,400 It is very difficult to get a clear idea of this minor war but the following are the main facts that emerge After the proclamation of the holy war at Djadīd al-Kāra in the northern district of Shām al-Shark at the end of Muharram 1006 (Sept 1597), al-Kāsim conquered the highlands of Ahnūm and Shahāra, the latter with the fortress of the same name, which had been a bulwark of the Zaidis for 300 years with occasional interruptions, turning to the southeast he established himself in the mountains of Hadūr al-Shaikh (also called Hadūr Banū Azd, cf the article HADŪR) in the important Thulā [see ḤHILĀ] in the N W of Sanʿā', his followers rose throughout the land and for a time even cut off the Turkish communications with the sea But after two years, the collapse began before General Sinān by the end of 1010 or beginning of 1011 (1602) he had to flee from Shahāra But in 1014 (1605) again he rebelled against Sinān in the district of Shahāra who had been appointed governor this time from Wādiʿa, he also took Saʿda After Sinān Pasha was recalled, al Kāsim was able to induce his successor Djaʿfar Pasha to make a truce, which

was observed for about ten years with a few interruptions especially on the arrival of new governors in 1022 and 1025 After renewed fighting a formal peace in 1028 left the imām in possession of the four separate areas around Shahāra, around Khashab in the east, around Ṣa'da in the north, and lastly in the S W of San'ā' around Haima [q v], the inhabitants were however for the most part not Zaidīs but Shāfi'īs Al-Kāsim died in Rabi' I 1029 (Feb 1620) In the middle of 1038 (beg of 1629) Haidar Pasha had to evacuate San'ā' before his son and successor al-Mu'aiyad Muhammad

Al-Kāsim b Muhammad was a conscientious Zaidī, as a youth when a fugitive before the Turks he had studied with many spiritual authorities, he composed numerous appeals for the rebellions, works of a legal and dogmatic nature by him still exist

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(R STROTHMANN)

AL-**MANṢŪR**, the sixth ruler of the Hammādid dynasty, succeeded his father al-Nāsir in the year 481 (1088) The latter had witnessed the rise to the height of its power of the dynasty of somewhat artificial development of Kal'a Banī Hammād [q v], a result of the destruction of Kairawān by the Arabs Two years after the accession of al-Mansūr, the Arabs, who had advanced towards the west and who had spread over all the region adjoining the Kal'a, began to make existence there difficult The prince moved his capital from Kal'a to Bougie which he considered less accessible to the nomads, it should be mentioned that his father al Nāsir had already made preparations for the exodus by transforming a little fishing port into a regular town, which he called al-Nāsirīya and which was to become Bougie, while on the other hand, the Kal'a was not completely abandoned by al-Mansūr and he even embellished it with a number of palaces The Hammādid kingdom had therefore at this time two capitals joined by a royal road

After taking up his quarters at Bougie, al-Mansūr had in the first place to quell the revolt of one of his uncles, Belbar, the governor of Constantine He sent against the rebel another Hammādid Emīr, Abū Yaknī The latter after his victory was given the governorship of Constantine but shortly after he in his turn as well as his brother, who had been given the governorship of Bone, rebelled These risings over which al-Mansūr, thanks to his energy, was triumphant, brought to the side of the rebels of the Hammādid family the Zirids of al-Mahdīya, who wished to get back some power in Barbary, the Almoravids of the Maghrib, who wished to extend towards the East and the Arabs who were always ready to join in the feuds of their powerful neighbours

Al-Mansūr was, on the other hand, led to oppose the advance of the Almoravids who were curiously allied with the traditional opposition of the Zenāta [q v] With the probable object of disarming the opposition al Nāsir and al-Mansūr had married two sisters of Mākhūkh, the chief of the Banū Wamānū, at that time the most powerful of the Zenāta group This alliance did not hinder the time honoured feud from breaking out again It became more acute when al Mansūr murdered his wife, the sister of his enemy The latter then asked for support from the Almoravids

From Tlemcen, where they had been installed for more than twenty years, the Almoravids had after many attempts, endeavoured to expand towards the East at the expense of their brethren of the same race, the Ṣanhādja b Hammād Al Mansūr had twice reduced them to impotence It was at this time that the murder of the sister of Mākhūkh by al-Mansūr drove the Wamānū chief into an alliance with the Almoravids of Tlemcen The alliance formed in this way was a great blow to the Hammādid kingdom Algiers was besieged for two days, Ashir was taken

The fall of the latter fortress, the oldest stronghold of the family, was bitterly resented by al-Mansūr He got together an army of 20,000 men, composed of the Ṣanhādja, the Arabs and even the Zenāta, he marched against Tlemcen, met the governor Tāshfīn b Tīn'amer to the North-East of the town and put him to flight Tlemcen was not spared even at the supplication of Tāshfīn's wife, who invoked the ties of relationship uniting them with the Ṣanhādja (496 = 1102)

After the defeat of the Almoravids, al Mansūr severely punished the Zenāta and the rebel tribes of the Bougie district, whom he forced to flee into the mountains of Kabylia

Thus al-Mansūr seems on the eve of his death (498 = 1104) to have thoroughly re-established the power of the Hammādids According to a tradition, which is not above suspicion, recorded by Ibn Khaldūn, the two capitals owed very important buildings to him Bougie, the Palace of the Star and the Palace of Salvation, the Kal'a, the government palace and the Kasr al-Manār the beautiful donjon of which is still in part extant

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(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

AL-**MANṢŪR**, AHMAD B MUHAMMAD, born in 1549, seventh ruler of the Sa'dian dynasty of Morocco, son of Sultān Muhammad al-Mahdī and Sahāba al-Rahmānīya His victories and his wealth earned him the epithets al-Mansūr and al-Dhahabī

He was still a child when on the accession of his eldest brother ʿAbd Allāh (1557) he accompanied into exile his other brothers ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who went for safety from Sidjilmāsa to Tlemcen The fugitives were potential claimants to the throne of the Sharīfians, by virtue of an agreement concluded in the life-time of their father by which the one to inherit the power was not the Sultān's heir but the eldest of the family ʿAbd al Muʾmin was assassinated at the instigation of his nephew Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh called al-Mutawakkil and Ahmad retired to Algiers to join ʿAbd al-Malik who was already there He was henceforth always a loyal lieutenant of his brother whose ability he fully realised The death of ʿAbd Allāh in 1574 gave the exiles the opportunity to assert their rights Pretenders and rebels could always rely on the support of the natural enemies of every reigning sharīf Spain and Turkey Philip II had remained deaf to the repeated appeals of ʿAbd al Malik, who appealed to the Grand Turk and in 1574 went to Constantinople where his marriage with the daughter of the renegade al Hādjdj Morato assured him of patrons In Algiers Ahmad conducted successful negotiations with certain Moroccan notables, mainly in Fās It was perhaps he who gave the signal when an expedition appeared to have some chances of success He was at his brother's side when the latter entered Morocco in 1576 with a Turkish army led by Ramadān Pasha and helped him to raise troops in the region of Tlemcen We do not know exactly what part he played in the battles of al Rukn and al-Shaʿīrāt which gave Morocco to ʿAbd al-Malik but we know that he was given the task of pursuing the dethroned sultān on his flight to Marrākush

One of ʿAbd al Malik's first acts was to recognise his brother as his heir It seems, however, that he did not show the latter as much esteem as affection and he had left in Constantinople, with his wife, his son Ismāʿīl But he was bound by his policy In these circumstances Ahmad naturally had the vice-royalty of Fās

He did not stay there long, for he was recalled to save Marrākush from a return of al Mutawakkil Taking command of one of the three armies charged with pursuing the vanquished sultān in al Sūs and the Atlas, he does not seem to have found an opportunity for a decisive military success, he returned to his governorship while Muhammad was driven to seek refuge behind the walls of Ceuta

In June 1578, ʿAbd al-Malik summoned him with all his forces to Kasr al-Kabīr (Alcazarquivir, q v) to stop the advance of the King of Portugal's army The latter had foolishly sought to realise the dream of conquering Morocco cherished by John III When Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh after vainly appealing for help to Philip II, turned to Sebastian, he at once received a favourable reply A large army with about 20,000 effective fighters left Portugal in June, landed at Tangier, then went to Arzila, which ʿAbd al Karīm b Tuda had just relieved, and proceeded by land towards Larache The Moroccan forces coming from Marrākush and Fās met them at al-Kasr Ahmad found his brother seriously ill, poisoned by the kāʾids of his staff, it is said The battle was fought a few miles from al-Kasr on Aug 4 Sebastian's men, absurdly led, having exhausted all their provisions, fought with their backs to the river of the Wādī ʾl-Makhāzin The sharīf arranged his army in a crescent In about 5 hours the Christians were annihilated by the Moorish cavalry ʿAbd al Malik died in his litter during the battle, Sebastian was killed or committed suicide and al-Mutawakkil was drowned That evening, Ahmad henceforth known as Ahmad al-Mansūr was proclaimed emperor

Elegant, cultivated, very learned in religious matters, more a man of the council-chamber than of the camp, he was succeeding a popular and fearless ruler, of exceptional energy, who having acquired a taste for innovations in Turkey had begun to introduce them, perhaps too eagerly, into Morocco Designated as his successor by ʿAbd al-Malik, and benefitting by the great reputation left by his father, Ahmad al-Mansūr was rapidly able to overcome the difficulties which awaited him, as they did every sovereign of Morocco on his accession mutinies of the troops, demands from allied tribes and the ʿĀwiyas, and agitations among the Berbers While in Spain it was feared that the Christian garrison would be attacked and swept away, al-Mansūr had to hurry to Fās to make himself recognised as ruler there, to put down unrest and behead a few notables He edified the people by displaying the skin of Muhammad al Maslūkh stuffed with straw in the regions of al Sūs and the Atlas, where the influence of the former sultān had survived for a brief space his tenure of the throne

Ahmad al Mansūr very soon sought means of enriching himself The booty taken in the field of al-Kasr, the work done by the prisoners reduced to slavery, the ransoms extorted from the gentlemen gave the sharīf and his people enormous sums The Sultān kept the nobles for himself, 80 were soon brought to him and he set about bargaining about them In a little time, less than a year, the ransoms had been arranged

The haste displayed by foreign courts to congratulate the Moor on his triumph was remarkable Ambassadors thronged to Marrākush, those of Spain and Portugal bringing magnificent gifts Ahmad al Mansūr had the sense to understand that these presents were the most he was likely to get from European action For its neighbours, Morocco was a weak and troublesome state The cupidity of its neighbours was its best protection Many reasons urged the Turks to obtain a footing there the cupidity of the beglerbegs of Algiers ambitious of extending their powers to the west, the naval basis of Mazagan of al Maʿmūra and of Larache, the formal promises that had been given by ʿAbd al-Malik, when he was begging assistance, and there was always the troublesome question of spiritual supremacy, as the Turkish Sultān did not admit that the Moroccan sharīf had an authority in religious matters as great as his To extricate himself, al-Mansūr played the usual game, following the example of his brother, who had made advances to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, to the Queen of England and to the Grand Duke of Tuscan, he turned without ceremony from the Grand Turk and threw himself into the arms of Philip II, overwhelming the Catholic King with demonstrations of friendship, of which the most significant was the return without ransom of the body of Sebastian, he was even promised Larache The quarrel with Turkey was soon to come to a head ʿAlī, Beglerbeg of Algiers, exerted all his influence to get war declared Ahmad al-Mansūr

as a last resort had to send in 1581 an embassy laden with presents to Constantinople where the enemies of ʿEuldj ʿAlī were conducting an effective campaign against the Begleibeg The relations between the two Muslims resumed the appearance of cordiality which they usually had In 1587, the death of ʿEuldj ʿAlī, the end of the régime of the Beglerbeys and the weakening of Turkish power in Algiers freed Morocco from a threat, which had long weighed heavy upon it There were still periods of tension when al Mansūr ceased to send what he considered gracious gifts and what the Grand Turk received as tribute, when the conquest of the Sūdān seemed to be about to threaten Ottoman interests, spiritual and material, and lastly in the periods of friendship with Spain But there was never again a real crisis, even in spite of the efforts of Hassān who had married ʿAbd al-Malik's widow, the Turk did nothing really serious to sustain the claim of Ismāʿīl

When al-Mansūr had peace on the Turkish side he showed Philip what negotiation meant yielding nothing, breaking off nothing, playing enemies off one against the other It was no longer a question of handing over Larache but of an exchange and the pourparlers dragged along for four years with a decreasing seriousness of purpose The Duke of Medina Sidonia, supported by Philip II, to deal with Moroccan affairs was played with by the Moor who was able to reap considerable advantage from his hesitation on several occasions The Sharīf seems to have summed up very skilfully the character of the Catholic king and the needs of his policy Spain, faced with a crisis at home and abroad, could not think of risking anything important in Africa It was her interest that Morocco should remain weak, that is to say Moroccan, and especially that it should not fall under the influence of the Turks or of the English Corsairs sheltered in the Atlantic ports, on the route to India The garrisons, weak and badly provisioned, were periodically blockaded sometimes threatened, by the natural movements of tribes around them rather than by deliberate hostilities on the part of the Sharīf The policy of the two Philips, one of distrust and fear, tried to limit the evil and to obtain by subtle means a neutrality as little malevolent as possible, by awaiting the favourable moment of the anarchy, which history showed to recur in Morocco with an inexorable regularity The Spanish court did not attempt to make capital out of the presence in Spain of two pretenders, al-Nāṣir and al-Shaikh, the brother and the son of al-Mutawakkil which disturbed al-Mansūr, in 1589, Arzila was evacuated without a quid pro quo The fear of seeing Moors and Morescoes draw closer to one another kept Spain from unfolding a liberal economic policy, the only one capable of affecting the Sharīf in a sensitive part

The latter by nature very cautious and far-seeing was not inclined to take risks He had also to reckon with a public opinion, already irritated by the influence wielded by Jews and renegades, anti-foreign feeling definitely increased in the course of the reign, the fact that he had compromised himself with the Christians weakened the prestige of the Sultān, while the wealth and power of the Marabouts and brotherhoods increased to a dangerous decree The splendour loving ruler of a covetous people, al-Mansūr did not think of concealing the sympathy he had for traders With the Grand Duke, who freely received Moors in Tuscany and did all he could to develop commerce between the two countries, with Elizabeth, with the English, French and Dutch traders, relations were close Sugar was exported from the South and Morocco also supplied corn in good years, gold from the Sūdān, saltpetre, copper and hides It imported principally cloth and for al-Mansūr himself, the materials for his buildings From the Sharifian court there went undefinable envoys, at once ambassadors, spies, procurers of jewels and of women But contraband especially interested the Sharīf, contraband of war and the sale, advantageous for every one, of the cargoes and slaves brought in by the corsairs The English were the most punctilious contrabandists and the trade with Morocco developed so well that in 1585 the Barbary Company was founded with a monopoly and a regular constitution But Ahmad al-Mansūr was not too fond of regular traders The many Christians settled in Morocco must be considered to have been adventurers Quasi prisoners of the Sharīf and his people, they were able to realise precarious fortunes, always liable to extortion In 1585 bankruptcies were numerous in Morocco and the loyal company could not survive The caprices of the sovereign drove off many other foreign traders

These economic relations gradually developed into political ones It was to exercise pressure on Spain that Ahmad al-Mansūr pretended to submit to the wishes of a combination of Dutch and English After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, he entered without hesitation into the English camp, he received at his court Don Christoph, son of the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio, and agreed to a loan to Elizabeth Then he drew back again The taking of Cadiz in 1596 again influenced his feelings, he spoke of an alliance and made definite offers Nothing resulted from these demonstrations, except a painful impression left after deception So long as Elizabeth was alive, relations were friendly, for the two rulers had kindly feelings for one another, but James I, on his accession, at once showed a much less benevolent attitude towards the Sharifian court

It was in the direction of the Sūdān that Ahmad al Mansūr gave reign to his desire for glory and conquest His troops had had some experience in the Sahara In 1581, the oases of Tuāt and Tigūrārin, which had long been free from the Sharifian yoke had been conquered brilliantly In 1584 an unsuccessful expedition had ended in the disappearance in the desert of a large army which had not even reached Teghāza In 1590, having sought a quarrel with the *askia* Ishak over the ownership of the salt mines of Teghāza, al-Mansūr persuaded his Council to go to war, a little army under the Pasha Djawdhar crossed the desert and destroyed the Sūdānese empire The occupation of the conquered country was nothing but systematic plunder and massacre The Sharīf collected great wealth there, he received the congratulations of the Powers and gained a prestige which still survives, his lieutenants also enriched themselves With remarkable regularity, almost every year, reinforcements set out for Gago and very often reached it, caravans brought gold, wealth and slaves back to Marrākush The most famous of the prisoners was the legist Ahmad Bābā [q v] for whom Marrākush was a gilded prison where he taught quite freely The

Sūdān was drained dry In 1600 al-Mansūr saw the necessity of reorganising trade there but does not seem to have succeeded

Morocco was, on the whole, prosperous during his reign The first Sa'dians had done much for the development of commerce and agriculture Sugar factories were built up and down the country which were the Sultān's private property but were farmed out by him to Jews and Christians Trade was active at the ports The profits from the sale of captives or their labour contributed to make the notables wealthy and through this to the peace of the country Besides the industrial monopolies, the normal revenue came from the customs dues and the taxes established by Muhammad al-Mahdī, which al Mansūr heavily increased The collection of these taxes provoked murmurs of discontent and served as an excuse for military demonstrations which maintained good order in the country Al Mansūr had also a considerable army (he never formed a fleet) composed of excellent troops, Moors from Spain and particularly renegades, a nursery for *kā'ids* and officers of ability and energy He was rich enough to pay them well All this contributed to make rebellions few and they were always quickly and harshly suppressed by the Sharīf's lieutenants the rising of the people of Saksāwa, stirred up by Mawlāi Dāwūd, son of 'Abd al Mu'min in 1581 and the rebellion of the Berbers of Amizmīz in 1597 The throne itself was never seriously threatened except in 1595—1596 when al-Nāsir came from Spain and landed at Melilla Starting without resources, for Philip II would do nothing for him, al-Nāsir nevertheless proved a redoubtable enemy for he gathered round him all those who were dissatisfied with the rule of al Mansūr and raised troops from the Barānis (Branes), always ready to rebel and who had until lately been vassals of the Turks He took Tāzā and tried to raise the Rif and the country around Fās Defeated at al Rukn on Aug 3, 1595, he held out till May 1596 Decisively defeated at Taghāt, he was put to death

Al-Mansūr had rarely need to leave Marrakush and he did not like to do so His mother had acquired a great reputation for her pious foundations He himself, six months after his accession, began the building of the palace of al Badi' which was finished in 1602 Marble for it came from Italy and artists from Spain, and Marrākush became one great workshop A splendid palace arose, sumptuous pavilions surrounded by beautiful gardens in which stood numerous fountains Foreigners were fêted there and the Sharīf displayed his generosity Especially on the occasion of religious festivals he displayed great pomp and ceremony His wealth earned him great fame abroad and it was no doubt to it that he owed most of his glory At his court the principal posts were held by renegades Jews who had charge of his finances, Christians who conducted his private trading for him, and the agents of foreign courts Al-Mansūr was one of the richest and most courted rulers of his time Spain kept a regular ambassador or a representative permanently at Marrākush, France had a consul there, there was a constant passage of embassies between the Sharīf and the Sublime Porte

The palace of al-Badi' was destroyed by Mawlāy Ismā'īl The mausoleum in it still remains, a very fine specimen of the art of a decadent period Towards the end of his life al-Mansūr was thinking of creating a new Marrākush on the model of Fās

Ahmad al-Mansūr at first ruled as an autocrat His orders were clear, his decisions rapid and sometimes, as might be expected, drastic to cruelty His intimates, the *kā'ids* Ruthe, a Jew, whom we only know from European sources and 'Azzūz, seem to have been his secretaries, like al-Fishtālī, his biographer and poet laureate whose works have not survived The Pasha Ridwān, very powerful at the beginning of the reign, acquired such influence that the Sharīf had him beheaded in 1581 In time the notables acquired a great deal of independence and the Sultān hardly dared check their abuse of their power, two factors caused him much anxiety, the anti-foreign and audacious 'Abd al-Karim b 'Ida and his own son Abū Fāris

By a concubine, al-Khaizurān, al-Mansūr had two sons, al Shaikh and Abū Fāris, and by his wife Lalla 'Ā'isha al Shabbāniya, Zaidān His favourite son Abu 'l Hasan was killed in 1594 In 1579 he had designated as his heir al-Shaikh, called al-Ma'mūn who held the vice-royalty of Fās The remainder of Morocco was divided into governorships under other princes These were several times rearranged, Abū Fāris, having considered everything, remained at Marrākush near his father to be ready in case of his death In Fās, al-Ma'mūn, supported by his favourite Mustafa, conducted himself like an independent ruler He had displayed his gifts of energy, leadership and bravery on the occasion of al-Nāsir's escapade in 1595, living in great pomp, beloved by his troops, he was undoubtedly a cause of anxiety His father allowed himself to be led by Abū Fāris The conflict broke out in 1598 Forced to sacrifice his favourite, thrown into prison and then half pardoned, al-Ma'mūn had to renounce all hope of winning in the struggle against Zaidān who was supported by Abū Fāris After 1600 he sought support from Spain and Algiers

Under Ahmad al Mansūr, the dynasty attained its zenith But it is hardly correct to say that the decline of the Sa'dians only dates from the death of the great Sultān After the conquest of the Sūdān, the anarchy reigning in Algiers, the weakness of Spain in Europe, the death of al-Nāsir, the conversion to Christianity of another pretender, al-Shaikh, Morocco was rich, seemed powerful and the Shaīfian throne stable Ahmad al-Mansūr, by not being able to arrange for his own successor, nor even to keep his son in obedience, gave his country the chance to destroy itself This process began under his own eyes He had gone to Fās to try to reconcile his children and put through the appointment of Abū Fāris as heir apparent when the plague carried him off in 1603 Civil war broke out over his dead body He had passed the last few years of his life wandering about living in a tent, shifting his camp every ten days, driven from Marrākush by the plague, which had begun to rage in Morocco in 1598

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(C FUNCK-BRENTANO)

AL-MANṢŪR IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR, a famous ḥādjib of al-Andalus in the tenth century A H, the Almanzor of the Christian chroniclers of mediaeval Spain, his full name was Abū ʿĀmir Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh b Muhammad Ibn Abī Amir He belonged to an Arab family which had settled in the Iberian peninsula at an early date one of his ancestors, ʿAbd al Malik al-Maʿāfirī, had landed there with Tārik [q v] and settled at Torrox in the province of Algeciras where he had founded a family Al-Mansūr's father, Abū Hafs ʿAbd Allāh, was a jurist noted for his knowledge and piety who died on his way back from the pilgrimage at Tripoli in Barbary at the end of the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāsir (cf Ibn al-ʿAbbās, *Takmilat al Ṣila*, *B A H*, v —vi, N° 1251, p 437—438, al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i 904)

While still quite a young man, Muhammad Ibn Abī ʿĀmir conceived great political ambitions they were to dominate his whole career After studying in Cordova and holding a minor office with the kādī of the capital, Muhammad b al-Salim, he entered the service of the Omaiyad court in 356 (967) as superintendent of the estates of a princess of Basque origin, Subh, the wife of the Caliph al-Hakam II and her son ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who had just been born Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was not long, thanks to his tact and courtesy and ability, in making himself persona grata with this princess and it was without doubt on the intervention of the latter that the young superintendent found himself within two years the holder of the new offices of superintendent of the mint, treasurer and administrator of intestate estates A few years later in 358 (969), he was appointed kādī of the district of Seville and Niebla In 361 (972) the Caliph al-Hakam II gave him command of a section of his police corps (*shurṭa*)

All these offices, combined in the person of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir assured him a considerable income and soon enabled him to lead a very luxurious life in Cordova He built himself a palace in the aristocratic quarter of Rusāfa and his generosity, courtly disposition and his splendour soon placed him in the forefront of the dignitaries of the Omaiyad court In a few years he had filled the first part of his programme to become popular and indispensable, to make numerous friends, ready to support him on the day on which he would begin his attempt on the throne of the caliph

Ibn Abī ʿĀmir very soon realised that it was not sufficient to be popular in Cordova but that he had also to create reliable friends among the generals of the Caliph's armies The circumstances of the time were peculiarly in his favour Al-Hakam II, following the example of his predecessor ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, had his North African policy and his armies were busy suppressing a Maghribī revolt which had broken out as a result of an expedition of reprisal sent against the petty Idrīsid dynast of Tangier, Hasan b Gannūn The Omaiyad troops, under the orders of the general Ghālib, were sent to dethrone all the petty Idrīsid rulers of Morocco who were more or less vassals of the Fātimids This expedition was crowned with success and Hasan b Gannūn was obliged to take refuge in a fortress of the Rif, Hadjrat al Nasr, in which Ghālib besieged him But the Spanish army in Africa was a heavy burden on the treasury of the Caliph Ghālib had distributed money recklessly among the chiefs of the Berber tribes of the North of Morocco in order to buy them over Al Hakam II decided to send over a controller-general of finance and he chose Ibn Abī ʿĀmir who set off with the title of chief kādī (*kādī 'l kudāt*) and exact instructions He carried out his very delicate task with unusual tact He returned to Cordova at the same time as the army When al Hakam II died, leaving the throne to his young son Hishām in 366 (976), the new Caliph at the same time as he appointed *ḥādjib* the favourite vizier of his father, Abu 'l-Hasan Djaʿfar b ʿOthmān al-Mushafī, appointed Ibn Abī ʿĀmir as the latter's vizier The ambitious minister now worked unceasingly to get rid of his chief, al Mushafī In the first place he was able to reduce to nothing the considerable power which the Slavs (*Sakāliba*, q v) had in the Caliph's entourage In Cordova they formed a body of mercenaries who guarded the royal palace, and at this time their leaders were two of their number, Fāʾik al-Nizāmī, grand master of the wardrobe, and Djawdhar, grand goldsmith and chief falconer On the death of al Hakam they had attempted to oppose the proclamation of Hishām who was still a child and to put on the throne of Cordova his uncle al Mughīra The latter was slain at the instigation of al-Mushafī and it seems likely that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir played an active part in the plot which ended in this murder In any case very soon after the accession of Hishām II as a result of the rigorous measures taken against them, the Slavs lost all influence at the Omaiyad court to the great satisfaction of the people of Cordova who had long suffered from their abuses Ibn Abī ʿĀmir also gained in popularity, still further increased when he displayed for the first time the possession of military talents which had not been suspected

A little later he succeeded in getting the command of an expedition against the Christians of the North who had taken up arms against Islām as soon as al-Hakam II had fallen ill Setting out from Cordova in Radjab 366 (Feb 977) he laid siege to the fortress of los Baños in Galicia and returned to the capital with considerable spoil He then cultivated the friendship of the aged and

distinguished general Ghālib, governor of Madīnat Sālim (Medinaceli, q v), and obtained his help to bring about the fall of the *ḥādjib* al Mushafī Ghālib on the intervention of Ibn ʿĀmir received the much coveted title of *dhu 'l-wizārataīn* and the command of the forces on the frontier in the expeditions against the Christians This friendship was strengthened in a new campaign in which Ibn Abī ʿĀmir commanded the troops from the capital alongside of Ghālib This expedition was again crowned with success and earned Ibn Abī ʿĀmir a new and honourable office, that of commandant of Cordova in place of the son of al-Mushafī who was dismissed Al-Mushafī, conscious of the danger which threatened him, then tried to play off Ghālib against Ibn Abī ʿĀmir but this was labour lost The young minister even became son-in-law of Ghālib who gave him the hand of his daughter Asmāʾ A few months later, al-Mushafī and the members of his family, who still held offices at the court, were dismissed and their property confiscated On the same day Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was appointed *ḥādjib* With his father-in-law, Ghālib, he was at the head of the administration of the empire

It was not only the plots he had woven with success nor his personal ability that had enabled Ibn Abī ʿĀmir to advance so rapidly in his career It seems very probable that the princess Subh, widow of al Hakam II and mother of the reigning Caliph, was the mistress of the former superintendent of her son's estates This liaison was not unknown to the Cordovans and produced bitter criticisms of the princess and her lover Public opinion, which had at first been so favourable to the *ḥādjib*, began to be hostile to him A plot to overthrow Hishām II and put in his place another grandson of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III was prepared but nipped in the bud The Cordovan jurists then spread the rumour that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was devoted to philosophy and that his orthodoxy therefore was quite nominal He proved them wrong Ibn Abī ʿĀmir did not hesitate to burn from the splendid library formed by the cultured al-Hakam II all the books dealing with branches of knowledge prohibited by the *ʿUlamāʾ* He conciliated them by this act of vandalism the gravity of which can hardly have escaped him But with his unparalleled ambition nothing which might prevent him attaining his object was allowed to deter him

But the young Caliph Hishām II was now growing up He had to be prevented from taking an active part in the conduct of affairs Business was then conducted in the Caliph's palace in Cordova In order to set aside the ruler finally, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in 368 (978) decided to build near the capital a regular town for administrative purposes This was al-Madīnat al-Zāhira [q v] which in a few years became an important city at the very gates of Cordova As to Hishām, he then began the life of a recluse, either at Cordova or at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, which was to last throughout his reign At the same time as he settled the problem of the possible intervention of the ruling prince in the affairs of state in a manner as energetic as it was unscrupulous, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was reorganising the army and inaugurating a new policy in the country The Omaiyad army, in the form in which it was then constituted, was recruited in the country itself and the permanent bodies of mercenaries were not large Ibn Abī ʿĀmir required new ones this is why from now on till the end of his life, he appealed for Berber volunteers from the north of Morocco and Ifrikiya At the same time he realised that the occupation of certain parts of the Maghrib by the Omaiyads was only a source of expense to the Caliph's treasury and that any plan of territorial expansion in that direction would be disastrous to the ruler of Cordova He therefore abandoned all these possessions, retaining in Africa only one of the keys of the Strait of Gibraltar, the citadel of Ceuta The administration of the rest of the country he handed over to petty local dynasties under the nominal suzerainty of Cordova Along with the Berber troops in his pay, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir formed other corps by recruiting Christian mercenaries from the north of Spain, from Leon, Castille and Navarre He was able by his generosity and attentions to secure the complete devotion of his new soldiers

Having thus a strong and veteran army at his disposal, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir renewed with ardour the old feud against the Christians on the frontiers of the empire He first of all got rid of his father-in-law Ghālib, whom he had displeased by the manner in which he had upset the old military organisation of the country, then he undertook in 371 (981) an expedition on a grand scale against the kingdom of Leon He took and plundered Zamora, where he took 4,000 prisoners The King of Leon, Ramiro III, then made an alliance with Garcia Fernandez, Count of Castile, and the King of Navarre But all three were defeated by the Muslim general at Rueda to the south-west of Simancas and this town itself was taken by him Ibn Abī ʿĀmir continued his advance on the town of Leon and inflicted another defeat on Ramiro III The return of the Hadjib to Cordova was a regular triumph and it was on this occasion that he took the honorific *lakab* of al-Mansūr bi'llāh, "the victorious in God"

All powerful at Cordova and a successful general, al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was to devote the rest of his life to an unceasing war on the Christian frontiers and to increasing considerably the territory ruled by the Muslims in the Peninsula After his defeat, the nobles of Leon had deposed Ramiro III and proclaimed in his place Bermuda II The latter finally found himself forced to seek al-Mansūr's help and to recognise him as suzerain Al Mansūr then decided to make an expedition into Catalonia in 374 (985) he defeated Count Borrel and stormed Barcelona, which he sacked According to Ibn al-ʿAbbār, it was the ʿĀmirid's twenty-third campaign

Ibn Gannūn, the petty Idrīsid dynast in the north of Morocco having again rebelled against Cordova, al Mansūr sent his cousin Ibn ʿAskalādja to subdue him Ibn Gannūn surrendered on being promised his life But al-Mansūr had him executed along with Ibn ʿAskaladja whom he accused of having plotted against him This breach of faith and brutal execution having produced a reaction of feeling in the capital, al-Mansūr to rehabilitate himself undertook a pious work in 377 (987) he extended the cathedral mosque of Cordova which had become too small Eight new naves were built on the east and the western wall of the hall of prayer and of the *ṣahn* was moved out 150 feet The Arab historians say that al-Mansūr made gangs of Christian prisoners do this work, for the greater glory of Islām

In the same year the war against the kingdom of Leon was resumed The Muslim troops, that al-Mansūr had sent there, had oppressed the country and Bermuda II had finally driven them out Al-Mansūr punished his boldness with the greatest rigour In two campaigns several months apart, he took Coimbra, which he laid waste, I eon which he left completely in ruins, and Zamora The Counts of Leon had then to lay down their arms and submit to al-Mansūr and Bermuda II was only left possessions very much reduced in extent

The campaigns that followed were again directed against the N -W of the Peninsula The best known is that of St Jago de Compostella in 387 (997) His famous sanctuary of western Christianity [cf the article SHANT YĀKŪB] was taken by the Muslim troops on the 2nd Sha'bān (10th August) and only the tomb of the apostle was spared, by orders of al-Mansūr

The last expedition against the Christians dates from the year 1002 Its objective was Castile Al-Mansūr took Canales and destroyed the convent of San Millán de la Cogolla But on his return from the expedition, he fell ill and died at Medinaceli on the 27th Ramadān 392 (Aug 10, 1002) He was buried in this town

The last years of the life of al-Mansūr in spite of his successful career and victorious expeditions had been marked by events which might have been fatal to him if he had not once again displayed an iron will and extreme violence in the suppression of plots hatched against him The few attempts made on behalf of Hishām II to regain for him the power, which had been seized by his first minister were in vain In 381 (991) al Mansūr gave up his title of Hādjib in favour of his son 'Abd al-Malik Five years later he assumed with an audacity worthy of him the princely title of *malik karīm* "noble King" and reserved for himself the title *sayyid* "lord" The only thing that he did not dare to do or could not do was to announce the overthrow of the Omayyad caliphate and the constitution of an 'Āmirid caliphate in its stead He arranged however for the power to pass to his heirs after him, and it was his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar, who succeeded him on his death to control for a few more years the destinies of the Muslim empire in Spain

Various judgments have been passed on al Mansūr His lack of scruples has been emphasised and the often criminal means which he used to attain his ends His career is nevertheless an extraordinary one This dictator was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of affairs that Islām has ever produced and under his "reign" Muslim Spain remained the great nation, which in the caliphate of 'Abd al Rahmān III had shown itself one of the most remarkable centres of culture and civilisation in the mediaeval west

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MANṢŪR B NŪH, the name of two Sāmānid rulers

1 MANṢŪR B NŪH I (Abū Sālih), ruler of Khorāsān and Transoxania (350—365 = 961—976), succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik b Nūh I [q v] Ibn Hawkal is able to describe the internal conditions of the Sāmānid kingdom under Mansūr as an eye witness, cf especially *B G A*, ii 341 *fi waktinā hādhā*, p 344 *sq* on the character of Mansūr "the justest king among our contemporaries, in spite of his physical weakness and the slightness of his frame" On the vizier Bal'amī, see BAI 'AMĪ where also information is given about the Persian version of Tabarī's history composed in 352 (963) by or by orders of this vizier On the rebellion of the commander of the Sāmanid bodyguard, Alp-Tegin, and the independent kingdom founded by him in Ghazna and on the establishment of Sāmānid rule there in the reign of Mansūr and the son and successor of Alp-Tegīn, Ishāk (or Abū Ishak Ibrāhīm) see ALP TEGĪN and GHAZNA, in Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G M S*, New Series v , p 251, note 4, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm should be read for Ishāk b Ibrāhīm (this passage is misunderstood in the Russian original) In other directions also in this reign the Sāmānid kingdom prospered in its foreign affairs, the fighting with the Būyids [q v] and Ziyārids was as a rule victorious

2 MANṢŪR B NŪH II (Abu 'l Hārith), ruler of Transoxania (387—389 = 997—999) His father Nūh b Mansūr, to whom out of all the Sāmānid empire only a portion of Transoxania was left, died on Friday 14th Radjab 387 (July 23, 997) but it was not till Dhu 'l-Ka'da (November) that homage was paid to Mansūr as his successor Baihakī (ed Morley, p 803) talks highly of his courage and eloquence, on the other hand he is said to have been feared by every one for his extraordinary severity During his brief and impotent reign he was hardly able to instil terror into any one The last Sāmānids were quite helpless against the kings and generals who were quarrelling over the inheritance of the dying dynasty One of these generals, Fā'ik, succeeded even in taking Bukhārā at the head of only 3,000 horsemen, Mansūr had to fly to Āmul [q v] but was called back by Fā'ik The last months of his reign were devoted to fruitless efforts to settle peacefully the question of the governorship of Khorāsān, which

was claimed by various parties, but before the problem had been settled by force of arms, Mansūr was dethroned on Wednesday, 12th Ṣafar 389 (Feb 1, 999) by his generals Fā'ik and Begtūzūn, blinded a week later and sent to Bukhārā

Bibliography cf SĀMĀNIDS, and add W Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Sec Edition, London 1928 (*G M S*, New Series v), p 251 *sqq*, 264 *sqq*

(W BARTHOLD)

AL-**MANSŪR ISMĀ'ĪL**, ABŪ ṬĀHIR OF ABU 'L 'ABBĀS, third Fāṭimid caliph, was 32 when he succeeded his father Abu 'l Ḳāsim al Kā'im in Shawwal 334 (May 946) under particularly difficult conditions Abū Yazīd, the Khāridjī agitator supported by many Berber tribes and by the people of Kairawān had failed before al Mahdiya but was still besieging Sūs Al-Mansūr concealed his father's death and did not alter the formulae of the *Khuṭba*, of the coin legends or of the standards lest Abū Yazid should profit by the weakening of authority which was a regular feature of change of ruler Sūs was relieved by the efforts of the reinforcements sent by al-Mansūr by sea Abū Yazīd had to beat a hurried retreat Al-Mansūr, however, having returned to Kairawān and pardoned the inhabitants who had supported the agitator, had to prepare to meet a new attack Abū Yazīd was not long in reappearing, repulsed he came again to the attack Al-Mansūr tried to make terms with him and gave him back his women captured in Kairawān but Abū Yazid, in spite of his promise, attacked him again and was completely defeated in a pitched battle (Aug 946) He was then pursued to the west After a delay caused by the illness of al-Mansūr, Abū Yazīd mortally wounded was taken prisoner at Djebel Kiyāna, north of Msila, in Muharram 336 (Aug 947)

This success established al-Mansūr securely A section of the tribes of the Central Maghrib who had embraced the cause of Abū Yazid made their submission, like the Maghrāwa under Muhammad b al-Khayr Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Fāṭimids, the Omayyads of Spain had entrenched themselves more securely in western Barbary A former Fāṭimid officer, Hāmid b Yesel, was ruling the Maghrib in the name of the caliphs of Cordova and laid siege to Tāhert Al-Mansūr relieved the town and appointed the Ifranid Ya'lā b Muhammad to rule it He invested with considerable authority the chief of the Ṣanhādja Zīrī b Manād, who had proved a loyal auxiliary during his days of trial

Returning to Kairawān, al Mansūr had again to take the field against the son of Abū Yazīd who was trying to stir up a rebellion again Besides taking these vigorous steps in Barbary to put an end to the Khāridjī movement, al-Mansūr developed the naval power of Ifrikiya His freedman Fatah, supported by the governor of Sicily, won a striking victory over the Greeks in the south of Italy and came home laden with booty (340 = 951)

Lastly al-Mansūr holds a high place among the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya for his buildings The capital was no longer al Mahdiya nor was it Kairawān whose recent treachery made it suspect From 947 Sabra, also called al-Mansūrīya from its founder, was the capital The town built at the gates of Kairawān was beautified by the palaces which he built and grew rich on the bazaars which he removed from the old city

Al-Mansūr was 39 and had ruled 7 years, when he died suddenly on a journey from a chill caught by taking a bath in cold weather (Shawwāl 29, 341 = March 953)

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MANSŪRA, founded by Mansūr b Djamhūr al-Kalabī, was from 258 (871) the capital of Sind under the Arabs Istakhrī decribed it as more fertile and populous than Multān Before the arrival of the Arabs, Brahmanābād (probably identical with the modern Haidarābād) was the capital of Sind, and its name was changed to Mansūra after the Arab conquest For notices of Mansūra by early travellers to India, see *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, i, Part i, p 506, 507, 511, 525

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(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-**MANSŪRA**, large town in Lower Egypt, on the right bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, capital of the province al Dakahliya Another canal or branch of the Nile went from here to Ashmūm in a north eastern direction It was originally a camping place for the army, founded in 616 (1219) by al-Malik al-Kāmil, when he tried to recapture Dimyāt, then occupied by the Crusaders In 1249 the Crusaders were defeated in the neighbourhood of al-Mansūra by al-Sultān al Mu'aẓẓam Tūrānshāh, on which occasion Lewis IX of France was taken prisoner The town is now an important emporium for the cotton trade, in 1917 there were 49,238 inhabitants (Baedeker) It possesses no remarkable buildings, a railway bridge crosses the Nile at this place

There are still various other places in Egypt, called al-Mansūra

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(J H KRAMERS)

AL-**MANṢŪRA**, the name of a town now in ruins built by the Sultāns of Fās about 5 miles to the west of Tlemcen The very precise account given by Ibn Khaldūn enables us to reconstruct with exactitude the history of this typical town camp In the year 698 (1299) the Marinid Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf, who had come to lay siege to the capital of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād,

which he had closely surrounded with entrenchments, set up his camp on the plain which stretches to the west As it was a long drawn out blockade he built a few dwellings for himself and the leaders of his army and laid the foundation of a mosque In the year 702 (1302) the "Victorious Camp", *al-Mahalla al-Mansūra*, was given the form of a regular town by the construction of a rampart Besides the mosque, the dwellings of the chiefs, the store houses for munitions and the shelters for the army, there were baths and caravanserais As Tlemcen was inaccessible to caravans, al-Mansūra or New Tlemcen, as it was called, naturally attracted to itself the business of the invested town After a siege of eight years and three months the Marinids withdrew from Tlemcen, and al-Mansūra was methodically evacuated under the direction of Ibrāhīm b ʿAbd al Djalil, the vizier of the Sultān Abū Thābit The people of Tlemcen were compelled, by the terms of the treaty made with the Marīnids to respect the rival town for some time Some time after, when the entente between the two empires had been broken, they demolished its buildings and rendered uninhabitable the entrenchments left at their gate by their hereditary enemy

Thirty years later, in the year 735 (1335), the Moroccan army under Sultān Abu 'l Hasan was once more at the gates of Tlemcen On this occasion the ʿAbd al-Wādī capital was forced to surrender (27th Ramadān 737 = 1st May 1337) Al Mansūra was rebuilt It became the official capital of the Marīnids during their occupation of the central Maghrib It was in fact, during this time that the great mosque was built and that the "Palace of Victory" was erected (745)

After the retreat of the Marīnids, al-Mansūra, once more abandoned, fell little by little into ruins At the present day the rampart of terre pisée flanked by square towers is still comparatively intact, but the interior is land under cultivation and contains a French village There still exists there, however, the ruins of a palace no longer distinct, a section of a paved street, and probably the surrounding wall in terre pisée of the Mosque with half of the great minaret in stone, which arose above the principal entrance Although the inlaid ceramic work has almost entirely disappeared, the facade of the square tower, which is 120 feet high, is one of the most perfect pieces of the Maghribī art of the XIVth century that survives The columns and the capitals in marble of the mosque are preserved in the Museums of Tlemcen and Algiers

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(Georges Marçais)

MANṬIK (A), Logic The logic of the Arab philosophers is that of Aristotle, here and there modified by the Stoic and Neo-Platonist tendencies of the Greek commentators The Arab philosophers did not develop this logic but they gave résumés of it, reproduced it and wrote commentaries on it, often with success, they understood it very well and it is in logic that they came nearest to the authentic Aristotelianism As to the matter, it was easier for them to grasp the exact sense of the logical writings of Aristotle than of his other works since the translation of the Logic had been made and remade with great care (cf e g the two versions of the beginning of the *Interpretation* in J Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in d arab Übers d Ishāk b Hunain*, Leipzig 1913) while the translation of the *Metaphysics* for example was very defective and incomplete The remark of the Ikhwān al Safā' — who evidently did not care much for the subject of logic — at the beginning of their little treatise on logic "the ancient sages have dealt with these subjects and their works are in the hands of the reader, but they are very diffuse, for the translators did not understand the exact meaning" is then not justified

To the six works of Aristotle, the Categories, Hermeneutics, the Prior Analytics and Posterior Analytics, the Topics, and the Sophistics, the Arabs — like the latest Greek commentators — added the *Rhetoric* and the *Politics* (as to the Rhetoric, Aristotle himself had regarded it [*Rhet*, I 2, 1356 a 25] as a lateral branch of the *Dialectics* and *Politics*) They explained the order of these works in the manner of the later Greek commentators (cf Elias in *Aristotelis Categor Comment*, ed Busse, p 116 29 *sqq*) The most important of these treatises was the fourth, the *Posterior Analytics*, to which the three preceding are only the preparation and introduction, in the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle was thought to have treated of the absolutely true, in the Poetics of the absolutely false and in the intermediate treatises, according as they approach the Poetics, the element of improbability begins to preponderate Then, still in the manner of the Greeks, they placed in front of these works the *Isagoge* of Porphyry which as its name, Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας, *Kitāb Furfūryūs al-Maʿrūf bi 'l-Mudkhal*, shows, is an introduction to the logic of Aristotle

Among the Greeks there were two further kinds of introduction to philosophy or — since the study of philosophy began with logic — to the logic of Aristotle In the one which preceded the categories, Προλεγόμενα τῶν κατηγοριῶν, ten questions were put (among them Whence came the names of the different "philosophical schools"? What is the division of the works of Aristotle?) to which a brief reply was given Among the Arabs, we still find an introduction of this kind in a little work by al-Fārābi, *Risāla fī-mā yanbaghī an yukaddam kabl Taʿallum al-Falsafa* (ed Schmoelders in his *Docum philos arab*) The other kind of introduction, the prototype Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας of which is given by the pupil of Proclus, Ammonius Hermiae, was introductory to the *Isagoge* In the first part definitions were dealt with, in the second divisions of philosophy The Arabic treatises on the division of the sciences go back to this kind of introduction which they further developed We still possess from the pens of the two of the greatest Arab philosophers, al Fārābī and Avicenna, such treatises on the divisions of the sciences Avicenna's entitled *Makāla fī Takāsīm al-Ḥikma wa 'l-ʿUlūm* was printed at Constantinople

among the *Tis' Rasā'il fi 'l-Hikma wa 'l-Tanbī'iyāt* For the manuscripts, the publication — in a little review, *al-'Irfān*, in 1921 at Saida (Syria) — and the emendation of the text of al-Fārābī, *Kitāb Ihsā' al-'Ulūm*, cf the excellent study by M Bouyges S J in the *Melanges de l'Universite St Joseph*, vol ix, fasc 2, Bairūt 1922 These two treatises were translated into Latin and that of al-Fārabī in particular, with the Latin title of *De Scientiis* since it was incorporated almost completely into the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus, had a great influence on the European scholars of the middle ages

There were three opinions among the Greek logicians as to the relationship of logic to the system of philosophy 1 To the Peripatetics, logic was simply a methodology, an introduction to philosophy, 2 except for its integral realism the structure of reality is in conformity with the structure of the mind, the rules of logic therefore deal with realities themselves and logic would then be a true part of philosophy this was the opinion of the Stoics and especially of Plotinus, *Enn*, i 5, 3, 3 the combination of these two views in several Neo-Platonists logic was at the same time an introduction to and a part of philosophy Among the Arabs these three points of view were also represented (cf Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Mafātih al-'Ulūm*, ed van Vloten, p 132) but the Peripatetic view was in the majority The third view is found, for example, in Avicenna (cf *Logica*, f 2*a*, Venice 1508)

Logic, according to the Arab logicians, leads to a knowledge of the unknown from the known (cf Aristotle, *Post Anal*, at the beginning) but its supreme object, according to them and the later Greek commentators, is that, by making us distinguish good from evil, it can guide us to the greatest perfection of soul and the greatest happiness

Although, on certain points in logic, there were differences among the Arab Aristotelians, they agree on the main lines and even Averroes, who frequently attacks his predecessors with vigour, in other passages of his works often expresses his support of their views that have been disputed, further, the solutions of problems in the Aristotelians and perhaps in other philosophers also sometimes consist of formulae, the meaning of which on examination is not always quite clear I may here note some general points which are connected with the great problems of Metaphysics

As for Aristotle, knowledge for the Arab logicians is a representation, an image of reality, there are in the soul resemblances of things (ὁμοιώματα, *amthila*), concepts, which in judgment are put together According to this conception — a contradictory conception since it at the same time affirms and denies the knowledge of reality — thought would never be in contact with reality Naturally implicit or explicit, this contact is often affirmed by Aristotle A curious example of the conception of knowledge as an image, but in which at the same time the contact with reality is openly affirmed, is found in the theory of the duality of existence, a theory which the Arabs took over from the Greek commentators The ten categories have a double existence, according as they are found in the outer world or as images in the soul and the word existence has therefore two meanings 1 reality or objective existence and 2 subjective existence of the soul The intelligence may direct itself in an *intentio prima* (πρωτη θέσις) towards the exterior world of which the highest kinds are the ten categories, but it can turn inwards upon itself in an *intentio secunda* (δευτέρα θέσις), upon its concepts, of which the highest kinds are the five "voces" of Porphyry Everything has an existence, if not in the exterior world, at least in the soul This theory gives rise to difficulties in the first place the term "existence" becomes ambiguous, secondly, since the negation of each thing exists in the soul, "what is not in the soul" must exist in the soul It is particularly in the Kalām [q v] notably among the Ash'arīs and probably under the influence of Stoic discussions on the existence or non-existence of the "not things" (οὔτινα) that the existence of concepts like the impossible and the negative has been discussed The Arab Aristotelians were very often content to admit a concept "thing" (*shai'*, the τί of the Stoics) more general than being, without paying too much attention to the fact that by this they were contradicting the thesis that everything is For the rest, in the Aristotelian philosophy the concept of existence or of being gives rise to grave difficulties, it was much discussed in Islām, not only among the philosophers but also for the metaphysical questions connected with it among the theologians and the mystics Aristotle had already affirmed (e g 1040, b 18) that existence or being is neither kind nor substance and the Arab philosophers al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Ghazālī and Averroes supported this view with the stereotyped reasoning that existence cannot express the essence of things, since being man implies being animal, being a living body, being a body etc, but it does not at all imply that man is being On the other hand being (τὸ ὄν) and substance (ἡ οὐσία) are synonyms in Aristotelian philosophy How are these two views to be reconciled? Avicenna says, as the theologians had already done before him, that only in God substance (being) and existence coincide, for the other substances, existence must be added to them as an accident For Averroes on the other hand, as before him for the Ash'arīs, being is always substance and never accident and he says that in judgments, in which being is predicated and thus apparently an accident, as when one says "substance is", "is" is an intentio secunda

As to the theory of ideas, the Arab logicians deny, with Aristotle and using his own arguments, the separate existence of the universals, but admit with Plato their supra-sensible existence This is the theory very prevalent in the last period of philosophy (in the Middle Platonism, Neo Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism) according to which ideas or universal forms exist from eternity in God The intelligibility of things comes from this, that their cause is an intelligence, as the idea of the statue in the soul of the sculptor is the cause of the existence and intelligibility of the statue, so the intelligence of the creator of the world is the cause of the intelligibility of natural things Avicenna expressed this theory by the formula that the Universe is ante multitudinem in multiplicitate (in things) and post multitudinem (in our soul) It is the second element in this formula "in multiplicitate" that offers a difficulty (a difficulty already found in Aristotle) how to conceive of the existence of universals in things which are themselves individuals? Often a conceptualist or nomi-

nalist tendency is seen in the Arab Aristotelians, it is explicitly stated that the universal is only found in the mind and following Aphrodisias the forms in matter, the *ἔνυλα εἴδη*, are regarded as individuals But since in the system of Aristotle, forms are universals by definition, contradiction cannot be avoided, and the theories of the universals among the Arab philosophers are often very complicated and very obscure Another nominalist or subjectivist tendency is found in their conception of the relation, which they call — with the Stoics — "what the mind puts into things" But it is the theologians who under the influence of materialist, nominalist and sensualist Stoicism have developed a nominalist system which only admits atomic and individual facts without a connection, in which all relation is regarded as subjective or even non-existent

The ambiguous manner in which he deals with the concepts "possible", "impossible" and "necessary" gives rise in Aristotle as well as in the Arab logicians, who follow their master faithfully, to grave difficulties Aristotle (*Prior Analyt*, 32*a*, 18—25) — like the Arab logicians (cf Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, ed Forget, p 34) — distinguishes two aspects of the concept of the possible, the possible is the negation at once of the impossible and of the necessary, but he does not always observe these two aspects and thus the necessary and the actual are considered as possible since what happens is not impossible On the other hand, the actual is considered as the necessary, since what happens, happens necessarily, and although the definition of the possible is "what may or may not happen", for Aristotle "possible" is also "what will happen" since what never happens is not possible These contradictions are occasioned by the fact that the problem which is at the basis of all this, that is to say, the objectivity or subjectivity of the possible and of the necessary, is differently treated by Aristotle Aristotle hesitates between determinism and indeterminism Of two future events, he says in the *Hermeneutics* that one of two will be true, but which is not determined in advance He says that necessity does not govern the celestial world and that the sublunar world is the reign of contingency, he also says that God alone is absolutely necessary, that all the rest is hypothetically necessary, that is to say, contains an element of contingency On the other hand, everything is caused, and goes back necessarily to a first cause All these contradictions are found among the Arab Aristotelians The Mutakallimūn, who, like the Stoics, wish to exclude the possible from reality (but they sometimes regard, like certain Stoics, the "possible" and "necessary" as both subjective, thus affirming that everything is possible) have with justice declared that if there is a necessary cause, the effect of it must also be necessary and that there is therefore no contingency in the world Averroes in his polemic against Ghazālī seems to admit the justice of this argument but elsewhere he repeats all the theories of his master

Although Ghazālī confesses that theology, while opposed to the metaphysics of the philosophers cannot however deny the evidence of their logical technique, certain arguments of Greek scepticism against logic are sometimes repeated by the Mutakallimūn Definition is, they say, not possible, because by the particular one cannot reach the universal, and the syllogism is a *petitio principii* since the conclusion is already contained in the major premiss These arguments are justified against Aristotelianism, regarded as an empirical theory which sets out from the particular fact There is however a rationalist tendency in Aristotle and the Arab logicians, they admit that the intelligence can at once know first principles and that without induction from particular facts it can grasp relations between universals But when the Mutakallimūn say that knowledge and the Universal cannot give the truth, since according to the definition of truth, agreement must exist between true knowledge and reality, and knowledge is universal and reality individual, they reveal by this argument one of the greatest contradictions in Aristotelianism Averroes tried in vain to refute it

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MANŪF, name of two towns, in the region between the two main Nile arms called al-Djazīra, generally distinguished as Manūf al-ʿUlya and Manūf al-Suflā The latter was situated on the right bank of the western Nile arm, while the former lay more to the east on a smaller canal Both are described by the geographers as large towns, surrounded by fertile districts and inhabited by wealthy people, especially Manūf al-ʿUlyā, where, according to Ibn Hawkal (p 92), there resided a governor The *kūra* of Manūf al-ʿUlyā is often called the *kūra* of Damsis and Manūf, while the *kūra* of Manūf al Suflā is designated as Nawwa and Manūf (cf e g al-Makrizi, ed Wiet, I 307) Both the ancient towns have decayed since the tenth century, Yākūt only knows a village of that name The name has survived, however, until our day, in the name of the province al Manūfīya, the capital of the *mudiriya* of his name is now Shibīn al-Kawm, and the modern Manūf is a provincial town, situated to its southwest

Manūf al-ʿUlyā is known in Greek sources as *Ὀνοῦφις ἡ κάτω*, the Coptic name being Panouf Rīs, the other Manūf is not mentioned in Greek documents and is called in Coptic Panouf Djit

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MĀPPILLAS (Moplahs), a group of Muhammadans, of mixed Arab and Hindu descent, on the west coast of Southern India, numbering 1,099,453 according to the Census of 1921 Their name is said to be derived from the Malayalam *mā* ("great") and *pilla* ("child"), an honorary title originally bestowed upon all foreigners and

first applied to Christians, Jews and Muslims, but now confined to the last, this derivation, however, is disputed (Thornton, p 460—461) They owe their origin to Arab merchants, who were attracted to this coast by the trade in spices, ivory, etc , settling in various commercial centres, they intermarried with the natives of the country and added to their numbers by proselytising, but fresh accessions of the Arab element having ceased long ago, the Māppillas now approximate to the aboriginal type and exhibit no signs of any admixture of foreign blood The earliest date of their settlements is uncertain, and the legendary accounts given by the Māppillas themselves are of no historic value (Zain al Dīn, p 21—25) The foreign traders appear to have been encouraged by the Hindu rādjās, who made use of them to man their fleets, and by the beginning of the xvith century the Māppillas were estimated to have formed one fifth of the population of Malabar (Barbosa, p 310), but the arrival of the Portuguese in this part of India checked the growth of Muslim power and ruined the Arab trade The Māppillas are still successful traders, especially on the coast, inland, many of them are agriculturists There are both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs among them, the former belong to the Shāfiʿī school Their religious leaders are called Tangal (an honorific plural of the personal pronoun, commonly used in addressing superiors) and are treated with profound respect, many of them receive their training in a college attached to the Djamīʿat mosque in Ponnānī, the chief centre of their religious organisation, the Tangal of Ponnānī is an Arab who claims descent from the Prophet, in accordance with local custom he inherits his sacred office in the female line i e his nephew and not his son succeeds him

The history of the Māppillas is full of incidents of fanaticism and turbulence In 1524 they attacked the Jews in Cranganur and massacred them without mercy, so that in 1565 the remnant of them fled into Cochin, where they founded the Jewish settlement that survives to the present day (Zain al-Dīn, p 50—51, Francis Day, p 351—352) The Māppillas also persuaded the Zamorin of Calicut to expel the Syrian Christians from his dominions (Francis Day, p 367) Even their co-religionists found them to be turbulent subjects they joined the Hindus in fighting Haidar ʿAlī [q v] after he had extended his power over the Malabar coast, and they rose in rebellion against Tīpū Sultān [q v] in 1785, and frequently plundered his territories (Francis Day, p 368) During the last hundred years as many as 51 fanatical outbreaks have taken place among them, especially in the Ernad sub-division of the district of Malabar Some Māppillas generally begin by murdering a Hindu landlord and then seek martyrdom by slaying kāfirs, others join them, after divorcing their wives, and clad in the white robes of the martyr (*shahīd*, q v) go out to die fighting against the infidel, with a complete contempt for death They desecrate and burn Hindu temples, and forcibly circumcise such Hindus as they do not murder Some of these outbreaks appear to have been stimulated by agrarian discontent at the oppressive action of Hindu landlords, but the last (in 1921) was entirely political in character and was excited by the Khilāfat movement, it differed from all preceding ones in its wide extent and clear evidence of systematic preparation and organisation, the outrages committed upon Hindus were of a specially revolting character

The Māppillas of South Malabar generally observe Muhammadan law, those of North Malabar follow the local Marumakkattāyam system of inheritance, according to which the sons of a man's sister inherit his property, and his wife is not regarded as a member of the husband's family but resides in her mother's home and only receives periodical visits from her husband On the other hand, a man's self acquisitions usually descend to his wife and family in accordance with Muhammadan law

The Māppillas speak the Malayalam language, but use a modified form of the Arabian script in writing it The majority of them are illiterate, and few only can read and write Their literature is mainly composed of songs descriptive of religious war, and they are fond of singing them in order to stir up fanatical zeal Their mosques are quite unlike those of other Muhammadans, having no minarets and often consisting of several stories, with two or more roofs, they often resemble Hindu temples in style, and in fact many Māppillas mosques were once Hindu temples

Māppillas are also found in the Laccadive Islands, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Burma

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MARĀBUT [See Murābiṭ]

MARĀGHA, the old capital of Ādharbāidjān

Position The town lies at a height of 5,500 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of Mount Sahand (11,800 feet high) which separates it from Tabrīz [q v] This explains the very considerable difference in climate between the two towns which are only 50 miles apart as the crow flies (by the high road 80 miles) The climate of Marāgha is mild and rather moist (Hamd Allāh and Mecquenem, 1904) The plentiful water supply makes the vegetation rich The fruit of Marāgha is celebrated in Persia and a good deal of it is exported to Russia via Ardabīl The district is watered by the stream which comes down from the Sahand and then

turns west to Lake Urmiya which is 20 miles from Marāgha The town is built on the left bank of the river Sāfī (Sofi)-čai which then waters Bināb A little distance to the east runs the parallel river Murdi-čai which waters the district to which Mecquenem gives the name Pahindur (Bayandur?), on the left bank rise the heights of Mandilsar (= with head bound) The next stream is the Leilān which flows into the Djaghatu [cf SAWDJ-BULĀK] The rivers farther east (Karanghu and its sources which water the Hashtarūd district) belong to the system of the Safīd-rūd [q v], i e the basin of the Caspian Sea

From the geographical point of view, Marāgha is quite independent of Tabrīz It lies a little off the great road from Tabriz to Kirmānshāh which runs nearer Lake Urmiya (via Bināb) The direct bridle-path Tabrīz—Marāgha by the passes of the Sahand is only practicable in summer There is also a direct route along the Sahand on the south and southeast side, joining Marāgha to Ardabil and Zandjān This road has always been of importance whenever Marāgha was the capital of Ādharbāidjān The important place on the route was Kūlsara (cf below)

At the beginning of the xixth century, Marāgha had 6,000 families (*Bustān al-Siyāhat*), in 1298 (1880) it had 13,259 inhabitants of whom 6,865 were men and 6,394 women (H Schindler) Mecquenem (1904) gives Marāgha 15—20,000 inhabitants

At the present day the inhabitants speak Ādhārī Turkish but in the xivth century they still spoke "arabicised Pahlawi" (*Nuzhat al Kulūb pahlawī-yi muʿarrab*) which means an Iranian dialect of the northwestern group

The walls of the town are in ruins Its gates have the following names Ahmadī, Kūia-Khāna, Akdash, Pul-i Bināb (or Gilaslik) and Hādjdjmīrzā The quarters are Agha-beg, Meidān, Darwāza, Sālār-Khāna

Prehistory The valley of the Murdi čai is famous for its deposits of fossil vertebrates discovered by Khanykov in 1852 Excavations have been conducted by Goebel (Russia), Straus, Rodler, Pohlig (Austria), Gunther (England) and Mecquenem (France) On the Murdi-čai have been found remains of the hipparion, of the rhinoceros etc dating from the period before the eruption of the volcano of Sahand Cf J F Brandt, *Ueber die von A Goebel bei der Stadt Maragha gefundenen Saugethierreste*, *Denkschr d Naturforscher-Vereins zu Riga*, 1870, and the bibliography in Mecquenem, *Contribution a l'etude du gisement des vertebres de Maragha*, Paris 1908, cf another article of the same author and title in *Annales de paleontologie*, 1924, p 133—160

The name According to Balādhurī, the town was at first called Akrā-rūdh (Ibn al-Fakih, p 284 Afrah-rūdh, Yākūt, iv 476 Afrazah rūdh) This name which means in Persian the "river of Afrāh" recalls very much the name of the town τὰ Φράατα which Mark Antony besieged in this region on his campaign against the Parthians in 36 B C (Plutarch, *Vita Antonii*, ch xxxviii, Paris 1864, p 1113 and Pseud Appian, *Parthica*, ed Sweighäuser, Leipzig 1785, iii 77, 99) It has long been supposed that the names Οὔερα in Strabo xi, ch xiii and Index, p 935, Φαράσπα, Ptolemy, vi, ch ii, τοῖς Πραάσποις, Dio Cass, xlix 25 are variants of the same name which was probably that of the ancient capital of Atropatene, cf Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p 770 If the identification of Γάζακα (summer capital, Strabo) with Takht-i Sulaimān suggested by Rawlinson has been accepted (cf Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten*, p 252, Marquart, *Eransahr*, p 108, William Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, p 136), the identification of Φράατα is still uncertain On general principles it is improbable that a town like Marāgha so advantageously situated by nature was not in existence in Roman times as the ancient name of Maiāgha increases the probability of the identification Φράατα = Marāgha (of course with a reservation as to the exact site of the ancient town)

A place-name Maiāgha is mentioned in Arabia (Yākūt) and a little town of the same name is in Egypt near Tantā The etymology "place where an animal rolls" (from *m-r-gh*) proposed itself to the Arabs here, but in Ādharbāidjān (cf also the village of Maiāgha near Abarkuh, *Nuzhat al Kulūb*, p 122) the name is rather a popular Arab etymology of some local name It is to be observed that Ptolemy, vi, ch 2, calls Lake Urmiya Margiane (μέχρι τῆς Μαργιανῆς λίμνης) and gives the same name to the country along the coast of Assyria Lastly Marquart in *Eranšahr*, p 143, 221, 313 retains the variant Μαρτιανή but Μαργιανή seems also to be based on a good tradition (cf Ptolemy, ed Wilberg, 1838, p 391)

The Arabs Marāgha must have been among the towns of Ādharbāidjān conquered by Mughira b Shuʿba al-Thakafī in the year 22 (Balādhurī, p 325, Yaʿkūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p 271) Marwān b Muhammad returning from his expedition to Mūkān and Gilān in 123 (740) (cf Yaʿkūbi, *Historiae*, ii 365) stopped here As the place was full of dung (*sirdjīn* < Pers *sirgīn*) the old village (*karya*) was given the name of Maiāgha (cf above) Marwān did some building there The town later passed to the daughters of Hārūn al-Rashīd On the rebellion of Wadjna b Rawwād, lord of Tabrīz [q v], Khuzaima b Khāzim who was appointed governor of Ādharbāidjān and Armenia (probably in 187, cf Vasmer, *Khronologia namestnikov Armenii*, *Zap Kolleg vostokovedov*, 1925, i 397), built walls round Marāgha and put a garrison in it When Bābak rebelled in 201 the people sought refuge in Maiāgha Maʾmūn sent men to restore the walls and the suburb (*rabad*) became inhabited again (Balādhurī, *l c*) In 221 Marāgha is mentioned as the winter-quarters of Afshin in his campaign against Bābak (Tabari, iii 1186)

In 280 (893) the Sādjid Muhammad Afshīn b Dīwdād seized Maiāgha from a certain ʿAbd Allāh b Husain, who was killed (Tabari, iii 2137, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 143) In 296 (908) the caliph confirmed Yūsuf b Diwdād in possession of Maragha and the whole of Ādharbāidjān A dirham is known of this year struck by Yūsuf at Marāgha (Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, Bākū 1927, p 14) According to Ibn Hawkal, p 238, there was at Marāgha a military camp (*muʿaskar*), a governor's palace (*dār al-imāra*), a treasury (*khizāna*) and government offices (*dawāwin al-nāhiya*) but Yūsuf razed the walls of Marāgha and transferred the capital to Ardabīl (cf Istakhri, p 181) Marāgha is only mentioned as the place where the last Sādjid Abu 'l-Masāfir al-Fath was killed in 317 (929) (ʿArīb, *Tabarī continuatus*, ed de Goeje, p 145)

The Dailamīs In 332 (943) (during the rule

of the Daılamī Musāfarıds) the Russıans (*Rūs*) had taken Baıdha'a [q v] Ibn Mıskawaıh (*G M S*, vı 100) speaks of the dıseases which decımated them because they ate too much fruit ın Marāgha Thıs reference to Marāgha ıs quite unexpected ın the text and Margolıouth has rıghtly proposed to read مراغه ın place of مراعه A coın struck at Marāgha ın 337 by Muhammad b 'Abd al Razzāḳ ıs a record of the brıef conquest of Ādharbāıdjān by the general of the Būyıd Rukn al-Dawla (Vasmer, *Zur Chronologıe d Ġastāniden*, *Islamıca*, ıı/2, 1927, p 170) Of 347 we also have dırhams of Marāgha ın the names of the two sons of the Daılamī Marzubān, Ibrahīm and Djastān (*ıbıd*, p 172)

The Rawwādı and the Salḏjūks After the dısappearance of the Daılamīs we find ın Tabrīz the famıly of Rawwādī Kurds who seem to have been related wıth the Musāfarıds by marrıage only On the other hand, ıt ıs very lıkely that the Rawwādī are the descendants of the Arab Rawwād al-Azdī, lord of Ādharbāıdjān (Balādhurī, p 331) who became assımılated by theır neıghbours ın Ādharbāıdjān The best known of these Rawwādı ıs Wahsūdān b Mamlān (= Muhammad, the change of *d* to *l* ın Kurdısh ıs common) who ıs mentıoned between 420 and 446 (Ibn al Athīr, ıx 279, 351, 410) and who ın addıtıon to Tabrīz possessed other strongholds ın the mountaıns (Sahand) When ın 420 the Ghuzz reached Maıāgha and executed there a great number of Hadhbānī Kurds, the latter unıted under Wahsūdān and drove out the Ghuzz (Ibn al-Athīr, ıx 270—272) Thıs ıncıdent shows that the dıstrıct of Marāgha was wıthın the sphere of ınfluence of Wahsūdān In 446 Wahsūdān became a vassal of the Salḏjūks, but Ibn al Athıı, *ıbıd*, p 410 says nothıng about the extent of hıs possessıons around Sahand

In 497 the peace between the sons of Malık-Shāh, Barkıyaruk and Muhammad was sıgned near Marāgha and ın 498, Muhammad vısıted Marāgha

The Ahmadılı In 505 we have for the fırst tıme mentıon of the Amır Ahmadıl b Ibrāhım b Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī al-Kurdı, lord of Maıāgha and Kūtab (Kūlsarı?) (Ibn al-Athīr, x 361) He was the founder of a lıttle local dynasty, whıch lasted tıll about 624 We know very lıttle of the hıstory of the Ahmadılı whıch has never been closely studıed

Ahmadıl was certaınly the grandson of Wahsūdān b Mamlān of Tabrız (cf above) and thıs explaıns the ınsıstence wıth whıch the atābegs of Marāgha trıed to retake Tabrīz Only ımprescrıptıble hereditary rıghts can explaın the strange fact of the presence of a Kurd among the amırs of the Salḏjūks The name Ahmadıl ıs a peculıar formatıon, the name of Mahmadīl, a vıllage to the south of Marāgha, belongs to the same category of dımınutıves The Ahmadılī however very soon adopted Turkısh names

Ahmadıl wıth a large army took part ın the Antı-Crusade of 505 Durıng the sıege of Tell Bāshı, Joscelın came to terms wıth hım (*tatārʿaha*) and he wıthdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ta'rīḫ Halab*, *Rec des hıst des croısades*, ıı 599) Ahmadīl soon abandoned Syrıa entırely, for he coveted the lands of Sukmān Shāh-ı Arman who had just dıed We know that Sukmān had extended hıs sway over Tabrīz [q v] and the reference ıs probably to thıs town Accordıng to Sıbt b al-Djawzī, *ıbıd*, p 556, Ahmadıl had 5,000 horsemen and the revenues from hıs fıefs amounted to 400,000 dınārs a year In 510 (or 508) Ahmadıl was stabbed ın Baghdād by the Ismā'ılıs to whom he had done much ınjury (*ıbıd*, p 556, Ibn al Athıı, x 361)

Ak-Sunkur I In 514 Malık Mas'ūd, governor of Mawsıl and Ādharbaıdjān, rebelled agaınst hıs brother Mahmūd and gave Marāgha to hıs atābeg Kasīm al Dawla al Bursukī but the rebellıon collapsed and ın 516 Ak Sunkur al Ahmadılı (client of Ahmadıl ?), lord of Marāgha, who was ın Baghdād, was authorısed by Sultān Mahmūd to return to hıs fıef As the amır Kun-toghdı, atābeg of Malık Tughrīl (lord of Arrān, Ibn al-Athır, x 399), had dıed ın 515, Ak-Sunkur expected to get hıs place wıth Tughrīl The latter ordered Ak Sunkur to raıse 10,000 men ın Maıāgha and set out wıth hım to conquer Ardabīl ın whıch they faıled In the meanwhıle Maragha was occupıed by Djuyūsh Beg, sent by Sultān Mahmūd The Georgıan Chronıcle (Brosset, ı 368) mentıons under 516 (1123) the defeat of Ak-Sunkur (whom he calls "Aghsunthul, Atābeg of Ran" = Arrān) durıng a demonstratıon agaınst the Georgıans carrıed out by Tughrīl from Shırwān In 532 Ak-Sunkur took a part but not a very actıve one ın the suppressıon of the ıntrıgues of the Mazyādıd Dubaıs In 524 he was one of the promoters of the electıon of Sultān Dāwūd, whose atābeg he was In 526 Tughrīl, uncle of Dāwūd, defeated the latter and occupıed Maragha and Tabrīz (al Bundārı, ed Houtsma, p 161) Dāwūd along wıth hıs uncle Mas'ūd and Ak-Sunkur sought refuge ın Baghdād Wıth the support of the Calıph and the assıstance of Ak-Sunkur, Mas'ūd reoccupıed Ādharbāıdjān After the capture of Hamadān, Ak Sunkur was kılled there by the Ismā'ılıs (527) ınstıgated by Tughrīl's vızıer (al-Bundārī, p 169)

Ak-Sunkur II The name of Ak Sunkur's son ıs transmıtted ın dıfferent forms Ibn al Athır, xı 166 and 177, calls hım Ak Sunkur (II), cf also *Ta'rıḫ ı Guzīda*, p 472 Al Bundārı, p 231, calls hım al-Amır al-Kabır Nusrat al-Dın Khāsbek and, p 243, Nusrat al Dīn Arslān Abā (cf al-Kāshgharī, *Dıwān Lughat al-Turk*, ı 80) The *Rāḥat al Sudūr*, p 241, 244, 262 gıves hım the name of Atābeg Arslān Abā Al-Bundārī treats hım as an equal of the great amır Ildıguz [q v] whose famıly fınally trıumphed over the lords of Marāgha Ak-Sunkur II's adversary was the amır Khāsbek b Bulung-erı (?) who was the favourıte of Sultān Mas'ūd and sought to establısh hımself ın Arrān and Ādharbāıdjan Thıs Khāsbek had besıeged Marāgha ın 541 (al-Bundārī, p 217) In 545 Sultān Mas'ūd took Maıāgha and destroyed ıts walls (*bāra*) but a reconcılıatıon later took place between Khāsbek and Ak-Sunkur II under the walls of Rūyīn dız (cf below) The executıon of Khāsbek ın 547 (1153) by Sultān Muhammad alıenated Ildıguz and Ak-Sunkur II and they ınstalled Sulaımān on the throne of Hamadān Muhammad on hıs return to power sent an embassy to restore good relatıons wıth the two lords of Ādharbāıdjān (*sāhıbaı ān*) Peace was concluded ın 549 and the two great amırs shared Ādharbāıdjān between them (al-Bundarı, p 243) On hıs deathbed (554) Muhammad entrusted hıs young son (Malık Dāwūd, cf the genealogıcal tree ın the *Rāḥat al-Suaūr*) to Ak-Sunkur As Ildıguz was furthering the ınterests

of his ward Sultān Arslān, Pahlawān b Ildiguz advanced against Ak-Sunḳur II but the latter with the help of Shāh-i Arman defeated him on the Safid-rūd In 556 Ak-Sunkur sent 5,000 men to the help of the governor of Rayy, Īnandj, who was fighting Ildiguz The latter gained the upper hand and in 557 Ak-Sunkur II took part in the expedition of Ildiguz against the Georgians (Ibn al-Athir, xi 189) In 563 however, Ak Sunkur II obtained recognition for his ward from Baghdād Pahlawān b Ildiguz at once besieged Ak-Sunkur in Marāgha (*ibid*, p 218) but a peace put an end to hostilities

In 564 the amīr of Rayy, Īnandj, was killed (Ibn al-Athir, xi 230) The *Ta'rīkh i Guzīda*, p 72, seems to suggest that the rebellion in Marāgha of Kutlugh (?), brother of Ak Sunkur (II ?), was due to Īnandj's influence He was punished by the Atābeg Pahlawān b Ildiguz and Marāgha was given to his brothers ʿAlā' al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn

Under 570 Ibn al-Athir (xi 280) mentions at Marāgha Falak al Dīn, son of Ibn Ak-Sunkur (i e son of Ak-Sunkur II), to whom his father had bequeathed his estates Pahlawān besieged the fortress of Rūyīn-diz and Marāgha On this occasion peace was concluded on the cession of Tabriz to the family of Ildiguz This important detail shows that down to 570 the fief of the Ahmadili comprised all the country round mount Sahand including Tabriz [q v]

In 602 the lord of Marāgha ʿAlā' al Dīn came to an agreement with the Atābeg of Arbil Muzaffar al-Dīn Gok buri to deprive the Ildiguzid Abū Bakr of Ādharbāidjān on the pretext that he was incapable of ruling From Marāgha they marched on Tabrīz but Abū Bakr called to his aid the former slave of his family Ay-doghmish (cf Defremery, *Recherches sur 4 princes d'Hamadan*, *JA*, 1847, i 160) Gok buri returned to his own lands and Abū Bakr with Ay-doghmish came to Marāgha ʿĀlā' al-Dīn had to surrender the fortress which was the bone of contention but was given in compensation of the towns of Urmiya and Ushnū In 604, ʿAlā' al Dīn whom Ibn al Athīr, xii 157, 182, here calls Kara-Sunkur died and left one son, a minor A brave servant of ʿAlā' al-Dīn assumed the guardianship of the child but the latter died in 605 Abū Bakr then took possession of all the lands of the Ahmadili except Rūyīn-diz where the servant already mentioned had entrenched himself with his late master's treasures

It is not clear if ʿAlā' al Dīn Kara Sunkur is identical with the brother of Ak Sunkur II mentioned in 564 For the date of his accession and his importance we have a hint According to the preface of the *Haft paikar* of Nizāmī [q v], this poem (finished in 593) was composed at the request of ʿAlā' al-Dīn Kib (?) Arslān (the Rūm and the Rūs paid him tribute [*kharādj*], the Georgians suffered reverses at his hands) This *mamdūh* was definitely identified by Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii 567 and Supplement, 1895, p 154 with ʿAlā' al Dīn of Marāgha Nizāmī mentions two sons of ʿAlā' al Dīn, Nusrat al Dīn Muhammad and Ahmad, but to reconcile this with Ibn al-Athīr we should have to suppose that both died before their father

The family of the Ahmadili was continued for some time in the female line In 618 the Mongols arrived before Marāgha and the town was stormed on the 4th Safar The Mongols sacked and burned the town and massacred the inhabitants (*ibid*, xii 246, 263) but the lady of Marāgha (daughter of ʿAlā' al-Dīn ?), who lived in Rūyīn-diz escaped the catastrophe

Djalāl al-Dīn In 622, the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al Dīn came to Marāgha via Dakūkā He entered it without difficulty for the inhabitants were complaining of all kinds of oppressions and raids by the Georgians (Nasawī, *Sirat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed Houdas, p 110) Djalāl al Dīn tried to restore the prosperity of Marāgha, cf Ibn al Athīr, xii 280, 282

In 624 (1227) while Djalāl al-Dīn was in the Persian ʿIrāk, his vizier Sharaf al Mulk was forced to reconquer Ādharbāidjān In the course of his campaign he besieged Rūyīn diz, the lady of which was a grand-daughter (*min hafadat*) of the Atābeg ʿAlā' al-Dīn Karaba (?) (Nasawī, p 129) This princess was married to the deaf mute Khamūsh, only son of the Eldiguzid Ozbek The Atābeg Nusrat al Dīn, son of Khamūsh, mentioned incidentally by Djuwainī, *GMS*, ii 242, must have been his son As a way out, she offered her hand to Sharaf al-Mulk Djalāl al-Dīn suddenly arrived from the ʿIrāk and married the princess himself Rūyīn diz was given to a certain Sa'd al Dīn The citadel contained some thousands of houses (*ulūf min dūr*) occupied by the former inhabitants of the town (*kudamā'*) Sa'd al Dīn decided to evacuate them but as a result of his tactlessness the fortress closed its gates again (to Sa'd ?) (Nasawī, p 129, 157) Ibn al-Athīr, xii 322 seems to deal with the course of these events Under 627 he says that the troops of Djalāl al Dīn besieged Rūyīn-diz for some time The fortress was about to capitulate when some malcontents summoned the assistance of a Turkoman amir Sewindj (Swndj) of the tribe of Kush yalwa The domination of this chief and his relatives who succeeded him only lasted two years

Rūyīn-diz This fortress lay "near Marāgha" (Ibn al Athīr, xii 322) According to Zakariya Kazwīnī who gives a very accurate description of Rūyīn diz, it was 3 farsakhs from Marāgha Its proverbially impregnable position (*duriba bi-hisānatiha al mathal*) suggests that it was built on the side of Sahand The Russian map marks on the Sofi-čai 10 miles (c 3 farsakhs) above Marāgha a place called Yay shahār (in Turkish = "summer town") besides which two streams flow into the Sofi čai (on the left bank) and between them is written the corrupted name "Res or Eris" It is very probable that this is the site of the famous fortress on either side of which there was a stream (*nahr*), for *Res* one should read *Diz* i e Rūyīn diz The date of the final destruction of Rūyīn-diz is unknown As late as 751 the Čobanid Ashraf imprisoned his vizier there (v Hammer, *Gesch d Ilchane*, ii 337) but the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, in 740 (1340) only knows the other Rūyīn-diz, that of Sawalān (there is still a Rūyin dizak 4 farsakhs N E of Ardabil)

Kūlsara Ibn al-Athir, x 340, calls Ahmadīl "lord of Marāgha and of Kūtab" This last name (كوتب) seems to be a corruption of Kūlsara (كولسرد) or Kūrsara, a little town well known to the Arab geographers on the Marāgha-Ardabīl road (10–12 farsakhs from Marāgha and 20–27 from Ardabil), cf Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 120, Ku-

dāma, p 213, Istakhrī, p 194, Ibn Hawḳal, p 252, in particular from his own experience talks of the importance of Kūlsara and its flourishing commerce This place may correspond to the village of Kül tapä "hill of cinders" (popular Turkish etymology) which lies on the Karanghu about 35 miles (c 10 farsakhs) east of Marāgha The fort of Kal'a yi Zohāk notable ruins of which were discovered by Monteith c 15 miles below Kul tāpä (cf Morier, *op cit*, p 296), must have been a bulwark for Kūlsara and Marāgha against invasion from the northeast Rawlinson, *JRGS*, 1841, p 120 sees a Sāsānian fortress in Kal'a yi-Zohāk

The Mongols Marāgha was definitely taken by the Mongols in 628 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 324) After the taking of Baghdād in 656 (1258) Hülāgū took up his quarters in Marāgha and ordered an observatory to be built there from the plans of Nasīr al Dīn Tūsī (who had as advisers four astronomers one of whom, Fakhr al-Dīn, was a native of Maragha) (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Quatremère, p 324) The observatory was built on a fortified hill to the west of the town where only traces of foundations of the walls are still to be seen According to Schindler's plan (1883), the levelled area on the hill measures 137 × 347 metres On the observatory cf Jourdain, *Memoire sur les instruments employes a l'observatoire de Maragah*, in the *Magasin encyclop redige par A L Millin*, Paris 1809, vol vi, p 43–101 (transl of an Arabic *risāla* belonging to the Bibl Nationale and attributed to Nāsir al Dīn's colleague Mu'ayyid al Dīn al-'Ardī) and Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p 839–843 To contain his treasures Hülāgū built a castle on the island of Shāhī 1—2 days distant from the capital Here he was buried On the fortifications of Shāhī cf Tabarī, iii 1171 The handsome sepulchral towers of which there are four at Marāghā (Mecquenem 1908) date from Hülāgū or his immediate successors 1 the one at the entrance to the bridge of Safī can is built of red brick on a square foundation and has a vaulted cellar (*Gunbad-Kizmiz*), 2 similar, situated in the gardens to the south of the town on the road from Khungī, 3 and 4 near the old cemetery in the interior of the town, the octagonal tower N° 3 is of red brick overlaid with blue enamelled faience (*Gunbad i Lābūd*) and N° 4 is round, covered with plaster which is decorated with arabesques (*Kot-burdj* "Tower of the Ram") There is a photograph of N° 1 in de Morgan (1894), p 337 and Sarre, *op cit*, text, p 15—16, of N° 3 in Sarre, *ibid* and of 4 in de Morgan, *ibid*, p 340 H Schindler claimed to have read on the Gunbad-i Ghaffir (N° 2?) the name of Abū Bakr i Sa'd-i Zangī (atabeg of Fārs, 623—658?) According to Sarre, N° 4 is later than 1350 The monuments require to be again studied on the spot Lehmann-Haupt says that inscriptions can still be seen in their interiors

The early Mongol Īlkhans led a semi nomadic life which explains the absence from Marāgha of any other kind of memorial It was only with Ghazān that a regular capital was built at Tabrīz [q v] Marāgha continued to be of some importance on account of its pasturages and was a station on the road between Ādharbāidjān and Mesopotamia Its name continually appears in the history of the Īlkhāns In 703 (1304) Üldjaitü received at Marāgha the ambassadors from the Kā'ān of China and installed at the observatory the son of Nāsir al-Dīn Tūsī

In 712 (1312) Kara Sunkur, *amīr al-umarā'* of Aleppo, fearing the wrath of the Sultān of Egypt, Nāsir, sought an asylum in Persia with Üldjaitü who gave him Marāgha Ibn Battūta who tells this (i 179) adds that this town was known as "Little Damascus" (*Dimishk al saghīra*) Kara-Sunkur died in 728 (1328) (d'Ohsson, *Hist des Mongols*, iv 699)

The Geographers of the Mongol period Zakarīyā Kazwīnī (1275) seems to be personally acquainted with the town According to him there were in the town memorials of the pre-Islāmic period He describes the mineral springs (near the village of Kiyamat-ābād) and a cave which must correspond to the Čai bāghī visited by Morier, Lehmann-Haupt, Minorsky etc Kazwīnī also mentions the mountain of Zandjakān with a calcareous spring, the village of Djubdk (Gunbadak) with a bottomless well (p 350) and gives a description of Rūyīn-diz (p 358)

The *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (written in 1340), *GMS*, p 27 estimates the revenues of Marāgha paid to the treasury at 70,000 dīnārs (Ardabīl paid 85,000) and those of its wilāyat at 185,000 dīnārs The *tuman* of Marāgha comprised all the southern part of Ādharbāidjān, in the north it was bounded by the *tuman* of Tabrīz, in the west by that of Khoi (Urmiya), in the south by the lands of Kurdistān (Dinawar) and in the east by 'Irāk-i 'Adjam (Zandjan, Sudjās) All the lands now under the modern Sawdj bulāk [q v] were then ruled from Marāgha As dependencies of Marāgha, Hamd Allāh gives the towns of Dih-i Khwārakān (in popular Turkish Tukhorghan) to the south of Tabrīz, Tailam on the right bank tributary of the Djaghatu (cf Rawlinson, 1841, p 39 the ruins of Kal'a-yi Bākhtā) and Paswē in Ushnudjān, in the valley of the Tigris [cf SAWDJ BULĀK] The *tuman* comprised six cantons (the names are much mutilated) Sarādjūn (?), Miyādjun (?), Dūzakhrūd (? cf the mountain Dūzakh on the middle course of the Djaghatu), Gāwdūk (at the confluence of the river of Tailān with the Djaghatu [the name is also read Gāwdūl, Gāwdawīn It is remarkable that Firdawsī (ed Mohl, vii 141, 151) mentions in these regions a Dashti Dūk and Kūh-i Dūk where Bahrām Čūbīn was defeated by Khusraw]), Bihistān (probably the district of Bāhī on the Tatawu), Hashtrūd (to the east of Sahand on the Karanghu) The district of Angūrān on the Kizil uzan was also a dependency of Marāgha

Christianity at Marāgha In the Mongol period, Marāgha had become an important centre of Christianity The celebrated Mār Bar Hebraeus (Jacobite *Maphrian*) lectured in 1268 on Euclid and in 1272 on Ptolemy in the "new monastery" of Maragha, there he wrote the *Kitab al Duwal* When he died on July 30, 1286, as a sign of mourning the Greeks, Armenians and Nestorians closed their shops in the market place (Assemani, *Bibl Orientalis*, ii 266, Wright, *A short History of Syriac Literature*, 1894, p 267, 271, 276, 279 The history of Mar Yahbalāhā III (patriarch of the Nestorians [1281—1317], transl Chabot, Paris 1895) contains valuable notes on Marāgha Yahbalāhā rebuilt the already existing church of Mār Shalitā and built a house beside it In 1289 Arghūn had his son baptised in Marāgha In 1294 the patriarch laid the foundations of the monastery

of John the Baptist 2/3 of a farsakh north of Marāgha After the accession of Ghāzān (1295) the persecution of the Christians began, instigated by the amīr Nawrūz The mob plundered the residence of the patriarch and the church of St George built by the monk Rabban Ṣawmā (it had been furnished with articles from the portable church of Arghūn's camp) The patriarch sought refuge in the suite of the Armenian king Haiton On his return to Marāgha, Ghazān punished the fomenters of the troubles In 1298 Yahbalāhā was confirmed in his rights In Sept 1301 he finished the monastery of St John His biographer and contemporary gives an account of the beautiful buildings, the numerous relics and riches of the monastery (Chabot, *op cit*, p 133) The village of Dahlī (?) to the east of Marāghā was purchased to serve as a *wakf* of the monastery (to the N E of the town there is still a village of Kilisa kändi "village of the church") Ghāzān and his successor Ūldjaitū visited the monastery Yahbalāhā died and was buried there in 1317

On the south side of the hill of the observatory there are chambers carved out of the rock (3 rooms 12 feet high communicating with one another, and a corridor) Inside there are niches in the shape of altars Local tradition sees a church in these (perhaps of the Sāsānian period), cf Macdonald, Kinneir, H Schindler, Lehmann Haupt and Minorsky, *Zap*, xxiv, 1917, p 167

After the Mongols In 737 (1337) the Djalayirid Shaikh Hasan inflicted a defeat on Tughā-Timūr [q v] near Marāgha (or at Hashtarūd) The pretender Muhammad was buried at Marāgha in 738 (*Shadjarat al-Atrāk*, p 315) Later the political struggles of the Turkomans had their principal arena in the northern part of Ādharbāidjān In the same period the Kurdish elements of the districts south of Lake Urmiya became consolidated and received reinforcements from the districts of Mawsil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 288) The Mukrī Kurd amīrs extended their influence over Marāgha and even as far as Dih-Khwārakān The Turks during their rule over Ādharbaidjān included Marāgha with Tabrīz and levied 15 kharwārs of gold per annum on it which caused its inhabitants to go away (*ibid*, p 294) In 1002 (1593) the name of the fortress of Saru-kurghan (demolished in 795 by Timūr, cf *Zafar-nāma*, i 628 and rebuilt by the Mukrī) in the region of Marāgha often occurs in the *Sharaf nāma*, p 294—296, this name recalls that of the Sarūk, the right bank tributary of the Djaghatu

During the second Ottoman occupation (1725) Marāgha was governed by ʿAbd al ʿAzīz Pasha, this administrative unit consisted of 5 sandjaks, of which 2 were hereditary and 3 granted by the government (v Hammer, iv 228, according to Čelebi zāde) In 1142 (1729) Nadir defeated the Ottomans at Miyānduāb on the Djaghatu and occupied Dimdim, Sawdj-bulāk, Marāgha and Dih Khwārakān (Mahdī-Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, p 66, transl Jones, i 104) According to the recently discovered history of Nādir, the monarch transplanted 3,000 inhabitants from Marāgha to Kalāt (Barthold, in *Zap*, xxv, p 88)

The Mukaddam As early as the time of Nādir the Turkish tribe of Mukaddam is mentioned as settled in the region of Marāgha (Macdonald, Kinneir 15,000 men) Ahmad Khān Mukaddam played a considerable part in the affairs of Ādharbāidjān Jaubert, *Voyage*, p 160 knew him in 1805 as *beglerbegi* of Ādharbāidjān under prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā In 1810 he exterminated the Bilbās chiefs whom he had invited to Marāgha [cf SAWDJ-BULĀK] According to Morier, *Second Journey*, p 293, this patriarch was aged 90 in 1815 (cf Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p 90) The governor of Marāgha Ṣamad-Khān, a partisan of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh who besieged Tabrīz in 1909, was of the family of Ahmad Khān At the present day the Mukaddam are concentrated round Miyānduāb

In 1828 Maiāgha was occupied by Russian troops In 1881, the Kurd invasion by Shaikh ʿUbaidallāh reached the gates of Marāgha The town was not taken but the whole country round was in ruins when H Schindler visited it in 1882 During the war of 1914—1918, Marāgha was within the zone of the Russo Turkish operations [cf TABRĪZ]

Bibliography In addition to the native sources quoted in the text Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, xx, fol 519r (he also derives the *nisba* Murāghī from the clan al-Marāgh of the tribe of al-Azd), Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dhail-numā*, p 389, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhat nāma*, iv 333 (confused and of doubtful value), Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, *Bustān al-Siyāha*, p 555

The European descriptions of Marāgha (only since the xixth century) are not very numerous and do not exhaust the subject Macdonald Kinneir, *Geogr Memoir*, London 1813, p 155—156, Morier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p 281—297 (Tabrīz–Marāgha–Gultapa [Kul-tapa?] –Sarāskand), Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1822, ii 493, Monteith, *Journal of a Tour*, *J R G S*, 1833, p 4 (Sahand–Sārāskand–Kalʿa-yi Zohāk), Rawlinson, *A march from Tabriz*, *J R G S*, 1841, p 39 (Miyān du āb), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p 828—852, Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, p 248 etc (important historical and geographical notes), Houtum-Schindler, *Reisen im n-w Persien*, *Zeitschr d Gesell d Erdkunde*, Berlin 1883, p 334 (cf the article Marāgha in the *Encycl Britannica*, 11th ed, 1911), De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, *Études geographiques*, i, Paris 1894, p 337—340 (several views), Zugmayer, *Eine Reise d Vorderasien*, Berlin 1905, p 123—128, S G Wilson, *Persian Life*, London 1890, p 71—80, Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate*, p 164—165, de Mecquenem, *Le lac d'Ourmiah*, *Annales de Geogr*, 1908, p 128—144, Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i, 1910, p 208—216, de Mecquenem, *Contribution a l'etude du gisement des vertebres de Maragha*, in *Ministere Instr Publique*, *Delegation en Perse*, *Annales d'Histoire naturelle*, 1/2, 1908, p 1—79 (with a geographical introduction)

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(V MINORSKY)

MARAND (1), a town in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān

Position The town lies about 40 miles N of Tabrīz, halfway between it and the Araxes (it is 42 miles from Marand to Djulfā) The road

from Tabrīz to Khoi also branches off at Marand A shorter road from Tabrīz to Khoi follows the north bank of Lake Urmia and crosses the Mishow-dagh range by the pass between Tasūdj [q v] and Diyā al-Dīn Marand, which is surrounded by many gardens, occupies the eastern corner of a rather beautiful plain, about ten miles broad and sloping slightly to the west To the south the Mishow range (western continuation of the Sawalān) separates it from the plain of Tabrīz and from Lake Urmia The pass to the south of Marand often mentioned by historians is called Yam (Mongol = post station) The pass between the plain of Maiand and Tasūdj [q v] takes its name from the village of Waldiyān To the east of Marand lies the wild and mountainous region of Karadja-dagh (capital Ahar) To the north, the plain of Marand is separated from the Araxes by a range, a continuation of the central heights of the Karadja dagh which is crossed by the defile of the Darā-diz The plain of Marand is watered by the river of Zunūz, the southern arm of which called Zilbīr runs quite near Marand The combined waters of Zunūz and Zilbīr flow into the Kotur čai (an important right bank tributary of the Araxes) about 20 miles N F of Khoi The length of the Zunūr is about 40 miles (Hamd Allāh Mustawfī 8 farsakhs)

History A lofty *tell* which rises beside the town is evidence of the great antiquity of this as an inhabited site, it must have existed in the time of the Vannic (Khald) and Assyrian kings Its Greek name Μορούνδα is perhaps connected with the people Μαρούνδαι who, according to Ptolemy VI, 2, occupied the lands as far as Lake Urmia A legend of Armenian origin based on the popular etymology *mair and* "mater ibi" locates in Marand the tomb of Noah's wife (Hubschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 1904, p 346 and 451, Ker Porter, *Travels*, i 217) Moses of Chorene places Maiand in the district of Bakurakert There was another Marand mentioned by the Armenian historian Orbelian (c 1300) in the province of Siunikh (north of the Araxes) and a village of Marand still exists east of Tīghnīt in the khānate of Mākū [q v]

Ibn Ba'ith After the Arab conquest a certain Halbas of the tribe of Rabī'a took Marand His son Ba'ith, a soldier of fortune (*su'lūk*) in the service of Ibn al-Rawwād, fortified Marand Muhammad b Ba'īth erected castles there (*kusūr*) (Balādhurī, p 330) This chief had acquired considerable notoriety In 200 (815) he had taken from the family of Rawwād, the strongholds of Shahī and Tabriz (Tabarī, iii 1171) (In another passage, Tabarī, iii 1379, mentions Yakdur [?] in place of Tabrīz) Ibn Ba'ith lived at Shāhī which stood in the centre of Lake Urmia (the peninsula of Shāhi, where at a later date Hūlāgū Khān kept his treasure and where he was buried) Ibn Ba'ith was at first on good terms with the Khurramī Bābak, whose authority must have prevailed in the Karadja-dagh in particular, in the north-eastern corner of which was his residence al Badhdh Ibn Ba'ith suddenly changed his tactics and seized by a ruse 'Isma, one of Babāk's generals whom he sent to the caliph al-Mu'tasim In 221 Ibn Ba'ith accompanied Bughā on his expedition against al-Badhdh (Tabarī, iii 1190, 1193) Under the caliphate of Mutawakkil, Ibn Ba'ith committed some crime (*khalafa*) and was imprisoned in Surra-man-ra'a On the intercession of Bughā al-Sharābī, 30 people of repute became guarantors of Ibn al-Ba'ith's good behaviour and he must have been allowed considerable liberty, for in 234 (848) he escaped to Marand Ibn Khurdādhbih, who wrote in 234, mentions Marand as being Ibn Ba'ith's fief Tabarī, iii 1379—1389, gives a very graphic account of the expedition sent against this town The wall which enclosed Marand and its gardens was 2 farsakhs in circumference There were springs within it The dense forest outside was a further protection to the town Ibn Ba'ith collected 2,200 adventurers who were reinforced by a number of non-Arabs (*'ulūdj*) armed with slings He had ballistas constructed to repel the assailants During the 8 months that the siege lasted, 100 individuals of note (*awliyā al-sultān*) were killed and 400 wounded When Bughā al-Sharābī (Balādhurī, p 330 Bughā al-Saghīr) arrived he succeeded in detaching the men of the Rabī'a tribe from Ibn Ba'ith Ibn Ba'ith and his relatives were seized and his house and those of his partisans plundered In Shawwāl of 235 Bughā arrived with 180 prisoners at the caliph's court Mutawakkil ordered Ibn Ba'ith to be beheaded but the latter recited verses in Arabic and the caliph was astonished by his poetic gifts (*inna ma'ahu la-adaban*) and gave him his life Ibn Ba'ith died in prison and his sons entered the corps of mercenaries (*al-shākirīya*) According to one of Tabarī's authorities (iii 1388), the shaikhs of Marāgha who praised the bravery and literary ability (*adab*) of Ibn Ba'ith also quoted his Persian verses (*bi 'l-fārsīya*) This important passage already quoted by Barthold, *Bull School of Oriental Studies*, vol ii, Pt iv, 1923, p 836—838, is evidence of the existence of the cultivation of poetry in Persian in the N W of Īrān at the beginning of the ninth century Ibn Ba'ith must have been iranicised to a considerable extent, and, as has been mentioned, he relied for support on the non-Arab element in his rustāks (*'ulūdj rasātīkihi*)

Later History The Arab geographers of the tenth century (Istakhrī, p 182, Ibn Hawkal, p 239) mention Marand among the little towns of Ādharbāidjān where the material called *tikak* was manufactured Mukaddasī, p 51, 374, 377, puts Marand under Dabil and notes its gardens, its flourishing suburb and a cathedral mosque in the centre of the market The same author, p 382, mentions a direct road from Marand to Marāgha (via Nūrīn [?], somewhere west of Tabrīz [?]) Later, Marand must have shared the fate of Tabrīz [q v] According to Yākūt, iv 503, the town had begun to decline after it was plundered by the Georgians (Kurdj) who carried off its inhabitants This is valuable confirmation of the Georgian expedition to Persia, a detailed account of which is given in the Georgian Chronicle for 1208—1210 (605—607) [cf TABRĪZ and ILLIS]

Among the theologians, born in Maiand, Yākūt mentions one who died in 216 and another who had studied in Damascus in 433 In 624 (1226) Marand which had not sufficient defences, was occupied by the hādjib 'Alī al-Ashrafī of Akhlāt Sharaf al-Mulk, governor for the Khwārizmshāh, retook the town and wrought great slaughter in it (Nasawī, ed Houdas, p 166)

The only historical monument in Marand is the old mosque now in ruins with a *mihrāb* in stucco bearing the date of rebuilding 731 (1331) (reign of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd) Cf Sarre, *Denkmaler pers Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, p 24—25 and pl xvii,

and the observations by Herzfeld, *Die Gumbadh-i ʿAlawiyyan*, in the *Volume presented to E G Browne*, 1922, p 194—195 In the same period (1340) Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, *G M S*, xxiii, p 88, counted 60 villages in the district of Maiand The walls (*bārū*) of the town were 8,000 paces (*gām*) around but the town only occupied half the area

Marand is several times mentioned in connection with the Turco-Persian wars According to Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1647), *Siyāhat nāma*, ii 242, Marand was a hunting resort of the Timurid Shāhrukh In spite of the damage done by the invasion of Sultān Murād, the town looked prosperous and had 3,000 houses Ewliyā enumerates a number of celebrated theologians buried north of Maiand

In the autumn of 1724 ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Koprulu sent the Kurd Khān of Bitlīs Muhammad ʿĀbid to occupy Marand the inhabitants of which had fled Resistance centred round the town of Zunūz (10 miles N of Marand) which had 7,000 (?) houses and a castle called Diza by the Persians To dispose of the threat to their flank, the Janissaries before advancing on Tabrīz, fought a battle here in May 1725 with the Persians of whom a large number were slain Diza was taken and dismantled (cf von Hammer, *G O R* ², iv, p 226, following Čelebi zāde)

Marand has often been mentioned by European travellers since Chardin (1811 edition, i, p 318), cf the notices by Ker Porter, Jaubert, Morier, Ouseley and Monteith of which a résumé is given in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p 907 Marand has recently gained in importance since it lies on the modern high road from Tabriz to Djulfā built by the Russians in 1906 and replaced by a railway in 1915

(2) A town in the district of Khuttāl, to the north of the Oxus, cf Mukaddasī, p 49, 290–291 (V Minorsky)

MARʿASH, a town in Syria near the Asia Minor frontier (*al Thughūr al-Shaʾmiyya*) It lies about 2,000 feet above sea-level on the northern edge of the hollow (ʿAmk of Marʿash, now Čakal Owa and south of it Sheker Owa or Marʿash Owasī) which lies east of the Djihān and is watered by its tributary, the Nahr Hūrith (Ak-Sū) As a result of its situation at the intersection of the roads which run to Antākiya, to ʿAin Zarba and al-Massīsa, to Albistān (Abulustain) and Yarpūz, via Goksun (Kokussos) to Kaisārīya, via Behesnī (Bahasnā) to Sumaisāt and via al Hadath and Zibatra to Malatya, Marʿash was from the earliest times one of the most important centres of traffic in the Syrian frontier region It is repeatedly mentioned as early as Assyrian texts as Markasi, capital of the kingdom of Gurgum [cf the article DJARĀDJIMA], and several Hittite monuments have been found there (cf Ungei, *Marqasi*, in Ebert's *Reallexik d Vorgesch*, viii, 1927, p 48)

In the Roman imperial period it was called Germanikeia in honour of Caligula (on the coins Caesarea Germanikē, cf Gregoire, *Rev de l instr publ en Belg*, li, 1908, p 217 *sqq*) The identity of Germanikeia and Marʿash is certain from numerous literary, especially Syriac, references The Armenians probably knew, but probably from learned tradition only, the name *Germanik* (Kermanig in Vahram, cf Matth of Edessa, ed Dulaurier, p 487 infra, St Martin, *Mem sur l'Arm*, i 200) The statement in a description of the district of Halab (Paris MS Arab, N° 1683, fol 72a) that the Armenian name of the town was *Nākinūk* (Blochet, *R O L*, iii, p 525 *sq*, note 6) is wrong, this is a mistake for *Goinuk*, a name later given to the neighbouring al Hadath [q v] The Emperor Heraclius passed the town in 626 (Theoph, *Chron*, ed de Boor, p 313 Ramsay, *Class Review*, x 140, Gerland, *Byz Zeitschrift*, iii, 1894, p 362) The Emperor Leo III came from Marʿash (Germanikeia), later authors (like Theoph, *op cit*, p 391) wrongly called him the "Isaurian" (a confusion with Germanikopolis, cf K Schenk, *Byz Zeitschr*, v, 1896, p 296—298)

In the year 16 Abū ʿUbaida sent Khālid b al-Walīd from Manbidj against Marʿash and the Greek garrison surrendered the fortress on being granted permission to withdraw unmolested, Khālid then destroyed it (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, 1910, p 794, 806) Sufyān b ʿAwf al Ghāmidī in 30 (650—651) set out from Marʿash against the Byzantines Muʿāwiya rebuilt Marʿash and settled soldiers in this "Arab Cayenne" (as Lammens, *M F O B*, vi, 1913, p 437 calls it) After Yazīd I's death the attacks of the Greeks on the town became so severe that the inhabitants abandoned it

After Muhammad b Marwān in 74 (693—694) had broken the truce concluded by ʿAbd al Malik with the Greeks, in Djumādā I of the following year the Greeks set out from Marʿash against al-Aʿmāk (= ʿAmk of Antākiya, cf Le Strange, *Palestine* etc p 391) but were again driven back in the ʿAmk of Marʿash Marʿash was restored by al-ʿAbbās, son of al Walid I, and fortified and repopulated, a large mosque was also built there The people of Kinnasrin (i e probably of the *djund* of Kinnasrīn) had to send troops every year to Marʿash During Marwān II's fighting against Hims, the Emperor Constantine again besieged Marʿash, which had finally to capitulate (746) and was destroyed (al Balādhuri, ed de Goeje, p 189, Theophanes, *Chron*, ed de Boor, p 422, Georg Kedrenos, ed Bonn, ii 7) The inhabitants emigrated to Mesopotamia and the Djund of Kinnasrīn After the capture of Hims, Marwān sent troops to Marʿash, who rebuilt the town in 130 (747), the castle in the centre of the town was henceforth called al-Marwāni after him (Yākūt, ed Wustenfeld, iv 498 *sq*) But by 137 (754) the Greeks again sacked the town Al Mansūr then had it rebuilt by Sālih b ʿAli (d 150 = 767) and gave it a garrison which al-Mahdī strengthened and supplied with ample munitions (al-Balādhuri, *op cit*, p 189, Theoph, *op cit*, p 445 ὁ Σάλεχ μετεποιήσῃ Ἑρμανικείαν εἰς Παλαιστίνην) The Arabs in 769 (1080 Sel) entered the ʿAmk of Marʿash and deported the inhabitants of the region who were accused of espionage on behalf of the Byzantines, to al-Ramla (Michael Syrus, *Chron*, ed Chabot, ii 526) According to the Syriac inscription of ʿEnesh on the Euphrates, in 776—777 A D (1088 Sel) the people of the hollow (*ʿumkā*) of Marʿash invaded Asia Minor (Bēth Rhōmāyā) to plunder (Chabot, *J A*, ser ix, xvi, 1900, p 286 *sq*, Pognon, *Inscr semit de la Syrie et de la Mesop*, p 148—150, N° 84) A Greek army of 100,000 men in 161—162 (778—779) under Michael Lachanodrakon besieged Marʿash which was defended by ʿIsā b ʿAli (Ἰσβαλί in Theoph, *op cit*, p 451), grand-uncle of the Caliph al-Mahdī, destroyed al-Hadath and laid waste the Syrian frontier (Weil, *Gesch d*

Chalif, II 98) In 183 (799) Hārūn al-Rashīd built the town of al Hārūniya near Marʿash (al Balādhurī, *op cit*, p 171, Yākūt, IV 498, wrongly calls it a suburb of Marʿash), he also raised the prosperity of Marʿash and al-Massisa (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard, VIII, 295) The amīr Abū Saʿīd Muhammad b Yūsuf in 841 invaded Asia Minor, the Greeks drove him back however and took al-Hadath, Marʿash and the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, III 102, Weil, *Gesch d Chalif*, II, p 315 *sq*, note 1, considers this story unhistorical) The emperor Basil I in 877 passed via Κουκουσός (Goksun) and the Taurus passes (*στενα τοῦ Ταύρου*) against Marʿash (Γερμανίκεια) but could not take it and had to be content with burning and plundering the suburbs, the same thing happened at al-Hadath (Ἄδατα, Georg Kedrenos [Bonn], II 214, Theophan continuat, ed Bonn, p 280) According to the *περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου* (*de velitatione bellica*, Migne, *Patrol Graec*, CXVII 1000) shortly before the attack on Germanikeia he crossed the Παράδεισος ποταμός (cf Pliny, *Nat Hist*, V 93 one of the *'intus flumina'* of Cilicia, probably the Ak-Sū, Arabic Nahr Djūrīth or Hūrīth, the location by Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, CXXIV, 1891, Abh VIII 66, is therefore presumably wrong) The Byzantine Andronicus in 292 (904—905) invaded the region of Marʿash, defeated the garrisons of Tarsūs and Massisa and destroyed Kūrus (Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, VII 378, al-Tabarī, III 2298, Weil, *op cit*, II 533, Vasilev, *Vizantiya i Arabī*, I, 1902, p 154) The Armenian Mleh (Arab Malih) plundered Marʿash in 916, 50,000 prisoners were carried off from it and Tarsūs (Weil, *op cit*, II 634, Vasilev, *op cit*, p 203 *sq*) In the fighting against Saif al Dawla, the Greeks under John Kurkuas took Marʿash in the spring of 337 (949) (Kamāl al Dīn in Freytag, *Z D M G*, XI 187, Weil, *op cit*, III 14, note 1, Vasilev, *op cit*, p 268) In 341 (952) the Hamdānid defeated the Domestikos at Marʿash and in June rebuilt the defences of the town (Freytag, *op cit*, p 191, Vasilev, *op cit*, p 291) When the Hamdānid Abu 'l-ʿAshāʾir in 956 was taken a prisoner by the Byzantines, his father-in law Abū Firas followed as far as Marʿash in the attempt to rescue him but could not overtake his captors (Dvořak, *Abu Firas*, Leyden 1895, p 31, Vasilev, *op cit*, p 297) Nicephoros Phocas in Rabīʿ I 351 (Aug 962) occupied Marʿash, Dulūk and Raʿbān (Freytag, *op cit*, p 199, Rosen, *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, XLIV 152, note 100) Bandjūtakīn in 382 (992) carried out a raid on Marʿash and came back with prisoners and great booty (Freytag, p 248, Rosen, p 250, 263) The Armenian Philaretos Brachamios (Filardūs al Rūmī) who in the second half of the XIth century, as leader of a robber band and ally of the Byzantine emperor, conquered a little kingdom for himself on the Syrian frontier, belonged to the village of Shirbaz in the district of Marʿash (Michael Syrus, III 173, 174 note *)

After the Franks under Godfrey de Bouillon had taken Marʿash in 490 (1097), they installed a bishop there (Michael Syrus, III 191) Bohemund of Antioch was taken prisoner in June 1100 in the *ʿamk* of Marʿash in the village of Gafinā (Michael Syrus, III 188) on his campaign against Malatya by Gumushtegīn b Dānishmand (*Recueil des hist or des crois*, III 589, Rohricht, *Gesch des Konigr Jerus*, p 9, Weil, *op cit*, III 179) The emperor Alexius later sent the general Butumites against Marʿash (*τὸ Μάρασιν*) who took the town, fortified the surrounding small towns and villages and gave them garrisons and left Monastras there as *ἡγεμών* (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξιάς* ed Reifferscheid, II 132, 11 *sqq*, F Chalandon, *Les Comnene*, I, Paris 1900, p 234) The town of Marʿash was placed under the Armenian prince Thathul, who had distinguished himself in its defence against Bohemund (Matthēos Urhayecʿi, ed Dulaurier, ch CLXVI, p 229 *sq*, Chalandon, *Les Comnene*, I 104 *sq*) But by 1104 he had to abandon it and surrender it to Joscelin de Courtenay, lord of Tell Bāshir (Matthēos, *op cit*, p 257, ch CLXXXVI, Raoul of Caens, ch 148, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 49, note 8, p 52, note 4) This Thathul is perhaps the same Armenian as had given his daughter in marriage to Godfrey's brother Baldwin (in William of Tyre, X 1, he is called *Tafroc*, in Albert of Aix, III 31, V 18 *Taphnuz*, cf Chalandon, *op cit*, p 103) By 1105 Tancred of Antioch seems to have been in possession of Marʿash (Rohricht, p 56) to whom it was allotted in the treaty of Sept 1108 (*ἡ Γερμανίκεια καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πολίχνια* Anna Comnena, ed Reifferscheid, II 217, Rohricht, p 66) In 1114 the widow of the recently deceased Armenian prince Kogh Vasil (= "Basil the thief") of Marʿash submitted to Ak Sonkor of Mawsil (Weil, *op cit*, III 199), on the 28th Djumādā (Nov 27) of the same year, Marʿash was devastated by a disastrous earthquake in which 40,000 lost their lives (Michael Syrus, transl Chabot, III 200, *Recueil hist or crois*, III 607, Matthēos Urhayecʿi, p 289, ch CCXVII) King Baldwin granted a monk named Godfrey (*Goisfridus Monachus*) a fief consisting of Marʿash, Kaisūm and Raʿbān (Michael Syrus, III 211, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 161), in 1124 Godfrey was killed at the siege of Manbidj in the train of Joscelin of Edessa The Dānishmandid Muhammad b Amir Ghāzi in 1136–1137 laid waste the villages and monasteries near Marʿash and Kaisūm (Matthēos, p 320, ch CCLIII) The Saldjūk sultān Masʿūd in 1138 advanced as far as Marʿash, plundering the country as he went (Michael Syrus, III 246) as did Malik Muhammad of Malatya in 1141 (Michael Syrus, III 249) and Kilidj Arslān II in 1147 (Michael Syrus, III 275) The town then belonged to Raynald, son in law of Joscelin II of Edessa, who fell in 1149 at Innib (Rohricht, *op cit*, p 260) On Sept 11, 1149, Kilidj Arslān and his father Masʿūd set out from Albistān against Marʿash, plundered the country around and besieged the town The Frankish garrison capitulated on being promised a safe retreat to Antākiya, but the sultān sent a body of Turks after them, who fell upon them on the road and slew them On this occasion all the treasure of the churches of Marʿash was lost, which the priests who had rebelled against the bishop had appropriated (Michael Syrus, III 290, Matthēos Urhayecʿi, p 330, ch CCLIX, Chalandon, *op cit*, p 421, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 263) After the capture of Joscelin, Nūr al-Dīn of Halab in 546 (1151—1152) took a large part of the country of Edessa including the town of Marʿash, Tell Bāshir, ʿAintāb, Dulūk, Kūrus etc (*Recueil hist or crois*, I 29, 481, II 54, Weil, *op cit*, III 296, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 265, note 5) The district was then divided the Sultān received Marʿash, Barzamān, Raʿbān, Kaisūm and Bahasnā, the Urtukid Kara Arslān of Hisn Ziyād got Bābūlā, Gargar, Kūkhta

and Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Nūr al-Dīn kept the rest (Michael Syrus, III 297, Will of Tyre, XVII 16) When Masʿūd's son Kïlïdj Arslān, lord of Maraʿash (Michael Syrus, III 318), attacked an Armenian village, the Armenians under Stephan, brother of the prince Thoros, in 1156 revenged themselves by setting Marʿash on fire and carried off the whole population into captivity, during the absence of the Sultān and his Turks (Michael Syrus, III 314 [expanded from Barhebraeus, *Chron syr*], differently in Abū Shāma, *Rec hist or crois*, IV 92, F Chalandon, *Les Comnene*, II [1912], p 434) Among those carried off was the bishop Dionysios bar Ṣalībī, who escaped to the monastery of Kālsïūr (according to Chabot, *loc cit*, the κάστρον Καλτζιέριν of Anna Comnena, ed Reifferscheid, II 219) and wrote three *mēmrē* about the devastation of his former diocese of Marʿash (Michael Syrus, *loc cit*, Baumstark, *Gesch d syr Litt*, p 298) Thoros of Little Armenia in 1165 plundered Marʿash (Barhebraeus, *Chron syr*, ed Bedjan, p 331, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 319, note 8, Chalandon, *op cit*, II 531, note 1) Nūr al-Dīn again took Marʿash from Kïlïdj Arslān II when he was on a campaign against the Dānishmandid Dhu 'l-Nūn (Michael Syrus, III 350) in the beginning of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 568 (June 14, 1173) and Bahasnā in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*Rec hist or crois*, I 43, 592, IV 158, Matthēos Uṙhayecʿi, ed Dulaurier, p 360, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal Musl*, ed Reiske, IV 4, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 303, who is followed by Chalandon, *Les Comnene*, II 463, wrongly puts these events as early as 1159)

Nūr al-Dīn perhaps handed Marʿash over to his ally Mleh of Little Armenia When the dynast of Marʿash raided the district of Raʿbān, al Malik al-Ẓāhir in 592 (1195–1196) took the field against him, whereupon the lord of Marʿash sought forgiveness and recognised his suzerainty (Kamāl al Dīn, transl Blochet, *R O L*, IV 212) The Armenian ruler Rupen III took Bohemund III of Antākiya prisoner in 1185 and forced him to cede the territory from the Djaihān up to Kastūn (Michael Syrus, III 396 *sq*, Rohricht, *op cit*, p 403, note 7, 661) Ghiyāth al Dīn Kaikhusraw, son of Kïlïdj Arslān II, in 605 (1208), when on a campaign against Little Armenia took Marʿash (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal Musl*, ed Reiske, IV 232) and made Husām al Dīn Hasan governor of the town He was succeeded in this office by his son Ibrāhim, who in turn was succeeded by his son Nusrat al-Dīn, who ruled Marʿash for 50 years The long reign of his son Muzaffar al-Dīn was followed by that of his brother ʿImād al-Dīn who however in 656 (1258) abandoned the town which was much harassed by the Armenians and Georgians, after failing to find support either from ʿIzz al-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs of Rūm or al-Malik al-Sālih of Egypt The town then surrendered to the Armenians (Ibn al Shihna, Bairūt 1909, p 192)

Marʿash did not escape during the great Mongol invasion of Asia Minor Baibars I of Egypt in his campaign against them in 670 (1271) sent from Halab a division under Taibars al-Wazīrī and ʿIsā b Muhīn to Marʿash, who drove all the Tatars from there and slew them (*Rec hist or crois*, II 246, Makrīzī, ed Quatremère, *Hist de Sult Maml*, I/II 101) In the wars with the rulers of Little Armenia troops from Halab went as far as Marʿash in 673 and destroyed the gates of the outer town (Weil, *Gesch d Chal*, IV 77) In the next few years Baibars negotiated with envoys from Sis, from whom he demanded the surrender of Marʿash and Bahasna, but he was satisfied instead with a considerable sum of money (Makrīzī, ed Quatremère, *op cit*, I/II 123 [year 673 = 1274], II/I 104 [688 = 1289]) It was not till 692 (1292) that sultān Khalil by a treaty received Bahasnā, Marʿash and Tell Ḥamdūn (Mufaddal b Abi-'l Fadā'il, *Hist des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed Blochet, in *Patrol Orient*, XIV 557, Weil, *op cit*, IV 186, S Lane-Poole, *Hist of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, p 287) But the Armenians must have retaken the two last named towns not long afterwards (Weil, IV 213, note 1), for in 697 (1297) Marʿash was again taken by the emīr Bilbān Tabakhī, Nā'ib of Halab, for Lādjīn A treaty was then concluded with the ruler of Little Armenia by which the Djaihān was to be the frontier between the two countries, Hamūs, Tell Ḥamdūn, Kūbarā, al-Nukair (on its position cf L Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 493—496), Ḥadjar Shughlān, Sïfan dakar and Marʿash thus passed to Egypt (Makrīzī, *op cit*, II/II, 63, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann Musl*, V 140)

In the second half of the VIIIth (XIVth) century Zain al-Dīn Karadja and his son Khalil, the founders of the house of the Dhu 'l-Kadr-oghlu conquered the lands along the Egyptian Asia Minor frontier with Malatya, Albistān, Marʿash, Bahasnā and Kharpūt [cf DHU 'L-KADR] In the mosque of Marʿash one of his successors, Malik Arslān, was murdered in 870 (1465—1466), his portrait with the inscription "Sultān Arslān" and that of his sister Sitti Khātūn with the legend ἡ μεγάλη Χάτω are painted in the Codex Venetus 516 of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, which he apparently intended to dedicate to his father in-law Mehemmed II (Olshausen, in *Hermes*, XV, 1880, p 417—424)

Conquered by Selīm I, Marʿash became Ottoman, on his campaign against the Dhu 'l-Kadrīya in 1515 he encamped on his way back before Marʿash and then returned via Kars Marʿash (now Kars Bāzār or Kais Dhu 'l-Kadrīya) and Goksun to Kaisarīya (cf Taeschner, *Turk Bibl*, XXIII, p 36, note 4)

From 1832 belonging to Egypt, Marʿash passed finally in 1840 back to the Turks The town was occupied by the French from 1918—1920, after its evacuation it was the scene of massacres of Armenians (F Tournebize, in *Dict d'hist et de geogr eccles*, IV, Paris 1925, col 360—362)

Marʿash is now the capital of a wilāyet which in 1928 had about 185,000 inhabitants, the town itself has about 50,000 inhabitants

The extent of the territory belonging to Marʿash was liable to vary considerably with the vicissitudes of the town in the middle ages The following places are mentioned as belonging to the territory of the town

Garbadisō (= *Gerbedisso*, *Itin Anton*, ed Parthey, p 85, Kleyn, *Jacobus Baradaeus*, p 191, corrupted in Michael Syrus, II 256 to ʿArbadīs, in Barhebraeus, *Chron Syr*, p 370 to Gerbīd), 28 Roman miles from Nicopolis (Islāhīya) and 15 from Doliche (Tell Dulūk near ʿAintāb)

ʿUfray (Michael Syrus, II 447), cf Ouplı, Uplie near Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 238? This place perhaps lay on the Nahr ʿAfrīn (Assyr Aprê) which Barhebraeus (*Chron Eccl*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, I 399 *sq*) calls Nahrā ʿUfrēn

Behedīn "which is now destroyed" was the

birthplace of Nestorios near Marʿash (*Patr. ol Orient*, VIII 162 *sq*)

Shīrbaz, the birthplace of Philaretos (see above)

The monastery of Mār Shēnā (Michael Syrus, III 148)

Khaisina, probably the Khaishena of the Syriac writers, is described by Matthēos Urhayecʿi (transl Dulaurier, p 259) as adjoining the territory of Marʿash Dulaurier (*op cit*, p 445) locates it not far from the Euphrates, but in the *Marāṣid al-Ittilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, III 347, the reference is rather to Χαρσιανόν and in Barhebraeus (*Chron Syr*, ed Bedjan, p 319, cf Michael Syrus, III 307), the correct reading is "Torshenā" We should rather identify it with Chabot (Michael Syrus, index, p 43*) with Kersen on the Nahr ʿAfrīn (cf M Hartmann, *Zeitschr Gesellsch f Erdk Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, p 522, N° 47, Lammens, *M F O Beyrouth*, II, p 383, note 2, in the *Sāl-nāme* of Halab of 1286 [1869—1870] Kersentāsh)

The modern wilāyet (formerly sandjak) of Marʿash consists of four kazās

Zaitūn, north of Marʿash, scene of the Armenian rising against Turkey in 1894—1895, noted for its rich iron mines (Aghassi, *Zeitoun*, Paris 1897, Anatolio Latino, *Gli Armeni e Zeitun*, Florence 1897)

Albistān [q v], also north of Marʿash,

Andarīn, west of the town and the Djaihān (not to be confused with Anderīn in the Syrian steppes), the capital of the kazā is Keban (Arm Ghaban), the capital of Ieo of Little Armenia

Pāzārdjīk, between Marʿash and ʿAintāb, the capital is Baghdīn

Bibliography al-Istakhrī in *B G A*, I 55 *sq*, 62, 67 *sq*, Ibn Hawkal in *B G A*, II 108—110, 120, 127, 153, al-Makdisī in *B G A*, III 154, Ibn Khurdādhbih in *B G A*, VI 97, Kudāma in *B G A*, VI 216, 253, al Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister in *Z D P V*, VIII 27, Ibn Rusta in *B G A*, VII 107, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, in *B G A*, VIII 58, do, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard, VIII 295, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Takwim al-Buldān*, transl Guyard, II/II 2, 39, al-Dimishkī, ed Mehren, p 206, 214, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, IV 498, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāsid al-Ittilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, III 81, al-Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, ed de Goeje, p 150, 188 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, index, II, p 806, al-Tabarī, *Chron*, indices, p 774, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, ed Le Strange, p 268, Michael Syrus, *Chronik*, ed Chabot, index, p 48*, Matthēos Urhayecʿi, transl Dulaurier, Paris 1858, p 532, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 502 *sq*, do, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p 128 *sq*, Tomaschek in *S B Ak Wien*, 1891, Abh VIII, p 86, V Cumet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, Paris 1891, p 240—247, H Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 u 1907*, II p 312, index, Basīm Atalayī, *Marʿash Tarīkhī wa-Djughrafiyāsī*, Stambul 1339 (1921) — On the ancient town cf my article *Germanikeia*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R E*, suppl-vol IV, col 686—689

(HONIGMANN)

AI **MARʿASHĪ** [See SHUSHTARĪ]

MARĀṬHĀ, commonly mis-spelt in Hindī and in Indian Persian Marhatta, is the name of a people of Western India inhabiting Mahārāshtra, the country lying to the east of the Western Ghāts between the seventeenth and the twenty-first parallels of north latitude and extending at one point as far east as the seventy-ninth degree of east longitude The Marāthā *caste* is an agricultural caste, of common origin and nearly identical with the great Kunbi caste, but sometimes claiming a Kshatriya descent The Marāthās served in the armies of the Muslim Kingdoms of Southern India, and there gained military experience, but their opportunity came with the decline of the power of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century, when their national hero, Shiwadjī Bhonsla, converted the peasant population of Mahārāshtra into a military nation Shiwadjī was born at Shiwner, near Djunnār, in 1627 and while his father was conquering a great part of the Carnatic for Bidjāpūr obtained possession of many hill forts in the Western Ghāts The Sultān of Bidjāpūr was unable to subdue him, and in 1659 he slew Afdal Khān, commander of the army of Bidjāpūr, at a friendly conference In 1664 he sacked the city of Sūrat, and was obliged to contend with an imperial army sent by Awrangzīb to punish him In 1666 he was induced to pay homage to the emperor at Dihlī, but was so disgusted by his reception that he escaped, and, returning to the Deccan, extended his authority there until, in 1674, he assumed the title of Rādjā, and was enthroned at Raygarh He gained possession of the giants of lands in the Carnatic which his father had received from Bidjāpūr, and died in 1680 His eldest son and successor, Sambhādjī, fell into the hands of Awrangzīb, who put him to death, but preserved his infant son Shāhū, whom he retained at his court, and Rādjā Rām, Shiwadjī's younger son, became the ruler of the Marāthās, now a nation On the death of Awrangzīb in 1707 Shāhū was liberated, and mounted the throne of his grandfather, but was never more than a puppet-king, and left all business of state to his Brāhman minister, or Pishwā, Bāladjī Wishwanāth, who reduced his sovereign to the condition of a state prisoner and founded the dynasty of the Pishwās He led an army to Dihlī and extorted from an effete government recognition of the Marāthā state and the right to levy *chauth*, or one quarter of the revenue, throughout the Deccan In the time of his two successors, Bādjī Rāo I (1720—1740), and Balādjī Rāo (1740–1761), the Marāthās conquered Gudjarāt, Mālwa, Berār, Gondwāna, and Orīsa, and raided the Carnatic, Bengal, and the Pandjāb They seemed to be on the point of superseding the Mughal power in India when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī or Durrānī [q v] crushed them at the battle of Pānīpat in 1761 The Marāthā power survived, however, in the hands of the Pīshwā's generals, Sindhya in Gwāliyār, Bhonsla in Nāgpūr, Holkar in Indūr, and Gaekwār in Gudjarāt The dynasty of the Pishwās survived at Pūna, and a disputed succession in 1775 tempted the Bombay Government to intervene In 1778 the Marāthās surrounded the Bombay army near Pūna and compelled its leader to sign a humiliating convention, but an army sent from Bengal by Warren Hastings humbled Gāekwār and the Pīshwā, and another force defeated Sindhya and captured Gwāliyār Peace was restored on terms favourable to the Marāthās, but their confederacy was much weakened In 1802 Bādjī Rāo II, who had fled from Pūna, took refuge with the Government of Bombay and entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Government of India He was reinstated in Pūna by

Major General Arthur Wellesley, but Sindhya, Bhonsla and Holkar, resenting the Pīshwā's subservience to the British, took up arms, and the third Marāthā War began In the Deccan Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar, won the decisive victories of Assaye and Argāon, and stormed the strong fortress of Gāwīl In Hindūstān General Lake defeated Sindhya's army at Laswārī, and occupied Dihlī Bhonsla lost Urisa and Berār, Sindhya his possessions in the Dūāb and his guardianship of the emperor, and Holkar was humbled, but after the peace the freebooters known as the Pindārīs, whom the Marāthās had employed, continued to ravage states under British protection, and even British territory, and when in 1817, the Marquess of Hastings concentrated troops to deal with these marauders, the Pishwā, Bhonsla, and Holkar rose against the British Residents at their courts The first was defeated at Khirkī, and the second at Sitabaldī, and the army of the third was destroyed at Mahidpūr The dominions of the Pīshwā were forfeited and annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and Holkar and Bhonsla lost much territory Bhonsla died in 1853, and his dominions lapsed, in default of male issue, to the British Government The dethroned Pīshwā also lived until 1853, and his adopted son, Dhondū Pant, was the Nānā Sāhib of the Indian Mutiny Three great Marāthā states remain to this day those of Sindhya in Gwāliyār, Holkar in Indūr, and Gāekwār in Gudjarāt, but not one of them is in Mahārāshtra

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MARDAITES These are the Djarādjima [q v] singular Djurdjumānī, of the Arabs they are sometimes confused with the *Djarāmika*, singular Djarmakānī, so called from the name of their town Djurdjūma They occupied the rugged regions of the Amanus and of the Taurus, separating Syria from Cilicia, as well as the marshy districts of Antiochene [see BŪKA] They enjoyed a semi-independence nominally under the Byzantines to whom they furnished recruits and irregular troops When the Arabs seized Antioch the Mardaites agreed to serve them as auxiliaries and scouts and in this capacity to watch the passes, the "Pulai" of the Amanus In the small forts built on the heights beside the defiles, commanding, the entrance to or the exit from Syria, they, in conjunction with the Arabs, supplied the garrisons Exempt from the poll tax, they obtained the right to spoil on the field of battle They were in every sense of the word irregulars, living by war and by raids and asking only to fight for whoever paid for their services, half-nomads, they came and went again like a flash Very lukewarm Christian Monothelites or Monophysites — we do not know exactly — their loyalty either to the Byzantines or to the Muslims was quite intermittent "Sometimes", says Balādhurī, "they obeyed our officials, at other times they betrayed us for the benefit of the Greeks" The precarious nature of the Arab conquest in the North of Syria — a varying frontier region continually devastated by the Muslims and by the Byzantines — and the difficulty of gaining access to the land of the Mardaites, made it impossible to chastise such fickle allies

Towards the year 46 (666) the Greek Emperor succeeded in sending them against Syria This was not a raid of the type usual to the mountaineers of the Amanus, but a regular invasion supported by a few squadrons of cavalry and led by officers of the Imperial army, their bands penetrated into the heart of the Lebanon and occupied its chief strategical points as far as Palestine The natives, discontented with Arab rule and also the thousands of slaves whom the Muslim conquests on land and on sea had collected in Syria, hastened in a body to take refuge with the invaders The highlanders of this country, who had kept their independence, also threw in their lot with the Mardaites At all costs the Omayyad government had to put an end to this dangerous movement, limit the extent of the invasion and to make sure at once of the neutrality of Byzantium who had let loose this hurricane Not for a moment did Muʿāwiya hesitate to subscribe to the onerous terms of the Emperor — an annual tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, the liberation of 8,000 prisoners, the delivery of 50 thorough-bred horses In return the Emperor agreed to withdraw from the Mardaites his support in men, arms and money There is, however, no evidence that these adventurers definitely evacuated from that time their strong positions in the heart of the Syrian mountains The neutrality of the Empire, the partial checks sustained by them and finally the establishment on the border of the Mardaite territory of a strong colony of Zutt [q v] reduced for the moment to inaction the Djarādjima, abandoned by the Byzantines

A quarter of a century later, they once more attracted attention This was under ʿAbd al Malik, who was engaged in an interminable war with the anti Caliph Ibn al Zubair and was taken by surprise by the sudden rising of the Omayyad ʿAmr al Ashdak [q v] in the year 69—70 A H (688—689) The Emperor Justinian II took advantage of these difficulties to let the Mardaites once more loose against Syria The result was a repetition of the movement in the reign of Muʿāwiya I Byzantium furnished them with subsidies and with arms At the same time he sent the army of Anatolia to advance and support the irregulars In the same manner as in the first invasion their ranks were swollen by the accession of thousands of slaves, fugitives and malcontents, amongst whom one could probably reckon the Maronites [cf LEBANON] Taken unawares, ʿAbd al-Malik at once followed the policy of Muʿāwiya The Emperor increased his demands In addition to the conditions previously agreed to by the Sufyānid Caliph, the Arabs were forced to abandon to the Byzantines half the tribute of Cyprus, of Armenia and of Iberia In return for this, Justinian agreed to withdraw the Mardaites The majority of the invaders agreed to evacuate Syria One of their chiefs, who persisted in continuing the war on his own account in the mountainous massif in the districts of Homs and of Damascus, perished treacherously assassinated by a partisan of the Caliph A few Mardaite bands remained in the country, where we find them again still feared

and handled carefully in the caliphate of Walīd I

Entrenched in the Amanus, protected by the great marshes and the lake region of ʿUmk in Antiochene, the Djarādjima lived in practical independence of the Empire and of the Caliphate They chose their masters and their rulers at their own convenience At the same time some of them were quite ready to put their swords at the service of the Arabs Amongst these must be named a leader of a band called Maiūma or Maimūn He with his contingent (about a thousand men, probably all Mardaites like himself) perished at the siege of Tyane His compatriots in the Amanus seem to have wished to profit by the death of ʿAbd al-Malik to renew their raids upon the Syrian provinces Maslama, the son of the Caliph, resolved to put an end to these rebels He penetrated into their country, laid siege to their capital Djurdjūma, and forced it to capitulate Thousands of Mardaites perished in this campaign To the remainder he granted the right to retain their Christian faith, to serve in the Muslim armies, in fact he gave them the same terms as were obtained by their ancestors at the beginning of the Arab conquest After this severe lesson the Mardaite peril, which had been the cause of incessant trouble during the reign of the preceding caliphs, was practically at an end The people of Antiochene saw emigration begin to thin their ranks, many of them having decided to emigrate to Anatolia or to enter the service of the Emperor This resolution, however, did not prevent the Mardaites, who remained in Syria, from fighting under the flag of the Caliph We still find them in the reign of Yazīd II when they co-operated with the Syrian army in the suppression of the troubles in the ʿIrāk

Bibliography Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed B de Meynard, v 224, 225, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Cairo, iv 128, Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii 796, Balādhurī, *Futūh*, ed de Goeje, p 159—167, Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ* p 87 (where *Djurdjūma* is to be read for *Djurthūma*), Ibn al-Fakīh, *B G A*, p 35, *Aghānī*, v 158, xvi 76, Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, ed Chabot, ii 479, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, Bonn, A M 6469, Wellhausen, *Das arab Reich*, p 116, and *Die Kämpfe mit den Romaern in der Zeit der Umaiyaden*, p 16—18, 24, H Lammens, *Etudes sur le regne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwia*, i 14—22, Van Gelder, *Moḳtār de valsche profeet*, Leyden 1888, p 98—99, Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Hadīth*, Būlāk, i 153, 214

(H Lammens)

MARDĀWIDJ b Ziyār, Abu 'l Hadjdjādj, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, was descended on his father's side from the rulers of Gīlān and on his mother's side from the Ispahbads of Rūyān He had taken service under the ʿAlid rulers of Ṭabaristān and was a captain in the army under Asfār b Shīrawaihi In 316 (928) Mardāwidj slew Saiyid Abū Muhammad Hasan al-Dāʿī, and shortly after that rebelled against Asfār, made himself independent at Zandjān which he held in *djāgīr* and captured Kazwīn He then defeated Asfār, forced him to fly to Ṭabas in Kuhistān and put him to death in 319 when he was attempting to reach the castle of Alamūt [q v]

Mardāwidj thus became master of Raiy and Tabaristān He then defeated Mākān [q v] and annexed Tabaristān Mākān attempted twice to capture Ṭabaristān, with the help of powerful allies, but Mardāwidj defeated him on each occasion and forced him to take refuge in Khurāsān At this time (319 = 931) ʿAlī, Hasan and Ahmad, the three sons of Buwaih, who were commanders of the army of Mākān, deserted to Mardāwidj who conferred on ʿAlī the eldest the governorship of the province of Karadj

Having consolidated his power over Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, Mardāwidj next turned his attention to Djibāl, defeated Hārūn b Gharīb the governor, in the neighbourhood of Hamadān in 319 (931) and conquered the whole of Djibāl up to the confines of Hulwān In the following year Muktadir, the Caliph, formally recognised him as ruler of the provinces which he had conquered on condition that he evacuated Isfahān, but as Muktadir was assassinated shortly after this Mardāwidj evaded compliance About this time ʿAlī b Buwaih, the governor of Karadj, rebelled and took possession of Isfahān Mardāwidj sent his brother Washmgīr against ʿAlī who abandoned Isfahān and retired to Arradjān To deal more efficiently with ʿAlī, Mardāwidj made an alliance of friendship with Yāḳūt, governor of Shīrāz, marched to Isfahān and threatened to take the field against ʿAlī ʿAlī now offered submission and, as a guarantee of good faith, sent his brother Hasan as a hostage to Mardāwidj

In 322 (934) the Caliph Kāhir confirmed Mardāwidj in his government on the condition of his evacuating Isfahān Mardāwidj obeyed and sent instructions to his brother Washmgīr, the governor of Isfahān, to deliver the province to the Caliph's agent, Muzaffar b Yākūt, but as Kāhir was deposed shortly after this in Djumādā I of the same year (April–May 934 A D) Mardāwidj again evaded compliance

In Ṣafar 323 (Jan 935) Mardāwidj was assassinated by his Turkish slaves at Isfahān He was loved by his soldiers, who, it is stated, carried his coffin on their shoulders all the way to Raiy for burial Mardāwidj was a man of high ambition and had drawn up a plan for the conquest of Baghdād and the restoration of the Persian Empire in his own person, but he was murdered before he could carry out this scheme

Bibliography Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed Margoliouth, i 161 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, viii 142—229, Ibn Isfandiyār, *G M S*, vol ii, p 208—219, Saiyid Zahīr al Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Tabaristān*, ed B Dorn, p 171 *sqq*, *Habīb al-Siyar*, ed Tihrān, ii, p 145 *sqq*

(M Nazim)

MĀRDĪN (written Māridīn in Arabic, in Syriac Marde), a town in upper Mesopotamia (Diyār Rabiʿa)

Position In Upper Mesopotamia, the watershed between the Tigris and Euphrates is formed by the heights which culminate in Karadja dagh (5,000 feet) S W of Diyār-bakr This basalt massif is continued eastwards in the direction of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar by the limestone chain known in ancient times as Masius and later as Izala (Ἰζαλᾶς) The eastern part of this ridge forms the district of Djabal-Tūr or Tūr ʿAbdīn [q v] the capital of which is Midyāt From the southern slopes of the Masius descend numerous watercourses, the majority of which join one another before flowing between the mountains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (in the west) and Tell-Kawkab and Sindjār (in the east), their combined waters form the river Khābūr [q v]

Māidīn lies near the point where there is an easy pass through the Masius from the lands south of the Tigris [the rivers Gok su and Shaikhān] to the lands round the sources of the Khābūr [the stream called Zuwārak which rises north of Mārdīn], in other words Mārdīn commands the Diyār bakr–Nisībīn road (which then turns towards Djazīra b ʿOmar and Mawsil) On the other side towards the west several (Ritter, xi 356, gives three) direct roads connect Mārdīn via Urfa with Bīredjik (on the Euphrates), to the S W a road runs from Māidīn to Raʾs al-ʿAin (there is now a railway) and to Harrān The direct distances are as follows Mārdīn–Diyāi-bakr 55 miles, Mārdīn–Nisībīn 30 miles, Mārdīn–Sawur–Midyāt 75 miles, Mārdīn–Bīredjik 160 miles, Māidīn–Adana (by rail) 450 miles

The advantages of this position at the intersection of important roads are enhanced by the very strong natural situation of the town, built at a height of 4,000 feet on an isolated eminence on the top of which is a fort 300 feet above the town (cf the sketch in Černik, pl ii, N⁰ 17) Buckingham compares its position with that of Quito in South America All travellers (cf Ibn Hawkal, p 152) have been struck by the unique spectacle of the vast Mesopotamian plain which from the height of the town is seen to stretch southwards as far as the eye can see Only a hundred years ago Mārdīn was still considered impregnable, but the difficulty of access sensibly affected its commerce According to Černik loaded camels could not ascend right up to the town A branch line 15 miles in length now connects Mārdīn with the station of Darbaziya on the "Baghdād" railway, but the station for Mārdīn is five miles from the town

Ancient History It is noteworthy that in spite of its remarkable situation Mārdīn does not seem to be mentioned in the cuneiform sources Ammianus Marcellinus (xix 9, 4) is the first to mention two fortresses „Marde and Lorne" between which the road passed from Āmid (Diyār-bakr) to Nisibīn Theophanes Simokatta (ii 2, 19) mentions τοῦ Μάρδιος φρουρά and (v 3, 17) το Μάρδες 3 parasangs from Dārā Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, (ii 4) mentions Σμάργδις (or Σμάρδις) and Λούρνης and Georgius Cyprius, ed Gelzer, 1820, p 46 Μάρδης Λόρνης

The name Μάρδη in Ptolemy, vi 1, however refers to another place in Assyria to the east of the Tigris

Muslim Conquest The Muslims under ʿIyād b Ghanm occupied the fortress of Mārdīn along with Tūr ʿAbdīn and Dārā in 19 (640) (Balādhurī, p 176) In 133 Māidīn is mentioned in connection with a rebellion in Upper Mesopotamia The town formed part of the possessions of Buraika chief of the Rabīʿa who was defeated by the ʿAbbāsid Abū Dja'far (Tabarī, iii 53) In 279, Ahmad b ʿIsā took Mārdīn from Muhammad b Ishāk b Kandādj (*ibid*, iii 2134) Hamdān b Hamdūn after his accession in 260 (873) seized Mārdīn In 281 the caliph Muʿtadid marched on the town Hamdān fled and left Mārdīn to his son The latter surrendered the fortress which was dismantled (*ibid*, iii 2142) The "grey fortress" (*al-būr al-ashhab*) was later restored, for Ibn Hawkal (in 366) attributes its erection to the Hamdān b al-Hasan Nāsir al Dawla b ʿAbd Allāh b Hamdān On the death of his father in 358, Hamdān was dispossessed by his brother Fadl Allāh Abū Taghlib By the peace of 363, concluded between the Būyid Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlib, Hamdān recovered his possessions with the exception of Mārdīn (Ibn Miskawaih, ed Amedroz, ii 254 and 319)

The Arab geographers give few details about Mārdīn but they emphasise its importance According to Ibn al-Fakih, p 132, 136, the *kharādj* of Mārdīn was equal to that of Maiyafarikīn (865,000 dirhams) Istakhrī, p 76k, says that it is a large town on the summit of a peak the ascent of which is a farsakh in length, Dunaisar [q v] was one of its dependencies Ibn Hawkal, p 143, gives the ascent at two farsakhs The quarter of Mārdīn itself was flourishing, thickly populated with large markets The water supply was brought by subterranean canals from the springs to the town The rain-water was also collected in cisterns (*ṣahārīdj wa-birak*) Yākūt, iv 390 (cf al-Kazwīnī, p 172), speaks of the splendour of the quarters outside Māidīn (i e below the town itself) and its many *madrasas*, *khānakāhs* etc , as to the *kaʿla* there was nowhere in the world so strong a defence, its dwelling-houses rose in terraces one above the other

The Marwānids and the Saldjuks It is probable that Mārdīn was within the sphere of influence of the Marwānids, for according to their historian (cf Amedroz, *J R A S*, 1904), their ancestor Bādh (d 380 = 990) had extended his power over Diyār Rabiʿa (Nisībīn, Tūr ʿAbdīn) The Saldjuks ruled there next After the death of Malikshāh, Tutush b Alp Arslān seized for a time all the lands as far as Nisibīn Under Barkiyaruk Mārdīn was given to his old baid (*mughanni*)

The Ortokids At this time arose the dynasty whose fortunes are especially associated with Mārdīn The son (or grandson?) of Ortok called Yākūti took by stratagem the fortress in which he had been imprisoned but it was taken from him by his brother Sukmān b Ortok who died in 498 In 502 we find at Mārdīn Il ghāzī b Ortok (Ibn al Athīr, x 269, 321) whose line ruled there till 811 (1408) [cf the art ORTOKIDS] (On their coins struck at Mārdīn in 599, 600, 634, 637, 648, 655, 656 etc, cf Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894 and S I ane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol iii and x [Index, s v Maridin])

In 579 (1183) Saladin came to Harzam (6 miles S W of Mārdīn) but was unable to take the town In 594 Malik ʿĀdil b Aiyūb seized the outer suburb which was pillaged but the siege of the town itself was abandoned in the following year In 599, ʿĀdil sent against Mārdīn his son al-Ashraf who appointed governors (*shahna*) in its dependencies The Aiyūbid of Aleppo al-Zāhir b Salah al-Dīn offered his good offices and ʿĀdil was content with an indemnity of 150,000 dinars and the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the Ortokid of Mārdīn (cf Abu 'l Faradj, ed Pococke, p 412, 425, 427)

The Mongols In 657 the Mongol Hūlāgū Khān demanded the homage of the prince of Mārdīn, Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī Saʿid, who sent his son Muzaffar to him but maintained a neutral attitude In 658 the town was besieged for 8 months by the troops of Yashmut, son of Hūlāgū Famine and an epidemic raged in the town Ac-

cording to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed Quatremère, p 375), Muzaffar killed his father in order to put an end to the sufferings of the inhabitants (Abu 'l-Faradj and Wassāf give different versions, cf d'Ohsson, iii 308, 358) Muzaffar was confirmed as lord of Mārdīn, his descendants also received from the Mongols the insignia of royalty (crown and parasol) In the reign of Ṣālih b Mansūr (769 = 1367) whose sister Dunyā Khātūn was the wife of the Ilkhān Khudābanda, Ibn Battūta (ii 142–145) visited Mārdīn

Tīmūr The Ortokid Sultān ʿĪsā (778—809) was king of Mardīn at the invasion of Tīmūr in 796 Sultān ʿĪsā came to pay his homage to the conqueror but the citizens attacked those of Tīmūr's men who ventured into the town Malik ʿĪsā was put in chains and taken to Sultānīya (*Zafar-nāma*, i 663, 671—672) In April 1404, Tīmūr returned to the attack and the town was taken by storm Then the siege of the upper fortress (*al kalʿat al-shahbā*) was begun but it was never taken Tīmūr was content with presents and promises of *kharādj* and returned to the plain (*ibid*, i 676—679) The people of Mārdīn obtained an amnesty on the birth of Ulūgh-beg Sultān Ṣālih was appointed at Mārdīn in place of his brother, Sultān ʿĪsā (*ibid*, i 676—681), but three years afterwards the latter was pardoned and restored to his fief (*ibid*, i 787) When in 803 Tīmūr reappeared in Mesopotamia, Sultān ʿĪsā shut himself up in Mārdīn As the siege would have taken some time and supplies were short, Tīmūr did not stop before the town but ordered Kara ʿOthmān Ak-Koyunlu to besiege Mārdīn (*ibid*, ii 354)

The Ak Koyunlu This was the beginning of Aḳ-Koyunlu interference in Mārdīn but Kara ʿOthmān's forces were not yet equal to this task In 805, Sultān ʿĪsā came of his own accord to Tīmūr and was pardoned (*ibid*, ii 512)

For a brief period the Kara-Koyunlu tried to resist the extension of the power of the Ak-Koyunlu to Mārdīn When, after the death of Tīmūr, Kara Yūsuf left Egypt to re-enter into possession of his territory he joined Sultān ʿĪsā and advanced against Kara ʿOthmān The battle lasted 20 days and was settled by agreement As soon as Kara Yūsuf had left for Ādharbāidjān, Kara ʿOthmān returned to the attack, defeated Sultān ʿĪsā near Djawsak (there is a Djawsat 10 miles W of Mārdīn on the road from Derek) and besieged Mārdīn, but once more without success (Munedjdjim-bashī, ii 685) It is not clear what connection these hostilities have with an expedition against Diyāi-bakr conducted by Djakīm or Djakūm (governor of Aleppo, a former Mamlūk of Barkuk's) in which Malik ʿĪsā took part In the battle which Muhammad (?) son of Kara-ilik [= Kara ʿOthmān] fought against the allies on the 15th Dhu 'l Kaʿda 809, Sultān ʿĪsā was slain (cf the Egyptian sources consulted by Rieu for Howorth, iii 685) Sultān Ṣālih succeeded a second time to Sultān ʿĪsā, but the Aḳ-Koyunlu continued to harass him and finally in 811 he ceded Mārdīn to the Kara-Koyunlu who gave him Mawṣil in exchange

We do not know the exact course of subsequent events but according to Munedjdjim-bashī, Kara ʿOthmān's successor ʿAlī Beg (832—842, cf Ahmed Tewhid, *Musée Imp Ottoman, Monn musulm*, part iv, Constantinople 1903) gave his brother Ḥamza the task of establishing the Turkomans in the vicinity of Mārdīn Djihāngīr (848—857), son of ʿAlī, was already master of the town In the reign of Uzun Hasan, Josaphat Barbaro visited Mārdīn and was lodged in the hostel (ospedale) built by Djihāngīr Beg (Ziangir) We have coins struck at Mārdīn by Uzun Hasan (875) and by his son Yaʿkūb After the death of Yaʿkūb ʿAlāʾ al Dawla, prince of the Dhu 'l-Kadar Turkomans, seized the land of Diyārbakr but, as the anonymous Venetian merchant shows, the Aḳ-Koyunlu retained Mārdīn In 903 (1498) Abu 'l-Muzaffar Kāsim b Djihāngīr dated his firman in the name of the prince of Egil from his capital (*dār al-saltāna*) Mārdīn, cf Bašagic, *Der älteste Firman der Cengic begs, Wissensch Mitt aus Bosnien*, vi, Vienna 1899, p 497 The coins of Kāsim come down to 908 The *takiya* of Kāsim padshāh which Niebuhr mentions must date from the same ruler

Persian Conquest In 913 (1507) all the lands as far as Malatya were conquered by Shāh Ismāʿil who appointed his general Ustadjlu Muhammad to it According to the Venetian merchant who travelled there in 1507 (*op cit*, p 149), Mārdīn was occupied without bloodshed The same traveller mentions the fine palaces and mosques of the town, there were more Armenians and Jews in Mārdīn than Muslims The battle of Čaldiran (914) shook the power of the Persians In place of Ustadjlu Muhammad killed at Čaldiran, his brother Kara-Khān was appointed and established his headquarters at Mārdīn Soon the Ottomans occupied Diyārbakr and then the town of Mārdīn, but the Persians who never lost the fortress restored the status quo

Ottoman conquest Finally in 922 (1516) Kara-Khān was defeated and slain in battle at Karghan dede near the old town of Koč-hisār, 10 miles S W of Mārdīn Persian domination in Upper Mesopotamia thus collapsed, but the fortress of Mārdīn still remained in the hands of Sulaimān Khān, brother of Kara-Khān The siege lasted a year and not till Bīyīklī Muhammad Pāshā arrived from Syria with reinforcements was it stormed and its valiant defenders put to the sword (*ʿĀlam ārā*, p 24, 32, this Persian source mentions Ölàng-i Fūrāk [?] in place of Koč hisār) (v Hammer, *G O R* 2, i 7367—40, quoting Abu 'l-Fadl, son of Hakīm Idrīs and continuer of his *Hasht-bihisht*).

In the Baghdād campaign of 941, Mārdīn was created a sandjak and included in the *eyālet* of Diyārbakr Ewliyā Čelebi, iv 59 gives Mārdīn 36 *ziʿāmet* and 465 timāriotes, Mārdīn could put in the field 1,060 armed men (*djebeli*) In the xviiith century Mārdīn became a dependency of the Pāshās of Baghdād, Otter (1737) found at Mārdīn a *voivoda* appointed by Ahmad Pāshā As late as the time of Kinneir (1810), Mārdīn was the frontier town of the pāshālīk of Baghdād and was governed by a *mutesallim* sent from Baghdād

The reforms of Mahmūd were badly received in Upper Mesopotamia In 1832 (Ainsworth) Mārdīn rebelled Power in Mārdīn had passed to the Kurd beys Southgate (1836) speaks of a hereditary (?) family who ruled in Mārdīn The two brothers of the "ruling bey" seized the power and refused to recognise the authority of the Porte (It may be asked if these beys were not of the Millī tribe, on their chiefs cf Buckingham, *op cit*, p 156) Rashīd Pāshā, the pacifier of Kurdistān, besieged the town and blew up the great mosque

(Ainsworth) Order was temporarily restored Considerable works were undertaken to improve the road giving access to the town Rashīd Pāshā died in January 1837 (Poujoulat) When the Egyptians invaded Syria, their partisan Timawī b Aiyūb of the Millī tribe seized Mārdīn (Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p 320) but was killed The defeat of the Ottomans at Nizīb (June 1839) brought matters to a head The Porte entrusted Māidīn to Sa^{c}d Allāh Pāshā of Diyārbakr but the inhabitants preferred to submit to Ibrāhīm Pāshā of Mawsil who was opposed to the *tanzīmāt* This Pāshā appointed a governor to Mārdīn but the rebels still held the citadel (Ainswoith 1840) and the governor soon perished in a rising

By the "wilāyet law" of 1287 (1870) Mārdin became a sandjak of the wilāyet of Diyāibakr It had 5 kadās Māidīn, Nisībīn, Djazīra, Midiyāt and Āvine The area of the sandjak was 7,750 square miles and the number of towns and villages 1,062 The sandjak was mainly agricultural The town of Māidīn produced a small quantity of silk, wool and cotton, leather, shawls etc , but in spite of the excellence of the work these articles were mainly used for local consumption (Cuinet) By the reforms of 1921 Mārdin formed a wilāyet with 6 kadās, 1,018 towns and villages, and 125,809 inhabitants (*Turkiya Djemhuriyeti 1925—1926 Sāl nāmesi*) The *Sāl-nāme* of 1926—1927 made a number of changes There are now 8 kadās The area is 6,000 square miles with 6^{1}/$_{2}$ million *donum* of arable land

Kadā	Number of towns and villages	Corresponding Nāhiyas
Central	147	Koč hisār
Sawur (^{c}Awniya)	113	^{c}Ómerkān
Nisībīn	114	Hubāb Ālīyān (Dirūn)
Midiyāt	134	Kerbūrān Djezbīnī Bā djurīn Hasan keif
Ra's al-^{c}Ain	9	
Dīrek	138	Mahall i Matīnān (Shamrakh)
Djezre	211	Slūbī
Ker-djōs	98	
	922	

The wilāyet now marches with the zone of the French mandate

Population Niebuhr (1766) counted 3,000 houses in Mārdīn (of which 1,000 were Christian) with 60,000 inhabitants Dupré (1808) estimated the population at 27,000 of whom 20,000 were Turks (i e Muslims), 3,200 Jacobites, 2,000 Armenians and 800 Shamsīya The statements of other travellers are as follows Kinneir (1814) 11,000 of whom 1,500 were Armenians, Southgate (1837) 3,000 of whom 1,700 were Muslims, 500 Armenian Catholics, 400 Jacobites, 250 Syrian Catholics, 100 Chaldaeans, Muhlbach (1838) 12—15,000 inhabitants, Sachau (1879) 20,000, Cuinet (1891) 25,000 of whom 15,700 are Muslims

According to Southgate, Arabic and Kurdish are the predominating languages in the town The rural population of Tūr ^{c}Abdīn speaks the "Tōrānī" dialect of Aramaic, cf Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramaische Dialect des Tūr ^{c}Abdīn*, Gottingen 1881, on the Kurd dialect cf Makas, *Kurdische Texte aus der Gegend Mardin*, Leningrad 1924

Among the religion sects of Mārdin the Shamsīya would merit a special study In the time of Niebuhr (1766) there were about a hundred families in the town, and Buckingham (*op cit*, p 192) and Southgate (1837) also mention them The Shamsīya probably represent the last survivors of a local pagan cult Towards the middle of the xviiith century they were led to declare themselves Jacobite Christians but only formally (cf Ritter, xi, p 303—305)

Christianity at Mārdīn The district of Mārdīn has played an exceptionally important part in the development of Eastern christianity A brilliant period of the Nestorian church which begins in 755 is closely associated with Mārdīn Towards the end of the eighth century numerous monasteries were established round the town by the bishop John of Māidin In 1171 the Jacobite patriarchate was transferred from Diyāibakr (Āmid) to Mārdīn In 1207 it was moved to Deir Za^{c}farān, an hour's journey from Māidīn, to return to Mārdīn in 1555 (Assemani, *Bibl Orient*, ii 110, 221, 470, Wright, *A short Hist of Syriac Literature*, 1891 [Index] On the position of the Christians before 1914 cf the works of Southgate, Parry, Cuinet etc)

Antiquities According to Niebuhr, there are many Arabic inscriptions at Mārdīn Those of the Ortokids have been studied by ^{c}Alī Emirī Efendī who also examined the *wakf* documents relating to the principal buildings of this dynasty at Māidīn (cf Kātib Ferdī [944], *Mārdin Mulūk i Urtukiye Tarikhī*, ed and annot by ^{c}Alī Emīrī, Stambul 1331) For the list of buildings cf the article ORTOKIDS The monuments of Mārdīn which must be of considerable artistic interest have never been described in detail Buckingham (p 191) gives a few details about the minaret of the "great mosque" (a cylinder decorated with carved arches, on a square base, etc , a stone gallery with a pointed roof on the top) i e the Mosque of Nadjm al-Dīn Alpī built in 568—572, but the buildings have never been studied We do not know if the *madrasa* of Kāsim Pādshāh Ak-Koyunlu (Niebuhr) is still in existence The domes of the mosques of Mārdin are "ribbed and guttered", their vertical ribs radiating from the summit

Bibliography Idrīsī, transl Jaubert, ii 142 (Mārdīn a town of al-Djazīra), Ibn Djubair, *G M S*, p 241, Ibn Battūta, ii 142—148, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geographie*, transl Reinaud, Paris 1848, ii/2, p 55 = Arabic text, p 279 (Māidīn in Diyār Rabi^{c}a), Ewliya Čelebi, *Siyāhat nāme*, iv 57—60

The Travels of Josafa Barbaro (1431) and *The Travels of a merchant in Persia* (1517), in the vol of the *Hakluyt Society*, publ in 1873, P della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brigton 1843, i 515 (the traveller's wife was a native of Mārdīn), Tavernier (1644), *Les six voyages*, 1692, i 187, Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhague 1778, ii, p 391—398, and plate xlvii, Olivier (1795), *Voyages*, Paris 12 (rep), iv 242, Dupré (1808), *Voyage*, i 77—82, Kinneir, *A geogr Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, p 264—265, Kinneir (1814), *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, p 433, Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, p 188—194 (with a general view of the

town), Southgate (1837), *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia*, II 272—288, Ainsworth (1840), *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, II 114—116, Defrémery, *Observations sur deux points de l'histoire des rois d'Akhlath et de Maïdin*, *J A*, 1843, Southgate, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian church of Mesopotamia* (1841), New York 1844, p 215—242, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XI (1844), 150—153, 379—397 (very detailed résumé), Goldsmid, *An overland journey from Bagdad, Trans Bombay Geogr Soc*, XVIII, 1868, p 29 (the population of Mārdīn is 22,000 half of whom are Christians), Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition*, *Peterm Mitt*, Erganzungsheft, X, 1875—1876, Heft 45, p 15—18, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, p 683—686, Socin, *Zur Geogr des Tur ʿAbdin*, *Z D M G*, 1881, XXXV, p 237—269 (map), 327—415, Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p 404—407, 428, Cumont, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II 494—519, Lomilov, *Otcet o poyézdkě 1904*, St Petersburg 1907, I 263—267, Chapot, *La frontiere de l'Euphrate, de Pompee à la conquete arabe*, Paris 1907, p 312, Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, Index (V Minorsky)

MARDJ DĀBIK, a battlefield near Dābik [q v] on the Nahr al Kuwaik in northern Syria On the history of the town of Dabik, which was known to the Assyrians as *Dabigu* (Sachau, *Z A*, XII 47) and is called Δάβεκον by Theophanes (*Chron*, ed de Boor, p 431, 451 *sq*) cf above vol I, DĀBIK

For convenience in his campaigns against the Byzantines, Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik moved the headquarters of the Syrian troops from Djābiya to Dābik (Lammens, supra I, DJĀBIYA) In 717 with an army under ʿUbaida he set out from Mardj Dābik for Asia Minor and on his return died there in Safar of the same year (al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Paris, V 397, *Chronica Minora*, ed Guidi, in *C S C O*, *Scr Syri*, ser III, vol IV, text, p 234, transl, p 177) Hārūn al Rashid also encamped in 807 A D there (Syr *Margā Dābek*) and composed the differences between the Syrian bishops (Michael Syrus, *Chron*, ed Chabot, III 19, Barhebraeus, *Chron Eccles*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, I 339) The Mirdāsid Mahmūd in Radjab 457 (1064—1065) defeated his uncle ʿAtīya on the field of Dābik and then took Halab (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubda*, transl J J Muller, *Historia Meidasidar*, Bonn 1829, p 59)

When in 491 (1098) the Franks conquered Antākiya, Kerbōgha of Mawsil assembled a large army on Mardj Dābik, with which he laid siege to Antākiya (Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, X 188, Abu 'l-Fidā', Kamāl al Dīn etc, in *Rec hist or crois*, I 3, 194, III 580) In the spring of 513 (1119) Ilghāzī on his campaign against the Franks crossed the Euphrates at Baddayā (now Beddāi on Sachau's map) and Sandja and advanced via Tell Bāshir [q v], Tell Khālid, Mardj Dābik and Muslimiya against Kinnasrīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rec hist or crois*, III 616) In the beginning of September 1124 Dubais b Sadaka was defeated by Husām al-Dīn Timūrtāsh on the field of Dābik *Rec hist or crois*, V 645) On his campaign against Leo II of Little Armenia, al-Malik al-Zāhir encamped in 602 (1305—1306) on Mardj Dabik (*Rec hist or crois*, V 155) On Saif al Dīn Tunguz's campaign against the Tatars to Malatya [q v] in which Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hamā took part, a halt was made on the way back on the field of Dābik from the 3rd Safar to the 2nd Rabīʿ II 715 (May 9—July 6, 1315) (Abu 'l Fidā', *Rec hist or crois*, I 3)

On the 25th Radjab 922 (Aug 24, 1516) was fought at Mardj Dābik the battle which gave Selim I a decisive victory by which Syria passed for the next four centuries under Ottoman rule (H Jansky, *Mitteil z osman Geschichte*, II, 1923—1926, p 214—224)

Bibliography Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, II 513, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāsid al-Ittilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, I 381, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Paris, V 397, Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, IX 160, X 188 (index vol II misprint 168), Yahyā al-Antākī, ed Rosen, p 30, transl Rosen, p 32, Ibn Zāfir, cod Goth, f 104b, in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, XLIV, p 233, note *a*), Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fi Tārikh Halab*, ed Beirūt, p 134, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 503, Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et medievale*, Paris 1927, p 474 (E Honigmann)

MARDJ RĀHIT, the name of a plain near Damascus On leaving Damascus in the direction of Homs, just before crossing the pass of the Eagle, *al-ʿUkāb*, one reaches the village of Maidj ʿAdhrā To the east of this place stretches the plain, Mardj Rāhit, which extends as far as the desert It was here and not in the "Hochebene von Qutaife" (B Moritz) that the fate of the Omaiyads after the death of Muʿāwiya II was settled This decisive battle since it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mardj ʿAdhrā was named by the poet al-Rāʿī after this place With greater exactitude the contemporary poet al-Akhtal, who was more cognisant with Omaiyad history, places this battle "between the ʿUkāb and Rāhit" namely in "the vast plain of Mardj" mentioned by the poets (*Aghānī*, XVII 112)

During the discussions of the congress of Djābiya [q v] the concentration of the Kaisī forces was taking place under the command of Dahhāk b Kais [q v] supported by the Yemen contingent and the Kudāʿī malcontents to the south-east of Damascus Their total — which has probably been exaggerated — has been placed at 30,000 Marwān b al-Hakam had at his command eight or ten thousand combatants, the majority of whom were Kalbī The Kaisīs seem to have taken up their position first at Mardj al-Suffar [q v] to the north of Djābiya After an engagement in this place had ended to their disadvantage, they were forced to double back to the north In the meantime a sudden attack launched against Damascus which was depleted of troops, had delivered into the hands of the Omaiyad supporters the treasury and the arsenals of this town The Kaisis in order to avoid being caught between the capital and the Kalbi army advancing from Djābiya retreated, while harassed at close quarters by their adversaries These engagements occupied nearly twenty days On arriving on the heights of Mardj Rahit, trapped between the defiles of ʿUkāb and the desert, they accepted battle One must ask how the Kalbīs succeeded in making up for their glaring inferiority in numbers Masʿūdī, without explaining further, speaks of a stratagem devised by Marwān This stratagem, which is mentioned by the author of

the *Ikd al farīd*, should be described not as a ruse of war but as a crime After the advantage gained at Mardj al-Suffar, the Omaiyads had had the time, and without doubt made use of it, to detach from the Kaisīs their temporary allies, the Yemenīs and the Kudāʿīs The treasure of the state seized at Damascus and the large amount of wealth brought from the ʿIrāk by the family of Ziyād b Abīhi may have been of assistance in doing this The Syrian Arabs, not at their ease in the camp of Dahhāk, no doubt understood how much the triumph of Ibn al Zubair would be prejudicial to their hitherto privileged position and to the hegemony wielded since the days of the Sufyānids by the Syrian tribes Their defection must, we think, have determined the issue of the engagement at Mardj Rāhit and hastened the triumph of the Omaiyad arms Whatever was the cause this victory was decisive (the middle of July 684) 3,000 Kaisīs are said to have been killed The death of Dahhāk seems to have been the signal of defeat, which became a regular disaster, in which the principal chiefs of Kais perished Flight alone saved the most prominent among them, Zufar b al Hariṯh [q v]

The memory of Mardj Rāhit was deeply impressed upon the Kaisīs It detached them *en bloc* from the Omaiyad cause Under the first two Marwānid caliphs, their battle-cry became "Vengeance for the victims of Rāhit" From this time a smile is said never to have appeared on the countenances of the surviving chiefs Between them and their ancient rivals of Kalb the split became much deeper The latter's songs of victory answered the cries of rage of the Kaisis In celebrating the battle of Rāhit the Kalbī poets give more emphasis to their triumph than to that of the Omaiyads Their compositions complacently develop this theme without regard to the Marwānids, their debtors rather than their sovereigns This great victory afforded the aged Marwān the opportunity of proclaiming himself as Caliph of Damascus before beginning the conquest of the old Sufyānid lands now under the authority of Ibn al-Zubair In the bosom of the Caliphate, it nourished the most dangerous rebellion, it inaugurated a savage war of extermination between Kalb and Kais The tribes of Kudāʿa first, then the Yemenis and lastly the Taghlib saw themselves in turn fatally involved These internal feuds in which the members of the Marwānid family had the imprudence to take part, to the satisfaction of their maternal connections, precipitated the fall of the Omaiyad dynasty by destroying the agreement and the unity amongst the Arab tribes, which had been but imperfectly realized by the Sufyānid Caliphs

Bibliography Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, ii 743, iii 400, 625, al-Akhtal, *Diwān*, ed Salhani, p 23, 217, 224, Ibn Saʿd, *Tabakāt*, ed Sachau, v 29, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 305, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, v 201, Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi, *al-ʿIkd al farīd*, ii 320—321, *Aghānī*, xvii 111, xx 124, 126, Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 658, Buhturī, *Hamāsa*, ed Cheikho, Nrs 375, 376, 377, al Kutāmī, *Diwān*, ed J Barth, *Introduction*, p x—xi, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, ii 472—474, 477, 480, 482, 483, 485, 486, 643, Wellhausen, *Das arab Reich*, p 113—114, Noldeke, in *Z D M G*, 1901, p 687, Lammens, *L'avènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān Ier*, Bairūt 1927, p 57—75 (H LAMMENS)

MARDJ AL-ṢUFFAR, a plain situated 20 miles south of Damascus near the modern Tell Shaḳhab, a stream called the "Wādī ʿAirām" runs through it The place plays a part in the military history of the first century A H, first in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Syria, and later at the beginning of the Marwānid dynasty The name has been sometimes confused with that of Mardj Rahit [q v] For the history of Syria in the first century A H we are exclusively dependent upon the ʿIrāḳ annalists Forgetting that the name "Mardj" abounds in the topography of the Damascus region, writers have confused two distinct battles and made them one and referred them to Mardj Rāhit, a name which occurs frequently in the poets of the Marwānid period

At the close of the year 13 A H the Arabs, victorious at Fihl, endeavoured to reach Damascus by cutting across the Djawlān One of their bands, under the command of the Omaiyad Khālid b Saʿīd, encamped at Mardj al Suffar and allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by the Byzantine troops The Arab leader was killed and his contingent decimated But the arrival of Muslim reinforcements enabled them to regain the advantage The Greeks then proceeded to shut themselves in Damascus to which the Arabs at once laid siege

In the month of May 684 (64), supporters of the Omaiyads joined with Djabiya [q v] in order to elect a successor to Muʿāwiya II Dahhāk b Kais [q v], the leader of the rival section of the Zubairīs and the governor of Damascus, was invited to the conference He promised to come to the conclave and marched out of Damascus at the head of imposing forces But, having gone about half way on the road to Djābiya, on the heights of Mardj al Suffar, he determined to await events there The presence of water and of forage made it suitable for the encampment of an army An excellent point of observation, the site not only commanded the congress of Djābiya, but also commanded the road leading to Damascus Dahhāk brought about at this point the concentration of the Kaisīs of Syria, who were in revolt against the Omaiyads At Djābiya after 40 days' deliberation, the Kalbis and the Omaiyad partisans elected Marwān b al-Hakam [q v] to be Caliph Then in their advance upon Damascus, they attacked Dahhāk and the Kaisis encamped at Mardj al Suffar and succeeded in defeating them

Of this campaign the ʿIrāk annalists and their copyists have only recorded and have only desired to record the decisive battle, namely that of Mardj Rāhit, to the north of Damascus For a quarter of a century no mention is made of any battle between the Kaisīs and the Kalbis but Mardj Rāhit The extraordinary prominence given to this latter battle by the poets of both sides helped to throw into oblivion the preceding engagements commencing with that of Mardj al-Suffar Certain texts have however preserved its memory Yākūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii 400) locates in this place "a battle celebrated in the history and poetry of the Marwānid period" Otherwise there is no reference to Mardj al-Suffar in the military history of the younger branch of the Omaiyads As regards poetry it has kept for us the testimony of the Taghlibī poet, al Akhtal (*Diwān*, ed Salhani, p 224, v 1) This contemporary poet, who was a habitué of the Omaiyad court while praising the glorious deeds of his

tribe, claims for it "many victories even before Mardj al-Suffar" As we know that the Taghlibis fought in the ranks of the Omaiyads, for whom they showed themselves at all times strong partisans, the reference must be to this battle Moreover the manner in which al-Akhṭal praises this victory suggests that he was not dealing with a small skirmish

In the meanwhile an Omaiyad partisan residing at Damascus had seized the capital The position became untenable at Mardj al Suffar for the Kaisīs It was to avoid being caught between Damascus and the victorious Kalbīs that Dahhāk fell back precipitously to Mardj Rāhiṭ where he was defeated and killed On the 22nd June 684, the election of Marwān b al-Hakam was proclaimed at Djābiya It is probable then that the battle of Mardj al-Ṣuffar must be located in the early days of July

Bibliography Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I 2085, 2101, 2107, 2108, 2146, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p 118, Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabakāt*, IV/1 71—72, Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, ed Houtsma, II 150, Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed Wustenfeld, II 3, 183, III 400, IV 488, Ibn al Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, II 341, V 577, Th Noldeke, *Z D M G*, XXIX 425, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, III 310 *sqq*, H Lammens, *L avenement des Marwānides et le Califat de Marwān Ier*, Beirūt 1927, p 39—40, 42, 61—63 (repr from *M F O B*, XII, fasc 2), R Dussaud Macler, *Mission dans les regions desertiques de la Syrie*, p 43, R Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et medievale*, Paris 1927, p 306, 314 (H LAMMENS)

MAREA [See MARYĀ]

MARGHELAN, originally MARGHĪNĀN, a town in Farghāna [q v, where also the minor importance of the town in the IVth (Xth) century (*B G A*, III 272, 12 *saghīra*) and its rise in the centuries following are discussed (Samʿānī, *K al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, XX, f 522ᵛ *min mashāhir al-bilād*, Yākūt, IV 500, 8 *min ashhar al-bilād*)] The town does not seem to have been of political importance during this period, although coins were occasionally struck here under the dynasty of the Ilek-Khāns [q v] (A Markow, *Inventar'nïy Katalog musul manskikh monet Imp Ermitaza*, p 260, 265 and 272) Bābur (facs ed Beveridge, f 3ᵃ *sq*) gives a brief description of the town, the population at that time consisted of Sarts [q v] i e, according to the linguistic usage of the time, of Tādjik [q v], since then the Tādjik have been driven by the Özbegs here as everywhere out of the plain The more recent, probably Özbeg form Maghilān is found for example in ʿAbd al Karīm Bukhārī (ed Schefer, p 94) whence the Russian Margelan, the river on which the town stands is called Margelan Sai In literature the old form Marghīnān or Marghinān is still frequently used e g in the *Ta'rīkh Shāhrukhī*, ed Pantusow, p 195

Marghelan was occupied without resistance by the Russians on the 8/20th Sept 1875, New Margelan founded as the capital of Farghāna in 1877 by the Russians about 7 miles from Marghelan was called Skobelew from 1907 (since the Revolution Fergana) The original Marghelan was mainly noted for its silk industry, according to the census of 1897, the population was 36,490, in 1911 46,780 of whom only 144 were Russians A building which is certainly not ancient is called Iskandar Pasha and said to be the tomb of Alexander the Great (W Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1913, p 705 *sq*)

Bibliography given in the text (W BARTHOLD)

AL **MARGHĪNĀNĪ,** the name of two families of Hanafī lawyers, *nisba* from their native town and the scene of their activities Marghīnān in Farghana

1 The most important was BURHĀN AL DĪN ABU 'L HASAN ʿALĪ B ABĪ BAKR B ʿABD AL-DJALĪL AL FARGHĀNĪ AL MARGHĪNĀNI, the author of the celebrated *Hidāya* He acquired his knowledge on his travels, then still the usual way of studying in Islām His principal teachers were Nadjm al Dīn Abū Hafs ʿUmar b Muhammad b Ahmad al Nasafī († 537 = 1142—1143), al-Sadr al Shahīd Husām al-Dīn ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b ʿOmar b Māzah († 536 = 1141—1142) and Abū ʿAmr ʿOthmān b ʿAlī al Baikandī († 552 = 1157), a pupil of al-Sarakhsī He studied Tirmidhī's work on Tradition under Diyā' al-Dīn Abū Muhammad Sā'id b As'ad with the *isnād* given in Kurashī, I 259, N° 679 and also with al-Hasan b ʿAlī al-Marghinanī (Kurashī, I 198, N° 487) He himself as was often done at this time, wrote a record of his studies but it does not appear to have survived He far surpassed his teachers and won recognition in his native town also where he died in 593 (1197) Of his works the following are known, some surviving in manuscript and others only known from literary references 1 *Nashr al Madhhab* (Kut, Lak, in Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N° 13790 probably wrongly *al Madhāhib*), 2 *K Manāsik al Hadjdj* (Kut, Lak, H Kh, N° 12943), 3 *K fi 'l-Farā'id* (Kur, Lak), also called *Farā'id al-ʿOthmānī* (H Kh, N° 8989), 4 two collections of fetwas *K al-Tadjnīs wa 'l-Mazīd* (Kutl, Lak, H Kh, N° 2467, MSS in Brockelmann) and 5 *Mukhtārāt al Nawāzil* (Lak, in Kutl called *K Mukhtār Madjmūʿ al-Nawāzil* and in H Kh, N° 11586 called *Muḥtār al-Fatāwā*, MSS in Brockelmann), 6 *Mazīd fi Furūʿ al-Hanafiya* (H Kh, N° 11838, identical with N° 4 ?), 7 a commentary on al Shaibānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al Kabir* (H Kh, II 567), 8 his principal work is the legal compendium *K Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (MSS in Brockelmann), based on Kudūrī's *Mukhtasar* and Shaibānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-Saghīr* On this work he himself wrote a large commentary in 8 volumes the *Kifāyat al-Muntahā* But before he had completed it, he thought it was much too diffuse and decided to write a second commentary, the celebrated *Hidāya* which later writers repeatedly edited and annotated The most important commentaries and synopses are given in the table on p 280

For the manscripts and printed texts of these commentaries and synopses and many supercommentaries and glosses see Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 376, a printed edition of the *Hidāya* recently appeared in 4 vols, Cairo 1326

Bibliography al-Kurashī, *al Djawāhir al Mudī'a*, Haidarābād 1332, I 383, N° 1058, ʿAbd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al Fawā'id al-Bahiya*, Cairo 1324, p 141 *sqq* (synopsis of the *Tabakāt* of Kafawī), Ibn Kutlūbughā, *Tādj al-Tarādjim*, ed Flugel, Leipzig 1862, N° 124, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 376 and the literature there given His sons and pupils were

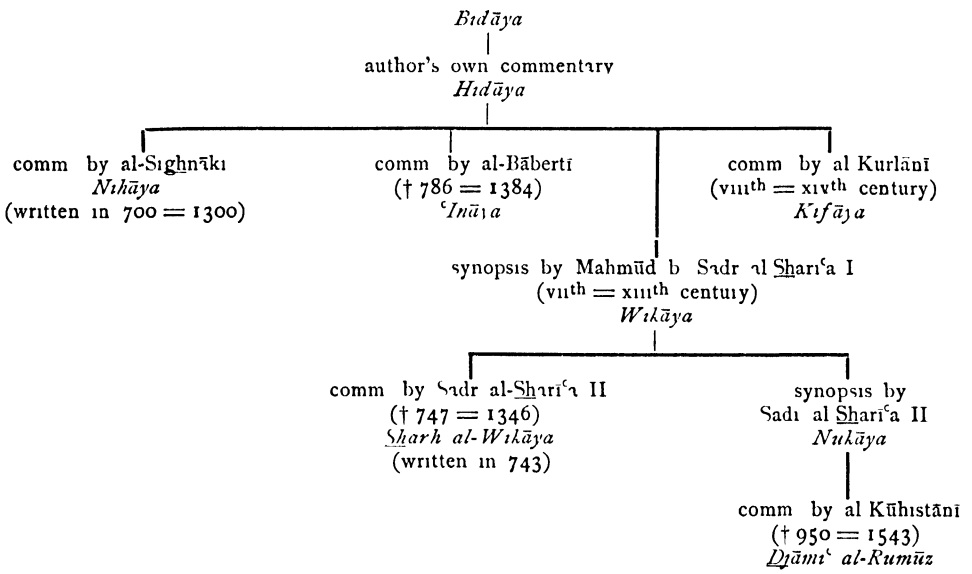
2 ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN AL FARGHĀNĪ, cf Laknawī, p 146

3 ʿOMAR NIZĀM AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ Two works by him are recorded 1 *Fawāʾid* (II Kh, N° 9305), 2 *Djawāhir al-Fikh*, which he compiled from the *Mukhtasar* of Ṭaḥāwī and other works (H Kh, N° 4291, MSS in Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 376, note 2, where the mark of interrogation should be deleted, cf Kuṭubī, I 394, Laknawī, p 149)

4 MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FATḤ DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ, cf Kutl, p 137 and Laknawi, p 182, in Kurashī, II 99 apparently identical with N° 2

5 A son of 2 and grandson of 1 ABU 'L-FATḤ ZAIN AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B ABĪ BAKR ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN B ʿALĪ BURHĀN AL-DĪN B ABĪ BAKR B ʿABD AL-DJALĪL AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ He wrote the work on legal procedure in civil cases entitled *al-Fusūl al-ʿImādīya*, which he completed in Shaʿbān 651 (Oct 1253) in Samarkand Cf H Kh, N° 9094, Lak, p 93, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 382, where the MSS are given

Th J Arnaud (1843), J Halévy (1869) and E Glaser (1888), is situated in the plateau of Sabā, 3,900 feet above sea level, which runs east of the Balak range and is traversed by the Wādī Dhenne (Adhana) which in the course of millennia has deposited a thick layer of silt and thus made a luxuriant vegetation possible The modern village of the same name stands on a large mound of ancient rubble within the old city walls and is situated about exactly in 15° 26′ N I at and 45° 16′ East Long, about 10 days' journey from the Red Sea and the same from the Gulf of ʿAden This favourable situation predestined Mārib to be the centre of the Sabaean kingdom, the heart of which was the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula and which at times also included the eastern hinterland of the Gulf of ʿAden including Ḥadramōt and Mahra (E Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p 18, 185) Marib also lay on the important caravan-route which connects the lands which produced frankincense with the



II Another family of Ḥanafī lawyers goes back to ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B ʿABD AL-RAZZĀK B NAṢR B DJAʿFAR B SULAIMĀN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ, who died in 477 (1084—1085) in Marghinān at the age of 68 Of his six sons who attained fame as muftīs we may mention ABU 'L-ḤASAN ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ʿALĪ († 506 = 1112—1113) His son and pupil was ZAHĪR AL-DĪN AL-ḤASAN B ʿALĪ ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN Four works by him are recorded *Akdiya*, *Fatāwā*, *Fawāʾid* and *Shurūt*, only the last of which survives in manuscript He was the teacher of the famous Fakhr al-Dīn Kādīkhān († 592 = 1196) and of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī [q v]

Bibliography Samʿānī, *K al-Ansāb*, fol 522r, Kurashī, N° 487, 850, 1010, Laknawī, p 62, 97, 121, Flugel, *Classen d hanaf Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, p 309, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 379 (HLITENING)

MAʾRIB (MĀRIB), a town in the southwest of Arabia, formerly the capital of the Sabaeans and now the capital of the amīrate of the same name

The ancient town of Mārib, which so far has only been visited by three European travellers, Mediterranean (Gaza-Ghazze) and which ran from Shabwat-Sabota via Thomna-Tumnaʿ near Darb Kohlān in the Wādī Baiḥān, through Wādī Harib via Mārib into the Minaean Djawf, to Nadjrān and from there via Thirmāḥ, Abā al Khadar, Ilāhila, al Djifāʾ, Djebel Siru, Bedr, Wādī 'l Ilāzib, Wādī 'l Zibeirī, Wādī 'l-Faid, Haradje, Kotba, Banāt Harb, Djurash, Tebala, Karn al Manāzil, Mekka, Yathrib (al Medīna), Fadak, Khaibar, al ʿŌlāʾ, Taimā, Akraʿ, Tabūk, al Ḥidjr, Maḳnā, Madyan, al Ḥakl, Aʾām, Adhruh to Petra and thence to Gaza while Māʾib was also connected with al Yemāma, the coast of the Persian Gulf and Babylonia, via Nedjrān by the route which followed the Wādī 'l Dawāsir (cf A Grohmann, *Historisch-geographische Bemerkungen zu Gl 418, 419, 1000 A B*, p 116 *sq*) It still forms an important junction and has good connections with Ḥadramōt, Redāʿ, Yerīm, Sanʿāʾ, al Djawf, Saʿda, Nedjrān and the Wādī 'l Dawāsir (E Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 20)

The ancient city wall, 3 feet thick, enables us still to recognise with more or less certainty 8 gates — not only 2, as Ih Arnaud (*Plan de la digue et de la ville de Mareb*, in *J A*, sei vii,

vol III [1874], p 12) thought — distinct gatelike breaks in the stone wall They are now called Bāb al-ʿĀḳir (W), Bāb al-Hadd (S W), then along the south wall to the east and from here to the north, Bāb al-Nasr, Bāb Aba 'l Kār, Bāb al-Mah ram, Bāb al Daib, Bāb al Kibla, Bāb al Madjenna The names Bāb al Nasr, Bāb al Darb and Bāb al-Hadd are still borne by the gates of the mod ern village of Mārib but the modern Bāb al-Nasr corresponds to the Bāb al-ʿĀkir of the ancient town, since from the latter by traversing the whole of the old town the village is reached through the Bāb al-Nasr

The old town forms at the present day a considerable mound or rather a number of mounds of ruins, out of which project remains of walls and portions of columns Excavations conducted here would, as Glaser pointed out, bring to light most unexpected things Four distinct areas may be distinguished in the site 1 The mound on which stands the modern village which stands in the eastern part, almost in the S E corner, of the old town and seems to consist entirely of refuse and rubble, beneath which at a considerable depth one comes upon old buildings Glaser believed that these old buildings represent the oldest part of the town upon which in the later centuries of the Sabaean period rubbish was shot It is also possible that the town of Mārib or at least many of its buildings have been several times destroyed The topmost stratum is of course of comparatively recent date if we exclude the many old stones with Sabaean inscriptions The village, which, according to Glaser, can hardly have more than 600 inhabitants, consists of about 80 houses, usually in several stories on a rectangular plan narrowing a little as they ascend Only the lower parts are of stone, the rest is of clay Only the two fort like houses of the amīr are built entirely of hewn stone The outer wall of the village consists simply of the walls of the outermost houses, which are built on to one another or linked up by connecting walls The village has two gates of some size, one facing west and the other south, and several small doors There is an old well outside the village between this and the eastern gate of the old town, and also the chief mosque (Masdjid Sulaimān) 2 The Maidān Umm al-Kīs identified by Glaser in his *Karstenbuch*, p 8 with Umm Bilḳīs, in the S E corner with great mounds of ruins, which perhaps come from castles 3 The S W area which apparently contained temples and castles 4 A large round open space (Maidān) in the N W and western part of the town which does not seem to have been built on in ancient times either It stretches almost to the modern village and particularly on the south side is surrounded by portions of columns and other ruins (E Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 48 *sq*, 73) These facetted columns which still protrude 3—4 feet out of the ruins, one of which lying on the ground measured 12—15 feet, are also mentioned by Arnaud (p 12) The place is probably identical with the "Champs de Mars" mentioned by the French traveller in his report to Fresnel (*J A*, ser IV, vol V [1845], p 325) The place in any case was at one time surrounded by large buildings which are now in ruins and form great mounds, which are also dotted with fragments of columns and Glaser leaves the question open whether there were here the palaces of the kings and notables or the temples of the ancient Sabaeans To the south of the Maidān in particular may still be seen the foundations of a colossal building which Glaser wanted to identify with the famous royal citadel of Salhīn celebrated by later tradition

The old town which occupied an area of about 1,000 yards square, a calculation by E Glaser, which agrees with Th Arnaud's plan of the town (*J A*, ser VII, vol III [1874], p 11) [Glaser gives the distance between the two opposite gates as $^1/_4$ hour], is built entirely on the left bank of the Wādi Dhenne It seems, to conclude from the remains of the 3 feet thick wall around it, which has only survived in places, to have practically formed an oblique angled parallelogram the longer sides of which follow the line of the Wādī Dhenne while the eastern and western sides (breadth) run practically due north and south The southern wall which runs parallel to the river bank turns from north to east at an angle of 60° and runs almost E N E This fact is clear not only from E Glaser's description of his *Reise nach Marib* (p 36 *sq*, 48) and the Mārib *Tagebuch* but also from Glaser's *Skizzen* (N⁰ 51) upon which is based the appended plan of Marib and vicinity It is a striking contrast to Th J Arnaud's description and map (*J A*, ser VII, vol III [1874], p 11) which makes the wall around Mārib describe a circle and also to Glaser's earlier sketches in his large *Kartenbuch*, p 8 *sq* and the map drawn up after investigations in the year 1888, which forms fol 4 of E Glaser's collection I The foundation of the wall consists of cement blocks 5 feet long, 15 inches high and 2 feet thick On the top of 8—10 layers of these blocks are placed regularly hewn blocks of marble of the same size The wall which unfortunately is almost completely destroyed does not run in a straight line but at regular intervals there are rectangular projections, as is clearly shown in E Glaser's already mentioned sketch N⁰ 51 and in that of his *Tagebuch*, XI, p 125, which moreover gives the plan of the town as a rectangle — Glaser notes here "the city wall was apparently built as a quadrilateral" —, while N⁰ 51 shows rather a trapezium the base of which lies away from the river while the shorter side parallel runs along the river The rectangular projections found at regular intervals were probably towers, which strengthened the defences and stood out at regular intervals in the style we know from Assyrian fortifications (cf the similar quadrangular plan of a fortress with gates near the corner and towers covered by steplike battlements in B Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, *Kulturgesch Bibliothek*, I 3, Heidelberg 1920) That the city walls of Mārib had towers is also evident from the great inscription (Glaser 418—419) which is older than the great Sirwāh inscription Gl 1000 In this we are told in line 4 that the unknown ruler built "the two gates of Mārib (מריב) and built towers for Mārib of Balak stone" (cf N Rhodokanakis, *Altsabaische Texte*, I 6 *sq*)

Rhodokanakis suggests, presumably rightly, that this king was continuing the work of the unnamed son of the Sabaean mukarrib Sumuhu-ʿalaya Yanāf (ינף | בי סמהעלי) who, according to the inscriptions Glaser 412 = Arnaud 41, 413 = Arnaud 42, 414, 427, 445, 500, 510, 537, 589, 600, 634 and perhaps also 751, "built a wall around Mārib

(מריב) by command of and with the help of ʿAthtar" Whether the son of Sumuhu-ʿalaya Yanāf was the builder of Mārib seems uncertain, in any case he is the oldest builder of the town whom we know from the inscriptions

Nor is it known who founded Mārib That it was Saba', son of Yashdjub, as the Arab genealogists think, is of course quite an unfounded supposition (cf Yākūt, *Mushtarik*, p 239, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteislamica*, p 114 *sq*, A v Kremer, *Über die sudarabische Sage*, p 26 *sq*, E Osiander, *Z D M G*, x 68)

That the city wall was frequently restored is evident from the fact that inscribed blocks of the earliest period of Sabaean history were used as building material in any order without heeding the context of the inscription (cf Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 48 *sq*, 51, 74) which is the case e g in the texts Glaser 699—707, and as there were no inscriptions of a later period in the lower strata the renovation must have begun after the reigns of the three Sabaean mukarribs Yidʿī 'ilu-Bayin, Sumuhu-ʿalaya Yanāf and Yithʿī 'amara Watar To the same period as these inscriptions must belong the old Sabaean boustrophedon text, Glaser 926 = 1350 + 1351 = 1736, which comes from al-Meshdjah, not far east of Sirwāh, in the second line of which there is mentioned the building of a road up to the gate of Mārib (מריב) (cf E Glaser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, I, Munich 1908, p 98 *sq* and N Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, II 49, and note 3, 54—56) Of the three Sabaean mukarribs mentioned here Yithʿī-'amara, Yidʿī-'ilu and Sumuhu-ʿalaya, the first, as N Rhodokanakis has pointed out, is identical with Vithʿ-'amara Watar, Yidʿī-'ilu with Yidʿī-'ilu Bayin, the conqueror of Nashk, while Sumuhu-ʿalaya is perhaps the same as Sumuhu-ʿalaya Yanāf, in whose reign the inscription Glaser 926 was set up Glaser must also be right in assuming (*Skizze*, I 68) that the town of Mārib is considerably older than the wall and a number of decades must have passed away before the town attained the extent indicated by the oldest remains of walls This is also evident from the mention of independent kings of Mārib in the inscription Glaser 302 which is older than Glaser 418—419 A memory of this earliest period in Sabaean history seems to be preserved by the poet ʿAlḳama Dhū Djadan, who mentions kings of Mārib along with kings of Sirwāh (cf D H Müller, *Sabäische Denkmaler*, p 99)

According to al-Hamdānī (*Iklīl*, VIII, in D H Müller, *Burgen u Schlosser*, II 959 *sq*, 1038 *sq*), there were in Mārib the three citadels Salhīn, al-Kashīb and al-Hadjar For the former which is expressly stated to have been the royal capital and palace of Bilḳīs, cf the article SALHĪN The question where this castle is to be located in Mārib has been very variously answered D H Müller, *Burgen u Schlosser*, II 968 thinks that Salhīn was on the site of the modern village of Mārib, which, as Arnaud had already suggested, had been occupied by an old citadel (*J A*, ser VII, vol III [1874], p 12) Glaser (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 73) on the other hand identifies Salhīn with the colossal building the foundations of which lie south of the Maidān In connection with Salhīn, al Hamdānī also mentions the lower pillars of the throne (of Bilḳīs) — so D H Müller translates *ʿarsh* — which became celebrated in the Muslim world through Kur'ān XXVII 23 and were still standing in his time and so firmly rooted in the ground that they could not be overthrown Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 139 however assumes that the reference here is to the Haram of Bilḳīs with its pillars but admits the possibility that a citadel of the town proper is being described, since Salhīn is talked of immediately afterwards Djurdjī Zaidān, *Kitāb al ʿArab kabl al-Islām*, p 143 also assumes that the palace of Salhīn is referred to Sprenger, *Post- u Reiserouten*, p 140 also tells of this throne of Bilḳīs that it stood on stone pillars 29 ells high which were still intact and the foundations were as deep as its height (this statement is erroneously attributed by Sprenger to Bakrī but presumably comes from Ibn al Mudjāwir) The *Djihān-numā* also (cf Jomard in F Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, p 344) says that the throne of Bilḳīs was built on columns 28 ells high in Saba' (= Mārib) This sounds very improbable if we should really understand by *ʿarsh* a throne, which according to Nashwān al-Himyarī, p 50, stood in the palace of Bilḳīs in Mārib When however we are told by Nashwān, p 70, that *ʿarsh* is a castle which was built on columns of stone and the verse of Asʿad Tubbaʿ quoted gives the name *ʿarsh* to the palace of Bilḳīs, we may then in the above passages take it to mean a citadel rather than a throne and with Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 73, look for it in the S E corner of the old town Legend has associated the name ʿArsh Bilḳīs with other localities also According to Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaimān b al Raihān in Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, III 640, it is the name of a place a day's journey from Dhamār on which stand six great marble columns and the principal group of pillars of the old ruins of Sirwāh still bears this name (J Halévy, *Rapport*, *J A*, ser VI, XIX [1872], p 67 *sq*, Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 179) On the other hand, it is an open question where the two other citadels al Kashīb and al-Hadjar mentioned by al-Hamdānī and Bakrī (*Muʿdjam*, II 502) are to be located According to Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 104, al-Kashīb was built by order of king Sharahbīl b Yahsub, who put up on it a copper plate inscribed "They who built this castle are Thawbal and Sahar, its building was entrusted to them by Sharahbīl b Yahsub, the king of Saba' and of the Tihāma and its Arabs" D H Müller in *Burgen u Schlosser*, II 1039, note 1 has already identified Sharahbīl b Yahsib with king 'Ilīsharah Yahdib of the Sabaean inscriptions (Glaser, N⁰ 424, 220, *Bibl Nat*, N⁰ 2) and for Thawbal compared the Sabaean Thwb'il and for Sahar (so to be read, not) the similar Sabaean name If the inscription given by Yākūt really goes back to a genuine *musnad* inscription, Kashīb must have been built about the first century A D If the Sabaean king here mentioned whose epithet in the Himyar *kaṣida* (verse 109) publ by A v Kremer is to be read Yahdib, in the Sabaean inscription *Bibl Nat*, N⁰ 2 [cf article SALHĪN] speaks expressly of Salhīn, Ghundān and Sirwāh only and does not mention al Kashīb, this is not itself proof that Yākūt's foundation inscription is not genuine The building might easily be later than the inscription *Bibl Nat*, N⁰ 2 A difficulty however is raised by the fact that al Hamdānī (in Müller, *Burgen und Schlosser*, II 1039) and Nashwān al-

Himyarī (quoted *ibid*, note 1) give al Kashīb b Dhī Hazfar as the builder Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 139, goes so far to say that the name Kashīb is derived from the verb *kshb* or *hkshb*, which frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions, and the form of the king's titles points to the last period of Himyar rule and the king is to be identified with Sharahbīl Ya'fur, indeed it must be conceded that the style and titles is quite unusual for a king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān and for this reason the *musnad* inscription must be regarded as a forgery This does not mean that al-Hamdānī's note is to be rejected as worthless F Hommel (*Ethnologie u Geographie d alten Orients*, p 666 and note 2) has shown the possibility that the castle of Hadjar (the name means "the town") was perhaps the principal castle, on the ruins of which the modern village of Mārib was planted and the older and more celebrated Salhin was a smaller castle If we remember the meaning "new" given in Yākūt, iv 104 and Nashwān, p 86 s v *kashīb*, al-Kashīb might also be an epithet of the citadel as "the new" which came to be erroneously differentiated from al-Hadjar as the name of a third castle Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii 502, 754 explains the difficulty by saying that al-Kashīb was the last of the castles to be built in Mārib and therefore called the "new"

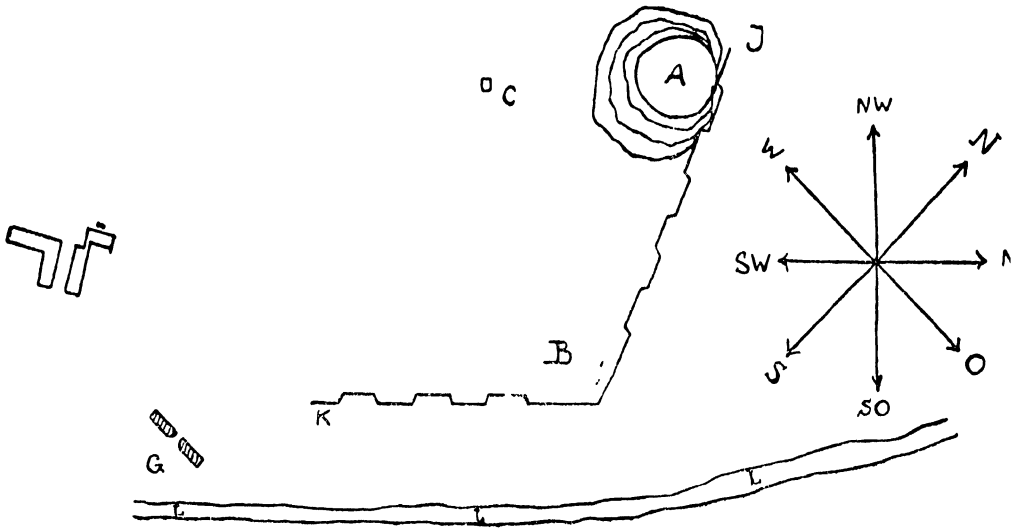
The Masdjid Sulaimān lies to the west, just below the village which is built on a great mound of rubble This Masdjid Sulaimān b Dāwūd, now the principal mosque of Mārib, according to Arnaud (*J A*, ser vii, vol iii [1874], p 13) an obviously modern building, square with a flat roof and built of hewn stones, is of interest because, according to E Glaser (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 41, 73 *sq*), its north side is built against 7 or 8 colossal columns (monoliths) which correspond exactly to those of the Haram Bilkīs and the 'Amā'id to be discussed below Glaser suggests that there was once a temple here similar to the Haram Bilkīs F Hommel, *Ethnologie u Geographie d alten Orients*, p 664, 666 thinks the Masdjid Sulaimān was the temple of the chief deity This principal temple in his opinion formed a group with the second temple, which lay on the south side of the Maidān — according to Arnaud (plan of Mārib) local tradition thinks this was the site of an ancient temple The length (2,000 yards), suggested by F Hommel (*op cit*, p 666) for the distance of this second temple from the Masdjid Sulaimān, is however too high, as both Glaser and Arnaud put the distance between the two opposite city walls at only 1,000 yards J Halévy's figure (*Rapport*, *J A*, ser vi, xix [1872], p 96) which puts the diameter of the Mārib ruins at about 500 yards would give a much shorter distance but the estimate is certainly a very casual one and hardly to be taken seriously

In the south and west outside the old town walls lies an old cemetery with a number of tombs, some vertical and some horizontal, the latter of which have a small opening at the top It is now called Medjennat (or Djubat) Gharia It is probably from here that have come a number of old Sabaean tombstones (Glaser, N° 436, 574, 575, 581, 582, 605, 662, 663, 665, 667, 683—685, 748, 769, 773, 792) with rectangular niches sometimes rounded below or peaked at the top, in which is placed the bust of the deceased with an inscription below On two of those tombstones (Glaser N° 684, 745), Glaser found the bust let into the stone still in its place (cf *Reise nach Mârib*, p 75, 92, *Tagebuch*, xi 59) We may probably find the models for these tombstones in the steles of Assur Stone sarcophagi are also sometimes found One is still in use before the great well of Mārib as a drinking-trough for animals (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 74)

In the southwest of the old town outside the city walls, Glaser found a remarkable building still partly preserved (*G* on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryab) which was probably used for distributing the water and has on its north side the inscription Glaser 474 = 1671 It consists of two huge stretches of wall running due east and west in one line with a gap in the centre The two corners of the northern entrance of this passage are angular while at the south side the two are rounded The inscription, which is placed on the north side of the eastern wall states that Dimri 'alaya Watar, Mukarrib of Saba', son of Kariba'ilu, built a פיש (*fish*) opposite (or in front of) the sanctuary of 'Athtar Glaser actually found some 300 paces N W or W N W of this building, also outside of the old city walls but quite close to them, a ruin unfortunately reduced to a heap of rubble, which from its plan suggests a sanctuary, since on the N E side (the right stretch of wall) the niches for an idol can still be seen (*Reise nach Marib*, p 40, *Tagebuch*, xi 47, *H* on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryab)

S S E of the modern village of Mārib (*A*) at a distance of about 3 miles between the Wādī Dhenne and Wādi 'l Feledj is the Haram Bilkis (*D*) which was visited by Th J Arnaud on July 20, 1843 and by E Glaser on March 25, 1888 (cf *J A*, ser vii, vol iii [1874], p 14 *sq*, Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p 41, 44 *sq*, 73, 137, 141), the latter corrects Arnaud on a number of essential points The Haram is a large building, elliptical in form, the longer axis of which 300 feet long runs from N W to S E The shorter axis runs N E to S W and is 250 feet in length It is built of regularly hewn square blocks which are placed one above the other in 31 layers up to the frieze so that the height of the wall is 31 feet This wall is finished off with a double cornice at the top which consists of two rows of blocks which follow one another at short intervals and look like dice on the top of the wall, the result being a mural crown-like frieze which recalls the relief found by Th Bent in Jehā in Abyssinia (cf Th Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1893, p 141) and the top of the Sabaean relief in D Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde* (p 157, fig 44) The row of blocks below the lower cornice form a simple and effective decoration by placing the blocks four to six inches apart so as to leave little gaps A similar kind of mural decoration is known from the Sabaean temple of Jehā (cf *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii 80, fig 165) The frieze is still quite intact in places, especially on the east side There is no trace of a roof But it cannot be asserted definitely that there never was one, as Glaser assumes, the windowless building could have been lit by sky lights There are two doors in the wall, the larger (*a*) at the northeast end of the shorter axis and the smaller (*b*) at the N W end of the building at the end of the larger axis

Exactly N E of the centre of the building there are four other monolithic pillars in the wall itself Originally there were a larger number here so that the main gateway (*a*) had a pillared way leading to it N E of these at a distance of 32 paces are 8 columns which are also erected in a line running from S E to N W (*E*) They are rectangular prisms, smooth, 15 feet high without capitals and terminate in dice-shaped tops 4 inches long on which stood the architrave On the S S E side of the Haram just outside the inside He expressly states however that he could discover no chambers in the walls as he had expected On the other hand, the fine inscriptions on the outside of the walls give us information as to the purpose of the building — it is a temple of the Sabaean moon-god Almakah — as well as the history of its erection Arnaud was only able to copy 3 of these inscriptions, two others whose existence he established were covered by sand, which has since made further progress, so that he could not copy them The oldest in-



Plan of the immediate vicinity of the ol town of Maryab

A the modern village of Mārib, *B* Umm al *C* Masdjid Sulaimān, *D* Haram Bilḳis, *E* 'An *F* Pillars E S F of al-Merwath, *G* old Bui not given a definite name, *H* Temple, *I*—*K* city wall of Maryab, *L* Wādī Dhenne



wall, four small pillars form a little square the sides of which lie W to E and S to N (*c*) Perhaps we have here the pillars for the canopy of a throne which was probably similar in appearance to the Aksumite king's throne illustrated in *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, II 63, fig 139 The floor of the building never seems to have been levelled, as a natural rock rises almost in the middle Unfortunately in the interior the walls are nowhere clear, so that Glaser could form no deductions as to what it must have looked like

scription Glaser 184 is on the 28th layer from above on the east side It records that Yid'i 'ilu Dharih, son of Sumuhu 'alaya, mukarrib of Saba', built the wall of the temple of Almakah *'Awm* (cf the latest definitive edition of the text in N Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II 7 *sq*) Since the brilliant E Osiander had previously recognised (*Z D M G*, x 70) that the Haram Bilkīs was a temple of Almaḳah, Glaser (*Skizze*, I 68) was able to deduce rightly from this inscription that the sanctuary *'Awm* frequently mentioned here

and in other Sabaean inscriptions was this very temple From it the god Almakah is called "lord of 'Awm" (בעל | אום) The completion of this temple which was begun by Yid'i-'ilu Dharih, by 'Ilishariha, son of Sumuhu-'alaya Dharih, king of Saba', is recorded in the inscription Glaser, 485 = Arnaud 55, which is on the west side of the Haram on the 14th layer of stones (cf N Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II 12 *sqq*) Glaser 481 = Arnaud 56, which is on the 13th and 14th layer on the north side records the completion of the wall from the inscription to the top by Tuba'kariba a prominent official and general of three Sabaean kings (N Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II 15 *sqq*) Connected with this are two inscriptions of similar content, Glaser 482 = Arnaud 54 on the south side of the 13th layer and Glaser 483 = Arnaud 54 on the east side at the same height They record the restoration of a ruined part of the wall (presumably of the part of the temple) under King Karib'ilu Watar Yuhan'im of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, the son of Dhimrī-'alaya Bayin, and his son Hālik-'amaia Whether this concludes the history of the building of the Haram seems doubtful since, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 46, inscriptions may still be concealed under the sand on the north and west sides also

The orientation of the building is of interest The little door of the Haram (*b*) faces that temple of the old town of Mārib on the site of which now stands the Masdjid Sulaimān On the prolongation of the shorter axis to the N E lies the ruin called al Mikrāb, and Glaser has, perhaps rightly, suggested from this arrangement of the two buildings that there was some connection between their purposes Both buildings are moreover oriented by the course of the Wādī Dhenne On the south side of the old city wall may still be seen the remains of a bridge which was built almost exactly in the direction of the Haram and, according to the local tradition, once reached to it Even if this is an exaggeration it is nevertheless probable that a bridge was built over the river Dhenne, as in the rainy season the water must certainly have inundated the fields, the continuation of this bridge to the Haram was probably only a dam of which no trace now remains

However unusual the elliptical form for the plan of a temple may appear, this is certainly not an isolated example in Southern Arabia F Fresnel (*J A*, ser IV, vol VI, p 223) mentions the great ruins of Khariba (Sirwāh) which cover an even greater area than those of the Haram Bilkīs and include a semi-ellipse and long rows of pillars still in position According to Arnaud, this elliptical plan has also been found by Halevy (*J A*, ser VI, vol XIX, p 67 *sq*, cf also Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 110, 137, *Skizze*, I 67 *sq*) According to the inscription Glaser, N° 901–903, its builder was the Sabaean mukarrib Yid'i-'ilu Dharih, who also built the temple of 'Awm and the round temple of al-Masādjid

F Hommel (*Ethnologie*, p 664 *sq*) has endeavoured to show how this temple came to have its modern name of Haram Bilkīs In analogy to the Assyrian and Babylonian temples extra muros which were always dedicated to the wife of the chief deity and in which in the month of the new year his wedding ceremony took place, Hommel sees in the Haram Bilḳīs the wedding house of Almaḳah, the sanctuary of his wife Harimat and seems to assume that the name is also connected with this D H Müller (*Burgen und Schlosser*, II 972 *sq*) has shown how the Arab archaeologists transformed the god Almakah into Yalmakah and then gave this name to the legendary Bilkīs and also made a *haram* (women's apartments) out of the *mahram* (sanctuary) of the god F Fresnel's reasoning moves on similar lines (*J A*, ser IV, vol VI, p 226 *sq*, 234 *sqq*) He assumed that Bilkīs was not the correct name of the queen of Saba' but rather Balkamah (so Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, in the *'Ikd al-Farīd* and Ibn al-Djawzī in the *Mir'āt al Zamān*) which was formed from Almakah The queen of Saba' was in this way deified by the Sabaeans and became the Isis of the Arabs

In the S S E of Mārib and according to Arnaud 1/4 hour E S E of the Haram Bilkīs — while the latter, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 41 lies almost due east barely 1/4 hour from the five pillars — there stand on the opposite bank of the Wādi Dhenne, 1/2 hour or 1 1/2 miles (according to Glaser, *Skizze*, N° 51) from the town, the pillars called 'Amā'id Five are still upright, these are 25—30 feet high, 32 inches broad and 24 deep, prismatic, rectangular monoliths which were erected perpendicular to the direction of the Wādī Dhenne Two which have been overthrown lie beside them on the ground The pillars had no capitals and were just like the other pillars (at the Haram Bilkīs and other ruins outside the town) On the fragments of the two fallen pillars Glaser discovered inscriptions on each (Glaser 479 and 480 = Arnaud 53) from which it appears that a sanctuary Bar'ān (מדרמן | בראן) dedicated to the god Almakah or some such sanctuary stood here This name occurs not only in this inscription but is mentioned in Ottom Mus, N° 17 (*Z D M G*, XXXIII 486, N° 1, 3) where J H Mordtmann reads [אלמקה | ב]ית | בבראן and the name of this place is also found in Halévy, N° 43, 2, 48, 4 (דבראן) and 534, 4 ([ב]בראן)) To the west just beside the pillars lies a mound of ruins, which perhaps represents the remains of this sanctuary Arnaud (*J A*, ser VII, III [1874], p 15) describes these pillars as pilasters of the Haram Bilkīs and puts their height at 28 spans In contradiction to Glaser, Arnaud says they have square capitals His illustration under the plan of the Haram Bilkis shows a pillar with a stepped capital like those from Aksūm and Kohaito in Abyssinia (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, II, ed by D Krencker, Berlin 1913, p 102, fig 224 and p 155, fig 319b) Which of the two explorers is right, it is difficult to say as Glaser is usually very accurate in his observations On the other hand, Arnaud cannot possibly have invented this rather unusual but nevertheless typical form for ancient South Arabia and made his drawing accordingly The only way out of the difficulty is to suppose that in Glaser's time the capitals — of which Arnaud says he cannot say definitely that they belonged to the pillars — had been broken off According to Arnaud, the pillars stand close together at intervals corresponding to their thickness That the pieces of stone on the ground near the row of pillars once belonged to the pillars was not noticed by Arnaud (p 16) although he copied one of the inscriptions on them (Arnaud 53 = Glaser, N° 480) (cf E Glaser, *Reise im Mârib*, p 401, 141)

The numerous separate finds made by Glaser in the neighbourhood of Mārib, sacrificial altars, masons' workshops etc cannot be discussed here On the other hand, there is one erection which demands a rather thorough discussion as it surpasses all these already mentioned in magnitude and preserved the fame of Mārib down to the late Islāmic period, namely the dam and works connected with it, known in Muslim tradition as *Sudd Mārib* or *Sudd al-ʿArim*

The Wādī Dhenne in the course of time had cut a way through the Balak hills here and divided the rocks into two parts Balak al-Kiblī and Balak al-Awsat The Sabaeans had built a dam of earth across the gap some 770 paces long behind which the water was collected The dam, which Glaser (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 58 *sqq*, 173 *sq*) describes minutely, rises some 20—25 feet above the present level of the Wādī and is simply a mound of earth the section of which is an isosceles triangle the angle at the top of which is quite sharp The angle of inclination of the two surfaces to the base is about 45° and the breadth of the base about 50 feet The proper base and the height of the dam cannot be accurately ascertained as the mud has accumulated to the depth of many feet But it can be assumed, that the dam rested on a foundation of rock as the narrow passage between the two Balak hills has a rocky foundation which comes up very nearly to the surface But for this firm foundation of rock it would have been impossible to build the dam at all The side of the dam which met the water (the western) is covered with small sharp unhewn stones, held together so strongly by mortar that it is impossible to detach one of them The dam, which is $1^1/_2$ hours from Mārib, is flanked in the north and south by two great sluices, the southern one of which is known as Marbat al-Dimm Here on the site of the the dam a great rock (*A*) 95 paces long and 15 in width, at the narrow places only 8—10 has become detached from the Djebel Balak al-Awsat, it runs to the N E with a slight tendency to E N E The main body of the rock, the northern wall of which runs eastwards forms with this isolated rock a pair of lines converging towards the S.W end of the latter The two rocky walls do not meet here but are separated by a gap spanned by a wall six paces long and 12 feet high (*C*) In the opening of the angle but within the eastern ends of the two walls is another detached block of rock (*B*) the north side of which runs parallel to the first mentioned detached rock and the south side parallel to the main rock (*C*) but quite close to the latter All three rocks, particularly the main body (*C*) and the loose block (*B*), have steep sides, not however over 12 feet high On the north side the great isolated rock (*A*) is very irregular in shape It almost looks as if we had an artificial cleavage here, but Glaser does not think this possible because an earthquake is quite sufficient to account for the remarkable cleavage of the rocks In any case it looks as if human hands had worked a good deal on the natural lines of fracture The great block of rock (*A*) rises 20—25 feet above the present level of the river bed and has two inscriptions engraved on its south side (Glaser, N° 513, 523)

On all three rocks there are or were great buildings of hewn stone The large block of rock (*A*) seems to have supported the main building Its masonry consisting entirely of finely hewn blocks of stone, arranged in pairs one above the other and held together by melted lead poured into corresponding cavities, it follows closely, especially on the south side, the rock which forms the foundation so that it does not form a straight line, as Arnaud (*J A*, ser VII, vol III, in p 64, *Digue de Mareb*) has represented it The whole length of this wall is about 200 feet, its average breadth 15 feet, the height at the S W end about 12 feet, rather more at the N E end, as the rock is not high enough here In general the top is horizontal but with slight differences of level where it rises and falls The S W corner of the masonry consists of round towers (*a*) facing S W which stands about 3 feet above the level of the rest of the walls The whole building and the tower have perpendicular sides and do not slope at all The dam which runs N N W seems to have joined the wall 25 feet from the towers on the N W On the side facing the Wādī at the N E end of the rock, steps have been hewn out of the rock which led from the bottom of the river bed (in S S W direction) to the walls Almost exactly south of the already mentioned tower which has also very steep steps cut in a perpendicular passage hewn out of the rock, there stands on the main mass of rock (*C*) a second tower (*d*) of the same height, round on the west but flat on the other sides Between the two towers, is the already mentioned wall linking up the two rocks As already mentioned, the top of this wall is 20—25 feet above the level of the river so that the towers are 35 to 40 feet above it The dam seems to have been not much higher than the connecting wall The out-flow of the water must have taken place over the connecting wall as well as through openings under the wall, probably now filled up with rubble, into the Habābid canal, and under or rather through the rock on which this great piece of masonry stands, into the Rahāb canal Indeed one can still see quite clearly that the great isolated rock is connected deep down by a ridge of rock (*e*), only the rounded top of which is visible, with the smaller block, so that the two channels were separated from one another It is also possible that in ancient times the outflow went below and only later, when the water-level was raised by silting, over the wall Grooves for boards are still recognisable The smaller block of rock, steep and high on the western side, slopes to the east down to the level and has steplike cavities in it everywhere with stones still perpendicular on it, as if it had had a balustrade, especially above the steep wall in the west At its eastern end where it joins the level ground, it shows regularly hewn cavities of prismatic shape, which look like watering-troughs for the cattle or like stone graves The main rock shows the same features The step-like cavities were perhaps not only used for climbing, but also to measure the level of the water to regulate the outflow

Both towers and the other buildings in connection with the sluices, except such walls or railings as may have existed of the smaller block, are preserved intact The hewn stones are so arranged that long stones are every now and then laid crosswise which give the otherwise parallel layers great cohesion This is particularly the case with the inner filling of the wall, as can be observed in all very large buildings a section of

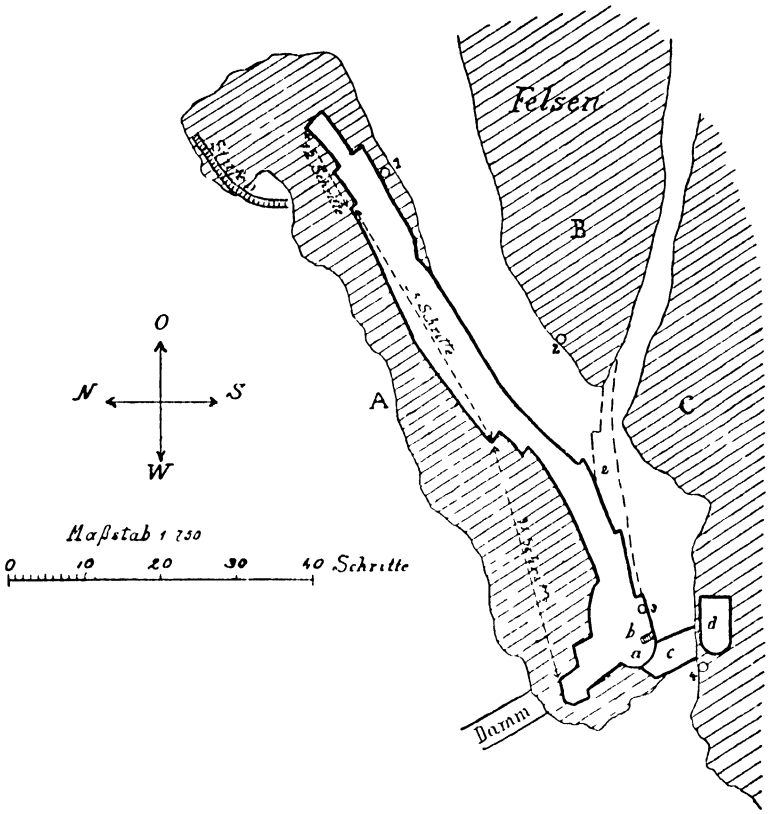
which comes to be exposed The square blocks in the dam are also held together by little blocks of lead about 10 cm high and about 10 cm² in the section These little rods of lead were placed in holes specially made for them about 4–5 cm deep and the next block above was placed over with the corresponding cavity filled with the top half of the little rod The Sabaeans only used mortar in the stone work of the dam as a top covering to prevent damage being done by the rain-water

The northern system of sluices consists of three walls of which the northern and largest a kind of railing of masonry The whole wall is coped with excellent cement

Almost exactly S E about 11 paces from the S W end of the part, 114 paces long already described (*b*) runs to the S E a wall 38 paces long and 21 broad at its N W end, the S E end of which is narrow and rounded This wall is exactly the height of the long wall At the present there is on it a modern *huṣn* (stone-house) built by the amir ʿAbd al-Rahmān which probably existed in Arnaud's time and certainly in Halévy's

Between the two walls, four paces from either,

Marbaṭ el-Dimm



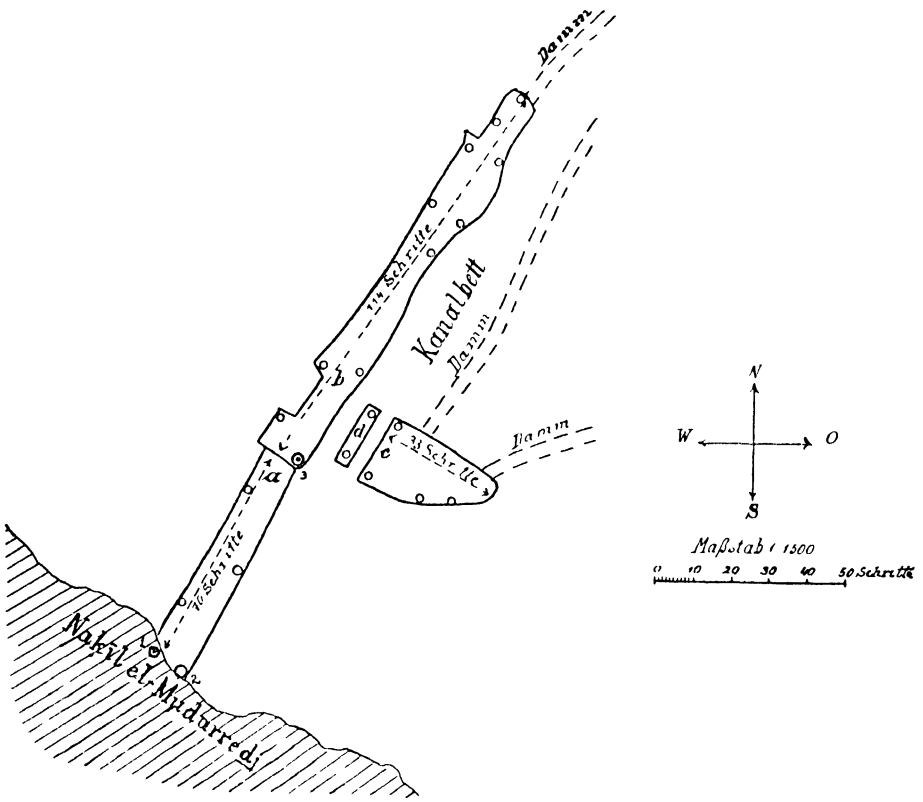
- O Places where inscriptions are engraved on the rocks 1 Gl 513, 2 Gl 514, 3 Gl 523, 4 Gl 525
- *a* Tower with staircase, of the same height as *d* and the highest part of the whole building
- *b* Staircase
- *c* Barrier between the tower and southwestern rocks
- *d* Tower exactly similar to *a*

(*a*, *b*) with one end built against the rocks of Balak al-Kibli runs northeast, a little towards E N E This wall, which is in all 184 paces long and 15 thick at the broadest point, although the average is about 11 and 15—20 feet high consists of two parts The southwestern part 70 paces long (*a*) is somewhat lower (quite low beside the Balak rocks, about 16 feet high at the point where it joins the N E part) and quite flat on the top The N E part (*b*) 114 paces long and somewhat damaged towards its west end is not quite flat on the top and towards the south side the top shows stands a north wall only 18 paces long, 3 broad and of the same height as the others, the base of which forms a perfect rectangle This wall somewhat damaged on the north side and now joined to the S E wall by two modern slight walls, which the Beduins use as a stable, stands back a little at its S W end as compared with the two neighbouring walls and like the S E wall shows a prism-shaped cutting about a yard from the west end, now filled in about 2 feet broad and deep which was intended to take the boards On the northern side this groove is no longer to be seen The three

walls thus formed, like the three rocks on the south form two channels of exit, both of which however, it is worth noting, flow into one and the same main channel, which runs almost exactly east for about 1,000 yards to a large building for distributing water This canal ran between two parallel dams of the same style and construction as the dam proper but the bed, which is paved with cemented stones, runs above the plain, especially on the south side some 20—25 feet The dam proper, barely higher than the two walls of this canal, joins the east side of the most southern wall, 38 paces long

Similar distributing works existed throughout the whole plain of Mārib Glaser saw traces of aqueducts (with double dams) at different places In the bed of the Dhenne not far below the dam he saw a remarkable erection of stone not unlike a weir Unfortunately the inscription on it which might have given us definite information had been removed some years before Canals seem to have led the water from the great distributing centres to the smaller ones (*manāṣih*) from which it was taken direct to the palm gardens and fields The most of the *manāṣih* are in the form of cubes or shallow prisms and are rarely more than 6 feet

The Northern Sluice-system



⊙ Places with especially important inscriptions 1 Gl 554, 618, 2 Gl 551, 3 Gl 541

O Places with inscriptions

a a little lower than *b*

The canal, which led the water to the lower *ḥuṣn*, about 1,000 yards away, comes up to *b* and *c*

d a large intervening wall standing by itself

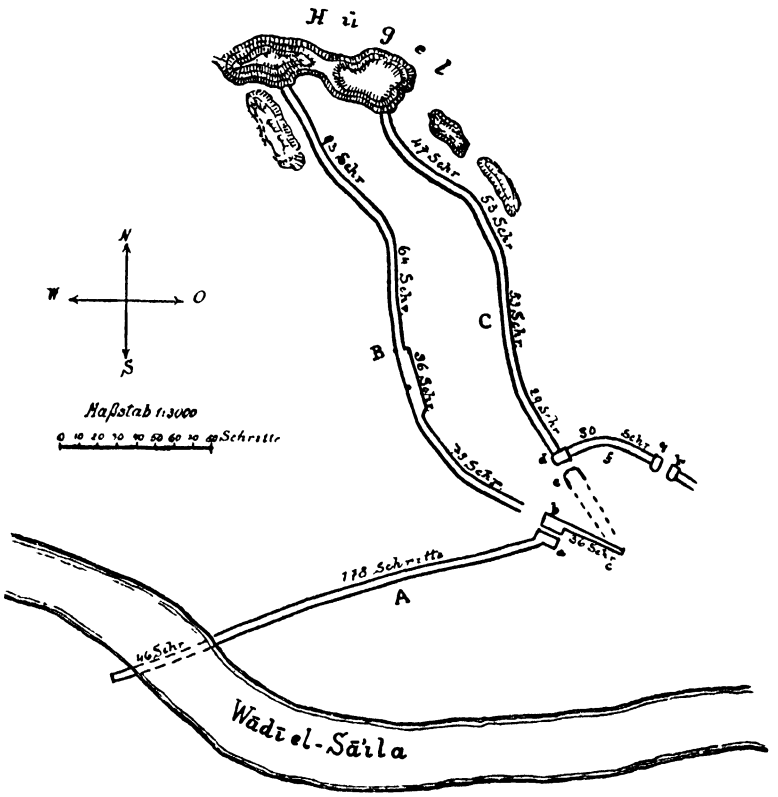
S S W of Mabnā al-Ḥashradj (see below) lies Ḥusn al-Asfal, a later building erected on the remains of old water-works, which formed the end of the main channel, already mentioned in connection with the northern sluices It lies at about exactly the same level as the dam and several yards above the surrounding country It consists of several walls, some of hewn stone and some of ordinary stones and cement, which sent the water out in eight different directions The aqueduct runs practically westwards up to the northern sluices of the dam Although perfectly preserved the bed of the canal has been in many places filled up with blown sand

high and 12 to 15 feet long As a rule a canal leads out of them from the centre, usually walled on one side Nothing is left of the canals which connected the *manāṣih* with the larger distributing centres and on the other side with the fields Deep furrows torn out of the ground by the periodic deluges of rain and, like the greater part of the plain, becoming gradually filled with desert sand are now the characteristic feature of the once flourishing plain of Saba'

The great barrier of the dam between the two Balak mountains seems however not to have sufficed for the strain upon it A second dam called Mabnā al-Hashradj was therefore built N N E

of the dam and west of Mārib which seems to have been intended to regulate the water of the Wādi 'l-Sā'ila (cf Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 49 *sq*), which carried the waters of the north Balak hill, the Djabal Hailān and the Khashab hills into the plain of Mārib and joined the Wādi Dhenne below the village of Mārib This barrage consists of three walls of black porous stones, running very irregularly which are held together by mortar and arranged in 3 strata which perhaps point to 3 periods of building The first of these walls (*A*) which dammed the river-bed begins just on the right bank of the Sā'ila and runs 240 paces E N E where it joins a prism shaped erection (*a*) 7 paces broad, 12 long and about 15 feet high, which lies N W to S E 7 feet N E stands a second similar building (*b*) parallel to the first and continued to the S E in a narrower wall (*c*) 36 paces in length The space between these two buildings must have been an outlet With a very small space between, the second mortared wall (*B*) runs N W from the second building (*b*) and with many windings turns N and N W where it joins the rocks Its length is 268 paces, the space between it and the second building 10 paces (*b*) 21 paces N E of the second building are two others (*d*, *e*) which give an outlet to the N E The southern of the two is only partly preserved It points to the S E end of the 36 paces long wall (*c*), perhaps the two were once connected or there was a sluice between From the building (*d*) which forms the northern boundary of the second outlet two walls run the one (third) wall (*C*) runs with many windings almost parallel to the second great wall (*B*) and like it runs up to the northern hills, it is 182 paces long The other building (*f*) runs in a curve to the north, 50 paces in length, to a third outlet exactly opposite the second, which however consists of buildings (*g*, *h*) 8 paces from each other, with the ground between them covered by a layer of stone masonry The outlet is to the N E On the S E is a wall 12 feet long now partly collapsed Glaser copied 10 Sabaean texts at al-Hashradj which came from other ruins and show that these works belong to a later period, like the late tombstone built into the wall here (Glaser, N° 509)

Mebnā el Ḥashradj



The various constructions date, as we learn from the inscriptions, from different periods The southern system of sluices was erected as early as the Mukarrib period Sumuhu-ʿalaya Yanāf, son of Dhimri ʿalaya, Mukarrib of Saba', according to the inscription Glaser, N° 513–514, made here an outlet in the barrage at Rahāb, which was extended two generations later by the unknown author of the inscription Glaser, N° 418–419 (cf N Rhodokanakis, *Altsabaische Texte*, i 7, *Studien*, ii 97, 99 *sq*, Glaser, *Skizze*, i 70 *sq*, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 59 *sq*, Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p 666) Where the barrage at Rahāb was is not certain Perhaps we should assume with Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii 100 *sq* that it was built on the rib of rock (*e*) between *A* and *B* About a generation later than the Rahāb barrage is the similar con-

struction at Habābid, which was probably built at the junction (*c*) of the Marbat al-Dimm The Mukarrib Yith'ī-amaia Bayin, son of Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf, built a water-course for it, as his father had done for the Rahāb (according to Glaser, N⁰ 523, 525 = Arnaud, N⁰ 12, 13 = Halévy, N⁰ 678, cf Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II 102 *sq*, Glaser, *op cit*) The northern sluice-works are much later, according to Glaser (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 66–68), they did not get their present form till the time of king Shammar Yuhar'ish (c 300 A D) and may perhaps even be not older than the fifth century A D The oldest parts of the works are put by Glaser (p 68) to the period 1000–700 B C which is probably rather too early

The great system of dams did not long exist in this form This we know from two great prismatic monoliths, which are inscribed on all four sides and tell us of the later history of the dam The one with the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 554 is 7 feet long, 30 inches broad, and a foot thick, the second, even larger, bears the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 618 Both lay close beside the junction of the northern wall of the northern sluice with the rocks of the Djebel Balak According to Glaser, N⁰ 554, king Sharahbil Ya'fur in 449 A D had a thorough renovation of the works carried out But these lasted barely a year, for in 450 A D the waters broke through the dam so that the works had again to be completely restored But the collapse of the great system was not to be prevented From Glaser, N⁰ 618 we learn that under the rule of the Abyssinian viceroy Abraha (542 A D) another breach occurred in the dam Once more restoration work on a large scale averted the threatened disaster, but the final catastrophe must have occurred not long afterwards, which transformed the fertile plain of Saba' into a barren desert, alluded to in the Kur'ān (Sūra XXXIV 14 *sq*, cf Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften uber den Dammbruch von Mârib*, p 13 *sqq*, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 16, 64, 144 *sqq*)

Its cause is seen by Glaser in the action of wind and rain which gradually wore down and weakened the east side Another main cause of destruction must have been the silt which so filled the reservoir in course of decades that the water flowed over the dam A mention of the bursting of the dam in the Kur'ān (*sail al-'arim*) and the importance of this event for the town of Mārib and the country round it has resulted in Muslim tradition devoting attention to this catastrophe and its consequences, so that all sorts of scraps of information about the dam were collected Nevertheless it is remarkable how little even authorities on South Arabia like al-Hamdānī (*Sifa*, p 80 and *Iklil*, VIII, in D H Muller, *Burgen und Schlosser*, II 958 *sq*, 1036, 1038, cf N Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II 105 *sq*, al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, II 502) really know about the dam Al-Hamdānī only says that the dam was built against a wall which was built on to the side walls of the reservoirs, of great blocks of stone linked together with iron The arrangement for distributing the water from the farms were still there as if their builder had only finished yesterday Al-Hamdānī saw the building which had survived on one of the two sides (i e on one bank) namely the one which rose out of the water intact (i e the sluices) The breach had only affected the barrage but even of this a portion remained intact which was adjoined by the gardens on the left and was 15 ells in breadth at the base

How we are to interpret these statements of al Hamdānī, we learn from the description of the reservoir of Kohaito in Abyssinia (*Deutsche Aksum Expedition*, II 150 and pl 23) There a central wall is flanked by two side walls, one of which is at right angles to a third That the stones were bound together by iron is evident from Glaser's description When Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, IV 383), who pays very little attention to the dam itself, tells us that it lies among three hills, the reference is probably to the massif of the Djebel Balak split into the three hills of the Wādīs Adhana and Masila He also mentions that the blocks are bound together with lead and says that the water accumulated behind the dam is led as required to the fields by strong sluices and cunningly contrived arrangements According to al-Ma'sūdī (*Murūdj al Dhahab*, III 368 *sq*), the barrage was one parasang in length and breadth and contained 30 round openings, each of 1 ell in diameter through which the water was led to the fields

Like many buildings in Arabia, the dam of Mārib is dated by later tradition to remote antiquity and attributed to Lukmān b 'Ād (al Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, II 502, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 383, al Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, III 366, cf A v Kremer, *Sage*, p 19 *sq*, Djirdjī Zaidān, p 151) or Saba' b Yashdjub b Ya'rub (Yākūt, IV 382, cf E Osiander, *Z D M G*, x 68, E Pococke, *Specimen hist Arabum*, p 498) Al-Hamdānī (*Iklil*, VIII) mentions, besides Lukmān, also the Himyar and al-Azd b al Ghawth as builders of the dam Al Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p 369 *sq*, says that the dam was built by a wise king on the advice of learned men

The importance of the dam for the prosperity of the country is evident from the descriptions of the Arab historians and geographers, who in this connection usually quote the reference in the Kur'ān to the two gardens of the Sabaeans, while, according to al Hamdānī, this irrigated area included not only the plain of Saba' but stretched to the borders of the desert of Saihad, Glaser (*Reise nach Mârib*, p 52) held the view that the water accumulated by the dam would suffice to irrigate amply all the land on the borders of the desert as far as Hadramōt, and transform it into a vast garden It is therefore perhaps not to be regarded as an exaggeration when al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p 366 *sq*) describes the land of Saba' with its wealth of gardens and fields, broad meadows and extensive irrigation system as the most fertile part of Yemen, the beauty of which had become proverbial throughout the world According to him, a man on horseback would take more than a month to cross the rich cultivated country and any one travelling on foot or on horse need not fear the sun from one end of the land to the other, as he could always travel in the shade, so rich was the vegetation (cf A v Kremer, *Sage*, p 10, note 1) According to Ibn Rosta, p 114, who also waxes eloquent over the fertility of the land of Saba', a basket on the head of a man walking between the fruit trees would very soon have filled itself with fruit without one pulling or gathering them

Under such circumstances it was natural that the catastrophe of the bursting of the dam, known as *sail al-'arim* throughout the Muslim world, should have the most far-reaching effects The migration of Himyar tribes to the north is con-

nected with the catastrophe and the Banū Ghassān took this event as the starting point of an era of their own (*ʿām al-saʾil*, al Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p 202) There is hardly any historical event of pre-Islāmic history, that has become embellished with so much that is fanciful and related in so many different versions, as the history of the bursting of the dam Al Masʿūdī alone (*Murūdj al Dhahab*, III 370 *sq*) dared attribute it to natural causes, he thought that the water had worn away the foundations of the dam and in time undermined them without its being noticed When the masonry of the dam and the barrage had become so weakened that they could no longer resist the force of the water, the waters when unusually big broke through and flooded the plain But even al Masʿūdī sees in the catastrophe a punishment for the arrogance of the Sabaeans and gives a good deal of space in his history to the legendary version of this event (*op cit*, p 373 *sqq*), which in the main agrees with that of Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 483—485 Ibn al Mudjāwir alone (according to Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p 153 *sq*) tells the history of the destruction of the dam in quite a different way from the older historians According to al-Masʿūdī the story is briefly as follows the king ʿAmr b ʿĀmir who lived in Mārib was warned of the imminent catastrophe by his brother ʿImrān, who was a soothsayer and by his wife Zarīfat al Khair, also skilled in prophecy ʿImrān foresaw that his people would be scattered in different directions and told this to his brother Zarīfa on the other hand dreamed of a great cloud which covered her country and sent forth thunder and lightning It burst and burned up everything upon which it fell All this pointed to a terrible inundation and Zarīfa was confirmed in her idea by other signs that the catastrophe was imminent She warned ʿAmr and urged him to see to the dam If he saw a mouse there tearing out holes with its forepaws and throwing out big stones with his hind feet, the misfortune was inevitable and imminent ʿAmr went to the dam and actually saw a mouse which turned over with its feet a stone which 50 men could not have moved from the position ʿAmr himself then dreamed of an inundation by the dam and now decided to realise his possessions and leave the country with his family which he was able to do surreptitiously without arousing suspicions Soon afterwards the collapse came, which destroyed the whole country, even high lying fields and places a considerable distance off

While there are considerable differences in detail in the different versions of the story — the collapse took place for example, according to Yāḳūt not under ʿAmr but under his brother ʿImrān —, there is still greater disagreement about the date Hamza al-Isfahānī, for example, puts it 400 years before Islām, i e in the third century A D According to Ibn Khaldūn, the catastrophe took place under Hassān b Tibbān Asʿad, who (with A v Kremer, *Sage*, p 120 *sq* and note 4) is to be identified with Abū Karib Asʿad and according to Glaser (*Skizze*, II 542) reigned from 385–420 Among European scholars Gosselin goes farthest back in putting the date at 374 B C while Reiske thinks it took place 30—40 B C and Schultens puts it at 30—40 A D, Perron 553 years before Muḥammad and Silvestre de Sacy 210 or 170 A D Yāḳūt, IV 383 comes nearest the truth, he says it took place in the period of Abyssinian rule As the terminus post quem is 542 A D, according to the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 618, we may put the last disastrous breach in the dam as occurring between 542 and 570 A D An exact date unfortunately cannot be obtained as the necessary data are lacking Besides, the stories of the bursting of the dam in Masʿūdī, p 393 *sqq* and Ibn Rosta, p 114 *sq* which speak of the land being twice devastated by the waters of the dam, may contain a memory of the actual course of events, and the final collapse of the dam may have taken place after the catastrophe of 542 A D when the dam was carried away for the first time

The various attempts to explain the etymology of Mārib are not satisfactory When, for example, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 382 sees in Mārib, a placename from *Arabun* = *Hāḍjatun* or from *arība* or *aruba*, this clearly shows what difficulties the explanation of this name gave the philologists His further statement however that Mārib was the name of the Sabaean kings is worthy of note (cf H Fleischer, *Abulfedae hist anteislamica*, p 114), especially as in Nashwān al Himyarī, a gloss is preserved according to which *Mārī* in Himyarite means "lord" (cf Blau in *Z D M G*, XXV 591, note 7) Djirdjī Zaidān, *Kitāb al-ʿArab kabl al-Islām*, p 142 explains Marib as a loanword from the Aramaic, a compound of *mā*ʾ and *rāb* E Osiander, *Z D M G*, XIX 162 takes Mārib to be connected with the root of the Sabaean proper name ריבם to which Riyāb and Riʾāb correspond in Arabic J H Mordtmann, who deals in *Z D M G*, XXX 322 *sq* at length with the etymology of Mariaba, points to the ראבם and ראבאל of the inscriptions which he connects with the Arabic *raʾbun*, "dominus crassus, magnus gentis" D H Muller does not accept this derivation (*Burgen und Schlosser*, II 968 *sq*) Al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, II 502 says, following al-Hamdānī, that Mārib was the name of a tribe of the ʿAd after whom the town is called and in fact al-Hamdānī in *Iklil*, VIII (Muller, *Burgen und Schlosser*, II 960, 1040) says that Mārib and Marib are the names of two Arab tribes In the older Sabaean inscriptions the town is called מריב to which the Greeks added an *α* to give it a Greek form Eratosthenes and Artemidoros (Strabo, XVI 768, 778) call the town Μαρίαβα The later inscriptions mention it under the name מרב in which we have, with Rhodokanakis, to see a later contracted form, from which comes the Mārib of Muslim tradition The Sabaean capital is however known to the classical authors and Arab geographers by another name, viz Σάβαι (Agatharchides, p 100 in *Geogr Gr min*, I 188 and in Steph Byz s Λάβαι and Τάβαι, cf Tkač in the Art Sabaʾ, N⁰ I, *R E*, II, *A*, col 1516), and Sabaʾ Tkač (col 1391 *sq*) sees in contrast to J H Mordtmann (*Sabaische Denkmaler*, p 3, note 1), E Glaser (*Skizze*, II 15, *Sudarabische Streitfragen*, p 10) and A Sprenger (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p 159, 162) in this double name of the Sabaean capital not an error but believes that Sabai, while not the usual, was not a wrong name for the capital

Against this Glaser, *Skizze*, II 15, rightly emphasised that the capital of the Sabaean kingdom Maryab or Mārib was never known as Sabaʾ Sabaʾ was — so far as the inscriptions are con

cerned — never anything but the name of the land or kingdom and of the tribe which had the hegemony in this land, to which the name Saba' has remained attached to the present day This is quite clear from the inscriptions Thus, in the first lines of the old Sabaean inscriptions Glaser, N⁰ 418—419, 1000 *A* and 1000 *B* (cf N Rhodokanakis, *Altsabaische Texte*, 1 20 *sq*, 79), Almakah (the principal deity of Saba') and Saba' is the formula by which the Sabaean, first a theocratic and then monarchic, state is known That the predominant tribe Saba' is however never described as a tribe in the older period is clear evidence of its hegemony as Rhodokanakis points out (*Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, 1 121) It was different in the later period, for example, in the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 542, 2 set up by king Shammar Yuhar'ish, king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, of the tribe of Saba', the reference is always to the "lords of the town of Mārib and its valleys" | שעבן | סבא | אבעל | הגרן | מרב | ואסרדהו (cf N Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, II 14), as a definite sphere of influence had been allotted to them in the government of Mārib and the administration of its territories Deliberately contrasted with them as citizens of the town and the highly cultivated area round it are the "Beduins of Marib" (אעׄרב מרב) in *C I H*, 353, 10 (cf E Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Africa*, p 128 *sqq*), who probably lived around the town (for references as regards Saba', cf M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p 385—389) The idea that Saba' was a town, which we find in the classical authors, which was criticised as early as C Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p 279, is therefore to be put down to a misunderstanding rather than to be taken seriously This is also true of the identification of Mārib with Saba' among the Arab geographers (cf the references collected by Jomard in Mengin, *Histoire sommaire de l'Egypte*, p 341–344) Yākūt for example (*Mushtarik*, p 239) identifies Mārib with Saba' as does Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Geographie*, p 130 and *Historia anteislamica*, p 114), but the latter expressly points out that Mārib was known as the town of Saba' and it was also said that Mārib was the name of the king's palace while the town was called Saba' It is in keeping with this that we find al-Suhailī in Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 382 referring to Mārib as the name of a castle of the Azd In al-Kazwīnī and in the *Djihān-numā* the town is called Saba' Ibn Rosta, who includes Mārib in Hadramōt and mentions it under the name Madīnat Saba' or Saba', mentions the ruins of a second large town with wonderful buildings, which was close to Saba' and which the people of Saba' considered to have been the town of Saba' Saba', they said, was two towns, which lay opposite one another and were a days' journey in length As there are a number of buildings which belonged to Mārib on the right bank of the Wādī Dhenne, it is intelligible why the mistake should have been made of imagining two towns running parallel to one another, especially as there are still considerable ruins adjoining the Haram Bilkīs, the 'Amā'id and the "pillars of Bilkis" as we have seen The alleged length of a day's journey is of course much exaggerated and indeed the description in Ibn Rosta generally shows how little was known in later times of the ancient Mārib The association of the origin of the town of Mārib with Saba' b Yashdjub probably led to the name of this legendary ruler being transferred to the town or Saba' as a tribe being identified with Mārib, as Agatharchides had already done The varying form in which the name is handed down, sometimes town of Saba' and sometimes Saba' alone, makes this development very probable Besides al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, p 7, 5) identifies the Saba' of Ptolemy with Mārib and always calls the town Mā'rib

The earliest history of the town is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity The mention of kings of Mārib in the comparatively late inscription, Glaser, N⁰ 302, 7, shows, it is true, that the town was still independent in the time of the older Sabaean Mukarribs — for these "kings of Mārib" are their contemporaries — but gives no clue to the date of its foundation It probably arose about the same time as the old royal city of Sirwāh The great inscription Glaser, N⁰ 418—419, shows Mārib already in possession of the Sabaean Mukarribs and not long afterwards it became their capital, this at least seems evident from the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 481, 2 where we are told that the founder of the inscription "brought as far as Maryab the peace between Saba' and Katabān" This we can only interpret with Rhodokanakis (*Studien*, II 24) as meaning that the general (he is called Tuba' karība, son of Dhamaryeda' of the clan of Madhmarum) returned to the capital of Saba' after the conclusion of peace Not long after the foundation of the great Sabaean kingdom, of which the inscription Glaser, N⁰ 1000 *A B* relates, it must have replaced Sirwāh, the oldest capital of the Sabaean kingdom, indeed there seems to be evidence that this had already taken place in the reign of the king who set up the two great Sirwāh inscriptions Glaser, N⁰ 1000 *A B*, Karība-ilu Watar, founder of the great Sabaean kingdom For when we are told in Glaser, N⁰ 1000 *B*, l 5 (N Rhodokanakis, *Altsabaische Texte*, 1 82) that he had built the upper part of his palace Slhm (סלהם) which is probably identical with the famous citadel Salhin at Mārib, it may be assumed that this Mukarrib resided here The great barrage which went back to the older generation of Sabaean Mukarribs, must have then transformed Mārib and the country round it into the flourishing oasis which made the town the centre of a great kingdom The Mukarribs Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf and his father Yid'ī ilu Dharih as well as Yith'ī amara Bayin also did much for the development of the town and the country around it

We do not know exactly when Mārib ceased to be the capital of the Sabaean kingdom Glaser (*Zwei Inschriften uber den Dammbruch von Mârib*, p 29) supposes that the capital was removed to Zafār (near Yarīm) at latest towards the end of the third century A D, but probably as early as the first century A D, since the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 23 already knows Zafār as the capital

Indeed the evidence of the *Periplus* which is supplemented by Pliny, *Nat Hist*, VI 104, who knows Sapphar as a royal residence, can hardly be interpreted otherwise than meaning that Zafār was already the residence of the Sabaean kings about 60 A D With the transfer of the capital to Zafār, the cause of which Glaser finds in the attacks of the Axumites on the independence of the Sabaean kingdom, while M Hartmann (*Die arabische Frage*,

p 469) supposes the reason to have been the victory of the Hamdānids over Himyar (cf *C I H*, 347 and M Hartmann, *op cit*, p 146 *sq*), Mārib's glory had passed away, the decline probably did not set in at once but Glaser must be right in assuming that Mārib was now neglected and this is how the dam so important for the cultivation of the land, fell into disrepair Isolated references in Muslim sources show that the town had however not yet lost all its importance Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i 308 (cf A v Kremer, *Sage*, p 138) knows Mārib as one of the treasuries of the Himyars, and according to the Himyar ḳasīda, verse 56 (A v Kremer, *Sage*, p xii, note 1 and p 69), Shammar Yur'ish (c 281 A D) kept his prisoners in Mārib The two breaches in the dam which took place in 450 A D and under Abyssinian rule in 542 A D, must have done grave injury to the prosperity of the town In this last period of its brilliant history Mārib was for a short time (certainly in 542 A D) the capital of the governor of the Ethiopian king Ramhis Zuhaimān, Abraha, and even had a Christian church (cf Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften uber den Dambruch von Mârib*, p 47) The final catastrophe sealed the fate of the town Its inhabitants left the sore tried town and migrated to the Hidjāz

Mārib was resettled in the Muslim period The favourable situation of the place and perhaps the rich deposits of salt in the neighbourhood (3 days' journey east of Mārib at Ṣāfir, mentioned in the time of the Prophet, who appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī governor of Mārib, E Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, p 26, al Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii 502, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p 87, 102, 155, 201, A Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p 139) also kept the place from being quite forgotten Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, vi 138) and al-Mukaddasī (*B G A*, iii 89) mention the village of Mārib, al Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p 199 says the sesame of Mārib is a speciality of the Yemen Al-Idrīsī, *Geographie*, p 149 calls Mārib a *burdj*, according to Ibn al Mudjāwir (in A Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p 140), Mārib (c 630 A H) had a market and a mosque and was of some importance as a resting-place for the night and fruit could be obtained there at any time of the year Since Yaḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv 436, also says, the district of Mārib is rich in palms, it seems to have in part at least regained its old fertility

The present little kingdom of Mārib owes its foundation to the shaïf Husain from al-Zahir in al-Djawf, who took a vigorous part in the expulsion of the Turks from the Yemen in 1640 He was the first to assume the title of emir His dominion extended over the whole land from Raghwān in the southern Djawf to Baihān, which he divided among his four sons Only one of these, Khālid, to whom Mārib fell, could exert effective authority, the others never gained possession of their inheritances although their descendants still play a certain part in Baihān al-Kasāb, Harib and Raghwān

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AL **MĀRIDĪNĪ**, the *nisba* of three mathematicians and astronomers, of whose lives very little is so far known

1 ʿABD ALLĀH B KHALĪL B YŪSUF was mu'adhdhin in the mosque of the Omaiyads in Damascus and died in the first decade of the ixth (xvth) century As a result of careless transmission, his works are often mixed up with those of his grandson Sibt al-Māridīnī (3) Lists of his works are given in Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 169 and in Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, 1900, N° 421

2 ISMAʿĪL B IBRĀHĪM B GHĀZĪ, known as Ibn Fallūs, lived in the first half of the viiith (xiiith) century and composed works on arithmetic which are listed in Brockelmann, i 472 and in Suter, N° 359

3 MUHAMMAD B MUHAMMAD B AHMAD SIBT AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ is the best known of the three and more of his works have survived than of those of the others He was the grandson of N° 1 and mu'adhdhin at the Azhar mosque in Cairo The date of his birth is 826 (1423) He died about the end of the ninth century

His works cover most branches of mathematics, algebra and astronomy, especially instruments for use in the latter and other technical matters Lists of them are given in Brockelmann, ii 167 and Suter, N° 445 (M PIESSNER)

MĀRIYA, a Copt maiden, according to one statement, daughter of a man named Shamʿūn, who was sent with her sister Sirin by Mukawkis [q v] in the year 7 A H to Muhammad as a gift of honour (according to another authority there were four of them) The Prophet made her his concubine, while he gave Sirin to Hassān b Thābit He was very devoted to her and gave her a house in the upper town of Madīna, where he is said to have visited her by day and night, this house was called after her the *mashraba* of the mother of Ibrāhīm To the great joy of the Prophet, she bore him a son whom he called Ibrāhīm, but he died in infancy According to tradition, an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of his death, an interesting statement by which we can get the date exactly — if the story is true — the 27th Jan 632, that is only a few months before Muhammad's death Māriya's beauty and Muhammad's passionate love for her excited such jealousy among his other wives that, to pacify them, he promised to have nothing more to do with the Copt girl, a promise which he afterwards withdrew Abū Bakr and ʿOmar honoured her and gave her a pension which she enjoyed till her death in Muharram 16 A H There is no reason to doubt the essential correctness of this story, as there is no particular bias in it and it contains all sorts of details which do not look the least like inventions, so that it is exaggerated scepticism when Lammens supposes that the "mother of Ibrāhīm", after whom the *mashraba* was called, was some Jewess On the other hand, in view of the fact that all the marriages of Muhammad after the Hidjra were childless, it would have been surprising if evil-minded people had not cast suspicions on the paternity of Ibrāhīm, and that this actually happened is evident from some traditions the object of which is to defend Māriya from this suspicion

On the other hand, it is not so easy to justify the part which Kur'ānic exegesis makes Māriya play in the exposition of Sūra lxvi In this Sūra, the Prophet speaks in a very indignant tone against one of his wives, because she has betrayed a secret to another, which he had imparted to her under a promise of the strictest secrecy At the same time Allāh blames him, because in order to please his wives, he has bound himself by oath to refrain from something which is not definitely stated and because he does not use the right granted him by Allāh to release himself from his oath In addition, there is a word of warning to the two women who had disobeyed him and a threat to all his wives that he might divorce them in order to marry more pious ones (cf xxxiii 28 *sq*) According to the usual explanation, the two wives are Hafsa and ʿĀ'isha and the revelation is said to have been provoked by the fact that Hafsa, on returning unexpectedly to her house, found Māriya and the Prophet in an intimate tête-a-tête and that on a day which by rotation belonged to her (or ʿĀ'isha) In his embarrassment he pledged himself by oath to have no more intercourse with the Copt girl But after Hafsa's breach of faith, Allāh tells him to release himself from his oath This explanation fits very well in some respects and that the promise of continence is connected with marital complications is illuminating That there are hadīths, which explain his quarrel with his wives quite differently, does not mean very much, for they are no doubt invented to drive out of currency the popular, less edifying version But, on closer examination, there is one flaw which makes the latter uncertain, for it does not answer the question how Muhammad could call the situation in which Hafsa caught him and Māriya a secret that he trusted to her

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AL **MARḲAB** (the MARGAT, MERGHATUM of the Crusaders), a fortress near Bāniyās on the coast of Syria According to the chronicle of Abū Ghālib Humam b al-Fadl al-Muhadhdhab al-Maʿarrī (quoted in Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iv 500) and the *Taʾrīkh al-Kulāʿ wa 'l-Husūn* of Usāma b Munkidh (in Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud and de Slane, p 255), it was built by the Muslims in 454 (1062) Al Dimashkī (ed Mehren, p 208) wrongly attributes its foundation to Hārūn al

Rashīd (van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 304, note 7 where the reference to Rashīd [rather Rāshid] al Dīn in Le Strange, *Palestine* is shown to be wrong), his statement seems to be correct, however, that the citadel was built out of material from ancient ruins The Byzantines occupied al-Markab and other fortresses in the vicinity under the general Kantakuzenos in 1104 (Anna Comnena, Ἀλεξιάς, ed Reifferscheid, ii 138 τὸ τε Ἀργυρόκαστρον [= Sāfīthā] τὸ καλούμενον Μαρχάπιν [= al Markab], τὰ Γάβαλα [Djabala] καὶ ἄλλα τινά) When in 511 (1117—1118) the Crusaders approached the fortress, its lord Ibn Muhriz surrendered it on condition that he and his family were allowed to remain in it, but after a few days the Franks expelled him and allotted al-Manīka to him in exchange for al-Markab, Franks and Armenians were settled in the latter The first recorded lord of the fortress was Rainald Mansuer, the constable of the prince of Antioch After the earthquake of 1170, from which the fortress must have suffered damage, Bertrand of al-Markab, perhaps out of fear of Saladin's threats, handed it over on Feb 1, 1186 to the Knights of St John In July 1186 Saladin passed below the watch tower (now Burdj al Sabī), which from ancient times had commanded the road along the coast (cf Dussaud, *Topogr*, p 127, note 5) below the fortress and was connected with it by a wall which protected a subterranean passage, but did not dare to attack Markab any more than Tartūs [q v] Prince Isaac of Cyprus, a descendant of the Comneni (not the Emperor Isaac Comnenos as van Berchem, *op cit*, p 298 *sq*, note 5 says), was taken prisoner by Richard Coeur de-Lion on May 31, 1191, and imprisoned in Markab till his death (Neophytos, in *Recueil hist crois*, *hist grecs*, i/ii 562 with note, ii 489 ἐν κατέλλῳ καλουμένῳ Μαρκάπτῳ) Sultān al Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī of Halab whose lands adjoined those of the Knights of St John sent in 601 (1204—1205) troops against the fortress, who are said to have just succeeded in destroying the towers of the walls when their leader fell and they again retired without accomplishing their object In 628 (1231) and 638 (1240—1241) the Knights were again at war with Yūsuf, Sultān of Halab From this period (1212) dates the very full description of the strong fortress by Wilbrand of Oldenburg Built on a high hill and surrounded by a double wall and many towers, it was regarded in the period when the power of the Crusaders was beginning to decline, as *maximum totius terrae illae solacium*, the bishop of Valenia (Bāniyās) had moved into the fortress by 1212 out of fear of the Muslims King Andreas of Hungary in 1217—1218 gave funds for the maintenance of the fortress which had given him an honourable reception (Rohricht, *Regesta Hierosolym*, p 243, N° 908) The straits to which the humiliating treaties with Baibars had reduced the Knightly Orders is lamented by the Grand Master Hugo Revel in 1268 in a letter in which he says that the possession of its last two fortresses, *Cratum* and *Margatum* (= Hisn al-Akrād and al-Markab), was only granted the Order on payment of oppressive taxes (Rohricht, *Regesta Hieros*, *Additamentum*, Oeniponti 1924, p 91, N° 1358*a*) After the loss of Hisn al-Aknād, the Templars and the Knights of St John in 669 (1271) by a treaty which they concluded in ʿArka with Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Dawādār ("the secretary") al-Rūmī, the Sultān's plenipotentiary, had to cede half of the coastland (*sāhil*) of Antarsūs, al-Markab and Bāniyās and bind themselves not to build any new defences (Mufaddal b Abi 'l-Fadā'il, *Gesch d Mamlūkensultane*, ed Blochet, in *Patrol Orient*, xii 536) After a raid by the Franks (Oct 1279) the Emīr Saif al-Dīn Balabān al Tabbākhī, the governor of Hisn al-Akrād for Kalā'ūn, in the beginning of 1281 sent troops against al-Markab, but they were driven back with heavy losses (Mufaddal, *op cit*, xiv 484, and the sources quoted in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 301, note 5) In the treaty between Kalā'ūn and the Templars of 681 (1282) al-Markab is mentioned among the districts half of which were to be ceded (Mufaddal, *op cit*, xiv 445, van Berchem, *op cit*, p 302, note 2) The pilgrim Burchardus de Monte Sion in 1283 mentions the "*Castrum Margath fratrum hospitalis sancti Johannis*", it was still at this date the see of the bishop of Valenia (*Peregrinatores*, ed Laurent, p 30, 170)

On 10th Safar 684 (April 17, 1285) Kalā'ūn appeared before al-Markab and began the attack as soon as the siege artillery arrived On the 19th Rabīʿ I (May 25) the Emir Fakhr al Dīn Mukrī received the surrender of the fortress On account of its strategic value for defence against possible attacks from the sea, it was not destroyed but included in the "royal province of the fortunate conquests", the capital of which till 688, when Tarābulus was taken, was the Castle of the Kurds, still governed by Saif al Dīn Balaban al-Tabbākhī al-Mansūrī Kalā'ūn in 684 ordered him to repair the defences of the citadel as an inscription found *in situ* shows (van Berchem, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, p 71 *sq*) Among those present at the capture of the fortress were the 12 years old Abu 'l-Fidā', who was then on his first campaign with his father, and the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Rahīm, the continuer of Ibn Wāsil's chronicle The best account of the taking of al Markab is in Kala'ūn's biography entitled *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa 'l-ʿUsūr bi-Sirat al-Sultān al Malik al Mansūr* (Paris, MS ar, N° 1704, fol 149 *sqq*, ed and transl in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 310—320)

In the viiith (xivth) century al Markab belonged to the province of Tarābulus (ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, transl by R Hartmann, *Z D M G*, lxx [1916], 36, Khalil al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, p 48, Kalkashandī, *Subh al Aʿshā*, ed Cairo, iv 145 *sq*), at this time it was used as a state prison (van Berchem, p 305, note 2) Its harbour is mentioned in documents of 1193 and 1299 (van Berchem, p 309, note 3), it was presumably at the mouth of the Wādī ʿAin al-Khraibe (in Walpole *al-Mīna*) As al-Markab lies on the outer spurs of the Ansariye range it has often wrongly been included among the fortresses of the Ismāʿilis (*Kilāʿ al-Daʿwa*) (so ʿUmarī, *op cit*, in the Berlin and Gotha MS but not in the others, Hartmann, *Z D M G*, lxx, 36, note 7) So far as we can judge from the brief notes by visitors, it was not till about the middle of the xixth century that it began to fall into ruins About 1885 at the request of the kā'immakām of the kadā of al-Markab the seat of the government was transferred from the ruined Kalʿat al-Markab to Bāniyās (M Hartmann, *Z D P V*, xxii, p 163, N° 27)

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MARRAKESH (Ar Marrākush, popular pronunciation *Merrākesh*), a town in Morocco, and one of the residences of the Sultān

The form Marrakech, adopted by the administration of the protectorate, is of recent origin in French Down to about 1890 the town was always known as Maroc (Morocco) in French The kingdom of Morocco, distinct in origin from those of Fās and Sūs, finally gave its name to the whole empire At one time it only consisted of the country south of the wādī Umm Rabī' as far as the range of the Great Atlas

Marrakesh is situated in 31° 37′ 35″ N Lat and 7° 59′ 42″ East Long (Greenw) Its mean height above sea-level is about 1,510 feet The town is 150 miles south of Casablanca It is through the latter that almost all the traffic with the coast passes at the present day It used to go via Safi which is the nearest port (100 miles) Sīdi Muhammad b 'Abd Allāh in 1765 tried to supplant it by Mogador (115 miles), where he built a town and harbour through which at the end of the XVIIIth century most of the trade between Marrakesh and Europe passed

Although Marrakesh is only 235 miles from Fās as the crow flies, it is over 330 by Casablanca-Rabat-Meknes which is the only road that has been used for over a century, the direct road by the Tādlā having been rendered impracticable by the traditional insecurity of the country

The temperature which is very mild in winter is very hot in summer The average maxima of 39° 6 in the month of August 1927 have nothing unusual and imply extreme temperatures reaching or passing 50° on certain days Rainfall is low (284 5 mm in 1927, against 706 5 in Rabat and 1,007 3 in Tangier) But water fed by the snows of the Atlas is found at no great depth It is collected by a system of long subterranean galleries (*khaṭṭāra*, plur *khaṭātīr*) which bring it to the surface by taking advantage of the very slight slope of the surface This method of obtaining water, which is described in the XIIth century by Idrīsī, has enabled the vast gardens which surround the town to be created The Almohads and the dynasties which succeeded them also built aqueducts and reservoirs to supply the town with water from the springs and streams of the mountains

Contrary to what was until quite recently believed, Marrakesh is by far the most thickly populated town of the empire The census of March 7, 1926 gives 149,263 as the total population, 3,652 Europeans, 132,893 Muslims, 12,718 Jews The probable growth of the population is not sufficient to explain the difference between the present day figures and the old estimates, almost all far below the truth and varying greatly among themselves from 20,000 (given by Diego de Torres in 1585 and Host in 1768), 25,000 (Saint Olon, 1693), 30,000 (Ali Bey el-Abbassi, 1804), 40 to 50,000 (Gatell, 1864 and Eug Aubin, 1902), 50,000 (Lambert, 1868), 60,000 (Beaumier, 1868), 80 to 100,000 (Washington, 1830) up to the obviously exaggerated figure of 270,000 given by Jackson in 1811

About 40 miles N of the Atlas, the vast silhouette of which, covered by snow for eight months of the year fills the background, Marrakesh is built in a vast plain called the Hawz which slopes very gently towards the wādī Tānsift, which runs 3 miles north of the town The extreme uniformity of the plain is broken only in the N W by two rocky hills called Gilliz (1,700 feet) and Kudyat al 'Abīd In 1912 at the time of the French occupation, there was built a fort which commands Marrakesh The modern European town called the Gueliz lies between this hill and the walls of the old town

The wādī Issīl, a left bank tributary of the Tānsift, a stream often dried up but transformed into a raging torrent after storms, runs along the walls of the town on the east To the north of Marrakesh as far as the Tānsift and to the east stretches a great forest of palm trees, the only one in Morocco north of the Atlas It covers an area of 13,000 hectares and possesses over 100,000 palm-trees but the dates there only ripen very imperfectly

The town is very large The walls which run all round it measure at least 7 miles in length The town in the strict sense does not occupy the whole of this vast area The part built upon forms a long strip which starting from the zāwiya of Sīdī bel 'Abbās in the north runs towards the kasba which stands at the southern end of the town On the two sides lie great gardens and estates among which we find in the neighbourhood of the chief gates inside the walls, isolated quarters grouped like so many villages around their sūk and their mosque

The town consists mainly of little low houses of reddish clay, often in ruins, among which are scattered huge and magnificent dwellings without particularly imposing exteriors built either by the viziers of the old makhzen (e g the Bāhīya, now

the Résidence Générale, the old palace of the Bā Hmād, vizier of Mawlāi al-Hasan) or by the great kā'ids, chiefs of the tribes of the country round The narrow and overhung streets in the central area broaden towards the outskirts into sunny and dusty squares and crossroads The colour, the picturesque architecture, the palm-trees, the branches of which appear over the walls of the gardens, the presence of a large negro population, all combine to give the town the appearance of a Saharan *ksar* of vast dimensions

The centre of the life of the city is the Djāmaᶜ al-Fnā, a vast, irregular, ill defined open space, surrounded until quite recently by wretched buildings and reed huts, overshadowed by the high minaret of the Kutubīya Mosque Its name comes, according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh al Sūdān*, from the ruins of a mosque which Ahmad al-Mansūr had undertaken to build there "As he had planned it on a wonderful scale, it had been given the name of mosque of prosperity (*al hanā*), but his plans being upset by a series of unfortunate events, the prince was unable to finish the building before his death and it was therefore given the name of mosque of the ruin (*djāmaᶜ al-fanā*)" This origin having been forgotten, an attempt was later made to explain the name of the square from the fact that the heads of rebels used to be exposed there (mosque or place of assembly of ruin, of death) It was there also that executions took place Lying on the western edge of the principal agglomeration of buildings at its most thickly populated part, close to the sūk, connected with the principal gates by direct and comparatively quiet roads, Djāmaᶜ al-Fnā is the point of convergence of the roads At all hours swarming with people, it is occupied in the morning with a market of small traders barbers, cobblers, vendors of fruit and vegetables, of medicines, of fried grasshoppers, of tea and of soup (*harīra*), in the evening, it is filled with acrobats and jugglers (Awlād Sidi Ahmad ū Mūsā of Tazerwālt), sorcerers, story tellers, fire eaters, snake charmers and *shluh* dancers The audience consists mainly of people from the country who have come into town on business and want to enjoy the distractions of the town for a few hours before going home These visitors are always very numerous in Marrakesh Besides the regular inhabitants there is a floating population the number of which has been put at 20,000 to 25,000 For Marrakesh is the great market for supplying not only the Hawz but also the mountain country, the Sūs and especially the extreme south, Dādes, Darᶜa (Draᶜ) and the Anti-Atlas A portion of this traffic will probably be diverted via Agadir when this port is opened to trade Marrakesh used to be the starting-point for caravans going through the Sahara to trade with Timbuktu They brought back chiefly Sudanese slaves for whom Marrakesh was an important market The conquest of the Sudan by France has put an end to this traffic

To the north of the Djāmaᶜ al-Fnā begin the sūks which are very large As in Fās and in the other large towns, the traders and artisans are grouped by trades under the authority of the *muhtasib*, a kind of provost of the merchants The most important sūks are those of the cloth merchants (*kīsārīya*), of the sellers of slippers, of pottery, of basket work, of the embroiderers of harness, of the dyers and of the smiths An important Thursday sūk (*al khamīs*) is held outside and inside the walls around the old gate of Fās which has taken the name of the market (Bāb al Khamīs) This sūk was already in existence in the xvith century

There is no industry to speak of in Marrakesh The most important is the making of leather (tanning) The manufacture of slippers occupies 1,500 workmen who produce over 2,000 pairs each working day There are the only articles manufactured in the town that are exported They are sold as far away as Egypt and West Africa The war interrupted communications and did great damage to this industry For the rest, Marrakesh is mainly an agricultural market The whole town is a vast *fondak* in which are warehoused the products of the country, almonds, carraway seeds, goat skins, oils, barley, wool, to be exchanged either for imported goods (sugar, tea, cloth) or for other agricultural produce (wheat, oil, which the tribes of the mountains and of the extreme south for example do not have)

The town is divided into 32 quarters Zāwiya ᶜAbbāsīya, Sidī Ben Slimān, Aswal, Riyād al-ᶜArūs, Sidī Abi ᶜAmr, Bāb Dukkāla (divided into two quarters), Sidī ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, Rahbat Āzbast, Dabāshī, Kannārīya, Riyād al-Zītūn al djadīd, Djnān ben Shogra, Ksūr, Mwāsīn, Riyād al-Zitūn al-kadīm, ᶜArsa Mawlāi Mūsā Kbīra, ᶜArsa Mawlāi Mūsā Sghira, Bāb Hailāna, Sīdī Mīmūn, Ben Sālah, Sidī Aiyūb, Bū Zakrī, Kāᶜat ben Modar, Bāb al-Dabbāgh, Hārat al-Sūra, Mawkif, Arbatin, the *kasba* containing the royal palaces (again subdivided into several sections al-Badiᶜ, Kasbat al nūhās), Berrīma, Bāb Ahmār, Maskīnat Sīdī ᶜAmāra and the *mellāh* or Jewish quarter We may further mention outside the walls near the Bāb Dukkāla, a quarter called al-Hāra where the lepers live Until recent years the gates of the town were closed during the night The superintendents of the quarters (*mukaddamīn*) have watchmen (ᶜ*assāsa*) under their orders The old custom still survives of firing a salvo at midnight on the Djāmaᶜ al-Fnā as a curfew

Marrakesh being an imperial town, the sultān who only stays there at long intervals is represented in his absence by a *khalīfa*, a prince of the imperial family (usually the son or brother of the sovereign) The role of this khalīfa is purely representative His main duty is to preside at the ceremonies during the ritual celebrations The governor of the town is a *pasha*, assisted by a delegate (*nāʾib*) and several khalīfas One of the latter supervises the prisons and the administration of justice Another has the title of pasha of the kasba He governs the southern part of the town which includes the imperial palace and the Jewish quarter Formerly the pasha of the kasba was independent of the pasha of the town and served to counterbalance the power of the latter He commanded the *gish*, an armed contingent furnished by the warlike tribes (Ūdāya, Ait Immūr etc) settled in the vicinity of the town by the sultāns on the domain lands At the present day the gīsh is under the control of the pasha of the town and the pasha of the kasba only retains of his former powers certain rights of precedence and honorary privileges

Muslim law is administered in Marrakesh by three kādīs one is established at the mosque of Ibn Yūsuf, the other at the mosque of al-Mwāsīn and the third at the mosque of the kasba The latter's competence does not extend beyond the limits of

his quarter That of the others extends over the whole town and even over the tribes of the area governed from it who have no local kādī

Marrakesh is not numbered like Rabat and Tetuan among the *hadarīya* towns, i e it has not, like them, an old established citizen population, not of rural origin, with a bourgeoisie whose tone is given by the descendants of the Moors driven from Spain In the xvith century however, Marrakesh did receive a colony of Morescoes large enough to give one quarter the name of Orgiba, a town of Andalusia from which they came The foundation of the population consists of people of the tribes for the most part Berber or Arabs strongly mixed with Berber blood Shluh is much spoken in Marrakesh although the language of the tribes around the town (Rhāmna, Ūdāya) is Arabic The movements of the tribes, the coming and going of caravans, the importation of slaves from the Sudan have resulted in a constant process of mixing in the population and the old Masmūdian race which must with Almoravids have been the primitive population of Marrakesh is only found in combination with amounts difficult to measure of Arab, Saharan and negro blood Even to day this process is going on the newcomers come less from the valleys of the Atlas than from the Sūs, the Dra^{c} and the Anti Atlas, from the extreme south which is poor and overpopulated The greater number of these immigrants soon become merged in the population of the town, but the *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes*, conducted by L Massignon in 1923—1924 (Paris 1925) yielded some very curious information about the survival in Marrakesh of vigorous groups of provincials, specialising in particular trades the makers of silver jewellery (at least those who are not Jews) owe their name of *tāgmūtiyīn* to the fact that they originally came from Tāgmūt in Sūs, the Mesfīwa are charcoal-burners and greengrocers, the Ghighāya, salters, the people of the Todgha, gatherers of dates and *khatātīrīya*, i e diggers of wells, who specialise in water-channels (*khaṭātīr*), those of Tāfīlālt, porters and paviors, those of War/āzāt, water-carriers and of Tatta^{c} (Anti-Atlas), restaurateurs, of the Dra^{c}, water-carriers and *khatātīrīya*, etc

This division is not the result of specialisation in their original home nor of privileges granted by the civic authorities but arises from the fact that artisans once settled in Marrakesh have sent for their compatriots when they required assistance Thus groups grew up, sometimes quite considerable The list of the corporations of Marrakesh gives a total of about 10,000 artisans These corporations have lost much of their power under the pressure of the Makhzen Some of them however still retain a certain social importance in the first place that of the shoemakers which is the largest (1,500 members), then come the tanners (430), the cloth (237) and silk (100) merchants, the *fāsīs* wholesalers, then some groups of skilled artisans, highly esteemed but of less influence, embroiderers of saddles, makers of mosaics, carpenters, sculptors of plaster etc

Religious and intellectual life Mosques are numerous in Marrakesh Some of them will be the subjects of brief archaeological studies Those which play the most important part in the religious life of the city are the mosque of al Mwāsīn, the mosque of ^{c}Alī b Yūsuf, both close to the sūks, that of Sīdī bel ^{c}Abbās and that of the ḳasba. Then come the Kutubīya, the mosque of the Bāb Dukkāla, of the Bāb Ailān, of Berrīma, and the Djāma^{c} Ibn Sālah There are also many little mosques in the various faubourgs But although it can claim illustrious men of learning, Marrakesh is not like Fās, a centre of learning and of teaching The Almohads built schools and libraries there, brought the most illustrious scholars, philosophers and physicians from Spain, like Ibn Tufail, Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Abu 'l Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averioes) who died at Marrakesh in 595 (1198) These great traditions did not survive the dynasty In the beginning of the xvith century, in the time of Leo Africanus, the library of the Almohad palace was used as a poultry house and the madrasa built by the Marīnids was in ruins At the present day in the town of the Kutubīya there is not a single bookseller A certain number of *ṭolbā* still live in the madrasas (Ibn Yūsuf, Ibn Sālah, Sīdī bel ^{c}Abbās, Berrīma, Kasba) but the teaching in Marrakesh has neither the prestige nor the traditions which still give some lustre to the teaching at al-Karawīyīn in Fās, much decayed as it is Although they attempt to imitate the customs of Fās (they celebrate notably the "festival of the sultān of the *ṭolbā*" [cf FĀS] every spring) the students are far from holding in Marrakesh the position their comrades enjoy in Fās

The devotion of the people of Marrakesh expends itself particularly on the cult of saints, not at all orthodox but dear to the Berbers Their town has always been famous for the great number of *wālī* who are buried in its cemeteries and who justify the saying "Marrakesh, tomb of the saints" But in the time of Mawlāi Ismā^{c}īl, the Shaikh Abū ^{c}Alī al Hasan al-Yūsī, by order of the prince organised, in imitation of the old established cult of the Sab^{c}atu Ridjāl (the seven saints of the Ragrāga, around the Djabal al-Hadīd, among the Shyādma) a pilgrimage to the Sab^{c}atu Ridjāl of Marrakesh including visits to seven sanctuaries and various demonstrations of piety The following are the names of the seven saints in the order in which they ought to be visited 1) Sīdī Yūsuf b ^{c}Alī al-Ṣanhādjī, a leper, d 593 (1196–1197), buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt on the spot where he had lived, 2) the kādī ^{c}Iyād, 476—544 (1083—1149), kādī of Ceuta, then of Granada, a learned theologian, author of the *Shifā*, a celebrated collection of traditions, buried beside the Bāb Ailān, 3) Sīdī bel ^{c}Abbās al-Sabtī, patron saint of Marrakesh and the most venerated of the saints of the region 524—601 (1130—1204) He came to Marrakesh when the town was being besieged by the Almohads and settled there, at first in a hermitage on the Djabal Gillīz where a *kubba* dedicated to him can still be seen But the principal pilgrimage is to his tomb at the northern end of the town over which Abū Fāris b Ahmad al-Mansūr built a zāwiya and an important mosque at the beginning of the xviith century, 4) Sīdī Muhammad b Slīman al-Djazūlī, d in 870 (1465) at Afughal among the Shyādma, a celebrated Sūfī, founder of the Djazūlī brotherhood His body was brought to Marrakesh in 930 (1523) by Ahmad al A^{c}radj the Sa^{c}dian, 5) Sīdī ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz al-Tabbā^{c}, a pupil of al Djazūlī, d in 914 (1508), 6) Sīdī ^{c}Abd Allāh al-Ghazwānī, popularly called Mawla 'l-Ksūr, d in 935 (1528) 7) Sīdī ^{c}Abd al-Rahmān al Suhailī, called the Imām al Suhailī, a native of the district of Malaga, d 581 (1185) and buried outside the Bāb al-Rabb

It is quite an arbitrary choice that these seven individuals have been chosen as the Sabʿatu Riḏjāl Others could equally well have been chosen, as the town of Marrakesh and the cemeteries which stretch before it, contain a very large number of other venerated tombs The principal are mentioned in the article by H de Castries, *Les Sept Patrons de Merrakech* (*Hespéris*, 1924) Legend of course plays a great part in the cults of the various saints We may mention for example the sayings and songs which perpetuate the memory of Lalla ʿŪda, mother of the Sultān Ahmad al-Mansūr, a real personage much transformed by the popular imagination The various trade corporations have chosen patron saints Thus Sīdī Yaʿḳūb is the patron of the tanners, Sīdī bel ʿAbbās of the soap-makers and lacemakers, Sīdī Masʿūd "slave" of Sīdī Muhammad b Slīmān is the patron of the masons, Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al Tabbāʿ of the dyers, etc The majority of the artisans are also affiliated to the religious brotherhoods In Massignon's investi gation will be found details of the attraction which some of the latter have for certain trades

The Jews At the foundation of Marrakesh, the Jews had no permission to settle in the town They came there to trade from Aghmāt Aïlān where they lived Al Idrīsī relates that under ʿAlī b Yūsuf they had not even the right to spend the night in Marrakesh and that those, who were caught within the walls after sunset, were in great danger of losing their lives and property They settled there at a later date At the beginning of the xvith century there was, according to Marmol, in Marrakesh a ghetto of over 3,000 houses It lay near the sūk on the site now occupied by the mosque of al Mwāsīn When this mosque was built by Sultān ʿAbd Allāh al Ghālib, the more scrupulous refused to pray there for some time on the pretext that it occupied the site of a Jewish cemetery It was ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib who, about 1560, settled the Jews on the site they still oc-cupy, along the wall of the kasba to the east, where the stables of the palace had been In the beginning of the xviith century, there was here, according to the French traveller Mocquet, "like a separate town, surrounded by a good wall and having only one gate guarded by the Moors, here live the Jews who are over 4,000 in number and pay tribute" A century later, there were about 6,000 Jews and many synagogues The Jewish quarter, called *mellāh* after the example of the Jewish quarter of Fās (the name *mellāh* is attested for Marrakesh as early as the end of the xvith century), has 12,000 inhabitants at the present day As regards policing, it is under the authority of the pasha of the kasba but otherwise is administered by an elected Jewish committee Questions of personal law are judged by a rabbinical tribunal of three members nominated and paid by the Makhzen The Jews of Marrakesh are beginning to leave the bounds of the *mellāh* For the most part they wear the ritual costume gaberdine, skull cap and black slippers, but the younger generation shows a tendency to emancipate itself from this dress They have little influence on the corporations of Marrakesh and are not allowed to settle in the sūks They are limited to certain trades (jewellers, tinsmiths and embroiderers of slippers) and share with the people of Fās the wholesale trade They trade particularly with the Shluh of the mountains

History The Roman occupation never extended so far as the region of Marrakesh It is quite without probability that some writers, following the Spanish historian Marmol, have sought at Aghmāt or at Marrakesh the site of *Bocanum Emporium* (Βόκκανον Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον of Ptolemy), a town of Tingitana, the site of which is now unknown The earliest historians agree that the place where Marrakesh was built by the Almohads was a bare marshy plain where only a few bushes grew The name Marrakesh gives no clue to the origin of the town The etymologies given by the Arab authors are quite fanciful according to al-Marrā-kushī, it was the name of a negro slave who escaped and set up as a brigand there Another writer explains it by a punning interpretation "the meaning of the name in the language of the Masmūda is "go away quickly"! The place was actually a place of ambuscade for brigands" It was, it appears, in 449 (1057—1058) that the Almohads advanced from Sūs north of the Atlas and took Aghmāt Warika It was there that they settled at first But after the campaign of 452 (1060) in the course of which they conquered the country of Fazāz, Meknes and of the Lawāta near Fās, they wanted to make their position more permanent and independent by creating a kind of camp, which could be used as a base for their further campaigns and would threaten the Masmūda of the mountains and could be used as a connecting link between the south from which they came and the kingdom of Fās Yūsuf b Tāshfīn there-fore purchased from its owner an estate on the frontier between two Masmūda tribes, the Hailāna and the Hazmīra, and pitched his camp there So far was he from thinking of founding a great capital, a thing for which this Saharan nomad felt no need, that at first he lived in a tent here, beside which he built a mosque to pray in and a little kasba in which to keep his treasures and his wea-pons, but he did not build a surrounding wall The native Masmūdis built themselves dwellings sur-rounded by palisades of branches beside the Almo-ravid camp The town grew rapidly to a considerable size, if it is true, that in the reign of ʿAlī b Yūsuf it had at least 100,000 hearths, but it did not lose its rural character until Ibn Tūmart appeared and the threat of the Almohad movement revived by him forced ʿAlī b Yūsuf to defend his town and surround it by a rampart which was built in eight months, probably in 520 (1126) Some historians give the date 526 (1132) but it is certain that the walls were already built in 524 (1130) when the Almohads attacked Marrakesh for the first time Mar-rakesh, the creation and capital of the Almoravids, was to be the last of their strongholds to yield When Ibn Tūmart had established his power over the tribes of the mountains he tried to attack Marra-kesh, he then sent an Almohad army under the command of Shaikh al-Bashīr, who, after defeating the Almoravids in the vicinity of Aghmāt, pursued them to the gates of Marrakesh The Almohads could not enter the town but established themselves before its walls After 40 days' siege, ʿAlī b Yūsuf received reinforcements and made a success ful sortie which forced the attackers to retreat This was the battle of al-Buhaira (524 = May 1130) from the name of a large garden, *Buhairat al-Rakāʾik*, near which it was fought It lay to the east of the town before the Bāb Dabbāgh and the Bāb Aïlān Al-Bashīr was slain and Marrakesh re-spited for 17 years Ibn Tūmart died a few months

later It is hardly likely that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin should have made soon after his accession, as the *Kirṭās* says, a new attempt to take Marrakesh The memoirs of al-Baidhak which give such full details of all the events of this period make no mention of it They show on the contrary the Almohad armies busied at first in conquering the country before occupying the capital, taking Tadla, Sale, Taza, Oran, Tlemcen and Fās and only returning to lay siege to Marrakesh after the whole country had been occupied and the capital alone held out as the last stronghold of the doomed dynasty It was in the summer of 1146 that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin laid siege to Marrakesh He made his headquarters at Gillīz and, seeing that the siege would be a long one, at once had houses built in which to instal himself and his army The siege lasted eleven months An unsuccessful sortie by the Almoravids seems to have hastened the fall of the town Disgusted by lack of success and by famine, a number of chiefs of the besieged went over to the enemy ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had scaling ladders made and distributed them among the tribes The assault was made and, according to Ibn al-Athīr, the defection of the Christian soldiery facilitated its success The Almoravid Sultān, Ishāk, a young boy who had sought refuge in the fortress, was slain, along with a large number of the Almoravids This event took place in 541 in the month of Shawwāl (March 6—April 3, 1147), according to the majority of the historians

The Almohad dynasty which came from the south naturally took Marrakesh as its capital It was here that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his successors usually resided when they were not in the country The town prospered exceedingly under their rule They gave it many important public buildings the kasba, mosques, schools, a hospital, aqueducts and magnificent gardens During this period of prosperity, there were very few events of particular interest in the history of Marrakesh In 547 (1152—1153) according to Ibn Khaldūn, in 549 (1154–1156) according to al-Baidhak and the *Kirṭās*, the Banū Amghār, brothers of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, entered the town and tried to raise the inhabitants against ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who was away at Sale The rising was speedily put down and ended in the massacre of the rebels and their accomplices But on the decline of the dynasty, i e after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the death of al-Nāsir, son of al-Mansūr, Marrakesh became the scene of the struggle between the royal family descended from ʿAbd al Muʾmin and the Almohad shaikhs descended from the companions of Ibn Tūmart who, quoting traditions of the latter, claimed the right to grant investiture to the sultāns and to keep them in tutelage Abū Muhammad ʿAbd al-Wāhid, brother of al Mansūr, was strangled in Sept 621 (1224) His successor al-ʿĀdil was drowned in a bath in the palace (Oct 624 = 1227) and the Almohad shaikhs appointed as his successor the young Yahyā b al-Nāsir, while Abu ʾl-ʿUlā Idrīs al-Maʾmūn, brother of al-ʿĀdil, was proclaimed in Spain The whole country was soon in the throes of revolution Yahyā, fearing the defection of the fickle Almohads, fled to Tinmal (April—May 626 = 1228) Disorder reigned in Marrakesh, where a governor named al-Maʾmūn was finally appointed But four months later, Yahyā returned to Marrakesh with fresh troops, put al-Maʾmūn's governor to death and after staying seven days in the town was forced to go to Gillīz to fight a battle (Feb 1230), for al-Maʾmūn had arrived from Spain to take possession of his kingdom Ferdinand III, king of Castile, had given in return for various concessions, a body of 12,000 Christian horsemen with whose assistance al-Maʾmūn defeated Yahyā and his followers, entered Marrakesh and installed an anti-Almohad regime there, marked not only by a terrible massacre of the shaikhs and their families but by a new orientation in religious matters quite opposed to that of the preceding reigns On his arrival in Marrakesh, al Maʾmūn mounted the pulpit of the mosque of the kasba, recited the *khuṭba*, solemnly cursed the memory of Ibn Tūmart and announced a whole series of measures, some of which are given by the *Kirṭās* and Ibn Khaldūn and which show he intended to do everything on opposite lines to his predecessors His innovations revived the discontent so that two years later (1232) while al-Maʾmūn and his militia were besieging Ceuta, Yahyā again occupied Marrakesh and plundered it Al-Maʾmūn at once turned back to the rescue of his capital but died on the way (Oct 17, 1232 = 629 A H) His widow, al-Habāb, succeeded in getting her son al-Rashīd, aged 14, proclaimed by the leaders of the army, including the commander of the Christian mercenaries In return she gave them Marrakesh to plunder if they could reconquer it But the people of the town, learning of this clause in the bargain, made their own terms before opening their gates to the new sultan The latter had to grant them the *amān* and pay the Christian general and his companions the sum they might have expected from the plunder of the capital — according to the *Kirṭās*, 500,000 dīnārs

In 633 (1235—1236) a rebellion of the Khlot drove al-Rashīd out of Marrakesh and he took refuge in Sidjilmāsa while Yahyā recaptured Marrakesh Al Rashīd however succeeded in retaking it and Yahyā finally was assassinated It was in the reign of the Almohad al-Saʿīd (1242—1248) that the Marīnids who had arrived in the east of the country in 1216, seized the greater part of the kingdom of Fās His successor ʿUmar al-Murtadā, proclaimed in 646 (1248), found himself in 658 (1260) reduced to the solitary kingdom of Marrakesh, to the south of the Umm Rabīʿ In 660 (1261—1262) the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb b ʿAbd al-Hakk came to attack Marrakesh He encamped on mount Gillīz whence he threatened the town Al Murtadā sent his cousin, the *sayyid* Abu ʾl ʿUlā Idris, surnamed Abū Dabbūs, to fight him The emir ʿAbd Allāh b Abū Yūsuf was slain in the battle and his father lost heart, abandoned his plans on Marrakesh and returned to Fās at the end of Radjab 661 (beg June 1262)

From this time one feels that the dynasty is lost although peace was made, which moreover showed the humiliation of the Almohads who consented to pay tribute but they were to destroy themselves Falling into disfavour with his cousin al Murtadā, Abū Dabbūs, this great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who in the preceding year had defended Marrakesh against the Marīnid sultān, sought refuge with the latter and obtained from him the assistance necessary to overthrow al-Murtadā, on condition that he shared the spoils Victorious and proclaimed sulṭān in October 1266, Abū Dabbūs forgot his promises Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb came in person to remind him of them He laid siege to Marrakesh in 1267 but Abū Dabbūs had a stroke of good fortune for

the Marīnid had to raise the siege to go and defend the kingdom of Fās against an attack by the sulṭān of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsan The campaign being over, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb returned to Marrakesh He entered it in Muharram 668 (Sept 1269) The *Kirtās* tells us that he gave the *amān* to the inhabitants and to the surrounding tribes, whom he overwhelmed with benefits and ruled with justice and remained seven months to pacify and organise the country By accepting Marīnid rule, however, Marrakesh lost for two and a half centuries its position as a capital The new dynasty made Fās its capital

Its sultāns however, did not neglect Marrakesh especially during this period (end of the xiiith and first half of the xivth century) The chronicles record many sojourns made by them there but its great days were over The town began to lose its inhabitants Abu 'l Hasan ʿAlī was the only Marinid to undertake buildings of any importance at Marrakesh (a mosque and a madrasa) In the absence of the sovereign, the government of the town and district was entrusted to powerful governors as befitted a large town remote from the central authority For nearly 20 years, from 668 to 687 (1269–1288), this office was held by Muhammad b ʿAlī b Muhallī, a chief greatly devoted to the Marīnids, says Ibn Khaldūn, and allied by marriage to the family of their ruler But in February 1288, fearing treachery from Muhammad b ʿAlī, Abū Yaʿkūb Yūsuf threw him into prison and gave his office to Muhammad b ʿAttū al Djānātī, a client and confidant of the royal family, to whom the sultān further entrusted his son Abū ʿĀmir Abū Yaʿkūb had not left Marrakesh six months when the young prince Abū ʿĀmir rebelled there and proclaimed himself sovereign at the instigation of the governor Ibn ʿAttū (Nov 1228) Abū Yaʿkub hastened to Marrakesh which he took after several days siege The young Abū ʿĀmir had time to escape and seek refuge in the mountains among the Masmūdī tribes, after plundering the treasury

The custom of giving the governorship of Marrakesh to a prince of the ruling family was kept up Towards the end of May 1307, under the walls of Tlemcen, sultān Abū Ḥabīt gave his cousin Yūsuf, son of Muhammad b Abī ʿIyād b b ʿAbd al-Hakk, the governorship of Marrakesh and the provinces depending on it By the end of the year, Yūsuf rebelled and proclaimed himself independent at Marrakesh after putting to death the governor of the town, al-Hādjdj Masʿūd Defeated by the imperial troops on the banks of the Umm Rabīʿ, the rebel fled to the mountains, plundering Marrakesh on his way (Jan 1308) The punishment inflicted on the rebels was severe Yūsuf b Abī ʿIyād, handed over by a shaikh with whom he had taken refuge, was put to death and the heads of 600 of his followers went to adorn the battlements of the town Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān stayed at Marrakesh on several occasions He did much rebuilding in 720 (1320) Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have reigned there under the rule of Abu 'l-Hasan until this prince, as a result of reverses suffered in his struggle with the Hafsids, found his own son, the ambitious Abū ʿInān, rebelling against him During the troubles which now broke out, Ibn Khaldūn tells us, the town was seriously threatened with being sacked by the Masmūda of the mountains led by ʿAbd Allāh al-Saksīwī Abū ʿInān was able to consolidate his power and avert this danger The struggle between father and son ended in the region of Marrakesh Abu 'l-Hasan, defeated at the end of Safar 757 (May 1350) near the town, sought refuge in the mountains with the emīrs of the Hintāta and died there just after becoming reconciled to his son and designating him his successor (June 1352)

During the course of the xivth century, the emīrs of the Hintāta played a very important part in the country The position of the tribe on an almost inaccessible mountain, from which it commanded Marrakesh, gave its chiefs comparative independence and predominating influence among the other Masmūda Abū ʿInān took no steps against the emir ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who had given asylum to the fugitive Abu 'l-Hasan He retained him in the command of his tribe, which he gave a few years later to his brother ʿĀmir In 1353 the latter, becoming chief of all the Masmūda tribes and sufficiently powerful to keep under his thumb the governor of Marrakesh al Muʿtamid, son of Abū ʿInān, very soon succeeded in making himself completely independent He received and for a time held as hostages two rebel Marīnid princes Abu 'l-Fadl, son of the Sultān Abū Sālim, and ʿAbd al-Rahmān, son of Sultān Abū ʿAlī Quarrelling with his protégé Abu 'l-Fadl whom he had made governor of Marrakesh, he retired into his mountains and for several years defied the armies of the sultān He was in the end captured and put to death in 1370

After the death of Sultān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the pretender Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, son of Abū Sālim, had himself proclaimed in Fās with the help of his cousin ʿAbd al-Rahman b Abi Ifellūsen, himself a pretender to the throne The latter as a reward for his services was given the independent governorship of Marrakesh and the country round it (June 1374) The empire was thus completely broken up The two rulers soon began to quarrel but then signed a treaty of peace in 1378 There was a new rupture and a new truce two years later after Marrakesh had been besieged for two months without result Abu 'l-Abbas in the end took Marrakesh in Djumādā 784 (July–Aug 1382), and ʿAbd al-Rahmān was slain Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, dispossessed in 1384 and exiled to Granada, succeeded in reconquering his kingdom in 1387 and sent to Marrakesh as governor his son al Muntasir This event is the last recorded by Ibn Khaldūn From the time his record ceases and throughout the xvth century we are incredibly poor in information about the history of Marrakesh The south appears to have continued to form a large governorship in the hands of princes of the royal family The only information at all definite that we have comes from a Portuguese historian who records that during the three years which followed the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese (1415—1418), Morocco was a prey to the struggles among the pretenders While Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān was ruling in Fās, Mawlāy Bū ʿAlī, king of Marrakesh, was fighting against another Marīnid prince called Fāris The "kingdom" or governorship of Marrakesh does not seem to have completely broken the links which bound it to the kingdom of Fās for the governors of Marrakesh supplied contingents to the army which tried to retake Ceuta But they very soon ceased to take part in the holy war in the north of Morocco and their name is not found among the opponents of the Portuguese

Marrakesh by 1430 seems to have become *de facto* if not *de jure* independent but we do not know within fifty years at what date the Hintāta emīrs established their power, they were descended from a brother of ʿÂmir b Muhammad They were "kings" of Marrakesh when in 1508 the Portuguese established themselves at Safi, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing, for the power of the Hintāta emīrs hardly extended beyond the environs of their capital and they could not effectively protect their tribes against the attacks of the Christians By 1512 the Portuguese governors of Safi had succeeded in extending their power over the tribes near Marrakesh (Awlād Mtāʿ) and the town lived in fear of the bold raids which on several occasions brought the Portuguese cavalry and their Arab allies into the district The king of Marrakesh, overawed, entered into negotations in 1514 but the terms were nothing less than his paying tribute as vassal and the building of a Portuguese fortress at Marrakesh Agreement could not be reached The occupation of Marrakesh remained the dream of the Portuguese soldiers An attack on the town led by the governors of Safi and Azemmūr failed (April 23, 1515) This was the period when in reaction against the anarchy and foreign invasions the Saʿdian sharīfs began to come to the front in Sūs Ahmad al-Aʿradj, who appeared in 1513 to the north of the Atlas, had himself recognised as leader of the holy war and accepted as such by the local chiefs, even by al-Nāsir, king of Marrakesh In the month of April 1514, it is recorded that he was in Marrakesh with the king At the end of 1521, al-Aʿradj established himself peacefully in Marrakesh which he found partly depopulated by famine and married the daughter of the king Muhammad b Nāsir called Bū Shentūf The latter in 1524 having tried to kick against the tutelage of his too powerful son-in-law, al-Aʿradj and his brother Muhammad al Shaikh, seized the kasba, which seems till then to have been held by Bū Shentūf They disposed of the latter by having him assassinated in the following year (1525) Marrakesh became the Saʿdian capital The king of Fās, Ahmad al-Wattāsi, tried unsuccessfully to take it in June 1527 It remained in the hands of al-Aʿradj till 1554, when it was seized by his brother Muhammad al Shaikh, up till then king of Sūs After the assassination of Muhammad al Shaikh in 1557, al-Aʿradj was put to death at Marrakesh with seven of his sons and grandsons, so as to secure the crown for Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib The whole of the latter part of the century was for Marrakesh a period of great prosperity ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib built a series of important public works rearrangement of the palace and of the provision storehouses in the kasba, in the town, the madrasa Ibn Yūsuf and the al-Mwāsin mosque etc Ahmad al-Mansūr finished his brother's work by building in the kasba from 1578 to 1594 the famous al Badiʿ palace The sultān, enriched by several years of peace and good government, and by the gold brought from the conquest of the Sūdān (1591—1592), lived almost continually in Marrakesh, to which he restored a splendour and a prosperity that it had not enjoyed since the end of the xiith century But the death of al-Mansūr opened a period of trouble and civil war "sufficient to turn white the hair of an infant at the breast" to use the expression of the historian al-Ifrānī While Abū Fāris, son of al-Mansūr, was proclaimed at Marrakesh, another son, Zīdān, was chosen sultān at Fās A third brother, al Shaikh, came and took Fās, then sent against Marrakesh an army led by his son ʿAbd Allāh, who seized the town in Dec 22, 1606 But Zīdān, who sought refuge first in Tlemcen, then made his way to Sūs, via Tāfilālt and coming suddenly to Marrakesh, had himself proclaimed there while ʿAbd Allāh b al Shaikh while escaping with his troops was attacked in the midst of the gardens (*djnān Bekkāʾ*) and completely defeated (Feb 25, 1607) In October of the same year, ʿAbd Allāh returned after defeating Zīdān's troops on the Wādi Tifālfalt (Oct 2, 1607), fought a second battle with them at Rās al-ʿAin (a spring in Iānsift), regained possession of the town and revenged himself in a series of massacres and punishments so terrible that a portion of the population having sought refuge in the Gillīz, proclaimed as sultān, Muhammad, great-grandson of Ahmad al-Aʿradj ʿAbd Allāh was forced to fly (Jan 25, 1608) Zīdān, recalled by a section of the populace, regained possession of his capital in a few days The struggle between Zīdan and his brother al-Shaikh, in the year following, centred round the possession of Fās Zīdān failed in his plans to retake it and henceforth Fās, given over completely to anarchy, remained separate from the kingdom of Marrakesh On these happenings, a marabout from Tāfilālt, named Abū Mahāllī, attempted to intervene (1611) to put an end to the fighting among the pretenders, which was inflicting great suffering on the people His intervention only made matters worse He took Marrakesh on May 20, 1612 Zīdān took refuge in Safi and succeeded in again gaining possession of his capital with the help of an influential marabout in Sūs, called Yahya b ʿAbd Allāh After a battle near Gillīz, Zīdān withdrew into Marrakesh on Nov 30, 1613 But Yahyā, succumbing to ambition, rebelled himself at the end of 1618, against the ruler whose cause he had once so well sustained Zīdān had again to take refuge in Safi He was soon able to return to Marrakesh, taking advantage of the discord that had broken out in the enemy ranks ʿAbd al-Malik (1627—1631), son and successor of Zīdān, has left only the memory of his cruelty and debauchery He was murdered in May 1631 The renegades, who killed him, also disposed of his brother and successor al-Walid in 1636 A third brother, Muhammad al-Shaikh al-Asghar, succeeded him but had only a semblance of power He managed however to reign till 1655, but his son Ahmad al-ʿAbbās was completely in the hands of the Shabbāna, an Arab tribe who assassinated him and gave the throne to ʿAbd al-Karīm, called Karrūm al Hādjdj, in 1659 "The latter", says al-Ifrānī, "united under his sway all the kingdom of Marrakesh and conducted himself in an admirable fashion with regard to his subjects" His son Abū Bakr succeeded him in 1668 but only reigned two months until the coming of the Filālī Sultān al-Rashīd, already lord of Fās, who took Marrakesh on July 31, 1668 Called to Marrakesh by the rebellion of his nephew Ahmad b Muhrīz, al-Rashīd met his death there in the garden of al-Agdāl, his head having been injured by a branch of an orange tree against which his horse threw him when it stumbled

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had some difficulty in getting himself proclaimed at Marrakesh, which preferred

his nephew, Ahmad b Muhrīz Ismāʿīl forced his way in on the 9th Safar 1083 (June 4, 1672) In the following year, Marrakesh again welcomed Ahmad b Muhrīz After a siege of two years (March 1675—June 1677), Ismāʿīl reoccupied Marrakesh and plundered it He passed through it again in 1094 (1683) on his way to Sūs to fight Ahmad b Muhrīz who was still in rebellion Marrakesh was no longer the capital Mawlāy Ismāʿīl took an interest in it and destroyed the palaces of the ḳasba to use the materials for his works in Meknes In 1114 (Feb 1703), a son of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Muhammad al ʿĀlim, rebelled against his father, seized Marrakesh and plundered it Zīdān, brother of the rebel, was given the task of suppressing the rising, which he did, plundering the town once more

Anarchy again broke out after the death of Ismāʿīl Its centre was Meknes Mawlāy al-Mustadī, proclaimed by the ʿAbīd in 1738, was disowned by them in 1740 and replaced by his brother ʿAbd Allāh He sought refuge in Marrakesh His brother al-Nasir remained his *ḵhalīfa* in Marrakesh till 1745, while al Mustadī tried in vain to reconquer his kingdom Marrakesh finally submitted in 1746 to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh who sent his son Sīdī Muhammad there as *ḵhalīfa* The governorship and then the reign of the latter (1757—1790) formed one of the happiest periods in the history of Marrakesh Sidī Muhammad completely restored the town, made it his usual residence, received many European embassies there, including a French one led by the Comte de Breugnon in 1767, and developed its trade Peace was not disturbed during his long reign except for a riot raised by a marabout pretender named ʿUmar, who at the head of a few malcontents tried to attack the palace in order to plunder the public treasury He was at once seized and put to death (between 1766 and 1772, according to the sources) On the death of Sīdī Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, the situation remained very unsettled for several years After taking the oath of allegiance to Mawlāy Yazīd (May 3, 1790) the people of Marrakesh took in his brother Mawlāy Hishām and proclaimed him On hearing this, Yazīd abandoned the siege of Ceuta, returned to Marrakesh, plundered it and committed all kinds of atrocities (1792) Hishām, supported by the ʿAbda and the Dukkāla, marched on Marrakesh Yazīd, wounded in the battle, died a few days later in the palace (Feb 1792) Marrakesh remained faithful to the party of Mawlay Hishām, but very soon the Rhāmna abandoned him to proclaim Mawlāy Husain, brother of Hishām He established himself in the kasba (1209 = 1794—1795) While the partisans of the two princes were exhausting themselves in fighting, Mawlāy Slīman, sultān of Fās, avoided taking sides in the struggle The plague rid him at one blow of both his rivals (July 1799) who had in any case to submit some time before The last years of the reign of Mawlāy Slīmān were overcast by troubles in all parts of the empire Defeated at the very gates of Marrakesh, he was taken prisoner by the rebel Shrārda He died at Marrakesh on Nov 28, 1822 Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Rahmān (1824—1859) did much for the afforestation of Agdāl and restored the religious buildings His son Muhammad completed his work by repairing tanks and aque ducts These two reigns were a period of tranquillity of Marrakesh In 1862 however, while Sīdī Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahmān was fighting the Spaniards at Tetwan the Rḥāmna rebelled, plundered the Sūḳ al-Khamīs and closely blockaded the town, cutting off communications and supplies, until the Sultān, having made peace with Spain, came to relieve the town (June 1862) Mawlāy al Hasan hardly ever lived in Marrakesh but he stopped there on several occasions, notably in October 1875, to punish the Rhāmna and the Bū 'l sbaʿ, who had rebelled, and in 1880 and 1885, to prepare his expeditions into Sūs

During the last years of the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894—1908), it was at Marrakesh that the opposition to the European tastes and experiments of the Sultān made itself most strongly felt The xenophobia culminated in the murder of a French doctor named Mauchamp (March 19, 1907), and the spirit of separatism in the proclamation as sultān of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Hafiz, brother of ʿAbd al ʿAzīz and governor of the provinces of the south (Aug 24, 1907) But ʿAbd al-Hafiz becoming ruler of the whole empire (Aug 24, 1907) and having signed the treaty of March 24, 1912 establishing the protectorate of France and of Spain over Morocco, the anti foreign movement broke out again in the south The Mauritanian marabout al-Hiba had himself proclaimed and established himself in Marrakesh He only held out there for a brief period His troops having been defeated at Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān on Sept 6, 1912, the French troops occupied Marrakesh the next day

Relations with Europe Five minor friars sent by St Francis were put to death at Marrakesh on Jan 16, 1220, for having attempted to convert Muslims and having insulted the Prophet Muhammad in their discourses Their martyrdom attracted the attention of the Holy See to Marrakesh A mission and a bishopric were established by Honorius III in 1225 to give the consolations of religion to the Christians domiciled in Morocco merchants, slaves and mercenaries in the sultān's army In the Almoravid period, the sultāns had Christian mercenaries recruited from prisoners reduced to slavery or from the Mozarab population of Spain whom they had from time to time deported to Morocco by entire villages In 1227, Abu 'l-ʿUla Idrīs al Maʾmūn having won his kingdom with the help of Christian troops lent by the king of Castile found himself bound to take up quite a new attitude to the Christians He granted them various privileges, including permission to build a church in Marrakesh and worship openly there This was called Notre Dame and stood in the kasba, probably opposite the mosque of al Mansūr it was destroyed during a rising in 1232 But the Christian soldiery continued to enjoy the right to worship, at least privately, and the bishopric of Marrakesh filled by an episcopal board at Seville, existed so long as there was an organised Christian soldiery in Morocco, i e to the end of the xivth century The title of Bishop of Marrakesh was borne till the end of the xvith century by the suffragans of Seville (cf Father A Lopez, *Los obispos de Marruecos desde el siglo XIII*, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, N° xlii, 1920) A Spanish Franciscan, the prior Juan de Prado, who came to re establish the mission, was put to death in 1631 at Marrakesh A few years later (1637), a monastery was re-established beside the prison for slaves in the kasba It was destroyed in 1659 or 1660 after the death of the last Saʿdian Henceforth the Franciscans were obliged to live in the *mellāh*

where they had down to the end of the xviiith century a little chapel and a monastery As to the Christian merchants, they had not much reason to go to Marrakesh in the middle ages Trade with Europe was conducted at Ceuta from which the Muslim merchants carried European goods into the interior of the country In the xvith century, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib had a *fondak* or "bonded warehouse" built in the *sūk* where the Christian merchants were allowed to live, but the majority of those who came to Marrakesh preferred to settle in the Jewish quarter It was here also that foreign ambassadors usually lodged, at least when they were not made to encamp in one of the gardens of the palace

Monuments The present enceinte of Marrakesh is a wall of clay about 20 feet high, flanked with rectangular bastions at intervals of 250 to 300 feet Bāb Aghmāt, Bāb Ailān, Bāb Dabbāgh which still exist more or less rebuilt, are mentioned in the account of the attack on Marrakesh by the Almohads in 524 (1130) Bāb Yintān, Bāb al-Makhzen, mentioned at the same time, have disappeared Bāb al-Sālīha (no longer in existence it stood on the site of the *mellāh*) and Bāb Dukkāla (still in existence) figure in the story of the capture of the town by the Almohads (1147) The plan of the wall has therefore never changed It has been rebuilt in places from time to time, as the clay crumbled away, but it may be assumed that a number of pieces of the wall, especially on the west and south-west, are original, as well as at least three gates all now built up, to which they owe their survival, but have lost their name According to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (xivth century), there were in Marrakesh seventeen gates, twenty-four at the beginning of the xvith century according to Leo Africanus It would be very difficult to draw up an accurate list, for some have been removed, others opened, since these dates or the names have been altered Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (beginning of the xivth century) adds to the names already mentioned those of Bāb Nfis, Bāb Muhrik, Bāb Messūfa, Bāb al-Rahā all four of which have disappeared, Bāb Taghzūt, Bāb Fās (now Bāb al-Khamīs), Bāb al-Rabb which still exist The only important changes, which have been made in the walls of Marrakesh since they were built, have been the building of the kasba in the south and in the north the creation of the quarter of Sidī bel ʿAbbās The zāwiya, which as late as the xvith century stood outside the walls beyond the Bāb Taghzūt, was taken into the town with all its dependencies

The Kasba The little kasba and the palace of Dār al-ʿUmma built by Yūsuf b Tashfīn, lay north of the present „Mosque of the Booksellers" or Kutubīya ʿAlī b Yūsuf added in the same quarter other palaces called Sūr al-Hadjar, or Kasr al-Hadjar because they were built with stones from the Gillīz, while all the other buildings in the town were of brick or clay It was here that the first Almohads took up their quarters According to a somewhat obscure passage of the *Istibsār*, Abū Yaʿkūb Yūsuf seems to have begun the building of a "fort" in the south of the town but it was Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr who built the new kasba (1189—97), that is to say he joined to the south wall of the town a new walled area within which he built palaces, a mosque, and a regular town Nothing remains of the Almohad palaces, but one can from pieces of wall and other vestiges follow the old wall, at least on the north and the east side There also the line of the wall has hardly changed The magnificent gateway of carved stone by which the kasba is now entered, must be one of al-Mansūr's building Its modern name of Bāb Agnāū (the Negro's Gate) is not found in any old text It probably corresponds to Bāb al-Kuhl (Gate of the Negroes), often mentioned by the historians

Ibn Fadl Allāh al ʿUmarī, in the xivth century, Leo Africanus and Marmol in the xvith, have left us fairly detailed descriptions of the kasba, in spite of a few obscure passages In the Almohad period, the kasba was divided into three quite distinct parts One wall in the northwest, around the mosque of al Mansūr which still exists, contained the police offices, the headquarters of the Almohad tribes and the barracks of the Christian soldiery From this one entered through the Bāb al-Tubūl, a second enclosure in which around a huge open space, the "Cereque" of Marmol (*asārāg*), were grouped the guardhouses, the offices of the minister of the army, a guest-house, a madrasa with its library and a large building called *al sakāʾif* (the porticoes), the "Acequife" of Marmol, occupied by the principal members of the Almohad organisation, the "Ten", the "Fifty" and the *tolbā*, the pages (*ahl al-dār*) The royal palace, sometimes called the Alhambra of Marrakesh, in imitation of that of Granada, was entered from the Asārāg and occupied the whole area east of the kasba The palaces of al-Mansūr were still in existence at the beginning of the xvith century when the Saʿdians took possession ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib incorporated them in the new palaces which he was building Ahmad al-Mansūr added, in the gardens to the north, the famous al-Badīʿ palace celebrated for its size and splendour Only a few almost shapeless ruins remain of it, but its plan is perfectly clear Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had it destroyed in order to use its materials The kasba remained so completely in ruins that Sidi Muhammad b ʿAbd Allah when he became governor of Marrakesh in 1746, was obliged to live in a tent until his new buildings were finished It is to him that we owe an important part of the present palace with its inner garden, ʿArsat al Nil Other works were later undertaken by Mawlāy Slīmān and his successors Some large unfinished buildings date only from Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Hafīz A number of gates, in addition to the Bāb Agnāū give admittance to the kasba these are Bab Berrima and Bāb al-Ahmar in the east, Bāb Ighlī and Bāb Ksiba in the west The palace has vast gardens belonging to it Djnān al-ʿĀfiya, Agdāl, Djnān Ridwān, Maʾmūnīya, Manāra The latter, two miles west of the town, contained in the xvith century a pleasure house of the sultāns The palace of Dār al-Baidāʾ, situated in the Agdāl, took the place of a Saʿdian palace It was rebuilt by Sīdī Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh and has since been restored As to the gardens of the Agdāl, they seem to have been created in the xiith century by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin

Mosques Nothing remains of the early Almoravid mosques, in the building of one of which Yūsuf b Tāshfīn himself worked along with the masons as a sign of humility But the cathedral mosque of ʿAlī b Yūsuf, where Ibn Tūmart had an interview with the sultān, although several times rebuilt, still retains its name The Almohads, on taking possession of Marrakesh, destroyed all the mosques on the pretext that they were wrongly

oriented The mosque of ʿAlī b Yūsuf was only partly destroyed and was rebuilt ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib restored it in the middle of the xvith century The present buildings and the minaret date from Mawlāy Slīmān (1792—1822)

Kutubiya When the Almohads entered Marrakesh, Abd al-Muʾmin built the first Kutubīya of which some traces still remain and it has been possible to reconstruct its plan As it was wrongly oriented he built a new mosque, the present Kutubīya, in prolongation of the first but with a slightly different orientation It takes its name from the 100 booksellers' shops which used to be around its entrance It is a very large building with seventeen naves, which with its decoration in carved plaster, its stalactite cupolas, the moulding of its timbeiwork, its capitals and magnificent pulpit (*minbar*) of inlaid work, is the most important and the most perfectly preserved work of Almohad art The minaret, begun by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, was only finished in the reign of his grandson al-Mansūr (1195) It is 230 feet high and its powerful silhouette dominates the whole town and the palm-groves It is the prototype of the Giralda of Seville and of the tower of Hassān at Rabat It is decorated with arcatures the effects of which were formerly heightened by paintings still visible in places, with a band of ceramic work around the top

The mosque of the kasba or mosque of al-Mansūr is the work of Yaʿkūb al Mansūr It was begun in 1189—95 and built in great splendour It has been profoundly altered, first by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib the Saʿdian, then in the middle of the xviiith century by Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, then more recently by Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Rahmān (1822–1859) The minaret of brick is intact and magnificently ornamented with green ceramics The lamp-holder supports a *ḏjāmūr* of three bowls of gilt copper, which occupy a considerable place in the legends of Marrakesh They are said to be of pure gold and to be enchanted so that no one could take them away without bringing on himself the most terrible misfortunes This legend is often wrongly connected with the *ḏjāmūr* of the Kutubīya

Among the religious monuments of Marrakesh of archaeological interest, may also be mentioned the minarets of the mosque of Ibn Sālah (dated 731 = 1331) and of the sanctuary of Mawla 'l-Ksūr, built in the Marīnid period in the Almohad tradition, and two Saʿdian mosques the mosque of al-Mwāsin or mosque of the Sharifs, which owes its origin to ʿAbd Allāh al Ghālib, and that of Bāb Dukkāla, built in 965 (1557—1558) by Lālla Masʿūda, the mother of the Sultān Ahmad al-Mansūr

Madrasas An Almohad madrasa, built "to teach the children of the king and others of his family in it", formed part of the buildings of Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr This royal school was presumably different from what later were the Marīnid madrasas It stood on the great square in front of the palace and was still in existence in the time of Leo Africanus The Marīnid Abu 'l-Hasan in 1347 built another madrasa, also described by Leo It lay north of the mosque of the kasba, where traces of it can still be seen The madrasa of Ibn Yūsuf is not, as is usually said, a restoration of the Marīnid madrasa It was a new building by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib, dated by an inscription of 972 (1564—1565), the only surviving example of a Saʿdian madrasa

Saʿdian tombs The two first founders of the dynasty rest beside the tomb of Sīdī Muhammad b Slīmān al-Djazūlī in the Ryād al-ʿArūs quarter Their successors from 1557 were buried to the south of the mosque of the kasba There was a cemetery there, probably as early as the Almohad period, which still has tombs of the xivth century The magnificent kubbas which cover the tombs of the Saʿdian dynasty must have been built at two different periods The one on the east under which is the tomb of Muhammad al-Shaikh seems to have been built by ʿAbd Allāh al Ghālib The other, with three chambers, seems to have been erected by Ahmad al-Mansūr (d 1603) to hold his tomb

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AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ. [See ʿABD AL-WĀKID]

MARṢAD (A), from *rasada*, "to wait on the road, to watch, to lie in wait", originally any place where a watch was kept, for example, a custom-house, then (with or without *al-kawākib*) an observatory *Al-raṣad* is also used in the latter sense "To consult the stars for any one" is *rasada li-fulān*in, to take astronomical measurements with instruments is *kāsa* (cf *kiyās* = ascertaining latitude and longitude and *mikyās* = gnomon)

The Arab observatories had their models and predecessors in the Persian, Indian, Greek and Babylonian observatories Very little is known about the construction of the oldest observatories It is obvious however that when the advance was made from the observation and recording of isolated phenomena in the heavens, which were regarded as omens of good or ill fortune, to the exact following of the movements of heavenly bodies, simple instruments to calculate time and measure areas and angles in the heavens would become necessary Such must have existed in the towers of Babylonian temples which were used as observatories, in the form of sundials, sand- and water-clocks measuring rods, and graduated circles In the time of Ptolemy sundials and water-clocks were certainly in use, a circle divided parallel to the equator of the heavens which was used to calculate the equinox and length of the year, a meridian circle, the armillary sphere and the astrolabe or plani-sphere The Arab astronomers, however, received their knowledge from the Hindus and Persians, among whom astrology and practical astronomy had reached a high level When the first astronomical observations were made under the ʿAbbāsids at Djundī Sābūr and the first astronomical works were translated out of the Sanskrit and Pahlawī, there is no doubt that the observatories erected in Baghdād were also modelled on Indian and Persian prototypes In his astronomical work, al-Battānī describes the construction of the sundial (*al-rukhāma*), a globe of the heavens (*al-baida*), a wall-quadrant (*al-rubʿ* or *al-libna*) and a triquetrum (*al-ʿidāda al-tawila* or *dhāt al-shuʿbatain*) The instrument most used in the Arab period however was the astrolabe which was portable (cf above 1, p 501) The number of makers of astrolabes, observers and compilers of astronomial tables from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period is immense and the rivalry of princes to obtain more and more accuracy in the astronomical foundations of astrology also led to the improvement of instruments and the arrangements in observatories generally It is sufficient to mention out of the many observatories that of Cairo where Ibn Yūnus (d 400—401 = 1009) completed the Hākimī tables, the observatory of Nīshāpūr where al-Khāzinī (d beginning of the vith = xiith century) took observations, that of Marāgha which Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī erected with many new instruments for the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū (1259) and the observatory of Samarḳand, where Ulūgh Beg employed the astronomers of his time Following him in many points but also stimulated by European astronomy Djai Singh in India built the great observatories, the remains of which still arouse admiration in Delhi, Djaipūr, Udjain, Benares and Mathura

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MARTHIYA (A, plur *marāthi*), translated variously by elegy or dirge, is a poem in Arabic (and other languages following Arabic tradition) in memory of a deceased person The word elegy is hardly applicable in most cases as such poems differ somewhat from the style of Greek and Latin poems bearing this name, some notable exceptions exist and the finest example of a real elegy is perhaps the poem of a woman named Barra al Kinānīya preserved in the *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārain*, and still unpublished It was the custom of the ancient Arabs after the usual *nawh* or lamentation of women [q v] that a member of the family, gifted as a poet, should commemorate the noble qualities and deeds of the departed in a poem by enumerating them These poems as a rule do not contain the *tashbib* or amatory introduction like ordinary *kaṣidas* and in many cases have a peculiarity in their diction, the introduction of a kind of internal rhyme resembling *sadj*ʿ, called *tarsi*ʿ This has been fully discussed by Rhodokanakis in his analysis of the poetry of al-Khansāʾ, but is found in many other marthiyas Many poets, remembering the widespread, nay universal, belief of the ancient Arabs in fatalism, embellish their poems with descriptions to show that nothing can escape inevitable fate A typical example is the long poem by Abū Dhuʾaib (*Dīwān*, N° 1, *Mufaddaliyāt*, N° 126) in which three vivid pictures are drawn of the impossibility of escaping death, both for man and beast This tradition has been followed by Arabic poets from the times of paganism to the present date and the quantity of poems produced for example upon the death of the Egyptian statesman Zaghlūl Pāshā proves that the taste for them has not abated The collected poems of al-Zahāwī, the most prominent living poet of

the ʿIrāk, contain several pages mourning Zaghlūl As regards the earlier period, poems have been preserved in considerable numbers and from the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām downwards nearly every anthology has a special chapter devoted to marāthī Several early scholars in addition made special collections of this class of literature and one such collection has come down to us, made by the Kūfī grammarian Ibn al Aʿrābī, and published from an incomplete manuscript by W Wright The poet *par excellence* in this class of poetry however was a woman, al-Khansāʾ [q v]

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(F KRENKOW)

MARTOLOSEN Lexicons explain *martolos* and *martoloz* as "Christian soldiers, volunteers in the Ottoman army" The word apparently is not to be found in Turkish authors, but is often met with in Western books and documents

Leunclavius (*Annales*, p 142) says that *martelos* means "robber", Ricaut (Italian translation by C Belli, *Istoria dello stato presente dell' Impero ottomano*) relates that Buda was garrisoned by 300 *martoloi* "who are like infantry", M Sanudo (*Diarii*, xxxvi 271) mentions one Sbolo vach "a very brave man and great *martelosso*", who served the Turks and was killed in action near Zara in Dalmatia According to Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomanno*, 4th ed, Naples 1600, p 110—111), *martelos* means spy and thief

Sathas (*Monum Historiae Hellenicae*, IV, lvi, N° 4) derives the word (*martolosi*, *maṛtalosi*, *martelosi*, *martelossi*, *armatoli*) from ἀρματολός and says that they were soldiers of fortune serving the Turks, often opposed the "Stradioti", who fought for the Venetians

Von Hammer (*G O R*, IV 211—212) observes that the *martolosi* were bands of brigands, armed by the Turks on the frontiers towards the Venetians and Dalmatians, while, quoting Pouqeville, who favours the etymology ἀρματολός, he inclines to an etymology from the Hungarian

Pouqeville's and Sathas' explanations seem to us the most probable The appellation was not limited to brigands on the western frontiers of the Ottoman empire, but was also given to armed bands of volunteers (XVIth–XVIIth centuries) in the Danube region (Jorga, *Geschichte des osm Reiches*, III 419, Hurmuzaki, *Documente* etc, XII, p 130) (ETTORE ROSSI)

MAʿRŪF AL-KARKHĪ, ABŪ MAHFŪẒ B FIRŪZ or FIRŪZĀN, who died in 200 (815—816), was a celebrated ascetic and mystic of the Baghdād school The *nisba* al-Karkhī probably refers to Karkh Bādjaddā, a township in eastern ʿIrāḳ (Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, p 478b, l 10, cf Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 369, l 8 *sqq*), though some authorities connect him with the Karkh quarter of Baghdād His parents are generally said to have been Christians, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (ed Juynboll and Matthes, I 575), they were Sābiʾans belonging to the district of Wāsiṭ Bakr b Khunais al-Kūfī and Farkad al-Sabakhī, also of Kūfa, are named as his teachers in Sūfism (Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, I 9, *Fihrist*, p 183) Of those whom he taught or influenced the most famous was Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [q v], who in his turn became the master of Djunaid The story that Maʿrūf was a client of the Shīʿī *Imām*, ʿAlī b Mūsā al-Riḍā, before whom he made profession of Islām and induced his parents to do the same, deserves no credence Among the sayings attributed to him are the following "Love is not to be learned from men, it is a gift of God and comes of His grace" "The saints are known by three signs their cares are for God, their business is in God, and their flight is unto God" "Sūfism consists in grasping the realities (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) and renouncing that which is in the hands of created beings" Maʿrūf was venerated as a saint, and his tomb at Baghdād on the west bank of the Tigris is still a great resort for pilgrims Kushairī relates that the people used to go there in order to pray for rain, saying "The tomb of Maʿrūf is an approved remedy (*tiryāk mudjarrab*)"

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MAʿRŪF RUṢĀFĪ, one of the best of contemporary Arab poets, born in Baghdād of a Kurd father and a Beduin mother in 1292 (1875) His *ḳaṣīdas* have been collected into a *Dīwān* and edited by Muhyī al-Dīn al-Khaiyāt, Bairūt 1910, following quite an original classification I *Kawniyāt*, 2 *Idjtimāʿiyāt*, 3 *Taʾrīkhiyāt*, 4 *Wasfiyāt* Rufaʿyil Buttī has devoted an excellent study to him (in *al-Adab al-Aṣrī fi ʾl ʿIrāk al-ʿArabī*, Cairo, Salafiya 1922, p 67—96)

(L MASSIGNON)

MĀRŪT [See HĀRŪT and MĀRŪT]

MARW. [See MERW]

AL-MARWA. [See AL SAFĀ]

MARWĀN B AL-ḤAKAM, the father of the Marwānid Caliphs, was born at Mecca or at Ṭāʾif, probably several years before the Hidjra Tradition, by placing his birth 2, 4, or 5 years later than the beginning of this era, aims at depriving him of a right to the title of "Companion" by showing that he could not have effectively accompanied the Prophet, as he must have followed his father who was exiled to Ṭāʾif Further, it endeavours in its hostility to give him the epithet of *ṭarīd ibn al-ṭarīd*, "the banished son of the banished man" After becoming Caliph, his grand-uncle ʿUthmān adopted him as his secretary and under this title he is said to have governed in his name Seriously wounded on the "day of al-Dār", at the siege of the palace of ʿUthmān, he took part later in the battle of the Camel in which he received fresh wounds All his life his health suffered from these terrible shocks Muʿāwiya I used him alternately with Saʿīd b al-ʿĀs [q v], his cousin, to govern Medina and the Hidjāz He showed in this function a capacity and vigour, far above the ordinary

Finally dismissed from office, he passed into obscurity during the latter years of Muʿāwiya who dreaded his ambition When Husain b ʿAlī refused

to recognize the Caliph Yazīd, Marwān advised Walīd b ʿUtba, his successor at Medīna, to employ force against the rebel The revolt of the people of Medina caused him to be expelled with all his followers from this town He returned to it in the train of Muslim b ʿUkba [q v] whose military operations he was supporting Put to flight once more after the death of Yazīd I, he took up his residence in Syria and attended the court of the Caliph Muʿāwiya II After the disappearance of this prince, Marwān, despairing of the fortunes of the Omaiyads, was disposed to recognize Ibn al-Zubair, when ʿUbaidallāh b Ziyād persuaded him to set up himself as candidate Acclaimed at the assembly of Djābiya, he defeated the Kaisīs under Dahhāk b Kais [q v] at Marḏj Rāhit [q v] The submission of the whole of Syria was the first result of this victory

The reign of Marwān may be epitomized as an uninterrupted series of battles Immediately after his official installation at Damascus he was forced to take up the gauntlet He laid it down only to die in his capital His chief task was the conquest of Egypt A rapid campaign gave him possession of it, while his lieutenant repelled a raid into Palestine by Ibn al Zubair At Djābiya he was compelled to recognize as his eventual successors, Khālid the son of Yazid I and the Omaiyad ʿAmr al-Ashdak [q v] After laborious negotiations, he was able to end them to the advantage of his own sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the latter being nominated by him governor of Egypt This was the last success of his adventurous career Worn out, the septuagenarian caliph died at Damascus on the 27th Ramadān 65 (7th May 685) He is said to have been murdered by the wife of Yazīd I, the mother of the Sufyānid Khālid, whom he had married after Marḏj Rāhit

The estimates of the length of his reign vary between 8 and 11 months, according as they count the first recognition of him at Djābiya or the second — the exact date is not known — more ceremonious one at Damascus We do not know his exact age any more definitely The two extremes 61 and 81 years reveal the inconsistency of tradition The 63 years sometimes given to Marwān are merely a lucky number which has been much abused to give the ages of the older caliphs It has the advantage that it takes us back to the year 2, often said to be the year of his birth Our texts describe him as an old man, *shaikh kabīr*, when he ascended the throne and contrast him with the *kahl*, middle-aged man, i e Ibn al-Zubair who, however, was nearly sixty There must therefore have been an appreciable difference of age between the two competitors Marwān, therefore, seems to us to have been over seventy The last five years of his life, filled with rebellions, his two exiles, his share in the campaign against Medīna, and in those of Syria and Egypt to reconquer these provinces of his empire finally wore out the constitution of this vigorous old man, who had never been completely cured of the effects of his terrible wounds he received in his youth This long lean wizened old man — these physical characteristics earned him the nickname *khaiṭ bāṭil* — was destined to fall a victim to the great epidemic that swept over the East In 65 H the plague reached Syria from the ʿIrāḳ, it had begun by carrying off Muʿāwiya II, the decrepit predecessor of Marwān, as well as Walīd b ʿUtba, a relative of both, it ended by laying low the first of the Marwānid caliphs

Marwān showed himself a statesman worthy of the highest rank A contemporary of the great Muʿāwiya, he had under the Sufyānids to accept — without ever resigning himself to it — the part of a brilliant second He attained the caliphate, ever the object of his wishes, at the moment he had ceased to care about it He allowed himself to be raised to the throne, rather than mounted it himself But once at the top he regained that power of lucid decision and spirit of initiative which had earned Muʿāwiya's appreciation, though he feared his ambition The new ruler remained on the throne just long enough to save the Omaiyad fortunes from an imminent collapse and to save the future of the younger branch of this dynasty which bears his name The work was continued by his favourite son ʿAbd al-Malik He early recognised the merits of this, the elder, man, and with a brutality and absence of scruple which was thoroughly Arab, he put him in the place of the young Khālid b Yazīd I, who was less well fitted for the difficulties of the restoration This is sufficient to characterize his place among the Syrian caliphs It will explain the hatred of ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid historians, a hatred adopted by Muslim tradition In energy and knowledge of the art of government, Marwān, recalled his illustrious relative Muʿāwiya He would have equalled him, if to these eminent qualities he had been able to add that variety of political knowledge, a mixture of cunning and bonhomie, so appreciated by the Arabs, which they call *ḥilm* He became Caliph in most critical circumstances and had to display firmness above all things, to put down rebellions, and to defend himself against the ambition and resentment of his relatives, frustrated in their attempts on the throne, or spoiled by him of their rights to it If it had been given to him to live longer, we may well believe that he would have rivalled the first of the Omaiyad Caliphs in nobility of soul

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MARWĀN II B MUḤAMMAD, the last of the Omaiyad caliphs in Damascus He was the grandson of the caliph Marwān b al-Hakam As governor of Mesopotamia and Armenia his

father Muhammad for several years directed the campaigns against the Byzantines His mother was a Kurdish slave-girl Maslama b ʿAbd al Malik [q v] was one of those who followed Muhammad b Marwān to war, it is not till 115 (733—734) that we find Marwān coming to the front as governor of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān In this position, which he held for 12 years, he fought with success against the peoples of the Caucasus and thus acquired military experience which enabled him to reorganise the Muslim army In place of divisions consisting of the different tribes he created regular, paid troops under professional commanders, the men levied for military service were divided up into smaller divisions (*kurādis*) which possessed much greater mobility and strength than the long Arab battle lines After the death in 126 (744) of Yazīd III the succession passed to his brother Ibrāhīm b al-Walīd, the latter however was only recognised in the southern part of Syria Under the pretext of protecting the interests of the sons of the murdered Walid II, Marwan crossed the Euphrates into Syria where the Kaisīs at once joined him At ʿAin al Djarr between Lebanon and Anti Lebanon he encountered the Kalbis under Sulaimān, a son of the caliph Hishām In spite of his years of experience in war with the Byzantines the latter was no match for Marwān He was defeated and fled to Damascus, where he put to death the two sons of Walid II He then went with his father, the nominal caliph Ibrahim to Palmyra, the capital of the Kalbīs, whereupon Marwān entered Damascus and received the homage of the people (Ṣafar 26, 127 = Dec 7, 744) After arranging matters in the capital he made his headquarters in Harrān, where he could rely upon the support of the Kaisis who were devoted to him The result was a rising of the Kalbis in Syria Marwān soon succeeded in restoring order but when in the following year he was preparing a campaign against the ʿIrāk not yet subject to him, he made the mistake of levying Syrian troops also who were to join the rest of the army on the march On reaching al-Rusāfa where Sulaimān b Hishām lived, the Syrians deserted from Marwān and proclaimed Sulaimān commander of the faithful When Sulaimān occupied Kinnasrīn, Marwān had to come back A battle took place near the town, Sulaimān was defeated and fled first to Hims and then to al-Kūfa After a siege of several months Hims was forced to surrender, Marwan razed its walls to the ground and also those of Baʿalbek, Damascus, Jerusalem and other large towns of Syria In the summer of 128 (746) peace was finally restored in Syria

In the eastern provinces however complete anarchy reigned The governorship of the ʿIrāk had been given by Yazīd III to a son of the caliph ʿOmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz, named ʿAbd Allāh [q v] The latter of course did not recognise the claims of Marwān to the caliphate and the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b Muʿāwiya [q v] also rebelled in al Kūfa Marwān appointed a new governor Nadr b Saʿīd al-Harashī to restore peace and security, the latter however soon fell in battle with ʿAbd Allāh b ʿOmar and only the approach of a danger that threatened both sides, the Khāridjī movement brought the two opponents to terms The Khāridjīs a little later seized the town of al-Mawsil ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the caliph, was defeated and had to retreat In the late summer of 28 (746) however the Khāridjī leader al-Dahhāk b Kais al Shaibānī [q v] fell in battle with Marwān himself and in the following year the power of these dangerous rebels was finally broken after one of Marwān's generals Yazid b ʿOmar b Hubaira had taken the ʿIrāk from them

Soon afterwards however a cloud that boded evil appeared in another direction Naṣr b Saiyār al-Laithī, governor of Khorāsān, had long before warned the caliph of the seditious activities of the ʿAbbāsids and urgently appealed for assistance to render their cunning agitators harmless Marwān however had his hands full and could devote no attention to the distant east In Ramadān 129 (June 747) the long prepared rebellion broke out in Khorāsān Apart from a few isolated successes, the government troops were defeated by the rebels and after the fall of al-Kūfa, Abu 'l ʿAbbās who with his brother Abū Djaʿfar had taken command of the ʿAbbāsid party had himself proclaimed caliph on the 12th Rabīʿ II, 132 (Nov 28, 749) In Djumādā II of the same year (Jan 750) Marwān was defeated on the upper Zāb He then fled from one place to another till he was overtaken at Būsir in the district of Ushmūnain in Upper Egypt Here the last Damascus caliph of the Omaiyad dynasty fell fighting bravely (end of 132 = Aug 750)

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(K V Zetterstéen)

MARWĀNIDS, a Muhammadan dynasty in Diyār Bakr, founded by the Kurd chief Bādh, who had begun his career as a shepherd and then took to brigandage With the help of a body of men similarly inclined, he seized the town of Ardjish in Armenia with other strongholds on the Armenian frontier After the death of the Būyid ʿAdud al-Dawla (372 = 983), he invaded the province of Diyār Bakr and captured Āmid, Maiyāfārikīn and Nasibin The armies, which Samsām al Dawla sent against him, were defeated and al Mawsil also passed into his hands But when he tried to seize the capital, Baghdād (Safar 373 = July—Aug 983), he suffered a complete defeat and had to abandon al-Mawsil After vain attempts to retake this town, he took the field again in 380 (990—991) but was defeated by the Hamdānids, the lords of al-Mawsil, and fell in the battle Abū ʿAlī al Hasan b Marwān, his sister's son, then married his widow and thus came into possession of the lands conquered by Bādh and continued the war against the Hamdānids whom he twice defeated After the murder of Abū ʿAlī in 387 (997—998) in Āmid, his brother Mumahhid al-Dawla Abu 'l-Mansūr succeeded him The third brother Nasr al-Dawla Abū Nasr Ahmad at first attempted to dispute his authority but without

success In 402 (1011—1012) Abu 'l-Mansūr was poisoned by one of his generals, whereupon Abū Nasr was recognised as lord of Diyār Bakr During his rule of fifty years, peace and quiet as a rule prevailed, and poets and learned men found a hospitable welcome at his court In 433 (1041—1042) the Ghuzz [q v] who had invaded Mesopotamia in the previous year, raided Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, but Sulaimān, son of Abū Nasr, succeeded in outwitting and capturing their leader whereupon the others dispersed, they soon returned however and continued their plundering, although Abū Nasr released their chief and gave them a considerable sum to induce them to withdraw They then occupied al-Mawsil, which was completely sacked while the emīr there, Karwāsh b al-Mukallad [q v], saved himself by flight In 435 (1044) he finally succeeded in driving out the Ghuzz whereupon they withdrew to Diyār Bakr and thence to Ādharbāidjān When the Saldjūk Sultan Toghrul Beg in 448 (1056—7) advanced against Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, Abū Nasr gained him over by gifts and a friendly relationship was established between them Abū Nasr died in 453 (1061—1062) aged over 80 He was succeeded by his son Nizām al-Dawla Nasr, who had however to go through a hard struggle with his brother Saʿīd The former was victorious in Maiyāfārikin, while the latter had to be satisfied with Āmid In 463 (1070—1071) Nasr submitted to the Saldjūk Sultān Alp Arslān After Nasr's death (472 = 1080) his son Mansūr was recognised as his successor Soon afterwards the Saldjūks overthrew the Marwānid dynasty In 478 (1085—1086) Ibn Djahīr, Malik-Shāh's vizier, and his son Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Abu 'l-Kāsim conquered the towns of Āmid, Maiyāfārikīn and Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar and then brought the whole province of Diyār Bakr under the rule of the Saldjūks Mansūr, the last Marwānid, died in Muharram 489 (Dec 1095—Jan 1096) in Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), ix 25 *sq*, 49—52, 272—276, 416 *sq*, x 11, 86 *sq*, 93 *sq*, 151, 174 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv 251—253, 259—261, 315—321, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 36, 106, 131, Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p 118

(K V Zetterstéen)

MĀRYĀ, a tribe in the Western zone of Eritrea They are — for the most part — shepherds and inhabit the middle valley of the ʿAnsabā river in the district of Karan Their tribe is formed by two sections of nobles Māryā Kayih "the Red Māryā" and Māryā Sallim "the Black Māryā", and the families of the vassals The "Red" Māryā have been traditionally in a lower position than the "Black" and they were obliged to pay on certain occasions special gifts to the "Black" as, for instance, when the chief of the "Black" died The vassals were practically divided between the Red and the Black as every family of them lived under the patronage of the chief of a noble family Both the paramount chiefs of the noble sections had some particular rights over all the vassals of the noble families of their sections as they had, for instance, the power to order that every vassal may give to them the same gift as to his individual patron or to oblige the patrons to pay, as a duty to the highest representative of the tribe, the tenth part of every gift or duty of their vassals

The Māryā claim to be descendants of a warrior, Māryā, born from Saho stock, who emigrated with seventeen soldiers to the borders of the ʿAnsabā and was received there as a guest by the natives But, afterwards, the sons of Māryā had so greatly increased that they were able to occupy the whole land and to subdue the native tribes who became their vassals These natives, who are called *tigrāy* on account of their origin, were really Abyssinians and Bedja However, the Māryā and their vassals to day speak only the Tigrē language, and the Saho, as the Bedja, has been wholly forgotten

The Māryā were Christians but, about half a century ago, they were converted to Islām Even their clans (as the ʿAd Te-mikāʾēl, a section of the "Red") and their ancestors till recent generations bore Christian names In any case, Islāmic law has gradually gained great influence, among the Māryā, and this has been from many points of view a real profit to the population, as the laws of Islām may moderate in a good way the ancient rough customs which strongly assured the privileges of the nobles and their mastery on the vassals As a matter of fact, in the hereditary law, the prevalent right of the first born son and the exclusion of the daughters from the succession of their father's estates became gradually disused on account of the Islāmic influences In the same way, the custom of declaring slaves those vassals who could not pay their debts to the nobles and the great differences, in the penal law, as to the punishment of crimes perpetrated by the nobles or by the vassals, had already been diminished after the conversion of the Māryā to the Islām, when the occupation of Eritrea by Italy caused the complete abrogation of those rules

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(Enrico Cerulli)

MARYAM, Mary The Arabic form of the name is identical with ܡܪܝܡ and *μαριάμ* which are used in the Syriac and in the Greek Bible in the New as well as in the Old Testament In the latter it corresponds to the Hebrew מִרְיָם This name, like other ones with the same suffix, such as ʿAmram, Bilʿam, points to the region between Palestine and Northwestern Arabia as its home According to Muslim interpretation the name means "the pious" (*al-ʿābida*, cf the commentaries on sūra iii 31) It occurs frequently in the Kurʾān in the combination [ʿĪsā] Ibn Maryam "[Jesus] the son of Mary" (sūra ii 81, 254, iii 31 *sqq*, iv 156, 169, v 19, 50, 76, 82, 109, 112, 114, 116, ix 31, xix 35, xxiii 52, xxxiii 7, xliii 57, lvii 27, lxi 6, 14), no father being mentioned, because, according to Muslim tradition also, ʿĪsā had no earthly father In the majority of these passages ʿĪsā is clearly regarded as the higher of the two Yet Maryam's place is important from a dogmatical as well as from a historical point of view

Maryam is mentioned in the Kurʾān, from the oldest parts down to the later Madīnese sūras

To the first Makkan period belongs sūra xxiii 52 "And we made the son of Maryam and his

mother a sign, and we made them abide in an elevated place, full of quiet and watered with springs" Here is possibly the first allusion in the Kur'ān to the virgin birth This idea is accentuated in sūra xix 20, where Maryam gives the spirit (i e the angel) who announces to her the birth of a male child, this reply "How should I have a male child, no human man having touched me?" In sūra lxvi 12 the conception is ascribed to this divine spirit (cf Luke i 34 *sq* Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee)

The virgin birth is also mentioned in sūra lxvi 12 (Madinian) "And Maryam bint ʿImrān who kept her body pure Then we breathed into it from our spirit She acknowledged the truth of the words of her Lord and of his book and she belonged to the obedient"

A third mention of the annunciation and the virgin birth is in sūra iii 37 "When the angels said, O Maryam, verily Allāh has elected and purified thee and elected thee above the women of all created beings O Maryam, be obedient unto thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow down with those who bow down" (cf Luke i 28) Maryam is indeed reckoned as one of the four best women that ever existed, together with Āsiya [q v], Khadīdja [q v] and Fāṭima [q v] (Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 135), and the chief of the women of Paradise (Ibn Hanbal, iii 64, 80)

According to tradition the annunciation took place in the following way Djibrīl appeared to Mary in the shape of a beardless youth with a shining face and curling hair, announcing to her the birth of a male child She expressed her amazement, but, on the angel's reassuring answer, she complied with the will of God

Thereupon the angel blew his breath into the fold of her shirt, which she had put off When the angel had withdrawn, she put on the shirt and became pregnant The annunciation took place in the cavern of the well of Silwān, whither Maryam had gone, as usual, to fill her pitcher, she was then 10 or 13 years of age, and it was the longest day of the year In Christian tradition also the voice of the angel was heard by Maryam for the first time when she had gone to fill her pitcher According to a different tradition ʿĪsā's spirit entered Maryam through her mouth (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi 22)

A second important dogmatical feature is that Maryam belongs to the Trinity according to the Kur'ān A glimpse of this conception is given in sūra v 79 "al-Masīh, the son of Maryam, is an Apostle only, who was preceded by other Apostles, and his mother an upright woman, and both were wont to take food" This verse is apparently meant as a refutation of the Christians who venerated ʿĪsā and his mother as divine persons, elevated above human needs With this verse may be compared sūra iv 169 "O people of the book, beware of exaggeration in your religion and say of Allāh nothing but the truth ʿĪsā b Maryam is only the Apostle of Allāh and His word, which He conveyed unto Maryam, and a spirit that came forth from Him Believe, therefore, on Allāh and his Apostles and say not 'three' Beware of this, this will be better for you Allāh is but one God" etc

Clearer is sūra v 116 "And when Allāh said, O ʿĪsā b Maryam, hast thou said to the people, Take me and my mother as two Gods besides Allāh? He answered Far be it, that I should say to what I am not entitled If I should have said it, Thou wouldst know it" etc

The commentaries also describe the Trinity as consisting of Allāh, ʿĪsā and Maryam Al-Baidāwī, however, admits that in sūra iv 169 there could be an allusion to the Christian doctrine of one God in three hypostasies Father, Son and Holy Ghost

The question how Muhammad had come to conceive of Maryam as one of the persons of the Trinity, has often been asked Maracci has made a reference to Epiphanius, *Adv Haereses*, Haeres lxxviii, § 23, where this author speaks of women in Arabia who venerated Mary as God, and offered to her cakes, from which the heresy is often called that of the Collyridians Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, p 45, mentions the Mariamites, who worshipped a Trinity consisting of God, Christ and Mary, referring to a passage in the work of al-Makīn It may, however, be that Muhammad's conception was not influenced by any sect, but by the veneration of which Mary was the object in the Church itself Or it may be an inference due to the identification of ʿĪsā with the Holy Ghost (cf sūra iv 169 as translated above), which made a vacant place in the Trinity, which Mary seemed entitled to occupy A different explanation is attempted by Sayous, *l c*, p 61 (see *Bibliography*)

A comparatively large place is occupied in the Kur'ān by the story of Maryam and ʿĪsā Many of the features narrated agree, partly or wholly, with narratives in the apocryphal Gospels Sūra xxiii 52 (see above) mentions the elevated place that was prepared for ʿĪsā and his mother It is not clear which tradition is here alluded to According to St Luke i 39, Mary went to the mountains to visit Elisabeth In the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (chap xxii, Syriac text, p 20) it is Elisabeth who flees together with John to a mountain, which opens to protect them against their persecutors The Muslim commentators mention Jerusalem, Damascus, Ramla, Egypt as being possibly meant by the "elevated place" Maracci thinks of Paradise

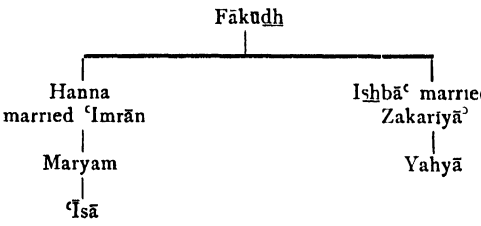
In two passages of the Kur'ān there is a fuller narrative of ʿĪsā's birth and what is connected with it, viz in sūra xix (which bears the title of Maryam), vs 1—35, and in sūra iii 31—42

Sūra xix opens with the story of Zakarīyā' and Yahyā (vs 1—15), on this follows the story of Maryam and ʿĪsā (vs 16—34) Sūra iii 31—42 contains *a* the birth of Maryam, *b* the annunciation of Yahyā (vs 33—36), *c* the annunciation of ʿĪsā (vs 37—41) The comparison of sūra xix with sūra iii makes it probable that Muhammad became acquainted with the story of the birth of Maryam later than with those of Yahyā and ʿĪsā

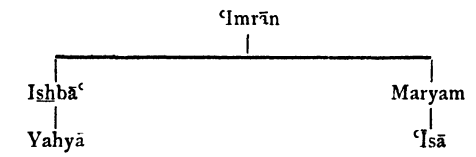
a The birth of Maryam This story goes back to a Christian tradition corresponding closely with that which is contained in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *De nativitate Mariae* Mary's father is called ʿImrān in the Kur'ān, Ioachim in Christian tradition, Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, ii 144) is also acquainted with the name Ioachim It has been supposed that the name of ʿImrān, which apparently corresponds with the Biblical ʿAmram, the father of Moses, as well as the fact that Maryam is called

a sister of Hārūn (sūra xix 29), is due to a confusion between the two Biblical Maryam's Sale, Gerock and others think such a confusion improbable At any rate Muslim tradition assures us that there is a distance of 1,800 years between the Biblical ʿAmram and the father of Mary

ʿImrān's wife, ʿĪsā's grandmother, is not mentioned by name in the Kurʾān In Christian as well as in Muslim tradition she is called Hanna It is only in Muslim tradition that her genealogy is worked out She is a daughter of Fākūdh and a sister of Ishbāʿ, the Biblical Elisabeth



According to a different genealogy Ishbāʿ and Maryam were sisters, daughters of ʿImrān and Hanna (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i 120 *sq*, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii 144)-



ʿImrān and Hanna were old and childless One day the sight of a bird in a tree, which was feeding her young, aroused Hanna's desire for a child She prays God to fulfil her desire and vows, if her prayer should be heard, the child to the temple She had however forgotten that, according to the Jewish law, it would be impossible, to accomplish her vow, if she should give birth to a female child (cf *Protev Jacobi*, chapters iii, iv, Syriac text, p 4) Compare with this Sūra, iii 31 "How the wife of ʿImrān said, O my Lord, I have vowed to Thee what is in my womb Now accept [this vow] from me, Thou art the hearing, the knowing And when she had given birth to the child, she said, O my Lord, I have given birth to a female child and I have called her Maryam"

Then the Kurʾān relates how she invoked on behalf of Maryam and her posterity Allah's protection from Satan On this verse is based the well known *hadīth* "Every child that is born, is touched (or stung) by Satan and this touch makes it cry, except Maryam and her son" (Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bāb* 44, *Tafsīr*, Sūra 3, b 2, Muslim, *Fadāʾil*, trad 146, 147, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii 233, 274 *sq*, 288, 292, 319, 368, 523) This tradition is used in support of the impeccability (*ʿisma*) of ʿĪsā, Maryam and the Prophets in general (cf al-Nawawī *ad* Muslim, *l c* and al-Baidāwī *ad* sūra iii 31)

The Kurʾān further relates (vs 32) that the child grows up in a chamber in the temple (*miḥrāb*, cf the κοιτῶν in *Protev Jac*, vi, Syr text, p 5 *sq*) under the divine grace and under Zakariyāʾ's care According to Muslim tradition, ʿImrān had died before the birth of Maryam, and Zakarīyāʾ claimed authority over her on account of his being her uncle, the rabbis did not recognise his claim, his right was proved by an ordeal, consisting in the parties throwing their pens or arrows in a river, the only one that floated was that of Zakarīyāʾ Sūra iii 39 refers to this Christian tradition knows of an ordeal only in the case of Joseph, who, because a dove comes forth from his staff, is recognised as Maryam's guardian

As often as Zakariyāʾ enters Maryam's *miḥrāb*, he finds her being provided with food in a miraculous way (vs 32) This feature also belongs to Christian tradition (*Protev Jacobi*, chap viii, Syr text, p 7) The person of Joseph is not mentioned in the Kurʾān In Muslim tradition he takes care of Maryam, his cousin, because Zakarīyāʾ is no longer able to do so, on account of old age Maryam stays however in the temple, which she leaves during her monthly period only According to Christian tradition, Joseph takes her into his house when she attains to womanhood, lest she should defile the temple

b The annunciation of Yahyā See this art and ZAKARĪYĀʾ

c The annunciation and birth of ʿĪsā The more detailed narrative is that of sūra xix 16 *sqq* Maryam retires to "a place situated eastward", where she hides herself behind a curtain The commentaries do not know whether a place to the east of Jerusalem is meant, or the eastern part of her house, to which she retires every month It is said that this is the origin of the *kibla* of the Christians

In vs 17—21 the story of the annunciation is given (cf above), followed by that of ʿĪsā's birth, which, according to some Muslim traditions, followed the conception either immediately or very soon The pains of childbirth came upon Maryam when she was near the trunk of a palm "She said, would to God I had died before this, and had become a thing forgotten, and lost in oblivion And he who was beneath her [i e the child, or Djibrīl, or the palm] called to her, saying, Be not grieved, God has provided a rivulet under thee, and shake the trunk of the palm and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered And eat and drink and calm thy mind" This story may, perhaps, be considered as a parallel to the Christian tradition in which it is related that, during the flight to Egypt, the babe Jesus ordered a palm in the desert to bow down in order to refresh Mary by its dates, whereupon the palm obeyed and stayed with its head at Mary's feet, till the child ordered it to stand upright again and to open a vein between its roots in order to quench the thirst of the holy family (Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, chap xx) The Kurʾān goes on (vs 26) "And when thou seest any man, say, I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful, so I may not speak to any man to-day" The commentaries say, this was meant to avoid importunate questions This feature is not in Christian tradition, yet in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* it is said (chap xii, Syr text, p 11) that Mary, who was then 16 years of age, hid herself from the Israelites According to Muslim tradition, she stayed in a cavern during forty days "Then she brought him", continues the Kurʾān (xix 28), "to her people, carrying him They said, O Maryam, now thou hast done a strange thing O sister of Hārūn, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot Then she pointed to the child" Then the child begins to speak, one of the wellknown

miracles ascribed to ʿĪsā The "very shameful calumny" which the Israelites brought forth against Maryam, is also mentioned in sūra iv 155

As to the words "O sister of Hārūn" (cf above), it may be added that, according to the commentaries, this Hārūn was not Moses' brother, but one of Maryam's contemporaries, who was either a wicked man, with whom she is compared in this respect, or her pious brother

A legend about loaves of bread which Maryam gave to the Magi, is mentioned by al Masʿūdī, iv 79 *sq*

The flight to Egypt is not mentioned in the Kurʾān, unless the "elevated place" (sūra xxiii 52, cf above) should be an allusion to it According to Muslim tradition which is acquainted with it, the abode lasts 12 years After the death of Herod the holy family returns to Nāsira

After his alleged death ʿĪsa consoles his mother from heaven According to others it was Mary Magdalene The stories of the *Transitus Mariae* have not obtained a place in Muslim tradition Instead of these, there is a narrative of how Maryam went to Rome in order to preach before Māiūt (Nero), accompanied by John (the disciple) and Shimʿūn, the coppersmith When Shimʿūn and Tadāwus (Thaddaeus ?) were crucified with their heads downward, Maryam fled with John When they were persecuted the earth opened and withdrew them from their persecutors This miracle was the cause of Mārūt's conversion

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 407, al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, 1st ser, p 711 *sqq*, do, *Tafsīr*, iii 144 *sqq*, vi 21, 179, vii 82, xvi 28 *sqq*, xviii 17, al-Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, i 74 *sqq*, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Paris, i 120 *sqq*, ii 145, iv 79 *sq*, al-Kisāʾī, *Kisas al-Anbiyāʾ*, ed Eisenberg, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, i 211, al Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, Cairo 1290, p 326 *sqq*, the commentaries on the Kurʾān, Maracci, *Prodromi*, Padua 1698, iv 85—87, 104 *sq*, 178 *sqq* and the notes to his translation of the Kurʾān, C F Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Korans*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839, p 22 *sqq*, 72 *sqq*, G Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmanner*, Francfort 1845, p 280 *sqq*, E Sayous, *Jesus Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris–Leipzig 1880, G Smit, *Bybel en legende bij den arab schrijver Jaqubi*, Leyden 1907, p 86 *sqq*, J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p 138 *sqq*, A Pieters, *Circumstantial Evidence of the Virgin Birth*, in *M W*, xiv (1929), 350 *sqq*, *Evangelia apocrypha*, rec C de Tischendorf, second ed, Leipzig 1876, *Apocrypha syriaca*, *the Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae*, ed and transl A Smith Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, N° xi, London 1902 (A J Wensinck)

MARZUBĀN, Arabic form of the title of provincial governors in the Sāsānian empire, especially of the "wardens of the marches", the "markgraves" The word is derived from *marz* which still means in Persian a frontier district (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p 218) and is found in Pehlevi in the form *marzpān* (in the *Kār-nāmak*, cf H S Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, i, Upsala 1928, p 54) which suggests a north Irānian origin (cf Lentz, *Z I I*, iv 255, 295), as we find alongside of *marz* also *mardj* in Persian (Horn, *loc cit*) The title is not found, however, before the Sāsānian period and in the great inscription of Paikuli, the wardens are called *bitakhsh* (Arm *bdeashkh*), also a north Irānian title (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin 1924, p 155, cf also Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 165 *sq*) In Syriac we find the forms *marzbānā* and *marzabānā* (Payne Smith) and the Armenian has *marzpan* and *marz(a)van* (Hubschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p 193) Persian finally has kept the word as *marzbān*, *marzabān* or *marzawān* (cf e g the *Burhān-i Kāṭiʿ*)

It is from Arab sources that we are more particularly informed of the duties of the *marzubān* Al Yaʿkūbī (*Taʾrikh*, ed Houtsma, i 201) says that it was the title of the *raʾīs al-balad*, while the four great divisions of the empire were governed by *pādhghōspān* The historians al Tabarī and al-Balādhurī tell us of the different *marzubān* encountered by the Arabs in their conquests (cf the list of provinces ruled by a *marazubān*, drawn up by Balādhurī, and given by Noldeke in *Gesch d Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, p 446) In this period we find these governors acting independently of any higher authority and concluding truces and treaties They sometimes retained their offices after the Arab conquest Under the Sāsānians the *marzubān* were far from having such an independent position We sometimes find them acting as generals under the command of the *spāhbad* (e g Joshua Stylites, ed Wright, p 61)

Although the title gradually fell into disuse, Muslim Persia still retained the word, used in its original sense of "warden of the marches" It is frequently found in literature (cf Saʿdī, *Bustān*, ed Graf, p 73) On the other hand after the Sāsānian period, *marzubān* and its variants became a proper name (in Arabic sometimes *al-Marzubān*) among Muslims and also among Parsīs (cf the names of the copyists of Pahlavi manuscripts, cf especially Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s v *Marzpān*)

Bibliography A Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p 43 *sq* (J H Kramers)

MARZUBĀN B Rustam, a prince of the Bāwand dynasty of Tabaristān [q v] regarded as the original author of the *Marzubān-nāma*, a work in Persian prose containing a series of short stories and fables of a moral and didactic character This book is known in two versions in elegant Persian of the xiiith century, the author of one of which was Saʿd al Dīn al Warāwīnī, he dedicated it to Abu 'l-Kāsim Rabīb al-Dīn, vizier of Uzbek b Muhammad b Ildegīz, Atābeg of Ādharbāidjān from 1210 to 1225 These dates give us probable limits for the composition of the book The other version is the work of Muhammad b Ghāzī al-Malatyawī, secretary and later vizier of Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimānshāh, Saldjūk of Rūm, who reigned from 1192 to 1204 It is called *Rawdat al-ʿUkūl* and differs a good deal in form and contents from the other, which is called the *Marzubān nāma*

In the preface by Saʿd al-Dīn al Warāwīnī we are told that the original work had been written in the language of Tabaristān and the ancient *Pārsī*, the popular language, but that thanks to him this valuable work had been given a new life after 400 years (p 6 and 33 of Mīrzā Muhammad Kazwīnī's edition) In the first chapter Marzubān b Sharwīn, descendant of Kayūs, brother of the Sāsānian king Anushirwān, is mentioned as *wādiʿ-i*

kitāb. The *Rawdat al-ʿUkūl* on the contrary attributed the original book to a descendant of the Ziyārid Kābūs b Washmgīr and says simply that it is written in a coarse style Apart from these, there are very few references to the book in Persian literature The author of the *Kābūs-nāma* (composed in 1082) says that the grandmother of his mother was the daughter of the prince Marzubān b Rustam b Sharwīn, author of the *Marzubān-nāma* Ibn Isfandiyār in his *Taʾrīkh i Ṭabaristān* (written in 1216) speaks of the *Iṣfahbad* Marzubān b Rustam b Sharwīn Parin as the author of the *Marzubān-nāma*, a work which is in every way better than the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* He adds that this same Marzubān composed a *dīwān* in Tabarī verse called the *Nīki-nāma* (cf *An abridged Translation of the History of Tabaristān*, by E G Browne, Leyden 1905, p 86), finally the Persian bibliographer Ridā Kuli Khān in the *Farhang i Nāsiri* speaks of the *Marzubān-nāma* as having been written by Marzubān b Rustam and dedicated to (*mansūb ba*) the emīr Kābūs Shams al-Maʿālī, in the *Madjmaʿ al-Fusahāʾ* the same author incidentally mentions the *Marzubān-nāma*

These very incomplete and sometimes contradictory statements have caused Mirzā Muhammad Kazwīnī to suggest that the individual who gave the book its name was Marzubān, son of the "king" of Tabaristān, Rustam b Shahriyār b Sharwīn b Rustam b Surkhāt, a descendant of Bāw, son of Kayūs, brother of Anushirwān This genealogy is based on Ibn Isfandiyār's work and seems more probable than that given by Schefer (*Chrest pers*, II, p 194), who thinks that Marzubān was the son of Rustam b Surkhāt (d 895) The date of Rustam b Shahriyār b Sharwīn, who was in all probability the father of Marzubān, is only known from a coin of the year 355 (966) (H L Rabino, *Mazandarán and Astarabad*, London 1928, *G M S*, N S VII, p 135) Marzubān must have therefore flourished about 1000 A D, i e during the period of the Persian renaissance

In the first chapter of the *Marzubān-nāma* Marzubān is described as the brother of the reigning "king" (perhaps Dārā b Rustam, who reigned for 8 years, cf Rabino, *loc cit*) who begged to be allowed to live a life of seclusion and to compose a book containing "wise counsels and useful directions for the conduct of life in this world" In this connection he has a disputation with the king and his vizier in the course of which he relates several anecdotes The other chapters continue in the same style Several of the fables and anecdotes are found in other books just as we find similar stories in the book of *Kalīla wa Dimna* and in the *Arabian Nights* The collection therefore belongs to an essentially Persian literary type, which has had considerable influence on Arabic literature Since its contents have not been examined for comparison, it would be too hazardous to express an opinion on its relation to similar collections and popular Persian stories It is very possible that a number of the stories are of Indian origin On the other hand, we ought perhaps not to credit the statement that originally it was written in the Tabarī dialect, for then we should have to believe that the two authors of the new recension knew this dialect, about which however, we only have the notes in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān* of Ibn Isfandiyār Perhaps the reference is to a text in archaic Persian like the probable language of the *Khudāi-nāmak* which Firdawsī used (cf Noldeke, *Geschichte des Artachsîr i Pâpakân*, Gottingen 1879, p 27) and the source of a poem like *Wīs u-Rāmīn*, a text which no longer pleased the taste of the literary connoisseurs of the XIIth century

The *Marzubān-nāma* was published by Mīrzā Muhammad Kazwīnī in 1908 (*G M S*, VII) from a manuscript in the British Museum (Or 6476) with the help of two other MSS in the same collection, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale and another sent from Persia The Paris manuscript had already been used for the publication of extracts from the *Marzubān-nāma* in Ch Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris 1885, p 172—199 The *Rawdat al-ʿUkūl* is represented by a manuscript in Leyden (cf M Th Houtsma, *Eine unbekannte Bearbeitung des Marzbān nāme*, *Z D M G*, III 359—392) and another in Paris Mirzā Muhammad has given extracts from it in the preface to his edition There is also an Arabic version of the same work from the pen of Ibn ʿArabshāh, based on a Turkish version of Saʿd al-Warāwinī's recension, this Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1278

Bibliography The philological data have been collected by Mirzā Muhammad Khān in the preface of his edition, Schefer's observations (p 194—211) are to be utilised with caution Cf also H Ethé, *Neuperische Litteratur*, in *Grundriss d Iran Phil*, II 328 *sqq* and E G Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II 115, 489 (J H KRAMERS)

MASʿĀ [See SAʿY]

MASAGAN [See MAZAGHĀI]

MASCARA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 50 miles S W of Mostaganem and 60 S E of Oran Its position is 35° 26′ N Lat and 8′ E of Greenwich It lies on the southern slope of the Beni Shūgran range, called by the Arabs Sharīb al-Rīh and is built on the edge of a ravine at the bottom of which runs the Wād Sīdī Tūdjman on the other side of which to the N W lies the native faubourg of Bāb ʿAlī Mascara commands the plain of Eghris, which measures 25 to 30 miles from W to E and 10 to 12 miles from N to S and is one of the most fertile regions of Algeria The natives have grown cereals here from the earliest times and the Europeans have introduced tobacco and created vineyards, the produce of which is celebrated It is the market for a region, becoming more and more prosperous, and by the census of 1926 had 30,669 inhabitants of whom 16,630 were natives

Mascara is of considerable antiquity According to Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl de Slane, rev by Fagnan, p 160), it included among its inhabitants people who came from Tihert (Tiaret) some of whom went and settled at Ifgan, a day's journey S E, when this town was founded by Yaʿlā b Muhammad, son of Sālih the Ifrānid, in 338 (949—950 A D) Ibn Hawkal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl de Slane, *Journ As*, 1842) and Idrīsī (transl de Goeje, p 96) mention Mascara as a large well watered village rich in fruits The Almohads seem to have built a fortress there The Ziyānids of Tlemcen kept a governor and a garrison there Leo Africanus (Bk IV, ed Schefer, vol III, p 34) notes the importance of the market which was held at Mascara "one of the towns of the Beni Rasi" (Banū Rāshid) where one could buy, along with cereals in large quantities, cloth and articles of

harness manufactered in the country The rulers of Tlemcen drew considerable revenues from it 40,000 pistoles, according to Marmol (*Africa*, vol ii, p 356)

The Turks established themselves at Mascara in the xvi^th century and placed a garrison there In 1701 they made it the capital of the beylik of the west, which had hitherto been Mazūna in Dahra The beys lived there till Oran was reoccupied by the Algerians in 1792 During this period, Mascara, which had hitherto only been an insignificant place, began to look like a regular town The beys built two mosques and a madrasa, a wall and a kasba and brought in a water-supply The manufacture of burnuses and *hā'iks*, celebrated throughout the Regency, enriched the inhabitants This prosperity began to decline after the beys left Mascara and especially after the risings, which broke out in the province of the west in the beginning of the xix^th century The Darkāwī Ben Sherīf seized the town in 1805 and held it for a time In 1827 it was attacked by the marabout Muhammad al-Tidjānī Supported by the Hāshim he gained possession of the faubourg of Bāb ʿAlī but was killed by the Turks when preparing to storm the town itself At the end of Turkish rule, ʿAbd al-Kādir [q v] who had been proclaimed Sultān by the tribes of the plain of Eghris, established his seat of government at Mascara, but rarely lived there An expedition, in the month of December 1836 led by Marshal Clauzel, occupied Mascara which the French abandoned next day, after burning down part of it The emīr returned to the town and held it till May 30, 1841, when a column under Bugeaud occupied it finally for the French Mascara, then half in ruins, had only a population of 2,840 inhabitants

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MASDJID (a), Mosque

I (Johs Pedersen)

A Origin
B Foundation of mosques after Muhammad's death
C The mosque as a religious centre
D The building and its equipment
E The mosque as a state institution
F The mosque as a school
G Administration
H The staff

II (R A Kern)

The mosque in the Dutch Indies

III (E Diez)

Architecture

A Origin of the Mosque

The word מסגדא is found in Aramaic, the earliest occurrence being in the Jewish *Elephantine Papyri* (ed Sachau, pl 32, ed Ungnad, N° 33, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth Cent B C*, N° 44), also frequently in Nabataean (*Corp Inscr Semit*, ii 161, 1, 176, 185, 188, 190, 218, cf, Schwally, *Z D M G*, lii, 1898, p 134, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d nordsem Epigr*, p 152, 328, Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p 238) The word formed from סגד "to prostrate oneself" seems to mean in Nabataean a stele, a sacred pillar, although the meaning "place of worship" has also been suggested In the *Elephantine Papyri* where it is sworn by במסגדא ובענתיהו both meanings are possible The Syriac ܡܣܓܕܐ and ܡܣܓܕܐ (cf the Lexica) is like the Amharic *masgéd* derived from the Arabic, while the Ethiopic *mĕsgād* "temple, church" is perhaps a genuine formation from the verb (which is certainly borrowed from the Aramaic cf Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage z sem Sprachw*, p 36) The Arabic *masdjid* may have been formed independently from the corresponding verb, which also undoubtedly comes from the Aramaic, probably the above mentioned Aramaic substantive was simply taken over, although no links can be shown between the Nabataean inscriptions and the Kur'ān

The word in any case can hardly have been formed by Muhammad himself from its specific connection with divine service ("place where one *sadjada* or prostrates oneself")

1 The Meccan period

The word is used in the Kur'an especially of the Meccan sanctuary (*al-Masdjid al-harām*, Sūra ii 139, 144, 145, 187, 192, 214, v 3, viii 34, ix 7, 19, 28, xvii 1, xxii 25, xlviii 25, 27), according to later sources, this was already the usage in the Meccan period (cf Ya'kūbī, ed Houtsma, i 285, 12) According to tradition the term *al-Masdjid al-aksā* (Sūra xvii 1) means the Jerusalem sanctuary (according to Schrieke, *Isl*, vi 1 *sqq*, cf Horovitz, *ibid*, ix 159 *sqq*, the reference is rather to a place of prayer in heaven), and in the legend of the Seven Sleepers *masdjid* means a tomb-sanctuary probably Christian, certainly pre Muhammadan (Sūra xviii, 20) The word is also applied to pre Islāmic sanctuaries, which belong to God and where God is invoked, although Muhammad was not always able to recognise the particular cult associated with them It is undoubtedly with this general meaning that the word is used in this verse of the Kur'ān "If God had not taken men under his protection, then monasteries, churches and places of prayer (*salawāt*) and *masādjid* would have been destroyed" (Sūra xxii 41) The word is also used in a *hadīth* of an Abyssinian church (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 48, 54, Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr 3) and in another of Jewish and Christian tomb-sanctuaries (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 55, Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr 3) Even Ibn Khaldūn can still use the word in the general meaning of a temple or place of worship of any religion (*Mukaddima*, *fasl* 4, 6 at the end) There is therefore no question of a word of specifically Muslim creation This is in entire agreement with Muhammad's original attitude to earlier religions Just as Abraham was a Muslim, so David had a masdjid (Tabarī, i 2408, 7 *sqq*)

To the Prophet the Meccan sanctuary always remained the principal mosque, known as *Bait Allāh* even before the time of the Prophet It was a grave charge brought against the Kuraish in the Meccan period that they drove the believers out of *al-Masdjid al-harām* (Sūra ii 214, v 3, viii 34, xxii 25, xlviii 25), which was considered all the more unjust as they worshipped the true lord of the sanctuary To the true God belonged *al-masādjid* (Sūra lxxii 18, Meccan), it is therefore an absurdity for the godless to prevent the wor-

ship of God in "God's own mosques" (Sūra ii 108) The result was that it was revealed in the year 9 "It is not right for polytheists to frequent the mosques of God" (Sūra ix 17 *sq*) and the opponents of the new religion were therefore excluded from the sanctuary The *Sīra* agrees with the Kur'ān, that the sanctity of *al-Masdjid al harām* to which Muhammad had been used from childhood was always regarded by him as indisputable Like other Meccans, he and his followers regularly made the *tawāf* around the Ka'ba and kissed the Black Stone (e g Ibn Hishām, p 183, 12 *sqq*, 239, 8, 251, 15), it is frequently stated that he used to sit in the masdjid like his fellow citizens, alone or with a follower or disputing with an opponent (Ibn Hishām, p 233, 16, 251, 15, 252, 14, 259, 260, 294, 18 *sq*) It is related that he used to perform the salāt between the Yaman corner and the Black Stone, apparently from the narrator's context very frequently (Ibn Hishām, p 190, 9 *sqq*) After his conversion, 'Umar is said to have arranged that believers performed the salāt unmolested beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p 224, 13 *sq*, 17 *sq*), How strongly Muhammad felt himself attached to the Arab sanctuary is evident from the fact that he took part in the traditional rites there before the Hidjra (Sūra cviii, 2), in the year 1, one of his followers, Sa'd b Mu'ādh, took part in the pilgrimage ceremonies and in the year 2 he himself sacrificed on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja on the musallā of the Banū Salima He therefore, here as elsewhere, retained ancient customs where his new teaching did not directly exclude them But when an independent religion developed out of his preaching, a new type of divine service had to be evolved

In Mecca, the original Muslim community had no special place of worship The Prophet used to perform the salāt in secret in the narrow alleys of Mecca with his first male follower 'Alī and with the other earliest Companions also (Ibn Hishām, p 159, 166, 13 *sqq*) The references are usually to the solitary salāt of the Prophet, sometimes beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p 190, 9 *sqq*), sometimes in his own house (Ibn Hishām, p 203, 6 *sq*) That the believers often prayed together may be taken for granted, they would do so in a house (cf Ibn Hishām, p 202) Occasionally also 'Umar is said to have conducted the ritual prayer with others beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p 224) because 'Umar was able to defy the Kuraish When the Prophet recited in the mosque the revelation, later abrogated, recognising al Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt, according to the legend, not only the believers but also the polytheists present took part in the *sudjūd* (Tabarī, i 1192 *sq*) Abū Bakr is said to have had a private place of prayer (*masdjid*) in Mecca in his courtyard beside the gate, the Kuraish, we are told, objected to this because women and children could see it and might be led astray by the emotion aroused (Ibn Hishām, p 246, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 86, *Kafāla*, B 14 etc, *Mazālim*, B 22)

In the dogma taught by Muhammad a sanctuary was not a fundamental necessity Every place was the same to God and humility in the presence of God, of which the ritual prayer was the expression, could be shown anywhere, hence the saying of the Prophet that he had been given the whole world as a masdjid, while earlier prophets could only pray in churches and synagogues (Wākidī, transl Wellhausen, p 403, *Corpus juris di Zaid b 'Alī*, ed Griffini, p 50 and clxxix, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 56, *Tayammum*, B 1, Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr 1) and also the saying "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the salāt and that is a *masdjid*" (Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr 1) That he nevertheless remained firmly attached to the traditional sanctuary of the Ka'ba, produced a confusion of thought which is very marked in Sūra ii 136 *sqq* When in Medīna he was able to do as he pleased, it must have been natural for him to create a place where he could be undisturbed with his followers and where they could perform the ritual *salāt* together

2 The Foundation of the Mosque in Medīna

According to one tradition the Prophet came riding into Medīna on his camel with Abū Bakr as *ridf* surrounded by the Banū Nadjdjār The camel stopped on Abū Ayyūb's *finā'* Here (according to Anas) the Prophet performed the *salāt*, and immediately afterwards ordered the mosque to be built and purchased the piece of land from two orphans, Sahl and Suhail, who were under the guardianship of Mu'ādh b 'Afrā', for 10 dīnārs, after declining to accept it as a gift, he lived with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed During this period he performed the salāt in courtyards or other open spaces (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 48, Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr 1, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 212 above, Ibn Hishām, p 336, Tabarī, i 1258 *sq*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 140 *sq*) According to this tradition, the building of the mosque was intended by the Prophet from the first and the choice of the site was left to the whim of his mount According to another tradition the Prophet took up his abode with Abū Ayyūb, but during the first period of his stay in Medīna he conducted the salāt in the house of Abū Umāma As'ad, who had a private masdjid, in which he used to conduct salāts with his neighbours The Prophet later expressed the desire to purchase the adjoining piece of ground and he bought it from the two orphans, who, according to this tradition, were wards of As'ad (Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, ed de Goeje, p 6, cf Wustenfeld, *Gesch d Stadt Medīna*, p 60) The site was covered with graves, ruins (*khirab*, also *harth*, Tabarī, i 1259, 17, 1260, 1, cf Ah mad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 212, 7, perhaps due to an old misreading) and palm trees and was used as a place for keeping camels (and smaller domestic animals, Bukhārī, *Wudū'*, B 66) The site was cleared, the palms cut down and the walls built The building material was bricks baked in the sun (*labin*) (Ibn Hishām, p 337, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 62, 65, according to one tradition they were baked at the well of Fātima, Wustenfeld, *Stadt Medīna*, p 31), in places it was a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall on a stone foundation with three entrances the gateposts were of stone On the *kibla* side (i e the north wall) at first left open, the stems of the palm-trees which had been cut down were soon set up as columns and a roof was put over them of palm leaves and clay On the east side two huts of similar materials were built for the Prophet's wives Sawdā' and 'Ā'isha, their entrances opened on to the court and were covered with carpets they were later increased so that there were nine

little houses for the Prophet's wives When the *kibla* was moved to the south, the arbour at the north wall remained, under this arbour called *ṣuffa* or *zulla* the homeless Companions found shelter (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B 48, 62, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 60 *sq*, 66, Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1302, 1 387 *sqq*, on the *ṣuffa*, p 387 in the middle, 391 after the middle, cf L Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, 1 377 *sq*) In seven months the work was completed (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 59), according to others in the month of Safar of the year 2 (Ibn Hishām, p 339, 18 *sq*) The mosque was very simple It was really only a courtyard with a wall round it, the *ṣuffa* already mentioned supplied a shelter on the north side, while on the south side, later the *kibla* side, an arbour was probably built also, for the Prophet used to preach leaning against a palm-trunk and this must have been on the *kibla* side How large the arbours were cannot be ascertained The mosque was the courtyard of the Prophet's houses and at the same time the meeting-place for the believers and the place for common prayer

According to the sources, it was the Prophet's intention from the very first to build a mosque at once in Medīna, according to a later tradition Gabriel commanded him in the name of God to build a house for God (*Khamīs*, 1 387 infra), but this story is coloured by later conditions It has been made quite clear, notably by L Caetani (*Annali dell' Islām*, 1 432, 437 *sqq*) and later by H Lammens (*Moʿâwia*, p 8, note 5, 62 etc, do, *Ziâd*, p 30 *sqq*, 93 *sqq*) that the earliest masdjid had nothing of the character of a sacred edifice Much can be quoted for this view from *Hadīth* and *Sīra* (cf *Annali dell' Islām*, 1 440) The unconverted Thakīfīs were received by the Prophet in the mosque to conduct negotiations and he even put up three tents for them in the courtyard (Ibn Hishām, p 916, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 382), envoys from Tamīm also went freely about in the mosque and called for the Prophet, who dealt with them after he had finished prayers (Ibn Hishām, p 933 *sq*, Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 386) Ibn Unais brought to the masdjid the head of the Hudhailī Sufyān, threw it down before the Prophet and gave his report (Ibn Hishām, p 981 *sq*, Wākidī Wellhausen, p 225) After the battle of Uhud the Medina chiefs spent the night in the mosque (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 149) The Awsīs tended their wounded here (*ibid*, p 215 *sq*, Tabarī, 1 1491 *sq*), a prisoner of war was tied to one of the pillars of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B 76, 82, cf 75) Many poor people used to live in the *ṣuffa* (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 58), tents and huts were put up in the mosque, one for example by converted and liberated prisoners, another by the Banū Ghifār, in whose tent Saʿd b Muʿādh died of his wounds (*ibid*, B 77, *Usd al-Ghāba*, II 297) People sat as they pleased in the mosque or took their ease lying on their backs (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 6, *Salāt*, bāb 85, Ibn Saʿd, 1 124, 14), even so late as the reign of ʿUmar it is recorded that he found strangers sleeping in a corner of the mosque (*Kāmil*, p 118, 15 *sqq*), the Prophet received gifts and distributed them among the Companions (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 42), disputes took place over business (*ibid*, bāb 71, 83) and in general people conducted themselves as they pleased Indeed, on one occasion some Sudanese or Abyssinians with the approval of the Prophet gave a display with shield and lance on the occasion of a festival (do, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 69, *ʿIdain*, bāb 2, 25, *Djihād*, bāb 81) and on another a stranger seeking the Prophet, rode into the mosque on his camel (do, *ʿIlm*, bāb 6) So little "consecrated" was this, the oldest mosque, that one of the *Munāfikūn*, ejected for scoffing at the believers, could call to Abū Aiyūb "Are you throwing me out of the *Mirbad Banī Thaʿlaba*?" (Ibn Hishām, p 362, 10 *sq*)

All this gives one the impression of the head quarters of an army, rather than of a sacred edifice On the other hand the mosque was used from the very first for the general divine service and thus became something more than the Prophet's private courtyard Whatever the Prophet's intentions had been from the first, the masdjid with the increasing importance of Islām was bound to become very soon the political and religious centre of the new community The two points of view cannot be distinguished in Islām, especially in the earlier period The mosque was the place where believers assembled for prayer around the Prophet, where he delivered his addresses, which contained not only appeals for obedience to God but regulations affecting the social life of the community (cf Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 70, 71), from here he controlled the religious and political community of Islām Even at the real old sanctuaries of Arabia, there were no restrictions on what one could do, what distinguished the mosque from the Christian church or the Meccan temple was that in it there was no specially dedicated ritual object At the Kaʿba also people used to gather to discuss everyday affairs and also for important assemblies, if we may believe the *Sīra* (Ibn Hishām, p 183 *sq*, 185, 1, 229, 8, 248, 257, 19) Here also the Prophet used to sit, strangers came to visit him, he talked and they disputed with him, people even came to blows and fought there (Ibn Hishām, 183 *sq*, 185 *sq*, 187 *sq*, 202, 19, 257, 259, *Chron d Stadt Mekka*, ed Wustenfeld, 1 223, 11) Beside the Kaʿba was the *Dār al-Nadwa*, where important matters were discussed and justice administered (*ibid*, see index) From the Medīna mosque was developed the general type of the Muslim mosque It depended on circumstances whether the aspect of the mosque as a social centre or as a place of prayer was more or less emphasised

3 Other Mosques in the time of the Prophet

The mosque of the Prophet in Medīna was not the only one founded by Muslims in his lifetime and according to tradition not even the first, which is said to have been the mosque of Kubāʾ In this village, which belonged to the territory of Medīna (see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p 126), the Prophet on his Hidjra stopped with the family of ʿAmr b ʿAwf, the length of his stay is variously given 3, 5, 8, 14 or 22 days According to one tradition, he found a mosque there on his arrival, which had been built by the first emigrants and the Anṣār and he performed the salāt there with them (see Wustenfeld, *op cit*, p 56, Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, p 1, Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1302, 1 380 *sq*) According to another tradition, the Prophet himself founded the mosque on a site, which belonged to his host Kulthūm and was used as a *mirbad* for drying dates or according to others,

to a woman named Labba, who tethered her ass there (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 131, Ibn Hishām, p 335, Tabarī, 1, 1260, 6, Ibn Sa'd, 1 1, 6, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 139, Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, 1 381, *al-Sīra al-Halabiya*, Cairo 1320, 11 58 *sq*) Out of this tradition arose a legend based on the story of the foundation of the principal mosque in Medina The Prophet makes (first Abū Bakr and 'Umar without success, then) 'Alī mount a camel and at the place to which it goes builds the mosque with stone brought from the Harra, he himself laid the first stone, and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān the next ones (*Khamīs*, 1 381) The Prophet is said to have henceforth visited the mosque of Kubā' every Saturday, either riding or walking and the pillar is still shown beside which he conducted the service (Bukhārī, *Fadl al Ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madina*, bāb 2, 4, Muslim, *Hadjdj*, tr 94, *Khamis*, 1 382, Balādhurī, p 5) We are occasionally told that he performed his salāt on the Sabbath in the mosque at Kubā' when he went to the Banū Nadīr in Rabī' I of the year 4 (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 161)

It is obvious that the customs and ideas of the later community have shaped the legend of this mosque The only question is whether the old tradition that the mosque was founded either by the Prophet himself or even before his arrival by his followers is also a later invention We thus come to the question whether the Prophet founded or recognised any other mosques at all than that of Medina L Caetani, in keeping with his view of the origin of the mosque, is inclined to deny it, pointing to the fact that there was later an obvious tendency to connect mosques everywhere with the Prophet and that Sūra ix 108 strongly condemns the erection of an "opposition mosque" (*M al-Dirār*) The Kur'ān passage is as follows "Those who have built themselves a masdjid for opposition (*dirār*) and unbelief and division among the believers and for a refuge for him who in the past fought against God and his Prophet, and they swear we intended only good God is witness that they are liars! Thou shalt not stand up in it, for verily a masdjid which is founded on piety from the first day of its existence has more right that thou shouldest stand in it, in it are men who desire to purify themselves and God loveth those who purify themselves" (Sūra ix 108—109) According to tradition this was revealed in the year 9, when the Prophet was on the march to Tabūk, the Banū Sālim said to him that they had built a mosque to make it easier for their feeble and elderly people, and they begged the Prophet to perform his salāt in it and thus give it his approval The Prophet postponed it till his return, but then this revelation was announced, because the mosque had been founded by *Munāfikūn* at the instigation of Abū 'Āmir al-Rāhib, who fought against the Prophet According to one tradition (so Ibn 'Umar, Zaid) the "mosque founded on piety" was that of Medina from which the people wished to emancipate themselves, according to another (Ibn 'Abbās) the reference was to that of Kubā', Abū 'Āmir and his followers were not comfortable among the Banū 'Amr b 'Awf and therefore built a new mosque According to some traditions it was in Dhū Awān The Prophet however had it burned down (Tabarī, 1 1704 *sq*, Ibn Hishām, p 357 *sq*, 906 *sq*, Ibn Sa'd, 1 1, 6, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 410 *sq*, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi 17 *sqq*, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 131, *al-Sira al-Halabiya*, ii 60, Balādhurī, p 1 *sq*, Muslim, *Hadjdj*, tr 93) If the connection with the Tabūk campaign is correct, the *Masdjid al Dirār* is to be sought north of Medina, the "mosque founded on piety" would then be the mosque of Medina rather than that of Kubā' which lies to the south of it There is in itself nothing impossible about the rejection in principle of any mosque other than that of Medina We should then have to discard the whole tradition, for, according to it, the Prophet is at first not unfavourably disposed to the new mosque and his wrath, according to the tradition, arises from the fact that it had been founded by a refractory party But as a matter of fact there are indications that a number of mosques already existed in the time of the Prophet, for example, the verse in the Kur'ān "in houses, which God hath permitted to be built that His name might be praised in them, in them men praise Him morning and evening, whom neither business nor trade refrain from praising God and performing the salāt and the giving of alms" etc (Sūra xxiv 36 *sq*) If this revelation, like the rest of the Sūra, is of the Medina period, it is difficult to refer it to Jews and Christians, and this utterance is quite clear "Observe a complete fast until the night and touch thou them (i e women) not while ye are in the mosques" (Sūra ii 183) This shows that there were already in the time of the Prophet, several Muslim mosques which had a markedly religious character and were recognised by the Prophet

That there were really public places of prayer of the separate tribes at a very early date is evident from the tradition that the Prophet in the year 2 offered his sacrifice on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja on the Musallā of the Banū Salima In addition there are constant references to private *masādjid* where a few believers, like Abū Bakr in Mecca, made a place for prayer in their houses and where others sometimes assembled (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 46, 87, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 30, cf also *Adhān*, bāb 50)

B Origin of Mosques after the time of the Prophet

1 Chief Mosques

What importance the Medina mosque had attained as the centre of administration and worship of the Muslims is best seen from the fact that the first thought of the Muslim generals after their conquests was to found a mosque as a centre around which to gather

Conditions differed somewhat according as it was a new foundation or an already existing town Important examples of the first kind are Basra, Kūfa and al-Fustāt Basra was founded by 'Utba b Nāfi' as winter-quarters for the army in the year 14 (or 16 or 17) The mosque was placed in the centre with the *Dār al-Imāra*, the dwelling of the commander-in-chief with a prison and *Diwān* in front of it Prayer was at first offered on the open space which was fenced round, later the whole was built of reeds and when the men went off to war the reeds were pulled up and laid away Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who later became 'Umar's Wālī, built the edifice of clay and bricks baked in the sun (*labin*) and used grass

for the roof (Balādhurī, p 346 *sq*, 350, *B G A*, v 187 *sqq*, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, i 642, 6–9, cf Tabarī, i 2377, 14 *sqq*) It was similar in Kūfa which was founded in 17 by Saʿd b Abī Wakḳās In the centre was the mosque and beside it the *Dār al-Imāra* was laid out The mosque at first was simply an open quadrangle, *ṣaḥn*, marked off by a trench round it The space was large enough for 40,000 persons It seems that reeds were also used for building the walls here and later Saʿd used *labin* On the south side (and only here) there was an arbour, *zulla*, built (cf Balādhurī, p 348, 1 *suffa*) The *Dār al Imāra* beside the mosque was later by ʿUmar's orders combined with the mosque (Tabarī, i 2481, 12 *sqq*, 2485, 16, 2487 *sqq*, 2494, 14, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 323, 10 *sqq*, Balādhurī, p 275 *sqq*, cf *Annali dell' Islām*, iii 846 *sqq*) The plan was therefore an exact reproduction of that of the mosque in Medīna (as is expressly emphasised in Ṭabarī, i 2489, 4 *sqq*), the importance of the mosque was also expressed in its position and the commander lived close beside it There was no difference in al-Fusṭāṭ, which, although there was already an older town here, was laid out as an entirely new camp In the year 21, after the conquest of Alexandria, the mosque was laid out in a garden where ʿAmr had planted his standard It was 50 *dhirāʿ* long and 30 broad Eighty men fixed its *kibla*, which however was turned too far to the east, and was therefore altered later by Kurra b Sharīk The court was quite simple, surrounded by a wall and had trees growing on it, a simple roof is mentioned, it must be identical with the above mentioned *zulla* or *suffa* ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī lived just beside the mosque and around it the *Ahl al-Rāʾya* Like the house of the Prophet, the general's house lay on the east side with only a road between them There were two doors in each wall except the southern one (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 898 *sq*, Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, Cairo 1326, p 4 *sqq*, Ibn Dukmāk, *K al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1893, p 59 *sqq*, Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i 63 *sq*, ii 135 *sq*, cf *Annali dell' Islām*, iv 554, 557, 563 *sqq*) We find similar arrangements made in al-Mawṣil twenty years earlier (Balādhurī, p 331 *sq*)

In other cases the Muslims established themselves in old towns either conquered or surrendered by treaty, by the treaty they received a site for their mosque (e g Balādhurī, p 116, 14, 147 2) But the distinction between towns which were conquered and those which were surrendered soon disappeared and the position is as a rule not clear Examples of old towns in which the Muslims established themselves are al-Madāʾin, Damascus and Jerusalem — In al-Madāʾin Saʿd b Abī Wakḳās after the conquest in 16 distributed the houses among the Muslims and Kisrā's *Iwān* was made into a mosque, after Saʿd had conducted the *Ṣalāt al-Fath* in it (Ṭabarī, i 2443, 15 *sq*, 2451, 7 *sqq*) In Damascus which was occupied in 14 or 15 by capitulation, according to tradition, the Church of St John was divided so that the eastern half became Muslim from which Muslim tradition created the legend that the city was taken partly by conquest and partly by agreement (Balādhurī, p 125, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii 591, Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 262, *J A*, ser 9, vii 376, 381, 404) As a matter of fact however, the Muslims seem to have laid out their own mosque here just beside the church [cf DAMASCUS], and close beside it again was the *Khadrāʾ*, the commander-in-chief's palace, from which a direct entrance to the *maḳṣūra* was later made (*B G A*, iii 159, 4) Conditions here were therefore once more the same as in Medīna But the possibility of an arrangement such as is recorded by tradition cannot be rejected, for there is good evidence of it elsewhere, in Ḥimṣ for example, the Muslims and Christians shared a building in common as a mosque and church, and it is evident from al-Istakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal that this was still the case in the time of their common authority, al-Balkhī (309 = 921) (*B G A*, i 61, 7 *sq*, ii 117, 5, iii 156, 15), and a similar arrangement is recorded for Dabīl in Armenia (*B G A*, i 188, 3 *sq*, ii 244, 21, cf iii 377, 3 *sq*)

There were special conditions in Jerusalem The Muslims recognised the sanctuary there, as is evident from the earlier Kibla and from Sūra xvii 1 (in the traditional interpretation) It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors, when the town capitulated, to seek out the recognised holy place Indeed we are told that ʿUmar in the year 17 built a mosque in Jerusalem on the site of the temple of Solomon (F Baethgen, *Fragmente syr u arab Hist*, p 17, 110, following Īshōʿdenah, metropolitan of Basra after 700 AD, cf for the viiith century Theophanes quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p 91 note) That the *Kubbat al Sakhra* [q v] which the Mosque of ʿUmar replaced, stands on the old site of the Temple is undoubted How he found the site is variously recorded [cf AL-KUDS] The building was, like other mosques of the time of ʿUmar, very simple Arculf who visited Jerusalem about 670 says "The Saracens attend a quadrangular house of prayer (*domus orationis*, i e *masdjid*) which they have built with little art with boards and large beams on the remains of some ruins, on the famous site where the Temple was once built in all its splendour" (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed P Geyer, 1898, p 226 *sq*, transl by P Mickley, in *Das Land der Bibel*, ii/2, 1917, p 19 *sq*) It is of interest to note that this simple mosque, like the others, was in the form of a rectangle, in spite of its simple character it could hold 3,000 people, according to Arculf

As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya we find a new town, Kairawān, being laid out on the old plan as a military camp with a mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the centre (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 213, 10 *sqq*) As Balādhurī, for example, shows, the Muslim conquerors even at a later date always built a mosque in the centre of a newly conquered town, at first a simple one in each town, and it was a direct reproduction of the simple mosque of the Prophet in Medīna It was the exception to adapt already existing buildings in towns But soon many additional mosques were added

2 Tribal mosques and Sectarian mosques

There were mosques not only in the towns When the tribes pledged themselves to the Prophet to adopt Islām, they had also to perform the ṣalā; It is not clear how far they took part in Muslim worship, but if they concerned themselves with Islām at all, they must have had a Muslim place of meeting Probably even before Islām they had, like the Meccans, their *madjlis* or *nādī* or *dār shūrā*, where they discussed matters of general importance (cf Lammens, *Moʿāwia*, p 205, *Ziād*

b. Abīhi, p 30 *sqq*, 90 *sq*, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 222 *sqq*) As the mosque was only distinguished from such places by the fact that it was also used for the common *ṣalāt*, it was natural for tribal mosques to come into existence Thus we are told that as early as the year 5 the tribe of Sa'd b Bakr founded mosques and used *adhān* (Ibn Sa'd, I/II 44, 7, not mentioned in Ibn Hishām, p 943 *sq*, Tabarī, I 1722), it is also recorded of the Banū Djadhīma who lived near Mecca that they built mosques in the year 8 and introduced the *adhān* (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 351) How far one can rely on such stories in a particular case is however uncertain A late writer like al-Diyārbakrī says of the Banū 'l-Mustalik that they *aslamū wa-banū masādjida* (*Ta'rīkh Khamis*, II 132, 20, cf *Annali dell' Islam*, II 221), in the early sources this is not found Nor is the story, told by Ibn Sa'd at all probable, that envoys from the Banū Hanīfa received orders to destroy their churches, sprinkle the ground with water and build a mosque (Ibn Sa'd, I/II 56, 11 *sqq* while Ibn Hishām, p 945 *sq*, Tabarī, I 1737 *sqq* and Balādhurī, p 86 *sq* say nothing about it) But that there were tribal mosques at a very early date is nevertheless quite certain The mosque at Kubā' was the mosque of the tribe of 'Amr b 'Awf (Ibn Sa'd, I/I 6, 6 and cf above) and according to one tradition, the Banū Ghanm b 'Awf were jealous of it and built an opposition mosque (Balādhurī, p 3, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, I 21 infra) A Companion, who had taken part in the battle of Badr, 'Itbān b Malik, complained to the Prophet that he could not reach the masdjid of his tribe in the rainy season and wanted to build a mosque for himself (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 46, Muslim, *Masādjid*, bāb 47) The Prophet himself is said to have visited the masdjid of the Banū Zuraik (Bukhārī, *Diihād*, bāb 56—58) and in the masdjid of the Banū Salima during the prayer, there was revealed to him Sūra II 139, which ordered the new *kibla*, wherefore it was called *Masdjid al Kiblatain* (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 62)

The tribal mosque was a sign that the independence of the tribe was still retained under Islām Indeed we hear everywhere of tribal mosques, for example around Medīna that of the Banū Kuraiza, of the Banū Hāritha, of the Banū Zafar, of the Banū Wā'il, of the Banū Harām, of the Banū Zuraik, said to have been the first in which the Kur'ān was publicly read, that of the Banū Salima etc (see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch d Stadt Medina*, p 29, 37 *sqq*, 44, 50, 57, 136 *sqq*), the "mosque of the two Kiblas" belonged to the Banū Sawād b Ghanm b Ka'b b Salima (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 41) This then was the position in Medīna the tribes had usually their own mosques and one mosque was the chief mosque This was probably the position within the Prophet's lifetime, for in the earliest campaigns of conquest, mosques were built on this principle 'Umar is said to have written to Abū Mūsā in Basra telling him to build a mosque *li 'l-djamā'a* and mosques for the tribes, and on Fridays the people were to come to the chief mosque Similarly he wrote to Sa'd b Abī Wakkās in Kūfa and to 'Amr b al-'Āsī in Misr On the other hand in Syria where they had settled in old towns, they were not to build tribal mosques (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, Cairo 1326, p 4 infra) It is actually recorded that the tribes in each *khitta* had their own mosques around the mosque of 'Amr in al-Fustāt (cf Ibn Dukmāk, p 62 infra *sq*) and even much later a tribal mosque like that of the Rāshida was still in existence (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV 64, 4 *sqq*) Even in the chief mosque, the tribes had their own places (*ibid*, p 9, 12 *sq*) We have similar evidence from the 'Irāk In Basra for example there was a Masdjid Banī 'Ubād (Balādhurī, p 356, 2), one of the Banū Rifā'a (*B G A*, VII 201, 16), one of the Banū 'Adī (*ibid*, V 191, 4) and one of the Ansār (cf Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I 77, note 5), in Kūfa we find quite a number such as that of the Ansārī (Tabarī, II 284, 13 *sq*), of the 'Abd al-Kais (*ibid*, II 657, 2, 9), of the Banū Duhmān (*ibid*, p 670, 4), of the Banū Makhzūm (*ibid*, p 734, 19), of the Banū Hilāl (*ibid*, p 1687, 8), of the Banū 'Adī (*ibid*, p 1703, 4), of the Banū Dhuhl and Banū Hudjr (*ibid*, p 532, 8 *sq*), of the Djuhaina (*ibid*, p 533, 8), of the Banū Harām (*ibid*, III 2509, 10) and the 'Absīs even had several masādjid (Balādhurī, p 278, 12 *sq*, s also p 285 and Goldziher, *loc cit*)

During the wars these tribal mosques were the natural rallying points for the various tribes, the mosque was a madjlis, where councils were held (Tabarī, II 532, 6 *sqq*) and the people were taught from its minbar (*ibid*, p 284), battles often centred for this reason round these mosques (e g Tabarī, II 130, 148, 6, 960) "The people of your mosque", *ahl masdjidikum* (*ibid*, p 532, 19,) became identical with "your party" Gradually as, new sects arose, they naturally had mosques of their own, just as Musailima before them is said to have had his own mosque (Balādhurī, p 90, 4 from below, Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, I 404 infra) Thus we read later of the mosques of the Hanbalis in Baghdād, in which there was continual riot and confusion (Hilāl al-Sābī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed Amedroz, p 335) It sometimes happened that different parties in a town shared the chief mosque (*B G A*, III 102, 5 *sqq*) but as a rule it was otherwise In particular the Sunnīs and Shī'īs as a rule had separate mosques (cf Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p 63) It sometimes even happened that Hanafīs and Shāfi'īs had separate mosques (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 509, 9, cf *B G A*, III 323, 11) These special mosques were a great source of disruption in Islām and we can understand that a time came when the learned discussed whether such mosques should be permitted at all But the question whether one might talk of the *Masdjid Banī Fulān* was answered by saying that in the time of the Prophet, the *Masdjid Banī Zuraik* was recognised (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 41, cf *Diihād*, bāb 56—58 and Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, XI 20 after the middle of the page)

3 Adaptation to Islām of Older Sanctuaries, Memorial Mosques

According to the early historians, the towns, which made treaties with the Muslims, received permission to retain their churches (Balādhurī, p 121, in the middle, Tabarī, I 2405, 2407) while in the conquered towns the churches fell to the Muslims without any preamble (cf Balādhurī, p 120 infra) Sometimes also it is recorded that a certain number of churches were received from the Christians, e g fifteen in Damascus according to one tradition (*ibid*, p 124, 8, otherwise p 121, cf *J A*, 9 Ser, VII 403) It is rather doubtful whether the process was such a regular one, in any case the Muslims in course of time appropriated

many churches to themselves With the mass conversions to Islām, this was a natural result The churches taken over by the Muslims were occasionally used as dwellings (cf Tabarī, i 2405, 2407), at a later date it also happened that they were used as government offices, as in Egypt in 146 (Makrīzī, iv 35, cf for Kūfa, Balādhurī, p 286) The obvious thing, however, was to transform the churches taken into mosques It is related of ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣi that he performed the ṣalāt in a church (Makrīzī, iv 6) and Zaid b ʿAlī says regarding churches and synagogues, „Perform thy ṣalāt in them, it will not harm thee" (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b ʿAlī*, ed Griffini, N⁰ 364) It is not clear whether the reference in these cases is to conquered sanctuaries, it is evident, in any case, that the saying is intended to remove any misgivings about the use of captured churches and synagogues as mosques The most important example of this kind was in Damascus where al Walid b ʿAbd al Malik in 86 (705) took the church of St John from the Christians and had it rebuilt, he is said to have offered the Christians another church in its stead (see the references above, B 1, and also *J A*, 9 Ser, vii 369 *sqq*, Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/1 262 *sqq* and the article DAMASCUS) He is said to have transformed into mosques ten churches in all in Damascus It must have been particularly in the villages, with the gradual conversion of the people to Islām, that the churches were turned into mosques In the Egyptian village there were no mosques in the earlier generations of Islam (Makrīzi, iv 28 *sq*, 30) But when al-Maʾmūn was fighting the Copts, many churches were turned into mosques (*ibid*, p 30) It is also recorded of mosques in Cairo that they were converted churches According to one tradition, the Rashida mosque was an unfinished Jacobite church, which was surrounded by Jewish and Christian graves (Makrīzī, iv 63, 64) and in the immediate vicinity al-Ḥākim turned a Jacobite and a Nestorian Church into mosques (*ibid*, p 65) When Djawhar built a palace in al-Kāhira, a *dēr* was taken in and transformed into a mosque (*ibid*, p 269), similar changes took place at later dates (*ibid*, p 240) and synagogues also were transformed in this way (Masdjid Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *ibid*, p 265) The chief mosque in Palermo was previously a church (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, i 719) After the Crusades several churches were turned into mosques in Palestine (Sauvaire, *Hist de Jerus et d'Hebron*, 1876, p 77, Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/ii, 40)

Other sanctuaries than those of the "people of the scripture" were turned into mosques For example a Masdjid al Shams between Hilla and Kerbelāʾ was the successor of an old temple of Shamash (see Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 331 *sq*) Not far from Istakhr was a Masdjid Sulaimān which was an old "fire-temple", the pictures on the walls of which could still be seen in the time of Masʿūdī and al-Makdisī (ivth century) (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 77, *B G A*, iii 444) In Istakhr itself there was a djāmiʿ, which was a converted fire-temple (*ibid*, p 436) In Masisa, the ancient Mopsuhestia, al-Mansūr in 140 built a mosque on the site of an ancient temple (Balādhurī, p 165 *sq*) and the chief mosque in Dihlī was originally a temple (Ibn Battūta, iii 151), as to Ṭāʾif cf Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10 Thus in Islām also the old rule holds that sacred places survive changes of religion. It was especially easy in cases where Christian sanctuaries were associated with Biblical personalities who were also recognised by Islām, e g, the Church of St John in Damascus and many holy places in Palestine One example is the mosque of Job in Shēkh Saʿd, associated with Sūra xxi 83, xxxviii 40, here in Silvia's time (fourth century) there was a church of Job (Masʿūdī, i 91, Baedeker, *Palast u Syrien*⁷, 1910, p 147)

But Islām itself had created historical associations which were bound soon to lead to the building of new mosques Even in the lifetime of the Prophet, the Banū Sālim are said to have asked him to perform the salāt in their masdjid to give it his authority (see above A 3) At the request of ʿItbān b Malik the Prophet performed the salāt along with Abū Bakr in his house and thereby consecrated it as a musallā, because he could not get to the tribal mosque in the rainy season (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 47, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 36, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 46, a similar story in Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 47, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 33 is perhaps identical in origin) After the death of the Prophet, his memory became so precious that the places where he had prayed obtained a special importance and his followers, who liked to imitate him in everything, preferred to perform their salāt in such places But this tendency was only an intensification of what had existed in his lifetime, and so it is not easy to decide how far the above stories reflect later conditions Mosques very quickly arose on the road between Mecca and Medina at places where, according to the testimony of his Companions, the Prophet had prayed (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 89, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 421 *sqq*), the same was the case with the road which the Prophet had taken to Tabūk in the year 9 (Ibn Hishām, p 907, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 394, there were 19 in all, which are listed in *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 246 *sq*) Indeed wherever he had taken the field, mosques were built, for example on the road to Badr, where according to tradition Abū Bakr had built a mosque (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 39, also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 135) The mosque of al Fadikh was built on the spot where the Prophet had prayed in a leather tent during the war with the Banū Nadir in the year 4 (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 163, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 132) He is said to have himself built a little mosque in Khaibar during the campaign of the year 7 (Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamis*, ii 49 *sq*, cf *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 19) Outside Ṭāʾif a mosque was built on a hillock, because the Prophet had performed the salāt there during the siege in the year 8, between the tents of his two wives, Umm Salama and Zainab (Ibn Hishām, p 872, *sq*,, Wākidī Wellhausen, p 369), in Liyya the Prophet is said to have himself built a mosque while on the campaign against Ṭāʾif (Ibn Hishām, p 872, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 368 *sq*) Mosques arose in and around Medina, "because Muhammad prayed here" (Wustenfeld, *Gesch d Stadt Medina*, p 31, 38, 132 *sqq*) It is obvious that in most of these cases later conditions are put back to the time of the Prophet, in connection with the "war of the Ditch" we are told that "he prayed everywhere where mosques now stand" (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 208) Since, for example, the Masdjid al-Fadikh is also called Masdjid al Shams (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 132) we have perhaps here actually an ancient sanctuary

Mosques became associated with the Prophet in many ways In Medina, for example, there was the Masdjid al-Baghla where footprints of the Prophet's mule were shown in a stone, the Masdjid al-Idjāba where the Prophet's appeal was answered, the Masdjid al-Fath which recalls the victory over the Meccans, etc (see Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 136 *sqq*) In Mecca there was naturally a large number of places sacred through associations with the Prophet and therefore used as places of prayer The most honoured site, next to the chief mosque, is said to have been the house of Khadīdja, also called Mawlid al Sayyida Fātima, because the daughter of the Prophet was born there This house, in which the Prophet lived till the Hidjra, was taken over by ʿUkail, ʿAlī's brother, and bought by him through Muʿāwiya and turned into a mosque (*Chroniken d Stadt Mekka*, ed Wustenfeld, i 423, iii 438, 440) Next comes the house in which the Prophet held his first secret meetings This was bought by al-Khaizurān, mother of Hārūn al Rashīd, on her pilgrimage in 171 and turned into a mosque (*Chron Mekka*, iii 112, 440) She also purchased the Prophet's birthplace, *Mawlid al-Nabī*, and made it into a mosque (*ibid*, i 422, iii 439) If Muʿāwiya really bought the Prophet's house from his cousin, it was probably the right one, but the demand for places associated with the Prophet became stronger and stronger and we therefore find more and more places referred not only to the Prophet, but also to his Companions Such are the birthplaces of Hamza, ʿUmar and ʿAlī (*Chron Mekka*, iii 445), the house of Māriya, the mother of the Prophet s son, Ibrāhīm (*ibid*, i 447, 466) who also had a mosque at Medina (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 133) There were also a Masdjid Khadidja (*ibid*, i 324) and a Masdjid ʿĀʾisha (*ibid*, iii 454), a Masdjid of the "granted appeal" in a narrow valley near Mecca, where the Prophet performed the *salāt* (*ibid*, iii 453), a Masdjid al-Djinn, where the Djinn overheard his preaching (*ibid*, i 424, iii 453), a Masdjid al-Raʾya, where he planted his standard at the conquest (*ibid*, ii 68 infra and 71 supra, iii 13, 453), a Masdjid al-Baiʿa where the first homage of the Medinese was received (*ibid*, i 428, iii 441) In the Masdjid al-Khaif in Mina is shown the mark of the Prophet's head in a stone into which visitors also put their heads (*ibid*, iii 438) Persons in the Bible are also connected with mosques, Adam, Abraham and Ismāʿīl with the Kaʿba, beside which the *Makām Ibrāhīm* is shown and in ʿArafa there is still a Masdjid Ibrāhīm (*ibid*, i 415, 425) and another in al-Zāhir near Mecca (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, 1907, p 112) To these memorial mosques others were later added, e g the Masdjid Abī Bakr, Masdjid Bilāl, the Mosque of the Splitting of the Moon (by the Prophet) etc (s Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 114 *sqq*, *B G A*, iii 102 *sq*, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 27, al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hidjāziya* ², Cairo 1329, p 52 *sqq*)

In al-Hidjāz the Muslims thus acquired a series of mosques which became important from their association with the Prophet, his family and his Companions, and made Muslim history live On the other hand, in lands formerly Christian, they took over sanctuaries which were associated with the Biblical history which they had assimilated (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, passim) Other mosques soon became associated with Biblical and Muslim story The mosque founded by ʿUmar on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem was, as already pointed out, identified as *al-Masdjid al-Aksā* mentioned in Sūra xvii 1 and therefore connected with the Prophet's night journey and the journey to Paradise The rock is said to have greeted the Prophet on this occasion and marks in a stone covering a hole are explained as Muhammad's footprints (sometimes also as those of Idrīs, cf Le Strange, *Palestine*, p 136, al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 165, Baedeker, *Palestine*, 1910, p 52 *sq*, cf Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 311) The name *al-Masdjid al Aksā* was used throughout the early period for the whole Harām area in Jerusalem, later partly for it, and partly for the building in its southern part (*B G A*, v 100, Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus Hebron*, p 95, 121, cf Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 96 *sq*) Then there were the mosques which had specifically Muslim associations, like the Masdjid of ʿUmar on the Mount of Olives where he encamped at the conquest (*B G A*, iii 172)

In Egypt not only was an old Christian sanctuary called Maʿbad Mūsā (Makrīzī, iv 269), but we are also told, for example, that the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was built where Mūsā talked with his Lord (Makrīzī, iv 36), according to al Kudāʿī there were in Egypt four Masādjid of Mūsā (Ibn Dukmak, ed Vollers, p 92), there was a Masdjid Yaʿkūb wa-Yūsuf (*B G A*, iii 200) and a Joseph's prison, certainly dating from the Christian period (Makrīzī, iv 315) There was also a Mosque of Abraham in Munyat Ibn al-Khasīb (Ibn Djubair, p 58) The chief mosque of Sanʿā' was built by Shem, son of Noah (*B G A*, vii 110) The old temple near Istakhr mentioned above was connected with Sulaimān (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 77, Yākūt, i 299) In the mosque of Kūfa not only Ibrāhim but one thousand other prophets and one thousand saints, described as *wasī*, are said to have offered their prayers, here was the tree Yaktīn (Sūra xxxvii 146), here died Yaghūth and Yaʿūk, etc (Yākūt, iv 325, also Ibn Djubair, p 211 *sq*) and in this mosque there was a chapel of Abraham, Noah and Idrīs (Ibn Djubair, p 212), a large number of mosques were associated with Companions of the Prophet What emphasis was laid on such an association is seen, for example, from the story according to which ʿUmar declined to perform the *salāt* in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, lest the church should afterwards be claimed as a mosque

4 Tomb Mosques

A special class of memorial mosques consisted of those which were associated with a tomb The graves of ancestors and of saints had been sanctuaries from ancient times and they were gradually adopted into Islām In addition there were the saints of Islām itself The general tendency to distinguish places associated with the founders of Islām naturally concentrated itself round the graves in which they rested In the Kurʾān, a tomb masdjid is mentioned in connection with the Seven Sleepers (Sūra xviii 20) but it is not clear if it was recognised As early as the year 6, the companions of Abū Basīr are said to have built a mosque at the place where he died and was buried (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 262) The Prophet is also said to have visited regularly at al-Baḳīʿ in Medina the tombs of the martyrs who fell at Uḥud and paid reverence to them (*ibid*, p 143)

Whatever the exact amount of truth in the story, there is no doubt that the story of the tomb-mosque of Abū Baṣīr is ante-dated The accounts of the death of the Prophet and of the period immediately following reveal no special interest in his tomb But very soon the general trend of development stimulated an interest in graves which led to the erection of sanctuaries at them The progress of this tendency is more marked in al-Wākidī, who died in 207 (823), than in Ibn Ishāk who died in 151 (768)

The collections of Ḥadīth made in the third century contain discussions on this fact which show that the problem was whether the tombs could be used as places of worship and in this connection whether mosques could be built over the tombs The ḥadīths answer both questions in the negative, which certainly was in the spirit of the Prophet It is said that "Salāt at the graves (*fi 'l-makābir*) is *makrūh*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 52), "sit not upon graves and perform not salāt towards them" (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, tr 33), "hold the salāt in your houses, but do not use them as tombs" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, tr 28) On the other hand it is acknowledged that Anas performed the salāt at the cemetery (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48) We are also told that tombs cannot be used as *masādjid* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 62) On his deathbed the Prophet is said to have cursed the Jews and the Christians because they used the tombs of their prophets as *masādjid* Ḥadīth explains this by saying that the tomb of the Prophet was not at first accessible (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 55, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 62, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 50, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 3), as a matter of fact its precise location was not exactly known (*Djanā'iz*, bāb 96) The attacks in Ḥadīth insist that tomb-mosques are a reprehensible Jewish practice "When a pious man dies, they build a masdjid on his tomb" etc (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54, Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 71) Although this view of tomb-mosques is still held in certain limited circles (cf Ibn Taimīya, the Wahhābīs), the old pre-Islāmic custom soon also became a Muslim one The expositors of Ḥadīth like al-Nawawī (on Muslim, *Masādjid* tr 3, lith Dihlī 1319, i 201) and al-ʿAskalānī, (Cairo 1329, i 354) explain the above passages to mean that only an exaggerated *taʿzīm* of the dead is forbidden so that tombs should not be used as a kibla, otherwise it is quite commendable to spend time in a mosque in proximity to a devout man

The name given to a tomb-mosque is often *kubba*, a word which is used of a tent (Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 62, *Hadjdj*, bāb 64, *Fard al-Khums*, bāb 19, *al-Diizya*, bāb 15, Tarafa, *Dīwān*, vii 1), but later came to mean the dome which usually covers tombs and thus became the general name for the sanctuary of a saint (cf Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 114, 115, cf Dozy, *Supplement*, s v) *Makām* also means a little chapel and a saint's tomb (v Berchem, *Corpus Inscr Arab*, i, N° 72, etc , cf index) The custom of making a *kubba* at the tomb of a saint was firmly rooted in Byzantine territory, where sepulchral churches always had a dome (Herzog-Hauch, *Realenzyclopädie*[3], x 784) The usual name however for a tomb-sanctuary was *mashhad*, this is applied to places where saints are worshipped, among Muslim tombs particularly to those of the friends and relations of the Prophet (v Berchem, *Corpus Inscr Arab*, i, N° 32, 63, 417, 544, Makrīzī, iv, p 265, 309 *sqq*) but also to tombs of other recognised saints, e g Mashhad Djirdjis in Mawsil (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 236) etc

The transformation of the tombs of the Prophet and his near relatives into sanctuaries seems to have been a gradual process Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are said to have been buried in the house of ʿĀ'isha, Fāṭima and ʿAlī lived beside it ʿĀ'isha had a wall built between her room and the tombs to prevent visitors carrying off earth from the tomb of the Prophet The houses of the Prophet's wives remained as they were until al-Walīd rebuilt them He thought it scandalous that Ḥasan b Ḥasan b ʿAlī should live in Fāṭima's house and ʿUmar's family close beside ʿĀ'isha's home in the house of Ḥafṣa He acquired the houses, had all the houses of the Prophet's wives torn down and erected new buildings The tombs were enclosed by a pentagonal wall, the whole area was called *al-Rawda* "the garden", it was not till later that a dome was built over it (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 66 *sqq*, 72 *sq*, 78 *sqq*, 89) In the cemetery of Medīna, *al Bakiʿ*, a whole series of *Mashāhid* came to be built where tombs of the family and of the Companions of the Prophet were located (*ibid*, p 140 *sqq*, Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 195 *sqq*) It is often disputed whether a tomb belonged to one or the other (e g Ṭabarī, iii 2436, 2 *sqq*) Such tomb mosques were sacred (*mukaddas*, Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 114, 13, 17), they were visited *li 'l-baraka* The name al-Rawda of the Prophet's tomb became later applied to other sanctuaries (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 46, 16, 52, 11) Separate limbs were revered in some mosques, like the head of al-Ḥusain in Cairo, which was brought there in 491 from ʿAskalān (ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭat al-Djadida*, iv 91 *sqq*, cf Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus Hebr*, p 16), his head was also revered for some time in the *Mashhad al-Raʾs* in Damascus (according to Ibn Shakir, *J A*, 9th ser, vii 385)

Gradually a vast number of Muslim tombs of saints came into existence, and to these were added all the pre-Islāmic sanctuaries which were adopted by Islām No distinction can therefore be drawn between tomb-mosques and other memorial mosques It was often impossible to prove that the tomb in question ever really existed In the Mashhad ʿAlī for example, ʿAlī's tomb is honoured but Ibn Djubair leaves it in doubt whether he is really buried there (*Riḥla*, p 212) and many located his grave in the mosque at Kūfa and elsewhere (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 289, v 68, *B G A*, ii 163) In ʿAin al-Bakar near ʿAkkā there was also a Mashhad ʿAlī (Yākūt, iii 759) and also in the Mosque of the Umaiyads (Ibn Djubair, p 267), on this question cf *B G A*, iii 46 Names frequently become confused and transferred In Mecca between Ṣafā and Marwa there was a Kubba, which was associated with ʿUmar b al-Khaṭṭāb but Ibn Djubair says that it should be connected with ʿUmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Riḥla*, p 115, 11 *sqq*) In Djīza there was a *Mashhad Abī Hurairа*, where the memory of this Companion of the Prophet was honoured, it is said to have been originally the grave of another Abū Hurairа (Makrīzī, i 335, 19) Wherever Shīʿīs ruled, there arose numerous tomb-mosques of the *Ahl al-Bait* In Egypt Ibn Djubair gives a list of 14 men and five women of the Prophet's

family, who were honoured there (*Rihla*, p 46 *sq*) Islām was always creating new tombs of saints who had been distinguished for learning or asceticism or miracle-working, e g the tomb of al-Shāfiʿī in Cairo and Ahmad al-Badawī in Tantā There were mosques, chiefly old established sanctuaries, of Biblical and semi-Biblical personages like Rūbīl (Reuben) and Āsiya the wife of Pharaoh (*ibid*, p 46) In and around Damascus were a number of mosques, which were built on the tombs of prophets and unnamed saints (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 273 *sqq*) In Palestine could be seen a vast number of tombs of Biblical personages (cf Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, Index and Conder in *Palestine Explor Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p 89 *sqq*), usually mosques with a kubba

After the sanctuaries of persons mentioned in the Bible came those of people mentioned in the Kurʾān For example, outside the Djāmiʿ in ʿAkkā was shown the tomb-mosque of the prophet Sālih (Nāsir i Khusraw, *Sefer-Nameh*, ed Schefer, p 15, 1 = 49), and in Syria that of his son (Ibn Djubair, p 46), that of Hūd was also shown near ʿAkkā (*Sefer-Nameh*, p 16, 5 = 52), farther east that of Shuʿaib and of his daughter (*ibid*, p 16, 12 = 53), the tomb of Hūd was also pointed out in Damascus and in Hadramawt (Yākūt, ii 596, 16), then we have peculiarly Muslim saints like Dhu 'l-Kifl, the son of Job (*ibid*, p 16, 4 = 52) Then there are the sanctuaries of saints who are only superficially Muslim but really have their origins in old popular superstitions, like al-Khadir who had a *mashhad* in Damascus (Yākūt, ii 596, 9), or a saint like ʿAkk, founder of the town of ʿAkkā, whose tomb Nasir-i Khusraw visited outside the town (*Sefer-Nameh*, p 15, 6 from below = 51) Such tombs were much visited by pious travellers and are therefore frequently mentioned in literature (on Mashāhid of the kinds mentioned here in the ʿIrāk, see *B G A*, iii 130, for Mawsil etc, *ibid*, p 146) In this way ancient sanctuaries were turned into mosques and it is often quite a matter of chance under what names they are adopted by Islām (cf Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, ii 325 *sqq*) It therefore sometimes happens that the same saint is honoured in several mosques Abū Huraira, who is buried in Medīna, is honoured not only in the above-mentioned tomb mosque in Djīza but also at various places in Palestine, in al-Ramla and in Yubnā south of Tabariya (Khalil ed-Dâhiry, *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamâlik*, ed P Ravaisse, p 42, 1 from below, *Sefer-Nameh* of Nāsir-i Khusraw, ed by Ch Schefer, p 17, 1 from below = 59, Yākūt, iii 512, 20, iv 1007, 12, cf *Symbolae Osloenses Fasc Supplet*, ii [1928], 31) The tomb of the Prophet Jonah is revered not only in the ancient Niniveh but also in Palestine

Just as the kubba under which the saint lay and the mosque adjoining it were sanctified by him so vice-versa a kubba and a mosque could cause a deceased person to become considered a saint It was therefore the custom for the mighty not only to give this distinction to their fathers but also to prepare such buildings for themselves even in their own lifetime This was particularly the custom of the Mamlūk sultāns, perhaps stimulated by the fact that they did not found dynasties in which power passed from father to son Such buildings are called *kubba* (van Berchem, *C I A*, i, N° 82 *sqq*, 95, 96, 126, 138 etc), exceptionally *zāwiya* (*ibid*, N° 98), frequently *turba* (*ibid*, N° 58, 66, 88, 106, 107, 116 etc), the formula is also found "this *kubba* is a *turba*" (N° 67), the latter word acquired the same meaning as masdjid, partly saint's grave and partly sacred site (cf Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 114, 196), but this word does not seem to be used of ordinary tomb-mosques, although the distinction between these and mosques in honour of saints often disappeared In these kubbas the regular recitation of the Kurʾān was often arranged and the tomb was provided with a *kiswa* The mausoleum might be built in connection with a great mosque and be separated from it by a grille (Yākūt, iv 509, 6 *sqq*)

5 Mosques deliberately founded

In the early period the building of mosques was a social obligation of the ruler as representative of the community and the tribes Very soon a number of mosques came into existence, provided by individuals In addition to tribal mosques, as already mentioned, there were also sectarian mosques and prominent leaders built mosques which were the centres of their activity, for example the Masdjid ʿAdī b Hatim (Tabarī, ii 130), the Masdjid Simāk in Kūfa (*ibid*, i 2653), the Masdjid al Ashʿath etc As old sanctuaries entered Islām, the mosque received more of the character of a sanctuary and the building of a mosque became a pious work, there arose a hadith, according to which the Prophet said "for him who builds a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise", some add "if he desires to see the face of God" (*Corpus juris di Zaid b ʿAli*, ed Griffini, N° 276, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 65, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 4, *Zuhd*, tr 3, Makrizi, iv 36) Like other sanctuaries, mosques were sometimes built as a result of a revelation in a dream A story of this kind of the year 557 is given by al Samhūdī for Medina (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 91 *sq*), and a similar one of a mosque in Damascus (*J A*, Ser 9, vii 384), a mosque was also built out of gratitude for seeing the Prophet (*al-Madrasa al-Sharifiya*, Makrīzi, iv 209) It was of course particularly an obligation on the mighty to build mosques Even in the earliest period, the governors took care that new mosques were built to keep pace with the spread of Islām (cf Balādhurī, p 178 *sq*) About the year 1000 the governor of Media, Badr b Hasanawaihi, is said to have built 3,000 mosques and hostels (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, 1922, p 24) The collections of inscriptions, as well as the geographical and topographical works, reveal how the number of mosques increased in this way

In Egypt, al-Hākim in the year 403 had a census taken of the mosques of Cairo and there were eight hundred (Makrīzī, iv 264), al Kudāʿi (d 454 = 1062) also counted the mosques and his figure is put at 30,000 or 36,000 (Yākūt, iii 901, Ibn Dukmāk, ed Vollers, p 92, Makrīzī, iv 264) which seems quite a fantastic figure (there is probably a *wa* lacking before *alif* i e 1,036) Ibn al Mutawwadj (d 730) according to al-Makrīzī counted 480, and Ibn Dukmāk (about 800) gives in addition to the incomplete list of djāmiʿs a list of 472 mosques, not including madāris, khānakāhs etc, the figure given by Makrīzī is smaller The fantastic figure of 30,000 for Baghdād is found as early as Yaʿkūbī (*B G A*, vii 250) It is also an exaggeration when Ibn Djubair was told in

Alexandria that there were 12,000 or 8,000 mosques there (p 43) In Basra where Ziyād built 7 mosques (*B G A*, v 191), the number also increased rapidly, but here again an exaggerated figure (7,000) is given (*B G A*, vii 361) In Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir (d 571 = 1176) counted 241 within and 148 outside the city (*J A*, Ser 9, vii 383) In Palermo Ibn Hawkal counted over 300 and in a village above it 200 mosques In some streets there were as many as 20 mosques within a bowshot of one another, this multiplicity is condemned everyone wanted to build a mosque for himself (Yākūt, i 719, iii 409, 410) As a matter of fact, one can almost say that things tended this way, Yaʿkūbī mentions in Baghdād a mosque for the Anbarī officials of the tax-office (*B G A*, vii 245) and several distinguished scholars practically had their own mosques It occasionally happened that devout private individuals founded mosques In 672 Fadj al-Dīn built a mosque and a separate chamber in which he performed the ṣalāt alone and meditated (Makrīzī, iv 90) The mosques thus founded were very often called after their founders, and memorial and tomb-mosques after the person to be commemorated Sometimes a mosque is called after some devout man who lived in it (Makrīzī, iv 97, 265 *sqq*) and a madrasa might be called after its head or a teacher (*ibid*, iv 235, Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 82) Lastly a mosque might take its name from its situation or from some feature of the building

6 Al-Musallā

In addition to the mosques proper, al-Makrīzī mentions for Cairo 8 places for prayer (*muṣallā*) mainly at the cemetery (iv 334 *sq*) The word musallā may mean any place of prayer, therefore also mosque (cf Sūra, ii 119, cf Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv 25, 16, do, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed Bunz, p 91, 17, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 326, 3—5) or a particular place of prayer within a mosque (Tabarī, i 2408, 16, Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 17, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91) In Palestine, there were many open places of prayer, provided only with a miḥrāb and marked off, but quite in the open (cf for Tiberias, *Sefer-Nāmeh*, transl Schefer, p 36) It is recorded of the Prophet that he used to go out at the two festivals (*al-Fiṭr* and *al-Aḍḥā*) to the place of prayer (al-musallā) of the Banū Salima A lance which the Negus had presented to al Zubair was carried in front of him and planted before the Prophet as *sutra* Standing in front of it, he conducted the salāt, and then preached a khutba without a minbar to the rows in front of him (Tabarī, i 1281, 14 *sqq*, Bukhārī, *Ḥaiḍ*, bāb 6, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90, *ʿĪdain*, bāb 6) He also went out to the musallā for the *ṣalāt al-istiskāʾ* (Muslim, *Istiskāʾ*, tr 1) This Musallā was an open space and Muhammad is even said to have forbidden a building on it (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 127 *sqq*) This custom of performing the salāt on a musallā outside the town on the two festivals became *sunna* There is evidence of the custom for several towns In Medīna however, a mosque was later built on the musallā (*ibid*, p 128 *sq*) which also happened in other places An early innovation was the introduction of a minbar by Marwān (*ibid*, p 128, Bukhārī, *ʿĪdain*, bāb 6) When Saʿd b Abī Wakkās built a mosque in Kisrā's Īwān in al-Madāʾin, at the festival in the year 16 it was expressly stated that it was *sunna* to go out to it Saʿd, however, thought it was a matter of indifference (Tabarī, i 2451) Shortly after 300 a musallā outside of Hamadhān is mentioned (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix 23) There was al Musallā al-ʿAtīk in Baghdād, here a dakka was erected for the execution of the Karmatian prisoners (Tabarī, iii 2244 *sq*, cf 1659, 18), in Kūfa, several are mentioned (*ibid*, ii 628, 16, 1704, 8, iii 367, 8 *sq*), two in Merw (*ibid*, ii 1931, 2, 1964, 19, cf *Sefer-Nāmeh*, transl Schefer, p 274), one in Farghāna (*B G A*, ii 393, 11) In Tirmidh, the musallā was within the walls (*B G A*, ii 349, 18) which also happened elsewhere (*ibid*, 378, 6 *sq*) In Cairo the two festivals were celebrated on the Musallā Khawlān (a Yemen tribe) with the khatīb of the Mosque of ʿAmr as leader according to al-Kudāʿī the festivals were to be celebrated on a musallā opposite the hill Yahmūm, then on al Musallā al Kadīm where Ahmad b Ṭūlūn erected a building in 256 The site was several times changed (Makrīzī, iv 334 *sq*, cf *B G A*, iii 200, 14 *sq*) In 302, 306 and 308 the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* was performed for the first time in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Makrīzī, iv 20, 8 *sqq*, *Husn al Muḥāḍara*, ii 137 infra, Ibn Taghribirdī, ii 194, 9 *sqq*) Ibn Battūta notes the custom in Spain (i 20) and Tunis (i 22) and also in India (iii 154) Ibn al Hadjdj (d 737) says that in his time the ceremonies still took place on the musallā but condemns the *bidʿa*'s associated with them (*Kʿ al Madkhal* ii, Cairo 1320, p 82 *sqq*) It is also laid down in Muslim law, although not always definitely (see Juynboll, *Handbuch d islām Ges*, 1910, p 127, I Guidi, *Il Muḥtasar*, 1, 1919, p 136) The custom seems in time to have become generally abandoned In the ninth century the Masdjid Āksonkor was expressly built for the khutba at the Friday services and at festivals (Makrīzī, iv 107, 17)

C The Mosque as the Centre for Divine Service

1 Sanctity of the Mosque

The history of the mosque in the early centuries of Islām shows an increase in its sanctity which was intensified by the adoption of the traditions of the church and especially by the permeation of the cult of saints The sanctity already associated with tombs taken over by Islām was naturally very soon transferred to the larger and more imposing mosques The expression *Bait Allāh* "house of God", which at first was only used of the Kaʿba came now be applied to any mosque (s *Corpus inscr Zaid b ʿAlī*, N⁰ 48, cf 156, 983, *Chron Mekka*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 164, v Berchem, *Corpus Inscr Arab*, i, N⁰ 10, l 18, Ibn al-Hādjdj, *Kʿ al-Madkhal*, i 20, 23, ii 64, 68, cf *Bait Rabbihi*, *ibid*, i 23, 73, ii 56) The alteration in the original conception is illustrated by the fact that the Mamlūk al-Malik al Ẓāhir Baibars declined to build a mosque on a place for tethering camels because it was unseemly, while the mosque of the Prophet had actually been built on such a place (Makrīzī, iv 91, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 22)

In the house of God the Miḥrāb and the Minbar (see below) enjoyed particular sanctity, as did the tomb, especially in Medīna (Bukhārī, *Fadl al Ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka wa ʾl-Madīna*, bāb 5) The visitors sought *baraka*, partly by touching the tomb or the railing round it, partly by praying

in its vicinity, at such places "prayer is heard" (*Chron Mekka*, III 441, 442) In the Masdjid al-Khaif in Minā the visitor laid his head on the print of the Prophet's head and thus obtained *baraka* (*ibid*, III 438) A mosque could be built on a site, the sanctity of which had been shown by the finding of hidden treasure (Makrīzī, IV 75) There were often places of particular sanctity in mosques In the mosques at Kubā' and Medīna, the spots where the Prophet used to stand at prayer were held to be particularly blessed (Balādhurī, p 5, Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 65, cf 82, 109) In other mosques, places where a saint had sat or where a divine phenomenon had taken place e g in the Mosque of ʿAmr and in the Azhar Mosque (Makrīzī, III 19, 52) or the Mosque in Jerusalem (Makdisī, *B G A*, III 170) were specially visited Pious visitors made *tawāf* [q v] between such places in the mosque (Makrīzī, IV 20) Just as in other religions we find parents dedicating their children to the service of a sanctuary, so we find a Muslim woman vowing her child or child yet unborn to the mosque (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 74, Makrīzī, IV 20) The fact that mosques, like other sanctuaries, were sometimes founded after a revelation received in a dream has already been mentioned (B 5)

This increase in sanctity had as a natural result that one could no longer enter a mosque at random as had been the case in the time of the Prophet In the early Umayyad period, Christians were still allowed to enter the mosque without molestation (cf Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, p 13 *sq*, Goldziher, in *W Z K M*, VI 100 *sq*) Muʿāwiya used to sit with his Christian physician, Ibn Uthāl, in the mosque of Damascus (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 117) According to Ahmad b Hanbal, the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (or *Ahl al-ʿAhd*) and their servants, but not polytheists, were allowed to enter the mosque of Medīna (*Musnad*, III 339, 392) At a later date entrance was forbidden to Christians and this regulation is credited to ʿUmar (Lammens, *op cit*, p 13, note 6) A strict teacher of morality like Ibn al-Hādjdj thought it unseemly that the monks who wove the mats for the mosques should be allowed to lay them in the mosque (*Madkhal*, II 57) Conditions were not always the same In Hebron, Jews and Christians were admitted on payment to the sanctuary of Abraham until in 664 (1265) Baibars forebade it (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, I/II 27)

According to some traditions, a person in a state of ritual impurity could not enter the mosque (Abū Dāwūd, *Tahāra*, bāb 92, Ibn Mādja, *Tahāra*, bāb 123) and in any case only the pure could acquire merit by visiting the mosque (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 49, *Corpus iuris di Zaid b ʿAlī*, N° 48), and in a later period it is specially mentioned that the *wudūʾ* cannot be undertaken in the mosque itself (*Madkhal*, II 47 infra) nor could shaving (*ibid*, p 58 *sq*)

It is always necessary to be careful not to spit in a mosque, although some traditions which are obviously closer to the old state of affairs say, "not in the direction of the ḳibla, only to the left!" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 33 *sq*) The custom of taking off one's sandals in the mosque is found as early as the time of Abū ʿUbaida (second century) (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* V 272, 13 *sq*) and according to *al-Madkhal* (see below) is also mentioned by Abū Dāwūd Al-Tabarī puts the custom back to the time of ʿUmar (I 2408) That it is based on an old custom observed in sanctuaries is obvious (cf on the history of the custom, F Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos*, 1926, p 60 *sq*) The custom however seems not to have been always observed In the VIIIth century in the Mosque of the Umayyads the shoes were taken off only in the *maksūra*, because the floor was covered with mats, but in 827 an Egyptian superintendent ordered that the mosque should only be entered with bare feet (*J A*, ser 9, VII 211, 217) The visitor on entering should place his right foot first and utter certain prayers with blessings on the Prophet and his family (which Muhammad is said to have done!) and when he is inside perform two rakʿa's (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 47, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 25, Muslim, *Ṣalāt al Musāfirīn*, tr 12 *sq*, Tabarī, III 2464, 2532) Certain regulations for decent conduct came into being, the object of which was to preserve the dignity of the house of divine service Public announcements about strayed animals were not to be made, as the Beduins did in their houses of assembly, and one should not call out aloud and thereby disturb the meditations of the worshippers (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bab 83, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 18, more fully in *Madkhal*, I 19 *sqq*) One should put on fine clothes for the Friday service, rub oneself with oil and perfume oneself (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 3, 6, 7, 19) as was also done with *tīb* for the Hadjdj (Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, bāb 143)

A question which interested the teachers of morality was that of the admission of women to the mosques That many did not desire their presence is evident from the hadīth that one cannot prevent them as there is no *fitna* connected with it, but they must not be perfumed (Muslim, *Salāt*, bāb 29, Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 13, cf *Chron Mekka*, IV 168) Other hadīths say they should leave the mosques before the men (al-Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, bāb 77, cf Abū Dāwūd, *Salāt*, bāb 14, 48) Sometimes a special part of the mosque was railed off for them, for example, the governor of Mecca in 256 had ropes tied between the columns to make a separate place for women (*Chron Mekka*, II 197 infra) According to some, women must not enter the mosque during their menstruation (Abū Dāwūd, *Tahāra*, bāb 92, 103, Ibn Mādja, *Tahāra*, bāb 117, 123) In Medina at the present day, a wooden grille shuts off a place for women (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāziya*, p 240) At one time the women stood at the back of the mosque here (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, VI 400) In Jerusalem there were special *maḳṣūra*s for them (*B G A*, V 100) Ibn al-Hādjdj would prefer to exclude them altogether and gives ʿĀʾisha as his authority for this

Although the mosque became sacred it could not quite cast off its old character as a place of public assembly and in consequence the mosque was visited for many other purposes than that of divine service Not only in the time of the Umayyads was considerable business done in the mosques (Tabarī, II 1118, cf Lammens, *Ziād*, p 98) which is quite in keeping with the hadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 70 *sq*) which, actually found it necessary to forbid the sale of wine in the mosque (*ibid*, bāb 73), but a writer in the VIIIth century, Ibn al-Hādjdj, records with disapproval that business was done in the mosques women sit in the mosques and sell thread, in Mecca hawkers even call their wares in the mosque The list given by

this author gives one the impression of a regular market-place (*Madkhal*, II 54) Strangers could always sit down in a mosque and talk with one another (see *B G A*, III 205), they had the right to spend the night in the mosque, according to some, however, only if there was no other shelter available (*Madkhal*, II 43 infra, 49 supra, see below D 1b) It naturally came about that people also ate in the mosque, this was quite common, and regular banquets were even given in them (e g Makrīzī, IV 67, 121 *sq*, cf in Hadīth Ibn Mādja, *Aṭ'ima*, bāb 24, 29, Ahmad b Hanbal, II 106, 10 from below) Ibn al-Hādjdj laments that in al-Aksā people even threw the remains of their repast down in the mosque, animals were brought in, and beggars and water-carriers called aloud in them etc (*Madkhal*, II 53 *sq*) It is even mentioned as a sign of the special piety of al-Shīrāzī (d 476 = 1083) that he often brought food into the mosque and consumed it there with his pupils (Wustenfeld, *Der Imâm Schâfi'î*, III 298) Gradually the mosques acquired greater numbers of residents (see D 2b) In the Azhar Mosque it was the custom with many to spend the summer nights there because it was cool and pleasant (Makrīzī, IV 54) This was the state of affairs about 800 A H Similar conditions still prevail in the mosques

2 The Mosque as a Place of Prayer Friday Mosques

As places for divine service, the mosques are primarily "houses of which God has permitted that they be erected and that His name be mentioned in them" (Sūra, XXIV 36), i e for His service demanded by the law, for ceremonies of worship (*manāsik*), for assemblies for prayer (*djamā'āt*) and other religious duties (cf *Chron Mekka*, IV 164) The mosques were *ma'ābid* (Makrīzī, IV 117, 140) In Medīna after a journey, the Prophet went at once to the mosque and performed two rak'a's, a custom which was imitated by others and became the rule (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 59 *sq*, Muslim, *Salāt al-Musāfirīn*, tr 11, Wāḳidī–Wellhausen, p 412, 436) In this respect, the mosque played a part in public worship similar to that of the Ka'ba in Mecca at an earlier date and the Rabba sanctuary in Ṭā'if The daily salāts, which in themselves could be performed anywhere, became especially meritorious when they were performed in mosques, because they expressed adherence to the community A *ṣalāt al-djamā'a*, we are told, is twenty or twenty-five times as meritorious as the salāt of an individual at home or in his shop (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 42, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 87, *Buyū'*, bāb 49) There are even hadīths which condemn private salāts "Those who perform the *ṣalāt* in their houses abandon the *sunna* of their Prophet" (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 44, but cf 48 and Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 52) If much rain falls, the believers may, however, worship in their houses (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 14) In this connection a blind man was given a special *rukhṣa*, it is particularly bad to leave the mosque after the *adhān* (Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 45) It is therefore very meritorious to go to the mosque, for every step one advances into the mosque, he receives forgiveness of sins, God protects him at the last judgment and the angels also assist him (Muslim, *Masādjid*, bāb 49–51, Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 87, *Adhān*, bāb 36, 37, *Djum'a*, bāb 4, 18, 31, *Corpus iuris di Zaid b 'Alī*, N° 48, 156, 983)

This holds especially of the Friday salāt (*salāt al-djum'a*), which can only be performed in the mosque and is obligatory upon every free male Muslim who has reached years of discretion (cf Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p 86, Guidi, *Sommario del Diritto Malechita*, I 125 *sq*) According to Ibn Hishām (p 290) this salāt, which is distinguished by the *khuṭba*, was observed in Medīna even before the Hidjra This is hardly probable and besides is not in agreement with other hadīths (see Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 11) but the origin of this divine service, referred to in Sūra lxii 9, is obscure The assemblies of the Jews and Christians on a particular day must have formed the model (cf Bukharī, *Djum'a*, bāb 1) Its importance in the earlier period lay in the fact that all elements of the Muslim camp, who usually went to the tribal and particular mosques, assembled for it in the chief mosque under the leadership of the general The chief mosque, which for this reason was particularly large, was given a significant name They talk of *al-Masdjid al a'zam* (Tabarī, I 2494, II 734, 1701, 1702, Kūfa, Balādhurī, p 5, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, XI 21, centre, *ibid* also *al-Masdjid al-akbar*, Medīna, cf *al-Masdjid al-kabīr*, *B G A*, VII 245) or *Masdjid al-Djamā'a* (Yākūt, III 896, al-Fustāt, also Tabarī, II 1119, Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 106), *Masdjid li 'l-Djamā'a* (Makrīzī, IV 4), *Masdjid Djāmi'* (Balādhurī, p 289, Madā'in, Yākūt, I 643, 647, Basra), then *Masdjid al-Djāmi'* (Yākūt, III 899, IV 885, *B G A*, II 298, 315, 387, VII 110 etc) As an abbrevation we find also *al-Djamā'a* (Yākūt, I 400, Ibn Battūta, IV 343, cf *Masdjidī al-Djamā'a*, Balādhurī, p 348) and especially *Djāmi'* As the *khuṭba* was the distinguishing feature, we also find *Masdjid al-Khutba* (Makrīzī, IV 44, 64, 87), *Djāmi' al-Khutba* (*ibid*, IV 55) or *Masdjid al-Minbar* (*B G A*, III 316 for *Djāmi'*, l 8)

Linguistic usage varied somewhat in course of time with conditions In the time of 'Umar there was properly in every town only one Masdjid Djāmi' for the Friday service But when the community became no longer a military camp and Islam replaced the previous religion of the people, a need for a number of mosques for the Friday service was bound to arise This demanded mosques for the Friday service in the country, in the villages on the one hand and several Friday mosques in the towns on the other This meant in both cases an innovation, compared with old conditions, and thus there arose some degree of uncertainty The Friday service had to be conducted by the ruler of the community, but there was only one governor in each province, on the other hand, the demands of the time could hardly be resisted and, besides, the Christian converts to Islām had been used to a solemn weekly service

As to the villages (*al-kurā*), 'Amr b al 'Āṣi in Egypt forbade their inhabitants to celebrate the Friday service for the reason just mentioned (Makrīzī, IV 7) At a later period then the khutba was delivered exceptionally, without minbar and only with staff, until Marwān in 132 introduced the minbar into the Egyptian *kurā* also (*ibid*, p 8) Of a mosque in which a *minbar* had been placed, we are told *djū'ila masdjidan li 'l-a'yāa* (Tabarī, I 2451) and a village with a minbar is called *karya djāmi'a* (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 15, cf *Madina Djāmi'a*, *B G A*, II 321), an idea which was regarded by Bukhārī (d 256 = 870)

as quite obvious In introducing minbars into the Egyptian villages, Marwān was apparently following the example of other regions In the fourth century, Ibn Hawkal mentions a number of *manābir* in the district of Istakhr (*B G A*, ii 182 *sqq*) and a few in the vicinity of Marw (*ibid*, p 316) and in Transoxania (*ibid*, p 378, cf p 384), and al-Makdisī does the same for other districts of Persia (*B G A*, iii 309, 317) and he definitely says that the kurās of Palestine are *dhāt manābir* (*ibid*, p 176, cf i 58), Balādhurī (p 331) also uses the name minbar for a village mosque built in 239, in general, when speaking of the kurās, one talks of *manābir* and not of *djawāmi*ᶜ (cf *B G A*, i 63) Later however the term Masdjid Djāmiᶜ is used for a Friday mosque (Ibn Djubair, p 217) The conditions of primitive Islām are reflected in the teaching of the Hanafīs, who only permit the Friday service in large towns (cf al Māwardī, *al Ahkām al-sulṭāniya*, ed Enger, p 177)

As to the towns, the Shāfiᶜīs on the other hand have retained the original conditions, since they permit the Friday service in only one mosque in each town (cf UJUMᶜA and *op cit*, p 178 *sq*), but with the reservation that the mosque is able to hold the community The distinction between the two rites was of importance in Egypt When in 569 Ṣalāh al-Dīn became supreme in Egypt, he appointed a Shāfiᶜī chief kādī and the Friday service was therefore held only in the Hākim mosque, as the largest, but in 665 (1266) al-Malik al-Zāhir Baibars gave the Hanafīs preference and many mosques were therefore used as Friday mosques (Makrīzī, iv 52 *sq*, al Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 140, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/ii 39 *sqq*) During the Umaiyad period and to some extent in the ᶜAbbāsid period, the number of *djawāmiᶜ* in the towns were still very small The geographers of the third and fourth centuries in their descriptions of towns as a rule mention only "the djāmiᶜ" Ibn al-Fakīh, c 290 (903), sometimes says *masdjid djāmiᶜ wa-minbar*, *B G A*, v 304–306, also *minbar* simply, p 305 In keeping with the oldest scheme of town planning, it was very often in the middle of the town surrounded by the business quarters (*B G A*, ii 298, 325, iii 274 *sq*, 278, 289, 314, 316, 375, 376, 413, 426, 427 etc, Nāsir-i Khusraw, ed Schefer, p 35, 41, 56) and the *dār al imāra* was still frequently in the immediate vicinity of the chief mosque (*B G A*, ii 298, 314, iii 426)

Istakhrī mentions as an innovation in Islām that al-Hadjdjādj built a djāmiᶜ in al-Wāsit on the west bank, although there was already one on the east bank (*B G A*, i 82 *sq*, cf iii 118, vii 322) Ibn Djubair (*Rihla*, p 211 *sq*) mentions only one djāmiᶜ in Kūfa, called *Masdjid al Kūfa* by Ibn al Fakīh, although he also mentions other mosques (*B G A*, v 173, cf 174, 183 and iii 116) In Basra where Yaᶜkūbī (278 = 891) already mentions 7,000 mosques (*B G A*, vii 361), al Makdisī (375 = 985) gives 3 *djawāmiᶜ* (*B G A*, iii 117) In Sāmarrā', among many mosques, there was one djāmiᶜ (*B G A*, vii 258, 259), which was later replaced by another (*ibid*, p 260 *sq*), al-Mutawakkil also built one outside the original town (*ibid*, p 265, see also P Schwarz, *Die ᶜAbbāsiden-Residenz Sāmarrā*, 1909, p 32) In Baghdād, Yaᶜkūbī (278 = 891) mentions only one djāmiᶜ for the eastern town and one for the western (*B G A*, vii 240, 245, 251, 253, the almost contemporary Ibn Rosta just mentions the old western town and its djāmiᶜ, *ibid*, p 109) although he gives the fantastic figures of 15,000 mosques in the east town (*ibid*, p 254) and 30,000 in the west (or in the whole town ?, *ibid*, p 250) After 280 there was added the djamiᶜ of the eastern palace of the caliph (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 388 quoting al Khatīb al Baghdādī, *Taᵓrīkh Baghdād*, a private djāmiᶜ of Hārūn al-Rashīd in the *Bustān Umm Mūsā* is mentioned by Ibn al-Kiftī, *Taᵓrikh al-Hukamā*ᵓ, ed Lippert, p 433 infra) These 3 *djawāmiᶜ* are mentioned about 340 (951) by Istakhrī (*B G A*, i 84), who also mentions one in the suburb of Kalwādhā Ibn Hawkal in 367 (977) mentions the latter and also the Djāmiᶜ al-Barāthā (*B G A*, i 164 *sq*, of 329, Mez, *loc cit*), a fifth was added in 379, a sixth in 383 (Mez, p 389), thus al Khatīb al Baghdādī in 460 (1058) gives 4 for West Baghdād, 2 for the east town (cf Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p 324) Ibn Djubair in 581 (1185) gives in the east town 3, and 11 *djawāmiᶜ* (*Rihla*, p 228 *sq*) for the whole of Baghdād For Cairo, Istakhrī gives two djāmiᶜ the ᶜAmr and Tūlūn Mosques (*B G A*, i 49) besides that in al-Karāfa, which was regarded as a separate town (cf Ibn Rosta [c 290 = 903], *B G A*, vii 116 *sq*) Al-Makdisī, who writes (375 = 985) shortly after the Fātimid conquest, mentions the ᶜAmr and Tūlūn mosques, the new mosque in al Kāhira (al-Azhar), also one in al Djazīra, in Djīza and in al-Karāfa (*B G A*, iii 198—200, 209, the djāmiᶜ in al Djazīra, also Djāmiᶜ Mikyās [cf Makrīzī, iv 75], is mentioned in an inscription of the year 485, see van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N° 39) As these places were all originally separate towns, the principle was not abandoned that each town had only one djāmiᶜ The Fātimids however extended the use of Friday mosques and, in addition to those already mentioned, used the Djāmiᶜ al-Hākim, al Maks and Rāshida (Makrīzī, iv 2 *sq*) Nāsir i Khusraw in 439 (1047) mentions in one passage the *djawāmiᶜ* of Cairo, in another seven for Misr and fifteen in all (ed Schefer, p 134 *sq*, 147) This was altered in 569 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (see above) but the quarters, being still regarded as separate towns, retained their own Friday mosques (cf for the year 607 in al-Karāfa Makrīzī, iv 86)

After the Friday service in Egypt and Syria was freed from restriction, the number of *djawāmiᶜ* increased very much Ibn Dukmāk (about 800) gives a list of only eight *djawāmiᶜ* in Cairo (ed Vollers, p 59—78), but this list is apparently only a fragment (in all he mentions something over twenty in the part of his book that has survived), al-Makrīzī (d 845 = 1442) gives 130 *djawāmiᶜ* (iv 2 *sqq*) In Damascus, where Ibn Djubair still spoke of "the djāmiᶜ", al-Nuᶜaimī (d 927 = 1521) gives twenty djawāmiᶜ (*J A*, ser 9, vii 231 *sqq*), and according to Ibn Battūta, there were in all the villages in the region of Damascus *masādjid djāmiᶜa* (i 236) The word djāmiᶜ in Makrīzī always means a mosque in which the Friday service was held (vi 76, 115 *sqq*) but by his time this meant any mosque of some size He himself criticises the fact that since 799 the *salāt al-djumᶜa* was performed in al-Akmar, although another djāmiᶜ stood close beside it (iv 76, cf also 86)

The great spread of Friday mosques was reflected in the language While inscriptions of the viiith century still call quite large mosques *masdjid*, in

the ninth most of them are called *djāmiᶜ* (cf on the whole question, van Berchem, *Corpus*, i 173 *sq*), and while now the madrasa begins to predominate and is occasionally also called djāmiᶜ (see below, F 4), the use of the word masdjid becomes limited While, generally speaking, it can mean any mosque (e g Maḳrīzī, iv 137, of the Mu aiyad mosque), it is more especially used of the smaller unimportant mosques While Ibn Dukmāk gives 472 masādjid in addition to the djawāmiᶜ, madāris, etc, al-Makrīzī only gives nineteen, not counting al-Karāfa, which probably only means that they were of little interest to him Djāmiᶜ is now on the way to become the regular name for a mosque of any size as is now the usage, in Egypt at least In Ibn al-Hādjdj (d 737) *al djawāmiᶜ* is occasionally used in this general meaning in place of *al-masādjid* (*Madkhal*, ii 50) Among the many Friday mosques one was usually distinguished as the chief mosque, we therefore find the expression *al-djāmiᶜ al-aᶜzam* (Ibn Battūta, ii 54, 94, cf the older *al-masdjid al aᶜzam*, *ibid*, p 53) The principal djāmiᶜ decided in such questions as the beginning and ending of the Fast of Ramadān (*Madkhal*, ii 68)

3 Other religious activities in the Mosque

„The mentioning of the name of God" in the mosques, was not confined only to the official ritual ceremonies Even in the time of the Prophet, we are told that he lodged Thakīfī delegates in the mosque so that they could see the rows of worshippers and hear the nightly recitation (Wākidī–Wellhausen, p 382) Although this story (which is not given in Ibn Hishām, p 916) may simply be a reflection of later conditions, the recitation of the Kur'ān must have come to be considered an edifying and pious work at quite an early date In the time of al-Makdisī the *kurrā'* of Nīsābūr used to assemble on Fridays in the djāmiᶜ in the early morning and recite till the *duhā* (*B G A*, iii 328), and the same author tells us that in the Mosque of ᶜAmr in Egypt the *a'immat al-kurrā'* sat in circles every evening and recited (*ibid*, p 205) In the time of Ibn Djubair, there were recitations of the Kur'ān in the Umaiyad mosque after the *Salāt al-Subh* and every afternoon after the *Ṣalāt al-ᶜAsr* (*Riḥla*, p 271 *sq*) Besides the recitation of the Kur'ān there were praises of God etc, all that is classed as *dhikr*, and which was particularly cultivated by Sufiism This form of worship also took place in the mosque The *Ahl al-Tawhid wa 'l-Maᶜrifa* formed *madjālis al-dhikr*, who assembled in the mosques (al-Makkī, *Kūt al-Kulūb*, i 152) In the Mosque of the Umaiyads and other mosques of Damascus, *dhikr* was held during the morning on Friday (Makrīzī, iv 49) In the *Masdjid al-Aksā* the Hanafis held *dhikr*, and recited at the same time from a book (*B G A*, iii 182) In Egypt, Ahmad b Tūlūn and Khumārawaih allowed twelve men quarters in a chamber near the minaret to praise God, and during the night four of them took turns to praise God with recitations of the Kur'ān and with pious *kasīdas* From the time of Salāh al-Dīn an orthodox *ᶜakīda* was recited by the mu'adhdhins in the night (*ibid*, iv 48) Ibn al-Hādjdj demands that the recitation of the Kur'ān aloud should take place in a mosque for the special purpose (*masdjid madjhūr*) as otherwise pious visitors are disturbed (*Madkhal*, ii 53, 67) Mosques and particularly mausoleums had as a rule regularly appointed reciters of the Kur'ān In addition there was, e g in Hebron and in a mosque in Damascus, a shaikh who had to read Bukhārī (or also Muslim) for three months (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus Hebr*, p 17, *J A*, ser 9, iii 261) In Tunis, al-Bukhārī was read daily in a hospital (Zarkashī, transl Fagnan, *Rec Soc Arch Constantine*, 1894, p 188)

Sermons were not only delivered at the *salāt al-djumᶜa* In the ᶜIrāk, even in al-Maḳdisī's time, one was preached every morning, according to the *sunna* of Ibn ᶜAbbās (*B G A*, iii 130), it was said Ibn Djubair, in the Nizāmīya in Baghdād, heard the Shāfiᶜī *ra'is* preach on Friday after the ᶜ*asr* on the minbar His sermon was accompanied by the skilled recitation of the *kurrā'* who sat on chairs, they were over twenty in number (Ibn Djubair, p 219—222) In the same way, the calls of the mu'adhdhins to prayer to the Friday khutba were delivered to a musical accompaniment (see below, II 4) The unofficial sermons, which moreover were not delivered in mosques alone, were usually delivered by a special class, the *kussās* (plur of *kāṣṣ*) (on these cf Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 161 *sqq*, Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p 314 *sqq*, and the article KISSA) The kussās, who delivered edifying eddresses and told popular stories, were early admitted to the mosques

Tamīm al-Dārī is said to have been the first of these, in Medina in the caliphate of ᶜUmar before the latter's decease, he used to deliver his orations at the Friday salāt and under ᶜUmar he was allowed to talk twice a week in the mosque, in the reign of ᶜAlī and of Muᶜāwiya the kussās were employed to curse the other side (Makrīzī, iv 16 *sq*) In the Mosque of ᶜAmr in Cairo by the year 38 or 39, a *kāṣṣ* was appointed, named Sulaim b ᶜItr al-Tudjībī, who was also kadī (*ibid*, iv 17 wrongly Sulaimān, Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, ed Guest, p 303 *sq*) There are other occurrences of the combination of the two offices (Ibn Hudjaira [d 83], Kindī, p 317, Khair b Nuᶜaim in the year 120, *ibid*, p 348, cf *Husn al-Muhādara*, i 131, Djbr, according to Thawba b Nimr, *Husn*, i 130 infra, Ibrāhīm b Ishāk al Kārī [d 204], Kindī, p 427, see also Makrīzī, iv 18) which shows that the office of kāss was quite an official one There is also evidence of the employment of kussās in the mosque of the ᶜIrāk in the ᶜAbbāsid period (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, iv 268, v 446) The kāss read from the Kur'ān standing and then delivered an explanatory and edifying discourse, the object of which was to instil the fear of God into the people (Makrīzī, iv 18) Under the Fātimids also, kussās were appointed to the mosques, for example, in 403 the imām undertook the office in the Mosque of ᶜAmr (Makrīzī, iv 18 infra) and the rulers had also a *kāṣṣ* in the palace The kussās were called *aṣḥāb al-karāsī*, because they delivered their discourses on the *kursī* (al-Makkī, *Kūt al Kulūb*, i 152, Ibn al Hādjdj, *Madkhal*, i 159, cf Makrīzī, iv 121) Their discourse was called *dhikr* or *waᶜz* or *mawᶜiza*, whence the kāss was also called *mudhakkir* (*B G A*, iii 205) or *wāᶜiz* Specimens of their discourses are given by Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi (*al-ᶜIkd al-farid*, Cairo 1321, i, p 294 *sqq*) It was not only the appointed officials who delivered such discourses in the mosque Ascetics made

public appearances in various mosques and collected interested hearers around them (cf e g Makrīzī, iv 135) In the Djāmiʿ al-Karāfa, a whole society, the Banū Djawharī, delivered waʿz discourses on a kursī for three months on end, their servant collected money in a begging-bowl during the discourse and the shaikh distributed some of it among the poor (*ibid*, iv 121)

The *kasas* was completely taken over by popular Sūfīism and later writers would hardly reckon, as al-Makkī does, the "story-tellers" among the *mutakallimūn* (*Kūt al-Kulūb*, i 152) The whole system degenerated to trickery and charlatanry of all kinds, as may be seen in the Makāma literature (cf thereon Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 167 *sq* and see also Mez and Goldziher, *op cit*) Al-Makrīzī therefore distinguishes between *al-kasas al-khāssa*, the regular and seemly edifying discourse in the mosque, and *al-kaṣas al-ʿāmma*, which consisted in the people gathering round all kinds of speakers, which is *makrūh* (Makrīzī, iv 17) Others also have recorded their objections to the *kussās* Ibn al-Hādjdj utters a warning against them and wants to forbid their activities in the mosque completely, because they deliver "weak" narratives (*Madkhal*, i 158 *sq*, ii 13 *sq*, 50) He says Ibn ʿUmar, Mālik and Abū Dāwūd rejected them and ʿAlī ejected them from the masdjid of Basra It is of little significance that al-Muʿtadid in 284 forbade them to sit in the mosques and forbade people to gather round them, for he issued a similar interdict against the *fukahāʾ* and the reasons were evidently political (Tabarī, iii 2165), it was for political reasons also, but with a very different motive, that ʿAdud al-Dawla forbade their appearing publicly in Baghdād shortly before 400, because they increased the tension between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (Mez, *op cit*, p 319) As late as 580 the *wuʿʿāz* still flourished in the mosques of Baghdād, as is evident from the *Rihla* of Ibn Djubair (p 219 *sqq*, 224), and in the ninth century there was in the Azhar mosque a *madjālis al-waʿz* as well as a *halak al-dhikr* (Makrīzī, iv 54)

When Ibn al-Hādjdj denounces speaking aloud in the mosque, it is in the interest of the pious visitors who are engaged in religious works and meditation *Iʿtikāf* [q v], retirement to a mosque for a period, was adopted into Islām from the older religions

The word *ʿakf* means in the Kurʾān the ceremonial worship of the object of the cult (Sūra vii 134, xx 93, 97, xxi 53, xxvi 71, cf *Hāshimiyāt*, ed Horovitz, p 86, 15) and also the ritual stay in the sanctuary, which was done for example in the Meccan temple (Sūra ii 119, xxii 25) In this connection it is laid down in the Kurʾān that in the month of Ramadān believers must not touch their wives "while ye pass the time in the mosques" (*ʿākifūn fi ʾl-masādjid*, Sūra ii 183), an expression which shows, firstly that there were already a number of mosques in the lifetime of the Prophet and secondly that these had already to some extent taken over the character of the temple The connection with the early period is evident from a hadīth, according to which the Prophet decides that ʿUmar must carry out a vow of *iʿtikāf* for one night in the *Masdjid al-Harām* made in the Djāhilīya (Bukhārī, *Iʿtikāf*, bāb 5, 15 *sq*, *Fard al-Khums*, bāb 19, *Maghāzī*, bāb 54, *Aimān wa ʾl-Nudhūr*, bāb 29) It is completely in keeping with this that the Prophet, according to the hadīth, used to spend ten days of the month of Ramadān in *iʿtikāf* in the mosque of Medīna (Bukhari, *Iʿtikāf*, bāb 1, *Fadl Lailat al Kadar*, bāb 3), and in the year in which he died as many as twenty days (*ibid*, *Iʿtikāf*, bab 17) During this period the mosque was full of booths of palm branches and leaves in which the *ʿākifūn* lived (*ibid*, bāb 13, cf 6, 7) The Prophet only went to his house for some very special reason (*ibid*, bāb 3) This custom was associated with the asceticism of the monks The faithful were vexed, when on one occasion he received Safīya in his booth and chatted for an hour with her (Bukhārī, *Fard al Khums*, bāb 4, *Iʿtikāf*, bāb 8, 11, 12) According to another tradition, his *iʿtikāf* was broken on another occasion by his wives putting up their tents beside him and he postponed his *iʿtikāf* till Shawwāl (Bukhārī, *Iʿtikāf*, bāb 6, 7, 14, 18) According to Zaid b ʿAlī, the *iʿtikāf* can only be observed in a chief mosque (*djāmiʿ*) (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b ʿAlī*, N⁰ 447) During the early period, it was one of the initiatory rites for new converts In the year 14, ʿUmar ordered the retreat (*al-kiyām*) in the mosques during the month of Ramadān for the people of Medīna and the provinces (Tabarī, i 2377) The custom persisted and has always been an important one among ascetics "The man who retires for a time to the mosque devotes himself in turn to salāt, recitation of the Kurʾān, meditation, *dhikr* etc" says Ibn al-Hādjdj (*Madkhal*, ii 50) There were pious people, who spent their whole time in a mosque (*akāmū fihi*, Makrizi, iv 87, 97), of one we were told that he spent his time in the *manāra* of the Mosque of ʿAmr (*iʿtakafa*, *ibid*, p 44) Al-Samhūdī says that during the month of Ramadān, he spent day and night in the mosque (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 95) Saʿd al-Dīn (d 644) spent the month of Ramadān in the Mosque of the Umaiyads without speaking (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 192) Nocturnal vigils in the mosque very early became an established practice in Islām According to Hadīth, the Prophet frequently held nocturnal salāts in the mosque with the believers (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 29) and by his orders ʿAbd Allāh b Unais al-Ansārī came from the desert for twenty-three successive nights to pass the night in his mosque in rites of worship (Ibn Kutaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 142 *sq*) Out of this developed the *tahadjdjud* [q v] salat, particularly recommended in the law and notably the *tarāwih* salāts [q v] In Dihlī on these occasions women singers actually took part (Ibn Battūta, iii 155)

During the nights of the month of Ramadān there were festivals in the mosques and on other occasions also, such as the New Year, sometimes at the new moon, and in the middle of the month The mosque on these occasions was illuminated, there was eating and drinking, incense was burned and *dhikr* and *kirāʾa* performed

The Friday Salāt was particularly solemn in Ramadān, and in the Fātimid period, the caliph himself delivered the khutba (see Makrīzī, ii 345 *sqq*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, ed Juynboll, p 482—486 and ii/11, ed Popper, p 331—333) The mosques associated with a saint had and still have their special festivals on his *mawlid* [q v], they also are celebrated with *dhikr*, *kirāʾa* etc (cf Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch xxiv *sqq*) The saint's festivals are usually local and there

are generally differences in the local customs In the Maghrib for example in certain places the month of Ramadān is opened with a blast of trumpets from the manābir (*Madkhal*, II 69)

The mosque thus on the whole took over the role of the temple The rulers from ʿUmar onwards dedicated gifts to the Kaʿba (*B G A*, V 20 *sq* and *GI*, s v *Shamsa*), and as in other sanctuaries we find women vowing children to the service of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 74, Makrīzī, IV 20) *Ṭawāf* was performed, as at the Kaʿba, in mosques with saints' tombs as is still done, e g in Hebron, Mudjīr al-Dīn sees a pre-Islāmic custom in this (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebron*, p 5) Especially important business was done here In times of trouble the people go to the mosque to pray for help, for example during drought, for which there is a special salāt (which however usually takes place on the *muṣallā*), in misfortunes of all kinds (e g Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 19—20, Makrīzī, IV 57), in time of plague and pestilence, processions, weeping and praying with Kurʾāns uplifted, were held in the mosques or on the *musallā*, in which even Jews and Christians sometimes took part (Ibn Taghrībirdī, II/II, ed Popper, p 67, Ibn Battūta, I 243 *sq*, cf Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, II/I 35, 40, II/II 199) or for a period a sacred book like Bukhārī's *Sahih* was recited (Quatremere, *op cit*, II/II 35, al-Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, French transl, VI 13) In the courtyards of the mosques in Jerusalem and Damascus in the time of Ibn Battūta solemn penance was done on the day of ʿArafa (I 243 *sq*), an ancient custom which had already been introduced into Egypt in the year 27 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Marwān (*kuʿūd* after the *ʿAsr*, cf Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 50) Certain mosques were visited by barren women (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 133) An oath is particularly binding if it is taken in a mosque (cf Joh Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p 144), this is particularly true of the Kaʿba, where written covenants were also drawn up to make them more binding (*ibid*, p 143 *sq*, *Chron Mekka*, I 160 *sq*) It is in keeping with this idea of an oath that Jews who had adopted Islām in Cairo had to take oaths in a synagogue which had become a mosque (Makrīzī, IV 265) The contract of matrimony (*ʿakd al nikāh*) also is often concluded in a mosque (San tillana, *Il Muhtasar*, II 548, *Madkhal*, II 72 infra, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II 163 *sq*), and the particular form of divorce which is completed by the *liʿān* [q v] takes place in the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 44, cf Joh Pedersen, *Der Eid* etc, p 114)

It is disputed whether a corpse may be brought into the mosque and the *ṣalāt al-djanāza* performed there According to one hadīth, the bier of Saʿd b Abī Wakkās was taken into the mosque at the request of the Prophet's widow and the salāt held there Many disapproved of this, but ʿĀʾisha pointed out that the Prophet had done this with the body of Suhail b Baidāʾ (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, tr 34, cf also Ibn Saʿd, I/I 14 *sq*) The discussion on this point is not unconnected with the discussions regarding the worship of tombs In theory this is permitted by al-Shāfiʿī, while the others forbid it (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p 170, I Guidi, *Il Muhtaṣar*, I 151) The matter does not seem to be quite clear, for Kutb al-Dīn says that only Abū Hanīfa forbids it, but he himself thought that it might be allowable on the authority of a statement by Abū Yūsuf (*Chron Mekka*, III 208—210) In any case, it was a very general practice to allow it, as Kutb al-Dīn also points out ʿUmar conducted the funeral salāt for Abū Bakr in the Mosque of the Prophet and ʿUmar's own dead body was brought there, later it became a general custom to perform the ceremony in Medīna close to the Prophet's tomb and in Mecca at the door of the Kaʿba, some even made a sevenfold *tawāf* with the corpse around the Kaʿba This was for a time forbidden by Marwān b ʿAbd al Hakam and later by ʿUmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz (Kutb al-Dīn, *loc cit*, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 77) The custom was very early introduced into the Mosque of ʿAmr (Makrīzī, IV 7, 1 *sqq*) That later scholars often went wrong about the prohibition is not at all remarkable, for it is not at all in keeping with the ever increasing tendency to found mosques at tombs Even Ibn al-Hādjdj, who was anxious to maintain the prohibition, is not quite sure and really only forbids the loud calling of the *kurrāʾ*, *dhākirīn*, *mukabbirīn* and *murīdīn* on such occasions (*Madkhal*, II 50 *sq*, 64, 81) When a son of Sultān al-Muʾaiyad died and was buried in the eastern kubba of the Muʾaiyad mosque, the khatīb delivered a khutba and conducted the salāt thereafter and the *kurrāʾ* recited for a week at the grave, while the amīrs paid their visits to the grave (Makrīzī, IV 240, 2 *sqq*) In Persia, it was the custom for the family of the deceased to sit in the mosque for three days after the death and receive visits of condolence (*B G A*, III 440 infra)

4 Mosques as Objects of Pilgrimage

As soon as the mosque became a regular sanctuary it became the object of pious visits This holds especially of the memorial mosques associated with the Prophet and other saints Among them three soon became special objects of pilgrimage In a hadīth the Prophet says "One should only mount into the saddle to visit three mosques al-Masdjid al-Harām, the Mosque of the Prophet and al-Masdjid al-Aksā" (Bukhārī, *Fadl al Salāt fi Masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, bāb 16, *Djazāʾ al-Said*, bāb 26, *Sawm*, bāb 67, Muslim, *Hadjdj*, tr 93, *Chron Mekka*, I 303) This hadīth reflects a practice which only became established at the end of the ʿUmaiyad period The pilgrimage to Mecca had been made a duty by the prescription of the Hadjdj in the Kurʾān The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a Christian custom which could very easily be continued, on account of the significance of *al Masdjid al Aksā* in the Kurʾān This custom became particularly important when ʿAbd al-Malik made it a substitute for the pilgrimage to Mecca (Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 311) Although this competition did not last long, the significance of Jerusalem was thereby greatly increased Pilgrimage to Medīna developed out of the increasing veneration for the Prophet In the year 140 Abū Djaʿfar Mansūr on his hadjdj visited the three sanctuaries (Tabarī, III 129) and this became a very usual custom Mecca and Medīna however still held the preference Although those of Mecca and Jerusalem were recognised as the two oldest (the one is said to be 40 years older than the other, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr I, *Chron Mekka*, I 301), the Prophet however is reputed to have said "A salāt in this

mosque is more meritorious than 1,000 salāts in others, even the *al-Masdjid al-Harām*" (Bukhārī, *Fadl al-Ṣalāt fi Masdjid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, bāb 1, Muslim, *Hadjdj*, tr 89, *Chron Mekka*, 1 303) The hadīth is aimed directly against Jerusalem and therefore probably dates from the Omaiyad period According to some, it was pronounced because someone had commended performing the salāt in Jerusalem, which the Prophet was against (Muslim, *loc cit*, Wākidī–Wellhausen, p 349) The three mosques however retained their pride of place (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, *fasl* 4, 6, Ibn al-Hādjdj, *Madkhal*, II 55), and as late as 662 (1264) we find Baibars founding *awkāf* for pilgrims who wished to go on foot to Jerusalem (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, 1/1, 248)

Although these three mosques officially hold a special position, others also are highly recommended, e g the mosque in Kubā' [see AL-MADĪNA] A salāt in this mosque is said to be as valuable as an *'umra* or two visits to the mosque in Jerusalem (Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, 1 381 *sq*) Attempts were also made to raise the mosque of Kūfa to the level of the three 'Alī is said to have told some one who wanted to make a pilgrimage from Kūfa to Jerusalem that he should stick by the mosque of his native town, it was "one of the four mosques" and two rak'a's in it were equal to ten in others (*B G A*, v 173 *sq*, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 325), in another tradition, salāts in the provincial mosques are said to be generally worth as much as the pilgrimage (Makrizī, IV 4), and traditions arose about the special blessings associated at definite times with different holy places of Islām (*B G A*, III 183) and especially about their superior merits (*B G A*, v 174) The Meccan sanctuary, however, always retained first place, which was marked by the Hadjdj It was imitated by al-Mutawakkil in Sāmarrā' he built a Ka'ba as well as a Minā and an 'Arafa there and made his amirs perform their hadjdj there (*B G A*, III 122)

D Equipment of the Mosque

1 The Development of the Edifice

Except in the case of Mecca the earliest mosques as described above (B 1) were at first simply open spaces marked off by a *zulla* The space was sometimes, as in al Fustāt, planted with trees and usually covered with pebbles, e g in Medīna (Muslim, *Hadjdj*, tr 95, Balādhurī, p 6) and al-Fustāt (Makrīzī, IV 8, Ibn Dukmāk, IV 62, Ibn Taghrībirdī, 1 77) which was later introduced in Basra and Kūfa the courtyards of which were otherwise dusty (Balādhurī, p 277, 348) These conditions could only last so long as the Arabs retained their ancient customs as a closed corporation in their simple camps The utilisation of churches was the first sign of a change and was rapidly followed by a mingling with the rest of the population and the resulting assimilation with older cultures

'Umar made alterations in the mosques in Medīna and in Mecca also He extended the Mosque of the Prophet by taking in the house of 'Abbās, but like the Prophet, he still built of *labin*, palm-trunks and leaves and extended the booths (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 62, Balādhurī, p 6) In Mecca also his work was confined to extending the area occupied by the mosque He bought the surrounding houses and took them down and then surrounded the area with a wall to the height of a man, the Ka'ba was thus given its *finā'* like the mosque in Medīna (Balādhurī, p 46, *Chron Mekka*, 1 306 *sq*, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 68 *sq*) 'Othmān also extended these two mosques but introduced an important innovation in using hewn stone and plaster (*djass*) for the walls and pillars For the roof he used teak (*sādj*) The booths, which had been extended by 'Omar, were replaced by him by pillared halls (*arwika*, sing *rwāk*) and the walls were covered with plaster (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 62, Balādhurī, p 46, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 70 *sq*) Sa'd b Abī Wakkās is said to have already taken similar steps to relieve the old simplicity of the barely equipped mosque in Kūfa The *zulla* consisted of pillars of marble adorned in the style of Byzantine churches (Tabarī, 1 2489, Yakūt, IV 324)

This was little in keeping with the simple architecture of the original town, for Basra and Kūfa had originally been built of reeds and only after several great fires were they built of *labin* (see above bāb 1, cf Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 279) As to Kūfa, Sa'd by 'Omar's orders extended the mosque so that it became joined up with the *Dār al-Imāra* A Persian named Ruzbeh b Buzurdjmihr was the architect for this He used bricks (*ādjurr*) for the building, which he brought from Persian buildings and in the mosque he used pillars which had been taken from churches in the region of Hīra belonging to the Persian kings, these columns were not erected at the sides but only against the Kibla wall The original plan of the mosque was therefore still retained although the pillared hall, which is identical with the *zulla* already mentioned (200 *dhirā'* broad), replaced the simple booth and the materials were better in every way (Tabarī, 1 2491 *sq*, 2494) Already under the early Caliphs we can therefore note the beginnings of the adoption of a more advanced architecture

These tendencies were very much developed under the Omaiyads Even as early as the reign of Mu'āwiya, the mosque of Kūfa was rebuilt by his governor Ziyād He commissioned a pagan architect, who had worked for Kisrā, to do the work The latter had pillars brought from al Ahwāz, bound them together with lead and iron clamps to a height of 30 *dhirā'* and put a roof on them Similar halls, built of columns (here like the old booth in Medīna called *suffa* Tabarī, 1 2492, 14, but also *zulla*, plur *zulāl* Tabarī, II 259 *sq*) were added by him on the north, east and western wall Each pillar cost him 18,000 dirhams The mosque could now hold 60,000 instead of 40,000 (Tabarī, 1 2492, 6 *sqq*, cf 2494, 7, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 324, 1 *sqq*, Balādhurī, p 276) Al Hadjdjādj also added to the mosque (Yākūt, IV 325 *sq*) Ziyād did similar work in Basra Here also he extended the mosque and built it of stone (or brick) and plaster and with pillars from al-Ahwāz, which were roofed with teak We are told that he made *al-suffa al-mukaddima*, i e the *kibla* hall, with 5 columns This seems to show that the other sides also — as in Kūfa — had pillared halls He erected the Dār al-Imāra close to the kibla side This was taken down by al-Hadjdjādj, rebuilt by others, and finally taken into the mosque by Hārūn al-Rashīd (Balādhurī, p 347, 348 supra, 349, Yākūt, 1 642, 643) In Mecca also in the same period

similar buildings were erected Ibn al Zubair and al-Hadjdjādj both extended the mosque, and Ibn al-Zubair was the first to put a roof on the walls, the columns were gilt by ʿAbd al-Malik and he made a roof of teak (*Chron Mekka*, i 307, 309) The Mosque of ʿAmr was extended in 53 with Muʿāwiya's permission by his governor Maslama b Mukhallad to the east and north, the walls were covered with plaster (*nūra*) and the roofs decorated, it is evident from this that here also the original booth of the south side was altered to a covered hall during the early Omaiyad period A further extension was made in 79 in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (Makrizī, iv 7, 8, Ibn Dukmak, iv 62) Thus we find that during the early Omaiyad period and in part even earlier the original simple and primitive mosques were some extended, some altered The alteration consisted in the old simple booth of the Mosque of the Prophet being gradually enlarged and transformed into a pillared hall with the assistance of the arts of countries possessing a higher degree of civilisation In this way what had originally been an open place of assembly developed imperceptibly into a court, surrounded by pillared halls Very soon a fountain was put in the centre of the court and we now have the usual type of mosque The same plan is found in the peristyle of the houses and in the arthrion of a basilica like that of Tyre (Herzog-Hauch, *Real-encyclopadie*[3], x 780)

The great builders of the Omaiyads, ʿAbd al Malik and his son al-Walid I, made even more radical progress The former entirely removed the original mosque in Jerusalem and his Byzantine architects erected the Dome of the Rock as a Byzantine building (cf Sauvaire, *Jerus et Hebron*, p 48 *sqq*) Al-Walīd likewise paid equally little attention to the oldest form of mosque, when, in Damascus, he had the church of St John transformed by Byzantine architects into the Mosque of the Omaiyads As al Makdisi distinctly states, they wanted to rival the splendours of the Christian churches (*B G A*, iii 159) The new mosques, which were founded in this period, were therefore not only no longer simple, but they were built with the help of Christians and other trained craftsmen with the use of material already existing in older buildings Al Hadjdjādj, for example, used materials from the surrounding towns when building his foundation of Wāsit (Tabarī, iii 321, Balādhurī, p 290) Columns from churches were now used quite regularly (e g in Damascus Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 408, Ramla *B G A*, iii 165, cf Balādhurī, p 143 *sqq*, for Egypt see Makrizī, iv 36, 124 *sq*) Sometimes remains of the older style remained alongside of the new In Irānshahr, al Makdisi found in the chief mosque wooden columns of the time of Abū Muslim along with round columns of brick of the time of ʿAmr b al-Laith (*B G A*, iii 316) The building activities of al Walīd extended to al-Fustāt, Mecca and Medina (cf *B G A*, v 106 *sq*) where no fundamental alterations were made, but complete renovations were carried out With these rulers, the building of mosques reaches the level of the older architecture and gains a place in the history of art There is also literary evidence for the transfer of a style from one region to another In Istakhr, for example, there was a djāmiʿ in the style of the Syrian mosques with round columns, on which was a *bakara* (*B G A*, iii 436 *sq*, cf for Shīrāz, p 430) Al-Walid also rebuilt the Mosque of the Prophet, in part in the Damascus style (*B G A*, iii 80, Kazwīnī, ed Wüstenfeld, ii 71)

This revolution naturally did not take place without opposition any more than the other innovations, which Islām adopted in the countries with a higher culture which it conquered After the Mosque of the Prophet had been beautified by Christian architects with marble, mosaics, shells, gold etc and al-Walīd in 93 was inspecting the work, an old man said "We used to build in the style of Mosques, you build in the style of Churches" (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 74) The discussions on this point are reflected in hadīths When ʿOmar enlarged the Mosque of the Prophet, he is reported to have said "Give the people shelter from the rain, but take care to make them red or yellow lest you lead the people astray", while Ibn ʿAbbās said "You shall adorn them with gold as the Jews and Christians do" (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 62) Ibn ʿAbbās here takes up the Omaiyad attitude and ʿOmar that of old-fashioned people, according to whom any extension or improvement of the *zulla* was only permissible for strictly practical reasons The conservative point of view is predominant in Hadith It is said that extravagant adornment of the mosques is a sign of the end of the world, the works of al Walid were only tolerated from fear of the *fitna* (Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 134, 145, 152, 230, 283, al Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, bāb 2, Ibn Mādja, *Masādjid*, bāb 2) The lack of confidence of pious conservatives in the great mosques finds expression in a hadith, according to which the Prophet (according to Anas) said "A time will come over my *umma* when they will vie with one another in the beauty of their mosques, then they will visit them but little" (al ʿAskalānī, *Fath al Bārī*, i 362) In the Fikh, we even find divergence from the oldest quadrangular form of the mosque condemned (Guidi, *Il Muḥtasar*, i 71) Among the types which arose later was the "suspended" (*muʿallak*) i e a mosque situated in an upper storey (e g in Damascus, *J A*, ser ix, vol v 409, 415, 422, 424, 427, 430)

2 Details of the Equipment of the Mosque

a The Minaret (see also MANĀRA)

The earliest primitive mosques had no minaret When the *adhān* call was introduced, Bilāl is said to have summoned the faithful in Medina to the early salāt from the roof of the highest house in the vicinity of the mosque (Ibn Hishām, p 348, Wustenfeld, p 75), on the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet instructed Bilāl to utter the call to prayer from the Kaʿba, according to al-Azrakī, from the roof (*Chron Mekka*, i 192, cf Ibn Hishām, p 822) During the early days of Islām, the muʾadhdhin did not however utter his summons from an elevated position (cf below G 2 d) It is doubtful in the first place when the minaret was introduced, and in the second whether it was adopted into Islām, expressly for the call to prayer

The Omaiyad caliph al-Walid (86—96) undoubtedly had considerable importance for the history of the minaret, although even earlier in 84 (703) Sīdī ʿUkba in Kairawān had been built by Hassān b Nuʿmān with a minaret (so according to Bakrī H Saladin, *La Mosquée de Sidi Okba*, 1899, p 7, 19) There was also a minaret in the

Omaiyad mosque in Damascus At the present day, the mosque has 3 minarets as was the case in the time of Ibn Djubair, who mentions two on the west and one in the north (*Riḥla*, p 266), while Ibn Battūta also says there were three and adds that one was in the west, another in the east and another in the north (i 203), which agrees with present day conditions One of the earliest authorities, Ibn al-Faḳīh (d 289 = 902), however mentions only one minaret (*mi'dhana*) and says that in the days of the Greeks it had been a watch-tower (*nāṭūr*), which belonged to the church of St John and was left standing by al-Walīd (*B G A*, v 108, 5) Al Makdisī (d 375 = 985) mentions only one minaret, which was above the Bāb al-Farādis, when he calls it a *manāra muhdatha* (*B G A*, iii 159) he may perhaps mean a renovated minaret (cf Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 229) and besides, his description does not exclude the existence of other minarets The tradition that the minaret of the Omaiyad mosque was taken over from the predecessors of the Muslims long survived, for Yāḳūt, who mentions the east and west minarets, says that the western belonged to a fire-temple and a flame used to be visible on it (*Mu'djam*, ii 596) and according to Ibn Battūta, the east and west minarets had been built by the Byzantines while only the north one was built by the Muslims (i 203 *sq*, a story also given by al-Bosrāwī [d 1003 = 1594] quoting Ibn ʿAsākir [d 571 = 1176], see *J A*, ser 9, vii 423, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/i 273) In Mecca also, al-Walīd built turrets (*shurrāfat*, *Chron Mekka*, i 310), sometimes minarets (as is evident from *ibid*, p 310, 311) They were later increased so that Kutb al-Dīn mentions 7 minarets (*ibid*, iii 424—426) According to al-Samhūdī, he also built in Medīna 4 towers but Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik, in the year 97 had the southwestern tower taken down, because the shadow of the mu'adhdhin from it fell upon him, when he was in the house of Marwān b al-Hakam While al-Samhūdī says that there were no minarets in Medīna before al-Walīd, he asserts on the other hand that ʿOmar had already built towers in the four corners of the mosque (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 75, cf Ibn Battūta, i 272) In the time of Ibn Djubair (in 580) there were still only 3 minarets there (*Riḥla*, p 195) It was not until 706 that Muhammad b Kalā'ūn rebuilt the fourth minaret (Wustenfeld, *op cit*, p 76)

After the time of al-Walīd, minarets became more and more numerous In Ramla his brother Hishām built a beautiful minaret (*B G A*, iii 165, 6) For the mosque in Jerusalem Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi about 400 mentions 4 minarets (*ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1331, iv 274 *sq*) which Mudjīr al-Dīn claims to go back to the time of al-Malik (Sauvaire, *Hist Jérus et Hebron*, p 125) Ibn Hawkal (367 = 977) expressly notes of the Djāmiʿ in Fārayāb in Khurāsān that it did not have a minaret (*B G A*, ii 321) and he seems to consider it *biḍaʿa* to build two minarets (*ibid*, p 13 *sqq*) Apart from the isolated reference by al-Samhūdī to ʿOmar's building activities, to which very little importance can be attached, it is probable from this evidence that al-Walīd was the first to introduce the minaret into Syria and the Hidjāz That he introduced it into Islām itself, is however not certain According to Balādhurī (d 279 = 892), Ziyād in Basra, where he was governor in 45, built the minaret of stone, when he built the mosque of brick (p 348) This seems to suggest that there was already a minaret there According to the Egyptian historians, Maslama b Mukhallad in al-Fustāt by Muʿāwiya's orders in 53 built a tower at each corner of the mosque of ʿAmr (*sawmaʿa*), which had not been done before (Makrīzi, iv 7 *sq*, 44, Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 77) The staircase leading up to the minaret was originally outside the mosque, but was later put inside it Maslama is said to have introduced the minaret into other mosques in al Fustāt (i e in all except those of Tudjīb and Khawlān, cf Makrīzī, iv 44, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *loc cit*) How old this story is, cannot be ascertained, but the view often put forward that al-Walid was the first to introduce the minaret (cf Schwally, in *Z D M G*, lii, 1898, p 143—146), is in any case not certain

There are three names in common use for the minaret *Ma'dhana* or *mi'dhana*, "place of the *adhān* call", which is in general use in Egypt and Syria at the present day, is frequently found in literature and inscriptions (*B G A*, iii 225, 15, v 108, 5, Makrīzī, iv 13, 10, 20, 4, 6, and *pass*, Ibn A Usaibiʿa, ii 204, 2 from below, v Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N° 25, 63, 88, 89, 90 and others from the viiith century onwards) *Sawmaʿa*, specially used in North Africa (Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, 1903, p 45), is frequently found (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 91, 100, 145, 195, 266, Ibn Battūta, i 203, 272, ii 2, 12, 13, Makrīzī, iv 7 *sq*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 77) This word means also cloister or cell and in the older literature is used as the equivalent of *dair* (Sūra xxii 41, Ibn Hishām, p 115, Bukhārī, *al ʿAmal fi 'l-Salāt*, bāb 7, *Mazālim*, bāb 35, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 48, *B G A*, ii 154, Makrīzi, iv 389, Ibn al-Fārid, *Tā'iya* v 561) *Manāra* is the most usual word in literature (Makrīzī, iv 7 *manār*, cf v Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N° 63, *K al-Madkhal*, ii 63, 67) This word has the same meaning as Syr *mᵉnārtā* but is probably an analogous, independent formation The word means light, position in which a light is put (Imru'ulkais, *Diwān*, 148, 37, Abū Dhu'aib, *Diwān*, ed Bell, i 60, *B G A*, vii 132), also lighthouse (*B G A*, iii 177, Kindi, *Wulāt*, p 64, Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 41) *Manār(a)* also means a boundary stone or a signpost (*ʿalam*, *Lisān*, vii 99, 1 from below, Kais al-Rukaiyāt, p 37, 7, 70, 2, Ibn Saʿd, ii/i, 135, *Fragm Hist Arab*, ii 12 and *Gl*) or a watch tower (Tabarī, i 864, 878), the boundary stones of the *haram* area, for example, are called *Manār al Haram* (*B G A*, ii 25) and Abraha was called *Dhu 'l-Manār*, because he put up signposts (*Lisān*, vii 105, 11, Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, i 410), obelisks are also called *manāra* (*B G A*, vii 117, 20, 118 1) The derivation of the last named *manār* from *miliarion* (Fraenkel, *Fremdworter*, p 283) is little likely and still less probable is a derivation from a Persian building for fire-worship (v Berchem in E Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmaler*, i [1908], 113 *sqq* who distinguishes rather ingeniously between *manāra* "light" from *nūr* and *manār* "fire-tower" from *nār*) Probably there is only a single word in question and the signposts received their name from the watch-tower (note that *ʿalam* also is used of the minaret Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed Manger, 1767, iii 704) There are a number of references to the existence on the coasts of a series of *manā'ir* and each *manāra* gave warning by light-signals of the movements of the enemy (*B G A*, iii 177) According to al-Balādhurī

(p 128 *manāzir*), this was already the custom in ʿOmar's time and was in all probability an inheritance from the Byzantines Similar watch-towers (*sēmantêrion*) were used inland in the Byzantine period e g in the eastern Hawrān, and the Persians had similar towers on their frontiers (*manāra* Tabarī, i 864, 878), a similar *manāra* in the ʿIrāk is described by Ibn Djubair (p 210, cf *B G A*, v 176), in the Maghrib also, fort-like towers are called manara, e g in Tunis and Gabes (al-Idrīsī in 706—708, *J A*, ser 4, xx [1852], 99, 144) That these towers used fire signals is very probable and Musil gives evidence of this custom for the Edom territory (*Arabia Petraea*, ii 2, 232) In the viiith (xivth) century again al-ʿUmarī (*Taʿrīf bi 'l-Mustalah al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p 199 *sq*) refers to the use of a series of heights and towers for light-signals, including the *Maʾdhanat al-ʿArūs*, one of the minarets of the Omaiyad mosque of Damascus (on the whole question see R Hartmann, in *Z D M G*, lxx, 1916, p 486, 505, *Memnon*, iii 221, *Isl*, i 388 *sq*) It is obvious that the tower of the mosque was given the name *manāra* from its resemblance to similar watch towers and it is possible that its use for fire-signals was more general in earlier times In Fās the hours of prayer were indicated by lamps from the minarets (*J A*, ser 11, xii, 1918, p 341)

This does not however answer the question why the minaret was introduced into Islām From what has been said above it is probable that the minaret was introduced specially for the *adhān* call According to Ibn al Fakīh and others, it was incorporated in the Mosque of the Omaiyads, simply because it was already there as a part of the church (cf above), this agrees with de Vogue's observation that the use of towers in churches and the larger public buildings in Syria in the ivth and vth century was common (*La Syrie centrale*, i 57) The tower in the mosque of Basra is thought to be an original church tower (cf Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, p 19 *sq*) This indicates that the minaret in Syria became part of the mosque in a purely architectural way But after its introduction, it was soon used as a place in which the muʾadhdhin could stand, which must have been an obvious thing to do This did not happen at once however From Tabarī and others we can see that the call to prayer at a much later date could still be uttered in the street, and al-Farazdak (d about 110 = 728) who refers to the existence of *manār al-masādjid* (*Kāmil*, p 481, *Aghānī*, 2nd ed Cairo, xix 18) also speaks of muʾadhdhins on the city wall (Tabarī, ii 1302, *Nakāʾid*, p 365, see J Horovitz, in *Isl*, xvi, 1927, p 253, 255) with which we may compare the tradition that the Prophet considered whether he ought to permit the call to prayer to be uttered on the fortifications of Madīna (*ʿalā ātām al-Madīna*, cf Ibn Saʿd, i 7)

It is however by no means impossible that the minaret may have arisen elsewhere in a different way If we can trust the account by al-Makrīzī and others (see above), the minaret was introduced into Egypt by Muʿāwiya's orders as a corner tower Here it was at once used in a way which recalls the dwelling-towers of ascetics It was used for the adhān, but not only for the five calls to prayer but also for vigils, in which the muʾadhdhins repeated litanies (Makrīzī, iv 44 middle) and its architect, Maslama b Mukhallad, used it for the *iʿtikāf* (*ibid*, p 44) An ascetic who died in 469 lived in the *manāra* of the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv 274) This suggests the meaning of minaret expressed by the word *ṣawmaʿa* (cf also Makrīzī, iv 7, 8) as a saint's cell According to one source, rather late however, al-Walīd is said to have found a monk in the tower of the church of St John who lived in the *sawmaʿa* there (cf *J A*, ser 9, vii, p 189, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/1 264) This use of the minaret was kept up during the golden age of Islām Thus Ibn Djubair records that he saw in the west minaret of the mosque of the Omaiyads cells for devout Maghribīs and in the topmost chamber, where al Ghazālī had lived in *iʿtikāf*, there was now a *zāhid* (*Rihla*, p 266, 18 *sqq*), Ibn Tumart also lived there (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii 596, 17 *sq*) and ʿAbd al-Latīf also found another devotee living there (Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ii 204, 2 from below) According to al-Makrīzī, the Egyptian minaret was not introduced in a purely architectural way, but even from his account it appears most likely to be Syrian in origin

If the minaret did not have a single origin, it is improbable that a single type of tower served as the model for it Ziyād is said to have built the minaret in Basra of stone The quadrangular Syrian Omaiyad type (*B G A*, iii 182), which was taken over from the church-tower, was also of stone In Egypt, on the other hand, according to al-Makrīzī, minarets for many centuries were only built of brick and the earliest stone minarets in this country were not built till shortly before 700 in al-Mansūrīya and al-Ākbughāwīya (Makrīzī, iv 224) In North Africa where the Omaiyad, Syrian type was introduced, a round minaret of brick in 7 stories with pillars was built in ʿAbbasiya south of Kairawān in 184 (800) (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 119) Ibn al-Hādjdj condemns minarets of his time as being built too high It is interesting to note as throwing a light on what was considered *bidʿa* that he regards the round form as the old and genuine one (*Madkhal*, ii 61 below) — For literature see Fraenkel, Schwally, v Berchem, R Hartmann, Horovitz quoted above, Doutté, in *R Afr*, iv, 1900, p 339 *sqq*, J H Gottheil, in *J Am O S*, xxx, 1909—1910, p 132—154, K A C Creswell, in *Burlington Magazine*, xlviii, 1926, p 134—140, 252—258, 290—296

b The Chambers

The old mosque consisted of the courtyard and the open halls running along the walls these were called *al-mughaṭṭā* (*B G A*, iii 82, 158, 165, 182) because they were roofed over When we are told that in Palestine, except in Jericho, towers were placed between the mughattā and the courtyard (*ibid*, p 182), this seems to suggest that the halls were closed, which would be quite in keeping with the winter climate of this region The halls were particularly extensive on the *kibla* side, because assemblies were held here The space between two rows of pillars was called *riwāk*, pl *arwika* or *riwākāt* (*B G A*, iii 158, 159, Makrīzī, iv 10, 11, 12, 49) Extension often took the form of increasing the number of the *arwika* In some districts a sail-cloth was spread over the open space as a protection from the sun at the time of the service (*B G A*, iii 205, 430)

The courtyard was called *ṣahn*. The open space around the Kaʿba is called *Fināʾ al-Kaʿba*

(*Chron Mekka*, I 307, Ibn Hishām, p 822, cf *Fināʾ Zamzam* Yākūt, *Ubadāʾ* VI 376) Fināʾ is also the name given to the open space around the mosque (Maḳrīzī, IV 6) Trees were often planted in the courtyard e g in the mosque of ʿAmr (see B I, when we read in Makrīzī, IV 6 that it had no *ṣaḥn*, this probably means that this space, planted with trees, between the covered halls was very narrow) In Medina, at the present day, there are still trees in the *Rawda* (Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p 240), in Ibn Djubair's time there were 15 palms there (*Riḥla*, p 194) Other mosques in Cairo had trees growing in them (Makrīzī, IV 54, 64, 65, 120, in al-Masdjid al Kāfūrī, there were as many as 516 trees *ibid*, p 266) as is still the case to-day In other cases the court was covered with pebbles (see above D 1), but this was altered with a more refined style of architecture Al-Makdisī mentions that this was only found in Tiberias, out of all the mosques in Palestine (*B G A*, III 182) Frequently, as in Ramla, the halls were covered with marble and the courtyard with flat stone (*ibid*, p 165) In the halls also the ground was originally bare or covered with little stones, for example in the mosques of ʿAmr until Maslama b Mukhallad covered it with mats (see below) The floor of the Mosque of ʿAmr was entirely covered with marble in the Mamlūk period (Makrīzī, IV 13 *sq*, cf in Shirāz Ibn Battūta, II 53) But in the mosque of Mecca, the *ṣaḥn* is still covered with little stones (Batanūni, *Riḥla*, p 99 below), 400 dinārs used to be spent annually on this (*Chron Mekka*, II 10 *sq*) In Medina also little pebbles were used (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 190, Ibn Battūta, I 263)

There were not at first enclosed chambers in the halls A change in this respect came with the introduction of the *maḳṣūra* [q v] (on this word cf Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, I/1, p 164, note 46) This was a box or compartment for the ruler built near the miḥrāb Al-Samhūdī gives the history of the maḳṣūra in Medina (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 71 *sq*, 89 *sq*) The traditions all agree that the maḳṣūra was introduced to protect the ruler from hostile attacks According to some men, ʿOthmān built a maḳṣūra of *labin* with windows, so that the people could see the imam of the community (*ibid* and Makrīzī, IV 7) According to another tradition, Marwān b ʿAbd al-Hakam, governor of Medina, after an attempt had been made on him by a Yamanī in the year 44, was the first to build a maḳṣūra of dressed stone with a window (Balādhurī, p 6 below, Tabarī, II 70) Muʿāwiya is then said to have followed his example Others again say that Muʿāwiya was the first to introduce this innovation He is said to have introduced the *maḳṣūrāt* with the accompanying guard as early as the year 40 or not till 44 after the Khāridjī attempt (Tabarī, I 3465, 9, *B G A*, V 109, 3, Makrīzī, IV 12, 11 *sqq*), according to one story because he had seen a dog on the minbar (Baihaḳī, ed Schwally, p 393 below, cf on the whole question H Lammens, *Moʿāwiya*, p 202 *sqq*) This much seems to be certain, that the maḳṣūra was at any rate introduced at the beginning of the Omaiyad period and it was an arrangement so much in keeping with the increasing dignity of the ruler that, as Ibn Khaldūn says, it spread throughout all the lands of Islām (*Mukaddima*, Cairo 1322, p 212 *sq*, *faṣl* 37) The governors built themselves compartments in the principal mosques of the provinces, e g Ziyād in Kūfa and Basra (Balādhurī, p 277, 348) and probably Kurra b Sharīk in al-Fustāt (Makrīzī, IV 12) In Medina, we are told that ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor (86—93) raised the maḳṣūra and built it of teak, but al-Mahdī had it taken down in 160 and a new one built on the level of the ground (*ibid*, p 7, Wustenfeld, *op cit*, Balādhurī, p 7 centre) We are further told that in 161, al-Mahdī prohibited the *makāsīr* of the provinces and al Maʾmūn even wanted to clear all the boxes out of the *masādjid djāmiʿa*, because their use was a *sunna* introduced by Muʿāwiya (Makrīzī, IV 12, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 571) But this attempt did not succeed On the contrary, their numbers rapidly increased In Cairo, for example, the Djamiʿ al-ʿAskar built in 169 had a maḳṣūra (Makrīzī, IV 33 *sqq*) and the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn had a maḳṣūra beside the miḥrab which was accessible from the Dār al-Imāra (*ibid*, p 36, 37, 42, Ibn Taghrībirdī, II 8, 14) The maḳṣūra was found in the larger mosques In the Djāmiʿ al-Kalʿa, Muḥammad b Kalāʾūn in 718 built a maḳṣūra of iron for the Sultān's salāt (Makrīzī, IV 132) According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *maḳṣūra* was an innovation of Islām's own The question must however be left open, whether in its introduction and development there may not be some connection with the boxes of the Byzantine court, at least, for example, when the Turks in the Yeshil Djāmiʿ in Brussa put the Sultān's box over the door (R Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, p 27)

Although the maḳṣūra was introduced with the object of segregating the ruler and was therefore condemned by the strict as contrary to the spirit of Islām (e g *Madkhal*, II 43 *sq*), *makāṣīr* were probably introduced for other purposes Ibn Djubair mentions three in the Mosque of the Omaiyads the old one built by Muʿāwiya in the eastern part of the mosque, one in the centre, which contained the minbar, and one in the west where the Hanafis taught and performed the salāt There were also other small rooms shut off by wooden lattices, which could be sometimes called *maḳṣūra* and sometimes *zāwiya* As a rule, there were quite a number of zāwiya connected with the mosque which were used by students (*Riḥla*, p 265 *sq*) We find the same state of affairs in other mosques

While the groups of the kurrāʾ, the students, the lawyers etc had originally to sit together in a common room, gradually the attempt was made to introduce separate rooms for some of them Small compartments were either cut off in the main chamber or new rooms were built in subsidiary buildings In the former case we get the already mentioned *makāsīr* or *zawāya* Ibn al-Hādjdj says that a madrasa was often made by the simple process of cutting off a part of a mosque by a balustrade (*darbazīn*) (*Madkhal*, II 44) Thus in the halls of the Mosque of ʿAmr there were several compartments for teaching, which are called maḳṣūra and zāwiya, in which studies were prosecuted (Makrīzī, IV 20, 16, 25) In the Azhar Mosque a *Maḳṣūrat Fāṭima* was made in the time of the Fāṭimids, where she had appeared, and the emīrs in the following period made a large number of such *makāsīr* (*ibid*, p 52, 53) In the Aḳṣā Mosque about 300 A H, there were three maḳṣūras for women (*B G A*, V 100) These divisions might be a nuisance at the great Friday assemblies and this is why al-Mahdī wanted to remove them in 161 from the masādjid al-djumāʿāt (Tabarī, III 486),

and Ibn al-Hādjdj condemned them as works of the *mulk* and numbers them like other embellishments with the *ashrāt al-sāʿa* (*Madkhal*, ii 43 *sq*)

The muʾadhdhins not only lived in the minarets, where, at any rate in the Tūlūnid period they held vigils (Makrīzī, iv 48) They had rooms (*ghuraf*, sg *ghurfa*) on the roof and these rooms in time came to be numerous (*ibid*, p 13, 14) All kinds of rooms were put in subsidiary buildings, for the khatīb (*ibid*, p 13), for judges, for studies, etc In addition there were dwelling-houses, not only for the staff but also for others As already mentioned, devout men used to take up their residence in the mosque for a considerable period for *iʿtikāf* and any one at any time could take up his quarters in the mosque, he could sleep there and make himself at home It therefore came quite natural to the devout to reside permanently in the mosque Ascetics often lived in the minaret (see above), a *zāhid* lived on the roof of the Azhar mosque, others made themselves cells in the mosque, as a shaikh in Nasibīn did (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 240, cf in Harrān, p 245) and as happened in Salāh al-Dīn's time in the mosque of the Omaiyads (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 182) It was however very usual for them to live in the side rooms of the mosque, as was the case for example, in the Mosque of the Omaiyads (Ibn Djubair, p 269, Ibn Battūta, i 206) In particularly holy mosques like that in Hebron, houses for *al muʿtakifūn* were built around the sacred place (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebron*, p 11 *sq*) and also beside the *Masdjid Yūnis* at the ancient Nimiveh (*B G A*, iii 146) Kitchens were therefore erected with the necessary mills and ovens and cooked food (*djashisha*) and 14–15,000 loaves (*raghīf*) were daily distributed to those who stayed there and to visitors (Sauvaire, p 20 *sq*, cf Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml* i/i, 231) Bread was also baked in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn (Quatremère, *op cit*, i/i, 233) and kitchens were often found in the mosques (for al-Azhar, see Djabartī, *Merveilles*, iii 238 *sq*, Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fi Taʾrikh al-Azhar*, p 71 *sqq*, 107 *sqq*) Those who lived in and beside the mosque were called *mudjāwirūn* (cf *B G A*, iii 146, for Jerusalem, Nāsir i Khosraw, p 82, 91, for Mecca, Ibn Djubair, p 149, for Medina, Ibn Battūta, i 279, where we learn that they were organised under a *kaddim*, like the North Africans under an *amīn* in Damascus, Ibn Djubair, p 277 *sq*) They were pious ascetics, students, and sometimes travellers The students generally found accommodation in the madāris but large mosques like that of the Omaiyads or al-Azhar had always many students who lived in them The name of the halls *riwāk*, plur *arwika*, was later used for these students' lodgings (cf v Berchem, *Corpus*, i 43, note 1, perhaps Makrīzī, iv 54, 23) Strangers always found accommodation in the mosques (cf C 1) In smaller towns it was the natural thing for the traveller to spend the night in the mosque and to get food there (Yākūt, iii 385, al-Kifṭī, *Taʾrikh al Hukamāʾ*, ed Lippert, p 252) Travellers like Nāsir-i Khosraw, Ibn Djubair, Ibn Battūta, al ʿAbdarī (*J A*, ser 5, iv, 1854, p 174) were able to travel throughout the whole Muslim world from one mosque to the other (or *madrasa* or *ribāṭ*) The traveller could even leave his money for safe keeping in a mosque (*Safar-nāma*, p 51) Large endowments were bequeathed for those who lived in the mosques (Ibn Djubair, *op cit*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/ii, 105 *sq*)

In later times the rulers often built a lodge or pavilion (*manzara*) in or near the mosque (Makrizi, ii 345, iv 13, cf on the word Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii, 15)

There was often a special room with a clock in the mosques, this also is probably an inheritance from the church, for Ibn Rosta (290 = 903) talks of similar arrangements in Constantinople (*B G A*, vii 126 supra) Ibn Djubair (p 270) describes very fully the clock in the Mosque of the Omaiyads (cf *J A*, ser 9, vii 205 *sq*) It was made in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn by Fakhr al-Dīn b al-Sāʿāti (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 183 *sq*, an expert was kept to look after it *ibid*, p 191) There was a clock in the Mustansiriya in Baghdād (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch Reise*, ii 170) and the Mosque of ʿAmr also had a *ghurfat al-sāʿāt* (Makrizi, iv 13, 15) In the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn is still kept a sundial of the year 696 (1296–1297, cf v Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N° 514) but the clocks were usually mechanical (see also Dozy, *Supplement*, s v *mīnādjāna* and on the clock generally E Wiedemann, in *Nova Acta der K Leop Carol Akad*, vol C, Halle 1915) In the Maghrib also we find mosque clocks, e g in the Būʿanāniya (*J A*, ser 11, xii 357 *sqq*)

The very varied uses to which the mosques were put resulted in their becoming storehouses for all sorts of things In 668, the Mosque of the Omaiyads was cleared of all such things, in the court yard there were for example stores for machines of war and the zāwiya of Zain al ʿAbidīn was a regular khān (*J A*, ser 9, vol vii 225 *sq*)

c Mihrāb [q v]

Whether the Prophet considered it necessary to erect an indicator of the direction of prayer in Medina may be considered doubtful According to tradition, when the revelation of the alteration of the *kibla* came to him, he turned round in the middle of the prayer without further investigation (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 41, 62, Tabari, *Tafsir*, xi 25 centre, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 2) On the musallā however and on journeys he used a spear, which was stuck in the ground right in front of him, but this *sutra* [q v] was not intended so much to give the direction as to be a substitute for the wall, to mark off the area of the worshipper, it could therefore also be an animal or some living thing (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 18, 80, 90—92, Muslim, *Salāt*, tr 46, Zurkāni on *Muwaṭṭāʾ*, i 283, Abū Dāwūd, i 69, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii 106) At the present day the mihrāb is often called *kibla* (and as early as Ibn Taghri birdī, i 351, Yākūt, i 642)

In al-Fustāt ʿAmr is said to have ascertained the kibla very carefully with the help of many others (Makrīzī, iv 6 supra, *B G A*, viii 359, Ibn Taghribirdī, i 75 *sq*) But we are not told how it was indicated, probably by a pole or something of the kind The kibla was however too far to the east, so that during the prayer the worshippers turned more to the south At first they were probably content with the direction, roughly correct, in keeping with a hadīth of Abū Huraira, according to which the kibla in general lies between east and west (Tirmidhī, *Mawākit al-Salāt*, p 139, Makrizi, iv 24) The first mosque in Isfahān was built where Abū Mūsā had performed the salāt, and a brick placed in position

by him was taken as the *kibla* (*B G A*, vii 200) But later the problem was tackled seriously Makrīzī mentions the different solutions of it in Egypt (iv 21—33) Al Azhar had the ḳibla accurate, the *mahārīb al-sahāba*, i e that of the Mosque of ʿAmr and those of the mosques in Djīza, Bilbīs, Alexandria, Kūs and Assuan were too far to the east, that of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was found by a committee to be 14 daradj too far west, those of the villages too far west The direction was ascertained from the stars Many however followed the kibla of Syria In the transformation of churches into mosques, frequent under al Maʾmūn, their orientation from east to west was decisive The door on the east side as a rule was made the miḥrāb (Makrīzī, iv 30)

The word *miḥrāb* before and after the beginning of Islām meant in the first place a palace or a part of one (Imruʾulkais, p 52, 33, South Ar, *Mufaddalīyāt*, p 21, 13, Persian, Buhturi, *Ḥamāsa*, p 404, 4, Kais al Ruḳaiyāt, p 2, 5, 49, 2), also women's apartment (ʿOmar b Rabīʿa, p 136, 9, 247, 2, Makrīzī, iv 378, 14), secondly a niche where a bust stood, e g before Islām (Ibn Kutaiba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, p 356) and for the Muslim period (*Hudhailitendīwān*, p 90, 14, Buhturi, *Ḥamāsa*, p 692), especially of a niche with an image of a Christian saint (ʿOmar b Rabīʿa, p 262, 9) Perhaps the part of the palace, called miḥrāb in the above examples is simply a niche with a throne in it (cf esp *Mufaddalīyāt*, p 21, 13) The same use of the word is found in the Kurʾān In Sūra xxxviii 20, it means the part of the palace where the king is, xxxiv 12, most probably a place where images are put, and in 32 *sq*, xix 12, a temple or rather a cell in a temple where one prays At a still later date we find expressions like *miḥrāb al-madhbah*, apparently a name for the apse in the church behind the altar (*J A*, ser 9, vii 189) *Miḥrāb* has been derived from *ḥarba* "spear" and from South Arabic *mikrāb*, Ethiop *mekuerāb* "temple" but the etymology is not certain (see on the whole question Fraenkel, *Fremdworter*, p 274, Rhodokanakis, in *W Z K M*, xix, 1905, p 296—298, Prätorius, in *Z D M G*, lxi, 1907, p 621 *sq*, Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage z sem Sprachw*, p 52, note 2, Lammens, in *J A*, ser xi, vi 247, Becker, *Islāmstudien*, i 492 *sqq*, J Horovitz, in *Isl*, xvi, 1927, p 260 *sqq*)

If the word miḥrāb means the niche placed in the mosque in the direction of prayer, this connects quite well with the usual usage of the word All are agreed that the miḥrāb did not originally belong to the mosque and that it was taken over from the church finds confirmation in Muslim literature (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p 33, note 7, 94, note 1) and it is evident that the innovation found its way into the mosque by a purely architectural way The miḥrāb became the place where the imām stood during the salāt It may therefore be assumed that it was one of the principal niches in the church, which was taken over into the mosque, it may have contained the bishop's throne or the image or picture of an important saint

There is no unanimity as to the date when the miḥrāb was introduced into the mosque Muʿāwiya is occasionally mentioned (*B G A*, v 109, 2) as a rule, however, and probably with greater right, al-Walīd His governor ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is said to have introduced it into Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 74, *B G A*, iii 80, 17 however takes it for granted that ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz only revived it), similarly his governor Kurra b Sharīk (90—96) is recorded to have introduced the prayer niche (*miḥrāb muḍjawwaf*) into Egypt (Makrīzī, iv 6, 14, 9, 9, Ibn Dukmāḳ, iv 62, 12 *sq*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 76, Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 135 *sq*) Only occasionally is Muʿāwiya's governor Maslama b Mukhallad (47—62) or ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Marwān (65—84) mentioned as having introduced this innovation (Makrīzī, iv 6) It therefore seems not to be wrong when one of the *maḥārīb* in the Mosque of the Omayyads is described as the oldest in Islām But it is an anachronism to call it *miḥrāb al-ṣaḥāba* and attribute it to Muʿāwiya (Ibn Djubair, p 265, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i 203) The miḥrāb is however said not yet to have come into general use in the second century (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p 94, note 1), on the other hand, Tabarī presupposes a *miḥrāb* in the Muslim sense as early as David (Tabarī, i 2408, 7, 12, *B G A*, ii 112, 10 *sq*, other prophets also had their miḥrābs in Jerusalem, *ibid*)

In the larger mosques there were usually several miḥrābs, used by the different madhāhib, in the mosque of ʿAmr, for example (according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 79), in Hebron (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebron*, p 17), in the mosque of the Omayyads (*J A*, ser 9, vii 213 *sqq*, Ibn Djubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as above) They might be of wood, but as a rule they were built of masonry or put on pillars They were often highly ornamented In the miḥrāb of al-Walīd, a looking-glass that had belonged to ʿĀʾisha is said to have been placed (Kazwīnī, ii 71) A Fāṭimid adorned a miḥrāb in the mosque of ʿAmr and one in the Azhar mosque with a silver girdle which weighed 5,000 dirhams (Makrīzī, iv 52)

The general objections to adorning mosques were also applied to the miḥrāb A ḥadīth is said to have forbidden this as an inheritance from the churches, it is compared with the altars (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p 33 note 7), but even a puritan like Ibn al-Ḥādjdj does not reject the miḥrāb in principle, he only condemns its adornment (*Madkhal*, ii 48) In fact the miḥrāb was held in special respect as the most important part of the mosque which found expression in the erection of a kubba over it (e g Makrīzī, iv 91, cf v Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N° 79) The special importance of the miḥrāb is shown from the fact that its position was occasionally revealed in dreams, e g in Kairawān (Yāḳūt, iv 213) and in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, here the Prophet appeared to Aḥmad b Tūlūn and showed him the miḥrāb and the spot was surrounded by ants (Makrīzī, iv 39) In the principal mosque of Sanʿāʾ there was a prophet's tomb under the miḥrāb (*B G A*, vii 110), which recalls Christian altars As the most sacred part of the mosque, the miḥrāb is compared not only with Christian altars, but the word is used of the sacred place of prayer in any sanctuary, e g in the pre-Christian temple, which stood on the site of the later mosque of the Omayyads (*J A*, ser 9, vii 371) In Palestine, in keeping with this idea, very many miḥrābs are said to have been the miḥrābs of Biblical personalities (see Sauvaire, *Hist Jer et Hebr*, p 42, 76, 96 *sq*., 102, Le Strange, *Palestine*, Index)

d Mınbar [q v]

In contrast to the mihrāb, the *mınbar* was ın troduced ın the time of the Prophet himself The word, often pronounced *mımbar* (cf Brockelmann, *Grundrıss*, ı 161), comes from the root *n-b-r* "high", it could be derived from the Arabic quite easily with the meaning "elevation, stand", but is more probably a loanword from the Ethiopic (Schwally, *Z D M G*, lıı, 1898, p 146—148, Noldeke, *Neue Beıtrage z sem Sprachw*, 1910, p 49) Its case is therefore somewhat similar to that of masdjid It means "seat, chair" (e g *Chron Mekka*, ıı 8, *Aghānī*², Cairo, xıv 75) and is used, for example, for saddle (Tabarī, *Gloss*) and of a litter (*Aghānī*, xıı 158, cf Schwally) It is therefore identical with *maḏılis* (Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, B 23), with *sarīr* (*Kāmil*, p 20, *Aghānī*, ıı 3), *takht* or *kursī* (*Usd*, ı 214, cf also Becker, *Kanzel*, p 8) The use of the word for the pulpit is in keeping with its history

When the *khaṭīb* [q v] spoke among the Arabs, he usually did so standing (cf *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed Lyall, xcı ²³, Djāhız, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, ı 129, ıı 143) frequently beating the ground with bow and lance (*ibid*, ı 198, Labīd, 7, 15, 9, 45), or he sat on his mount as did e g Kuss b Sāᶜida (*Bayān*, ı 25, 31, ıı 141) The Prophet did both of these things In ᶜArafa he sat on his camel during his *khuṭba* and on other occasions, when addressing the community during the early period, even as late as the day of the capture of Mecca, he stood (cf Sūra lxıı 11) The people sat on the ground around him (Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, B 28, *ᶜIdain*, B 6) In the mosque in Medina he had a particular place, as is mentioned in the stories of the introduction of the minbar Sometimes, we are told, he stood beside a tree or a palm tree (Bukhārī, *Manākib*, B 25, ed Krehl, ıı 400), as a rule however, beside a palm-trunk (*djidh*ᶜ, so Ibn Saᶜd, ı/ı 9, 10, 11, 12) and on a few occasions beside one of the pillars (Bukhārī, *Manākib*, B 25, ed Krehl, ıı 401, Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ıı 75) This is undoubtedly the original tradition the Prophet stood beside one of the palm-tree trunks used as pillars in the mosque For "beside" (usually *kāma ılā*, Bukhārī, *Buyūᶜ*, B 32) ᶜ*inda*) "up" (*kāma ᶜalā*, already in Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, B 26) is sometimes found later and for the column or trunk, we find a stump on which he sat

Various passages record how the minbar was introduced, notably the following Ibn Saᶜd, ı/ı 9—13, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 18, 64, 91, *Djumᶜa*, B 26, *Buyūᶜ*, B 32, *Hıba*, B 3, *Manākib*, B 25, Muslim, *Masādjıd*, tr 10, s also Wensinck, *Handbook*, s v *Pulpit*, *Usd al Ghāba*, ı 43 infra, 214, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 62 *sq*, Ibn Battūta, ı 275 *sq*, the whole material is in Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ı 129, ıı 75 *sq* and *Sırat al-Halabī*, ıı 146 *sqq* The details are variously given The minbar, we are told, was built of tarfā wood or tamarisk from the woods near Medīna, the builder was a Byzantine or a Copt and was called Bākūm or Bāḳūl, but the names Ibrāhīm (*Usd*, ı 43), Maimūn, Ṣabāh, Kulāb, Mīnā [see KHAMĪS] are also given He was a carpenter, but a slave of the wife of one of the Ansār or (Bukhārī, *Hıba*, B 3) of the Muhādjırūn Others say he belonged to al-ᶜAbbās The suggestion is sometimes credited to the Prophet and sometimes to others The palm-trunk is said to have whined like a camel or a child when the Prophet mounted his new seat but was calmed by stroking and kind words from the Prophet Most stories take it for granted that the minbar was primarily intended for the *khuṭba*, in some it is added that the object was to enable the large assembly to hear him (Ibn Saᶜd, ı/ı 10, 11) We are told also that the Prophet performed the salāt on it and, during the *sudjūd*, he came down from it He also took care that the people could see his salāt and follow him (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B 18, *Djumᶜa*, B 26) This last tradition however presupposes the later custom of standing upon the minbar (note that the same idea of the palm-stump occurs in *Djumᶜa*, B 26)

In this connection it is interesting to note a tradition in Ibn al Athır, according to which the Companions asked the Prophet to take up a raised position as many *wufūd* were coming (*Usd al-Ghāba*, ı 43) Another tradition is in keeping with this, according to which the Prophet, when he was visited by a man named Tamīm, stood on a *kursī* and addressed him from it (*ibid*, p 214, cf Lammens, *Moâwıa*, p 204, note 5) Here we have a seat of honour on which the ruler sits This is undoubtedly in keeping with the character of the minbar, while the raised seat was in general use among the northern Semites the Arabs usually sat on the ground, often leaning against a saddle The raised seat was the special mark of the ruler or, what is the same thing, of the judge We are told that Rabīᶜa b Mukhāshın was the first to sit on a *mınbar* or *sarır* when acting as judge (*Aghānī*, 2nd Cairo ed, ıı 3, Makrīzī, ıv 6 *sq*) Al-Hadjdjādj, for example, when he addressed the people (hardly in the mosque) sat on a chair which belonged to him (*kursī lahu* Tabarī, ıı 959) and when he tried and condemned his enemies, a *sarır* was erected for him (*ibid*, p 1119), in the same way a *kursī* was placed for Yazīd when he issued his orders for a battle (*ibid*, p 1107, see also Becker, *Kanzel*, p 8)

If tradition usually suggests that the minbar was introduced exclusively for the khutba, this seems to be a somewhat one-sided view The minbar was primarily, as Becker was the first to point out, the throne of the mighty Prophet in his capacity as a ruler In keeping with this is the tradition that it was introduced in the year 7, 8 or 9 (Tabarī, ı 1591, *Khamīs*, ıı 75, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ı 23) The Prophet used it for the publication of important announcements, for example, the prohibition of wine That he should also make his public speeches to the community from the new seat was only natural His khutbas however were not confined to the Friday service and he could still deliver a khutba without a minbar, e g at the festival on the musallā, where Marwān was the first to put up a minbar (Bukhārī, *ᶜIdain*, B 6) and beside the Kaᶜba after the capture of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, p 823)

The Prophet's minbar is often called *aᶜwād* from its material (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, B 64, *Djumᶜa*, B 26) It consisted of two steps and a seat (*maḏılis Khamīs*, ıı 75, Bukhārī, *Djumᶜa*, B 23, *makᶜad* Tabarī, ı 1591) After the time of the Prophet, it was used in the same way by Abū Bakr, ᶜOmar and ᶜOthmān (see below) Its significance as a throne is seen from the fact that in the year 50 Muᶜāwıya wanted to take it to Syria with him, he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by 6 steps At a later date, ᶜAbd al

Malik and al Walid are said to have wanted to take the Prophet's minbar to Damascus (Tabarī, ii 92 *sq*, *Khamis*, ii 75, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 283, *B G A*, v 23 *sq*, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 63) In the time of the Prophet, it stood against the wall so that a sheep could just get past (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, p 91) In the time of al-Makdisī, in the centre of the Mughattā there was pointed out the position of the old minbar, above which Muʿāwiya was said to have built his new one (*B G A*, iii 82, cf ii 26 and Kazwīnī, ed Wustenfeld, ii 71) According to some hadīths, it was over the *hawd* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Salāt fī Makka*, B 5, *Fadāʾil al-Madina*, B 5, 12 and *pass*) At a later date, new minbars were erected in the mosque (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 64, 96)

That the Omaiyads should have a minbar of their own was natural, they sat on it, just as their predecessors had done (cf Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 42) Muʿāwiya took it with him on his journey to Mecca (*Chron Mekka*, i 333), he also had it taken to the festivals on the musallā (Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 265), just as Marwān used to do in Medīna (see above), it was therefore still portable and indispensable for the sovereign, when he wished to make a public appearance as such In Ibn Djubair's time, the *minbar al khutba* in Damascus was in the central maksūra (*Rihla*, p 265) According to Ibn Khaldūn, Muʿāwiya was the first in Islām to use the throne (*sarir, minbar, takht, kursi*) but he is clearly not referring to the minbar of the mosque (*Mukaddima*, Cairo 1322, p 205 *sq*, *fasl*, 3, N° 37)

The minbar taken to Mecca by Muʿāwiya remained there till the time of al-Rashīd, when the latter visited Mecca on his hadjdj in the year 170 or 174 a *minbar mankūsh* with 9 steps was presented to him by the emīr of Egypt and the old one was put up in ʿArafa At a later date, al-Wāthik made minbars for Mecca, ʿArafa and Minā (*Chron Mekka*, i 333, iii 114) The Meccan minbar was a portable one It usually stood beside the *makām* but was put beside the Kaʿba during the khutba (Ibn Djubair, p 95, 97, cf *Chron Mekka*, iii 429) According to al-Batanūnī, this custom was kept up until Sultān Sulaimān Kānūnī (926—974) built a marble minbar, north of the *makām* (*al Rihla al-Hidjāzīya*, p 100)

It seems at first to have been doubtful whether *manābir* should be put up in the provinces or not According to al-Kudāʿī, ʿAmr had a minbar made in al-Fustāt but ʿOmar ordered him to take it away he was not to raise himself above the Muslims so that they would have to sit below his heels (Makrīzī, iv 6 *sq*, Ibn Taghribirdī, i 76, Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, i 63, ii 135) The idea obviously was that the throne belonged to the caliph alone After ʿOmar's death however, ʿAmr is said to have used a minbar (Makrīzī, iv 8, 27) It stood there till Kurra b Sharik rebuilt the mosque During the rebuilding it was put in the Kaisārīya, which was used as a mosque, only when the mosque was completed in the year 92, did Kurra put up a new minbar Tradition however is uncertain The minbar removed by Kurra perhaps dated from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Marwān, who had taken it from a church or had been presented with it by the Nubian King (Makrīzī, iv 8, Ibn Taghribirdī, i 78) Kurra's minbar remained till 379 when the Fātimid vizier Yaʿkūb b Killis replaced it by a gilded one A large new minbar was placed in the mosque of ʿAmi in 405 by al-Hākim (Makrizi, iv 8, Ibn Taghribirdī, i 78 *sq*)

We hear of no objections in other places to the manabir in the amsār In al-Madāʾin as early as the year 16 Saʿd erected a minbar in the mosque improvised in the Iwān of Kisrā (Tabarī, i 2451, 9) In Basra, Abū Mūsā put up a minbar in the middle of the mosque This was however found inconvenient because the Imām had to cross from the minbar to the kibla "over the necks" of the (seated) believers Ziyād then placed the minbar against the south wall (Yākūt, i 642) On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās (governor of Basra 36—40) was the first to mount the minbar in Basra (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i 179) When Ziyād had to fly from Basra he saved the minbar which he put up in his Masdjid al Huddān (Tabarī, i 3414 *sq*) The minbar was the symbol of the ruler and the governor sat upon it, as representative of the ruler It therefore formed a feature of the Masdjid al-Djamāʿa, where the community was officially addressed In the year 64 therefore, there were minbars in all the provinces In this year homage was paid to Marwān b al Hakam not only in the capital but in the other manābir in the Hidjāz, Misr, Shaʾm, Djazīra, ʿIrāk, Khurāsān, and other amsār (*B G A*, viii 307) Special mention is made of the fact that Tabariya had no minbar

In the first century and beginning of the second, we find the wālī in the smaller towns, delivering the *khutba* standing, with the staff only But in 132 the governor ʿAbd al Malik b Marwan had *manābir* put up in the kurā of Egypt (Makrīzī, iv 8, 17 *sqq*, Ibn Taghribirdi, i 350 *sq*) When the khutba became purely a divine service and the ruler was no longer the khatib [q v], the minbar became the pulpit of the spiritual preacher and every mosque in which the Friday service was celebrated was given a minbar At the same time, i e after al-Rashid, the change was gradually completed and the preacher spoke, standing on the pulpit Hadiths therefore came into existence, according to which the Prophet used to deliver two khutbas on Friday, standing "just as is done to day" (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, p 27, 30 and ʿOmar, *ibid*, p 2)

The minbar was thus now quite analogous to the Christian pulpit It is very probable that this latter also influenced its form We have already noted above, of a minbar in the mosque of ʿAmr, that it was said to be of Christian origin The same thing came to be said of the Prophet's minbar (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 63) Muʿāwiya made the Medīna minbar larger, while the one brought by him to Mecca had only 3 steps and was of course portable We again hear of portable minbars later, which did not exclude their being large (cf above on the minbar of Mecca) Thus the manābir in al Maghrib are said to have been portable Ibn al Hādjdj regards this (the oldest) custom as *bidʿa* and therefore ascribes it to al-Hadjdjādj (*Madkhal*, ii 47, 13 *sqq*) The oldest minbars were all of wood There is however one hadith which says that the Prophet had a *kursī* of wood with iron legs made for the reception of Tamīm (*Usd*, i 214, 8 from below, cf Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, p 273, note 3), it is however uncertain what relation this had to the minbar A minbar of iron was made as early as the Omaiyad period (Ibn Taghribirdī, i 78, 8 *al-minbar al-hadīd* probably correct in

spite of Becker, *Kanzel*, p 10, note, cf 79, 4, see below), and also of stone (Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, II 42, note 5 with a reference to Ibn Hadjar), later they were also built of bricks (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 64, 96) As a rule the minbar stood against the kibla wall beside the mihrāb Al-Mahdī had tried to reduce the *manābir* to their original small size (Tabarī, III 486, 12, Makrīzī, IV 12, 13 *sqq*), but he could not arrest the development In the larger mosques several *manābir* were even built Ibn al Fakīh about 300 A H already mentions 5 minbars in the mosque in Jerusalem (*B G A*, V 100, 8 *sq*) In the Sultān Hasan mosque in Cairo 4 were planned and 3 erected when a minaret fell down in 762 and diverted attention to other work (Makrīzī, IV 117, 18 *sq*)

The importance, which the minbar already had in the time of the Prophet, caused special reverence to be paid to it and the sanctity of the mosque was concentrated round this and around the mihrāb The governor of Kūfa Khālid b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī (105—120) received a letter of censure from the caliph because he had prayed for water on the minbar (*Kāmil*, p 20, 15 *sqq*) A false oath taken on or beside the minbar of the Prophet led to hell absolutely (Ibn Saʿd, I/1 10, 3 *sq*, 12, 19 *sq*, Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II 329, cf Johs Pedersen, *Der Eid*, p 144, 147) Legends grew up which represented the Prophet seeing into the future from the minbar (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 29) and being able to follow the battle of Muʾta from it (cf Wākidī—Wellhausen, p 311, Ibn Hishām, p 796) and also telling how his prayers on the minbar were specially efficacious

Just as the Kaʿba was covered (*kasā*) so was the same thing done to the minbar ʿOthmān is said to have been the first to cover the minbar of the Prophet with a *katīfa* (*Khamīs*, II 75, 1 from below) Muʿāwiya did the same thing when he had to give up his attempt to abolish it (*ibid*, p 76, 4, Tabarī, II 92, 4) It was not quite the same thing when al Hākim rediscovered the already mentioned iron minbar and covered it with gilt leather because it was covered with dirt (read *kadhar*) i e rust (Ibn Taghribirdī, I 79, 5 *sq*) Under the ʿAbbāsids a new *kiswa* was sent every year for the minbar of the Prophet from Baghdād, the Sultāns later did not renew it so frequently (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 64) We find other references to the covering of the minbar on special occasions (Ibn Djubair, p 149, 16) Ibn al Hādjdj (*Madkhal*, II 74) demands that the imām should put a stop to the custom of putting carpets on the minbar — (On the question of the minbar see C H Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islām*, *Noldeke-Festschrift*, I 331—351 = *Islāmstudien*, I 450—471, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I 533, 739, II 68 *sq*, 87, 213 *sq*, H Lammens, *Moʿawia*, p 63, 204—208, 273, J Horovitz, in *Isl*, XVI, 1927, p 257—260)

e Dakka

In the larger mosques there is usually found near the minbar a platform to which a staircase leads up This platform (*dakka*, popularly often *dikka*) is used as a seat for the muʾadhdhins when pronouncing the call to prayer in the mosque at the Friday service This part of the equipment of a mosque is connected with the development of the service (cf below under H 4 and C H Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, III, 1912, p 374—399 = *Islāmstudien*, I 472—500, E Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1913, Phil-Hist Cl, N° 2) The first adhān-call is pronounced from the minaret, the second (when the khatīb mounts the minbar) and the third (before the salāt, *ikāma*) in the mosque itself These calls were at first pronounced by the muʾadhdhin standing in the mosque At a later date raised seats were made for him

Al-Halabī records that Maslama, Muʿawiya's governor in Egypt, was the first to build platforms (here called *manābir*) for the calls to prayer in the mosques (*Sira Halabīya*, II 111 below) This story however, given without any reference to older authorities, is not at all reliable It seems that a uniform practice did not come into existence at once In Mecca the muʾadhdhins for a time uttered the second call (when the preacher mounted the minbar) from the roof As the sun in summer was too strong for them, the emīr of Mecca, in the reign of Hārūn al Rashīd, made a little hut (*zulla*) for them on the roof This was enlarged and more strongly built by al-Mutawakkil in 240, as his contemporary al Azrakī relates (*Chron Mekka*, I 332 *sq*) The position in the mosque of ʿAmr in Cairo was similar Here also the *adhān* was uttered in a chamber (*ghurfa*) on the roof and in 336 there is a reference to its enlargement (Makrīzī, IV 11) As late as the time of Baibars, when the many chambers were removed from the roof of the Mosque of ʿAmr, the old *ghurfa* of the muʾadhdhin was left intact (*ibid*, p 14, cf al Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed Guest, p 469, note 2) In the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn the adhān was pronounced from the cupola in the centre of the *sahn* (Makrīzī, IV 40) Al-Makdisī records in the fourth century as a notable thing about Khurāsān that the muʾadhdhins there pronounced the adhān on a *sarīr* placed in front of the minbar (*B G A*, III 327) The *dukkān* "platform" in front of the minbar in the mosques of Shahriastān must have had the same purpose (*ibid*, p 357)

In the VIIIth century, Ibn al-Hādjdj mentions the dakka as a *bidʿa* in general use, which should be condemned as it unnecessarily prevents freedom of movement within the mosque (*Madkhal*, II 45 above) In the year 827 a *dakka* in the mosque of al-Hākim is mentioned (Makrīzī, IV 61), the dakkas mentioned in inscriptions from Cairo all date from the period before and after 900 A H Ibn al-Hādjdj mentions that in addition to the large dakka used for the Friday service there was sometimes a lower one for ordinary salāts (*Madkhal*, II 46 *sq*) and says that in the larger mosques there were several dakkas on which muʾadhdhins pronounced the adhān in succession so that the whole community could hear it (*tablīgh*, *ibid*, p 45 *sq*) Lane also mentions several *muballighs* in the Azhar Mosque (*Manners and Customs*, Everyman's Library, p 87, note 2)

f Kursī, Kurʾāns and Relics

In the mosques there is usually a kursī, that is a wooden stand with a seat and a desk The desk is for the Kurʾān, the seat for the *kāss*, or reader, *kārīʾ* Ibn Djubair attended a divine service in Baghdād at which a celebrated preacher spoke from the minbar, but only after the *kurrāʾ*, sitting on *karāsī* had recited portions of the Kurʾān (*Rihla*, p 219, 222) The *wāʿiz*, often identical with the kāss sat on a *kursī* made of teak (Ibn Djubair, p 200, Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, II 319, Makrīzī, IV 121),

sometimes he spoke from the minbar to which the wāʿiz often had access (cf Ibn Djubair see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p 320) The kussās are called by al-Makkī *aṣḥāb al-karāsī* which is in keeping with this (*Kūt al-Kulūb*, i 152, quoting *K al-Madkhal*, i 159) Several karāsī are often mentioned in one mosque (cf for the Mosque of ʿAmr, Makrīzī, iv 19) Whether the karāsī mentioned for the earlier period always had a desk cannot be definitely ascertained The karāsī with dated inscriptions given by van Berchem in his *Corpus* all belong to the ixth (xvth) century (N⁰ 264, 302, 338, 359bis, 491) According to Lane, at the Friday service while the people are assembling, a kārī' on the kursī recites the 18th Sūra up to the *adhān* (*Manners and Customs*, p 86) The same custom is recorded by Ibn al-Hādjdj and condemned because it has a disturbing effect (*K al-Madkhal*, ii 44, middle)

The Kur'ān very soon received its definite place in the mosque like the Bible in the church (cf Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 91 they prayed at a pillar beside *al-muṣḥaf*) According to one tradition, ʿOthmān had several copies of his Kur'ān sent to the provinces (e g Noldeke Schwally, *Gesch d Qor*, ii 112 *sq*), al Hadjdjādj, a little later, is said to have done the same thing (Makrīzī, iv 17) The mosques had many other copies beside the one kept on the kursī Al-Hākim put 814 *maṣāḥif* in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, where the founder had already put boxes of Kur'āns (Makrīzī, iv 36, 40, cf *Husn al Muhādara*, ii 138) and in 403 he presented 1,289 copies to the Mosque of ʿAmr, some of which were written in letters of gold (Makrīzī, iv 12, *Husn al Muhādara*, ii 136) Even earlier than this there were so many that the kādī al-Hārith b Miskīn (237—245) appointed a special *amīn* to look after them (al Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 469), there are still a very large number in the Mosque of the Prophet (see Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 241 above) Of particular value was the *Mushaf Asmāʾ*, belonging to the Mosque of ʿAmr, prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Marwān, later bought by his son and afterwards by his daughter Asmāʾ, her brother left it in 128 to the mosque and it was used for public readings (see its whole history in Makrīzī, iv 17 *sq*) Besides it, another copy was for some time also used for reading, which was said to have lain beside ʿOthmān, when he was killed and to have been stained with his blood, but this one was removed by the Fātimids (*ibid*, p 19) In the time of Ibn Battūta, a Kur'ān for which the same claims were made was kept in Basra (ii 10) On New Year's Day when the Fātimid caliphs used to go in procession through the town, the Caliph at the entrance to the Mosque of ʿAmr took up in his hands a mushaf said to have been written by ʿAlī and kissed it (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/1, p 472 middle), it was perhaps the *Mushaf Asmāʾ* In Syria, Egypt, and the Hidjāz, in the fourth century, there were Kur'āns which were traced back to ʿOthmān (*B G A*, iii 143, cf ii 117) One of the Kur'āns made for ʿOthmān was shown in the Mosque of the Omaiyads in Damascus in the time of Ibn Djubair It was produced after the daily salāts and the people touched and kissed it (*Rihla*, p 268) It was brought there in the year 507 from Tiberias (Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, Haidarābād, 1337, ii 25) Other Kur'āns of ʿOthmān were shown in Baghdād and Cordova (see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p 327) and Ibn Djubair saw another in the Mosque of the Prophet, it lay in a desk on a large stand, here called *mihmal* (*Rihla*, p 193, cf thereon Dozy, *Supplement*, s v) The Fādilīya Madrasa also had a *Mushaf ʿUthmān*, bought by the Kādī al Fādil for 30,000 dīnārs (Makrīzī, iv 197) and there is one in Fās (*Archives Marocaines*, xviii, 1922, p 361) Valuable Kur'āns like these had the character of relics and belonged to the *khizāna* of the mosque They were often kept in a chest (*ṣandūk*) (Ibn Djubair, *op cit*, for *al-muṣḥaf*, Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 95, Muslim has *al ṣandūk*, see al-ʿAskalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, i 385), also called *tābūt* (Ibn Djubair, p 104) In the Kaʿba, Ibn Djubair saw two chests with Kur'āns (p 84, 3) Ibn al-Fakih mentions 16 chests with Kur'āns in the Jerusalem mosque (*B G A*, v 100) In the mosques there were also *sanādik* for other things, such as lamps (Makrīzī, iv 53, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 82 = Ibn Djubair, p 194), a *tābūt* for alms (*K al-Madkhal*, ii 44, *infra*), for the *bait al māl* or the property of the mosque (see below) There were also chests for rose wreaths (*Madkhal*, ii 50) which were in charge of a special officer In the Mosque of ʿAmr there was a whole series of *tawābīt* (Makrīzī, iv 9)

The Kur'āns were not the only relics to be kept in the mosques Bodies or parts of the bodies of saints (cf B 4, C 1) and other *āthār* were kept and revered in mosques the rod of Moses, (in Kūfa, Yākut, iv 325, previously in Mecca, see Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 361), the Prophet's sandals (in Hebron, *B G A*, v 101, also in Damascus, where the Ashrafiya Madrasa had his left and the Dammāghiya his right sandal, *J A* ser 9, iii 271 *sq*, 402), his cloak (in Adhruh, *B G A*, iii 178), hair from his beard (in Jerusalem among other places, Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 165) and many other things (see Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 358 *sqq*, Mez, *Renaissance d Islams*, p 325 *sq*) These relics were often kept in valuable reliquaries The head of Husain was buried in a *tābūt* in his mosque in Cairo (Ibn Djubair, p 45) There was a black stone like that in the Kaʿba in a mosque in Shahrastān (*B G A*, iii 433)

On the other hand, pictures and images were excluded from the mosques, in deliberate contrast to the crucifixes and images of saints in churches, as is evident from Hadīth (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 48, 54, *Libās*, bāb 71, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 3, cf on the question Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, *Z A*, xxvi = *Islāmstudien*, i 445 *sqq*) It is of interest to note that in the earliest period, Saʿd b Abī Wakkās had no scruples about leaving the wall paintings in the Īwān of Kisra at Madāʾin standing, when it was turned into a mosque (Tabarī, i 2443, 2451) The case was somewhat different, when, before the chief mosque in Dehli which had been a Hindu temple, two old copper idols formed a kind of threshold (Ibn Battūta, iii 151) although even this is remarkable (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 451 *sqq* = *Z D M G*, lxi, 1907, p 186 *sqq*) In some circles the opposition to pictures extended to other relics also Ibn Taimīya condemned the reverence paid to the Prophet's footprint, which was shown, as in Jerusalem, in a Damascus mosque also (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 246)

g Carpets

Carpets were used to improve the appearance of the mosques The custom of performing the

salāt upon a carpet is ascribed by Hadīth to the Prophet himself Anas b Mālik performed the salāt with him in his grandmother's house and the Prophet used a cloth or mat (*ḥaṣīr*), which had become black through wear, as a rule, he used a mat woven of palm leaves, *khumra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 19, 20, 21, *Haid*, bāb 30, Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr 47, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii 145) In any case, it is clear from Balādhurī that the salāt was at first performed in the mosque simply in the dust and then on pebbles (Balādhurī, p 277, 348, cf al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿala 'l-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i 283 *sq*) Later, when the halls were extended, the ground, or the paving, was covered with matting

The first to cover the ground in the Mosque of ʿAmr with *ḥuṣur* instead of *ḥasbāʾ* was Muʿāwiya's governor Maslama b Mukhallad (Maḳrīzī, iv 8, *Husn al Muḥāḍara*, ii 136, Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 77) The different groups which frequented the mosque (cf above) had their places on particular mats when a kādi (middle of the third century) ejected the Shāfiʿīs and Hanafīs from the mosque, he had their husur torn up (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 469) Ibn Ṭūlūn covered his mosque floor with ʿAbbadānian and Sāmānian mats (Maḳrīzī, iv 36, 38) For the mosque of al-Ḥākim in the year 403, al-Ḥākim bought 1,036 *dhirāʿ* of carpeting for 5,000 dināRs (Maḳrīzī, iv 56, cf for al-Azhar, *ibid*, p 50) In the year 439 in the Mosque of ʿAmr, there were ten layers of coloured carpets one above the other (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed Schefer, p 31 [text], p 149 [transl]) In the Mosque at Jerusalem 800,000 dhirāʿ of carpets were used every year (*B G A*, v 100) In the Mosque in Mecca they were renewed every Ramadān (*B G A*, v 100) On ceremonial occasions the minbar was also draped with a carpet (*sadjdjāda*, q v), in Medina, the minbar and the sacred tomb was always covered like the Kaʿba in Mecca (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 83, cf Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, II/i 91) and some, especially the teachers, had their skins (*farwa*), in some cases also a cushion to lean upon The doors were also covered with some material (Makrizī, iv 56) On feast-days, the mosques were adorned with carpets in a particularly luxurious fashion (see Ibn Taghrībirdī, II/i 483) The Puritans rejected all this as *bidʿa* and preferred the bare ground (*Madkhal*, ii 46, 49, 72, 74, 76) as the Wahhābīs still do

h Lighting

Where evening meetings and vigils were of regular occurrence, artificial lighting became necessary Al Azrakī gives the history of the lighting of the Meccan Mosque The first to illuminate the Kaʿba was ʿUkba b al-Azrak, whose house was next to the Mosque, just on the *Makām*, here he placed a large lamp (*miṣbāḥ*) ʿOmar, however, is said previously to have placed lamps upon the wall, which was the height of a man, with which he surrounded the mosque (Balādhurī, p 46) The first to use oil and lamps (*kanādīl*) in the mosque itself was Muʿāwiya (cf *B G A*, v 20) In the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, Khālid b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī placed a lamp on a pillar of the Zemzem beside the Black Stone, and the lamp of the Azrak family disappeared In the reign of al-Maʾmūn in 216 a new lamp-post was put up on the other side of the Kaʿba and a little later two new lanterns were put up around the Kaʿba Hārūn al-Rashīd (268—271) placed ten large lamps around the Kaʿba and hung two lanterns on each of the walls of the mosque (*thurayyāt*, cf Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 149, 150, 155, 271, v Berchem, *Corp Inscr Arab*, i, N° 506) Khālid al-Kasrī had the *masʿā* also illuminated during the pilgrimage and in 219 the torches called *nafātāt* were placed here and ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered the people, who lived in the streets of Mecca, to put up lamps on the 1st Muharram for the convenience of those visiting the Kaʿba (*Chron Mekka*, i 200–202, cf 458 *sq*) In 253 Muhammad b Ahmad al Mansūrī erected a wooden pole in the centre of the *ṣaḥn* and *kanādīl* on ropes were hung from it This was however very soon removed (*ibid*, ii 196 *sq*) About 100 years later, al-Makdisī saw around the Tawāf wooden poles on which hung lanterns (*kanādīl*) in which were placed candles for the kings of Egypt, Yemen, etc (*B G A*, iii 74) Ibn Djubair describes the glass *kanādīl*, which hung from hooks in the Meccan Haram (*Riḥla*, p 103) and lamps (*mashāʿil*) which were lit in iron vessels (*ibid*, p 103, cf p 143) Similar silver and gold *kanādīl* were seen by him in Medina (*ibid*, p 192 at the top, see also Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 83 *sqq*) According to al-Fakih (before 300), 1,600 lamps were lit every evening in Jerusalem (*B G A*, v 100) and in the next century al-Makdisī says that the people of Palestine always burn *kanādīl* in their mosques, which were hung from chains as in Mecca (*B G A*, iii 182) The illumination was thus very greatly increased In the year 60, when Ibn Ziyād was searching for his enemies in the mosque of Kūfa, the lamps were not sufficient, and large torches had to be used in searching the pillared halls (Tabarī, ii 259 *sq*) This, like what has already been said about Mecca, shows out of what modest beginnings this part of the mosque's equipment developed

In the time of the ʿAbbāsids, lamps and lanterns were part of the regular furniture of the mosque Al-Maʾmūn is said to have taken a special interest in this He ordered lamps to be put in all the mosques, partly to assist those who wanted to read and partly to prevent crime (Baihaki, ed Schwally, p 473) For this purpose, the *kanādīl*, already mentioned, hung on chains were used, as at the building of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Makrīzī, iv 36, 38), in the Azhar Mosque and elsewhere, they were often of silver (*ibid*, p 56, 63) Golden *kanādīl* were also used and were of course condemned by Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal*, ii 54) as ostentatious At the same time, candles (*sham*ʿ or *shamaʿ*) were used in large numbers, the candlesticks (*atwār*, sing *tawr*) often being of silver (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p 45, 151, 194, cf Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 95, 100) About 400, large candelabra were made in Egypt, which from their shapes were called *tannūr*, stoves Al Ḥākim presented the Mosque of ʿAmr with a *tannūr* made out of 100,000 dirhams of silver, the mosque doors had to be widened to admit it He also gave it two other lamps (Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 136 infra, cf Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed Schefer, p 51 [text], p 148 [transl], Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Popper, II/ii, p 105) In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, in addition to lamps and candle lanterns, he also put 4 silver *tanānīr* and he made similar gifts to the Azhar and other mosques the lamps were of gold or silver (Makrīzī, iv 51, 56, 63, cf Ibn Taghrībirdī, II/ii 105) The *tanānīr* and other lanterns could also be made of copper (see v Berchem,

Corpus, 1, N° 502, 503, 506, 507, 511), as, for example, the celebrated candelabrum of the Mosque of Mu'aiyad (Makrīzī, iv 137) which was made for the mosque of Hasan but sold by it (*ibid*, p 118)

This great interest in the lighting of the mosque was not entirely based on practical considerations Light had a significance in the divine service and Islām here, as elsewhere, was taking over something from the Church When, in 227, the caliph was on his deathbed, he asked that the salāt should be performed over him with candles and incense (*bi 'l-shamᶜ wa 'l bukhūr*) exactly after the fashion of the Christians (Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, i 165, cf ii 89) The dependence of Islām on Christianity is also seen in the story that ᶜOthmān, when he was going to the evening salāt in Medina, had a candle carried in front of him, which his enemies condemned as *bidᶜa* (Yaᶜkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 187) The Shiᶜa bias does not affect the significance of this story A light was used particularly in the mihrāb, because it represented the holy cell, to which light belongs (cf Sūra xxiv 35) Then, in Mecca, lamps were placed before the imāms in the mihrābs and there were considerable endowments for such mihrāb lamps (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 103, 144) Light, as was everywhere the custom in ancient times, was necessary in mausoleums and the documents of endowment show that a large number of oil lamps were used in this way (cf e g the document for al Malik al Ashraf's mausoleum, v Berchem, *Corpus*, 1, N° 252) But in the mosque generally the use of lights had a devotional significance and lamps might be endowed for particular individuals (cf *B G A*, iii 74, quoted above) The lamps so given by al-Hākim were therefore placed in the mosques with great ceremony, with blasts of trumpets and beating of drums (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/ii 105)

On ceremonial occasions a great illumination was therefore absolutely necessary In the month of Ramadān, says Ibn Djubair, the carpets were renewed and the candles and lamps increased in number, so that the whole mosque was a blaze of light (*Rihla*, p 143), on certain evenings trees of light were made with vast numbers of lamps and candles and the minarets were illuminated (*ibid*, p 149—151, 154, 155) In the Mosque of the Prophet in the time of Samhūdī, forty wax candles burned around the sacred tomb, and three to four hundred lights in the whole mosque (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 100) On the *mawlid al nabī*, says Kutb al-Dīn, a procession went from the Kaᶜba in Mecca to the birthplace of the Prophet with candles, lanterns (*fawānīs*) and lamps (*mashāᶜil*, see *Chron Mekka*, iii 439) In the haram of Jerusalem, according to Mudjīr al-Dīn, 750 lamps were lit by night and over 20,000 at festivals (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebron*, p 138) In the dome of the Sakhra in 452 a chandelier and 500 lamps fell down (*ibid*, p 69), at the taking of the town in 492 (1099) the Franks carried off 42 silver lamps, each of 3,600 dirhams, 23 lamps of gold and a *tannūr* of 40 *ritl* of silver (*ibid*, p 71) It was similar and still is in Cairo and elsewhere in the Muslim world For the *latlat al-wukūd* in the Mosque of ᶜAmr, 18,000 candles were made for the Mosque of ᶜAmr and every night eleven and a half kintār of good oil were used (Makrīzī, iv 21 and more fully ii 345 *sqq*) The four "nights of illumination" fell in the months of Radjab and Shaᶜbān, especially *Nuṣf Shaᶜbān* (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 131, cf also Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 77) Quite recently (1908) electric light has been introduced into the Mosque of the Prophet (al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 245 *sq*)

[On the question in general see Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*, in *Recueil d'Archeologie Orientale*, viii, 1924, p 183–228, on the copper candelabra see A Wingham, *Report on the Analysis of various examples of Oriental Metal-Work etc in the South Kensington Museum* etc, London 1892, F R Martin, *Altere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm 1902, on glass lamps see G Schmoranz, *Altorientalische Glass-Gefasse*, Vienna 1898, v Berchem, *C I A*, i 678 *sqq*, Max Herz Bey, *La Mosquee du Sultan Hasan* (*Comite de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*), 1899, p 8 *sqq*, see also the Bibliography in *Isl*, xvii, 1928, p 217 *sqq*]

i Incense

According to some traditions, even the Prophet had incense burned in the mosque (Tirmidhī, i 116, see Lammens, *Moᶜāwia*, p 367, note 8) and in the time of ᶜOmar, his client ᶜAbd Allāh is said to have perfumed the mosque by burning incense while he sat on the minbar The same client is said to have carried the censer (*midjmar* cf Lammens, *loc cit*) brought by ᶜOmar from Syria before ᶜOmar when he went to the salāt in the month of Ramadān (A Fischer, *Biographie von Gewahrsmannern* etc, p 55, note) According to this tradition, the use of incense was adopted into Islām very early as a palpable imitation of the custom of the Church In keeping with this is the tradition that in al Fustat as early as the governorship of ᶜAmr, the mu'adhdhin used to burn incense in the mosque (ᶜAbd al-Hakam, p 132, cf *Annali dell' Islam*, iv 565) The Sakhra Mosque had incense burned in it during the consecration ceremony (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebron*, p 53)

Under the Omaiyads, incense was one of the regular requirements of the mosque (*tib al masdjid* Tabarī, ii 1234, 10) Muᶜāwiya is named as the first to perfume the Kaᶜba with perfume (*khalūk*) and censer (*tatyaba B G A*, v 20, 12) It became the custom to anoint the sacred tombs with musk and *tib* (*Chron Mekka*, i 150, 10, Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 191, 9) Baibars washed the Kaᶜba with rose-water (Makrizi, iv 96, 14) Incense, as well as candles, was used at burials (cf de Goeje, *Z D M G*, 1905, p 403 *sq*, Lammens, *Moᶜawia*, p 436, note 9) Al-Muᶜtasim's desire to be buried with candles and incense (*bukhūr*) exactly like the Christians (Ibn Usaibiᶜa, i 165, 12 *sq*, cf above) shows that they were aware that the custom bore much the same relation to the Christian usage, as the mosque building did to the church The consumption of incense in the mosques gradually became very large, especially at festivals (see for the Fātimids Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i, 484, 12, ii/ii, ed Popper, p 106, 3, Makrīzi, iv 51, on vessels for holding incense see the Bibliography in *Isl*, xvii, 1928, p 217 *sq*)

j Water-Supply

Nothing is said of a water-supply in connection with the oldest mosques The Mosque of Mecca occupied a special position on account of the Zemzem well In the early days of Islām, two basins (*hawd*) are said to have been supplied by it, one behind the well, i e just at the side of the mosque for *wudū'* and one between the well

and the *rukn* for drinking purposes, the latter was moved nearer the well by Ibn al-Zubair In the time of Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik, a grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās for the first time built a *kubba* in connection with the Zemzem (*Chron Mekka*, 1 299) At the same time, the governor Khālid al-Kasrī laid down lead-piping to bring water from the well of al-Thabīr to the mosque, to a marble basin (*fiskiya*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*) between the Zemzem and the rukn, probably on the site of the earlier *hawd* It was intended to supply drinking water in place of the saltish water of Zemzem, but a branch was led on to a *birka* at the Bāb al-Safā, which was used for ritual ablutions The people, however, would not give up the Zemzem water and immediately after the coming to power of the ʿAbbāsids, the provision for drinking-water was cut off, only the pipe leading to the *birka* being retained (*ibid*, 1 339 *sq*) In Ibn Djubair's time, there was, in addition to the Zemzem, a supply of water in vessels and a bench for performing the *wudū*ʾ (*Rihla*, p 89) Khalid's plan, arrangements for ablutions at the entrance and a running fountain in the sahn, seems to have been a typically Omaiyad one and to have been introduced from the north Such fountains were usual in the north, not only in private houses, but also for example in the *aithrion* (*atrium*) surrounded by pillars, which, from Eusebius's description, formed part of the church of Tyre (see Hauch in Herzog–Hauch, *Realanzyclop f prot Theol u Kirche*[3], x 782)

The usual name for the basin, *fiskiya* (in Egypt now *faskīya*) is *piscina*, which in the *Mishna* and in Syriac takes the form *piskīn* (see Levy, *Neuhebr u chald Worterbuch*, iv 81[b], Fraenkel, *Fremdworter*, p 124, *fiskina*, found in al Azraki, *Chron Mekka*, 1 340 is probably due to a slip) At the same time, however, *birka* or *sikāya* or *sihridj* which probably comes from the Persian (cf Fraenkel, *op cit*, p 287) or the old Arabic *hawd* are also used The arrangements for ablutions were called *matāhir* or *mayādiʾu*, sing *miʾdaʾa* (now usually *mida*), "place for *wudū*ʾ" The accommodation in Mecca just mentioned was later extended Ibn Djubair mentions a building at al-Zāhir, 1 *mil* north of Mecca which contained *matāhir* and *sikāya* for those performing the minor *ʿumra* (*Rihla*, p 111)

In Medīna, Ibn Djubair mentions rooms for *wudū*ʾ at the western entrance to the mosque (*Rihla*, p 197, 13 *sq*, cf the plan in al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, facing p 244) At the same time Ibn Zabāla mentions seventeen receptacles for water in the sahn in the year 199, probably for drinking water, later (viiith century) a large basin surrounded by a railing is mentioned in the centre of the court It was intended for drinking purposes, but became used for bathing and was therefore removed Baths and latrines were built anew by al-Nāsir's mother (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 99 *sqq*)

In Damascus, where every house, as is still the case, was amply supplied with water, Yākūt (d 626 = 1229) found no mosque, madrasa or khānakāh which did not have water flowing into a *birka* in the *ṣahn* (Yāḳūt, ii 590) Ibn Djubair describes the arrangements in the Mosque of the Omaiyads In the sahn, as is still the case, there were three kubbas The centre one rested on four marble columns, and below it was a basin with a spring of drinking-water surrounded by an iron grille This was called *kafaṣ al-māʾ* "water cage" North of the *ṣahn* was a Masdjid al-Kallāsa in the sahn of which there was again a *ṣihridj* of marble with a spring (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 267) There was also running water in an adjoining *mashhad* (p 269), in the khānakāh and madrasa (p 271), and in a hall beside the living apartments there was again a kubba with a basin (*hawd*) and spring water (p 269) There were also *sikāyāt* against the four outer walls of the mosque, whole houses fitted up with lavatories and closets (p 273), a century earlier, we are told that at each entrance to the mosque there was a *miʾdaʾa* (*B G A*, iii 159) The whole arrangements correspond exactly to those made by Khālid al Kasrī in Mecca in the Omaiyad period and must therefore date from the Omaiyads

It was the same in other Syrian and Mesopotamian towns In Sāmarrāʾ, al-Mutawakkil built in his new djamiʿ a *fawwāra* with constant running water (*B G A*, vii 265) In Nasibin, the river was led through the *sahn* of the mosque into a *sihridj*, there was also a sihridj at the eastern entrance with two *sikāyāt* in front of the mosque (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p 239) In Mawsil in the mosque, which dated from the Omaiyad period, there was a spring with a marble cupola over it (*ibid*, p 235) In Harrān, there were in the sahn three marble kubbas with *biʾr* and drinking water (*ibid*, p 246), in Haleb two (*ibid*, p 253) In Kūfa there were three hawd with Euphrates water in front of the Djāmiʿ (*ibid*, p 212) but in the mosque in a zāwiya a domed building with running water (Yākūt, iv 325, 326, here called *tannūr*, cf *B G A*, v 173, Ibn Djubair, p 89, 267) It was the same in Āmid (Nāsir-i Khosraw, ed Schefer, p 28) and in Zarandj in Sidjistān (*B G A*, ii 298 *sq*) The principal mosques of the ʿIrāk had *mayādiʾu* at the entrances, for which, according to a remarkable note by Makdisī, rents were paid (*B G A*, iii 129, read *karāsīʾ*, cf *mastaba* Ibn Djubair, p 89) In Palestine also, in al-Makdisī's time, there were conveniences for ablutions at the entrances to the djawāmiʿ (*matāhir B G A*, iii 182, *Mayādiʾu ibid*, 1 58) and in Sanʿāʾ in the fourth century, beside each mosque, there was water for drinking and for *wudū*ʾ (*B G A*, vii 111) In Persia also, it was the custom to have a *hawd* in front of the mosque (*B G A*, iii 318) and there was drinking-water in the mosque itself on a bench (*kursī*) in iron jars into which ice was put on Fridays (*ibid*, p 327) Not only at the Zemzem well but also in the mosques of the ʿIrāk, men were appointed whose duty it was to distribute drinking-water (Ibari, iii 2165) — The regular custom, therefore, was to have at the entrance to, or in front of the mosque, conveniences for *wudū*ʾ, in the court of the mosque itself a fountain as the traditional ornament and for drinking water It was the exception for the *wudū*ʾ to take place in the mosque itself

In Egypt at first the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was arranged similarly to the Syrian mosques In the centre of the sahn there was a gilt dome, supported by sixteen marble columns and surrounded by a railing This upper storey was supported by nineteen marble columns and below was a marble basin (*kaʿa*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*), the *adhān* was called from the dome (Makrīzī, iv 37, the description is not quite clear) People complained that there were no arrangements for washing (*miʾdaʾa*) there Ibn Tūlūn replied that

he had not made them because he had concluded the mosque would be polluted thereby He therefore made a *mi'da'a* with an apothecary's shop behind the mosque (*ibid*, p 38, 39, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii 139, Ibn Taghrībirdī, II/1 10) This suggests that previously in Egypt the washing arrangements had been directly connected with the mosque After the fire of the year 376, the *fawwāra* was renovated by al ʿAzīz (Maḳrīzī, iv 40), in 696 again by al-Lādjīn, whose inscription still exists (*C I A*, 1, N° 16) A new *mi'da'a* was built in 792 beside the old one on the north, outside the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv 42)

The Mosque of ʿAmr first got a *fawwāra* in the time of al-ʿAzīz In 378—379 his vizier Yaʿkūb b Killis installed one in the cupola, already in existence for the *bait al-māl* Marble jars were put there for the water (probably drinking-water) (Makrizī, iv 9, 11, cf *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii 136, Yāḳūt, iii 899) A new water basin was installed by Salāh al Dīn beside his manzara in the mosque The water was led to the *fawwārat al-fiskīya* from the Nile This was prohibited in the reign of Baibars al-Bundukdārī (658—676) by the chief kādī, because the building was being affected by it (Makrizī, iv 14, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 137) The emīr, who restored it, brought the water for the *fiskīya* from a well in the street (Makrīzī, iv 15)

Like Ibn Tūlūn, the Fātimids do not seem to have considered the mi'da'a indispensable For the Azhar Mosque had originally no mi'da'a as late as al Hākim's wakf document for the provision of mi'da'a, money is given only with the provision that something of the kind should be made (Makrīzī, iv 51, 54) At a later date we hear of two mi'da'a's, one at the adjoining Akbughāwīya (*ibid*, p 54) On the other hand, there was already a fiskiya in the centre of the court, but whether it had existed from the first is not known It had disappeared, when traces of it were found in 827 in laying-out a new *sihridj* (*ibid*, p 54) The *fiskīya* of the Mosque of al-Hākim was not erected by the founder Like that of the Mosque of ʿAmr, it was removed in 660 by the kādī Tādj al-Dīn but after the earthquake of 702, it was again rebuilt and provided with drinking-water from the Nile (*ibid*, p 56, 57) and again renovated after 780 (*ibid*, p 61) A small mi'da'a, later replaced by another, was in the vicinity of the entrance (*ibid*, p 61) Other Fātimid mosques had basins in the sahn, which were supplied from the Nile and from the Khalīdj (*ibid*, p 76, 81, 120)

The traditional plan was retained in the period following also For example, we know that the emīr Tūghān in 815 placed a *birka* in the centre of the Djāmiʿ Āksunkur which was covered by a roof supported by marble pillars and supplied by the same pipe as the already existing mi'da'as (Makrizī, iv 107, cf 124, 138, 139 etc) At the ceremonial dedication of mosques, it was the custom for the patron to fill the *birka* in the sahn with sugar, lemonade or other sweet things (e g al Mu'aiyadī, in 822 Makrīzī, iv 139, Madrasat Djamāl al-Dīn in 811 *ibid*, p 253, another in 757 *ibid*, p 256)

The importance of the birka of the mosque, as a drinking-place, diminished as pious founders erected drinking fountains everywhere (cf for Mecca *Chron Mekka*, ii 116–118, also *B G A*, iv 211, s v *hubb*, p 258, s v *sabīl*) and especially when it became the custom to build a sabīl with a boy's school in part of the mosque (see below, E 4 end) A *hawd* for watering animals was also sometimes built in the vicinity of the mosque (Makrīzī, iv 76) Sometimes also the birka of the sahn was used for washing In the year 799 the emīr Yelbughā made arrangements for this in the Aḳmar mosque so that one could get water for *wudū'* from taps from a birka put up in the sahn (Makrīzī, iv 76) Makrīzī condemns this addition, but only because there was already a mi'da'a at the entrance and the sahn was too small for the new one (*ibid*) and not on grounds of principle, and it was only because the wall was damaged that the emīr's gift was removed in 815 (*ibid*, p 77) The custom of using the water supply of the sahn for *wudū'* survived in many places in Egypt The arrangements were therefore usually called *mi'da'a* or rather *mēdā* (which is not found in the inscriptions) If they had taps, they were called *hanafīya*, according to Lane's suggestion because the Hanafīs only permitted ablutions with running water or from a cistern 10 ells broad and deep (*Lexicon*, s v, cf *Manners and Customs*, Everyman's Library, p 69, cf on the question Max Herz, *Observations critiques sur les bassins dans les Ṣahns des Mosquees*, *B I E*, iii/7 1896, p 47—51, do, *La Mosquee du Sultan Hasan*, p 2, Herz wrongly dates the modern usage from the Turkish conquest in 1517) In quite recent times the *mi'da'a*'s have often been moved outside to special buildings Ibn al Hādjdj condemns bringing water into the mosque, because the only object is for ablutions and ablutions in the mosque are forbidden by "our learned men" (*Madkhal*, ii 47 *sq*, 49), like shaving, ablutions should be performed outside the mosque in keeping with the Prophet's saying *idj'alū maṭāhirakum ʿalā abwābi masādjidikum* (*ibid*, ii 58) It was in keeping with this principle that in earlier times the *mi'da'a* was usually put at the entrance and the barbers took up their places before the entrance (cf the name *Bāb al-Muzaiyinīn* "The Barbers' Gate" for the main entrance to the Azhar mosque) Mi'da'a's were also to be found in hospitals, thus the "lower hospital" was given two in 346, one of which was for washing corpses (Ibn Dukmak, p 99 infra)

E The Mosque as a State Institution

1 The Mosque as a political centre Its relation to the Ruler

It was inherent in the character of Islām that religion and politics could not be separated The same individual was ruler and chief administrator in the two fields, and the same building, the mosque, was the centre of gravity for both politics and religion This relationship found expression in the fact that the mosque was placed in the centre of the camp, while the ruler's abode was built immediately adjacent to it, as in Medina (and in al-Fustāt, Damascus, Basra, Kūfa) We can trace how this *dār al-imāra* or *kaṣr* (so for Kūfa Tabarī, ii 230 *sq*, *kasr al imāra ibid*, p 234) with the growth of the mosque gradually became incorporated in it in al-Fustāt and Damascus and was replaced by a new building The tradition remained so strong that in Cairo, when the new chief mosque Djāmiʿ al-ʿAskar was being planned in 169, a *Dār Umarā' Miṣr* was built beside it with direct access to the mosque (Makrīzī, iv 33

sq) and when Ibn Ṭūlūn built his mosque, a building called the *Dār al-Imāra* was erected on its south side, where the ruler, who now lived in another new palace, had rooms for changing his dress, etc, from which he could go straight into the maḳsūra (*ibid*, p 42)

The ᶜAbbāsids at the foundation of Baghdād introduced a characteristic innovation, when they made the palace the centre of the city, the ca se was similar with Fāṭimid Cairo, but Sulaimān b ᶜAbd al Malik in Ramla had already built the palace in front of the mosque (Balādhurī, p 143) Later rulers who no longer lived just beside the mosque, had special balconies or something similar built for themselves in or beside the mosque Ṣalāh al Dīn built for himself a *manzara* under the great minaret of the mosque of ᶜAmr (Maḳrīzī, iv 13, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 137) and just to the south of the Azhar mosque the Fāṭimids had a *manzara* from which they could overlook the mosque (Makrīzī, ii 345)

The caliph was the appointed leader of the salāt and the khatīb of the Muslim community The significance of the mosque for the state is therefore embodied in the minbar The installation of the caliph consisted in his seating himself upon this, the seat of the Prophet in his sovereign capacity When homage was first paid to Abū Bakr by those who had decided the choice of the Prophet s successor, he sat on the minbar ᶜOmar delivered an address, the people paid homage to him and he delivered a khutba, by which he assumed the leadership (Ibn Hishām, p 1017, Tabarī, i 1828 *sq* , *K al-Khamīs*, ii 75, Yaᶜkūbī, ii 142), it was the same with ᶜOmar and ᶜOthmān (*ibid*, p 157, 187)

The khutba, after the glorification of God and the Prophet, contained a reference to the caliph's predecessor and a kind of formal introduction of himself by the new caliph It was the same in the period of the Omaiyads and ᶜAbbāsids (see for al-Walīd Ṭabarī, ii 1177 *sqq* , al-Amīn *ibid*, iii 764, al-Mahdī *ibid*, iii 389, 451, 457, cf on this question also Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, bāb 43) The minbar and the *khutba* associated with it was still more important than the imāmate at the salāt, it was *minbar al-mulk* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 656, v 4) According to a ḥadīth, the Prophet carried the little Ḥasan up to the minbar and said, "This my son is a chieftain" etc (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, bāb 25) This reflects the later custom by which the ruler saw that homage was paid to his successor-designate, this also was done from the minbar (cf *khuṭba yawm al-djumᶜat li 'l-Muᶜtaḍid bi-wilāyat al-ᶜahd*, Tabarī, iii 2131) The Fāṭimid caliph showed honour to a distinguished officer by allowing him to sit beside him on the minbar (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 91), in the same way Muᶜāwiya allowed Ibn ᶜAbbās to sit beside him *ᶜalā sarīrihi* (Ibn Abī Usaibiᶜa, i 119) but whether the reference is to the minbar is perhaps doubtful The *baiᶜa* could also be received by another on behalf of the caliph but it must be accepted on the minbar Thus the governor of Mecca in 196 accepted on the minbar homage to ᶜAbd Allāh b Maᵓmūn and the deposition of Muhammad b Hārūn (Tabarī, iii 861 *sq* , cf for al-Mahdī *ibid*, p 389) There are other cases in which the solemn deposition of a ruler took place on or beside the minbar (*Aghānī*, 2nd ed Cairo, i 12, Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p 15) Even at a much later date, when spontaneous acclamation by the populace was no longer of any importance, the ceremonial installation on the minbar was still of importance (Makrīzī, iv 94) It had become only a formality but still an important one Homage was paid to the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs in Egypt in the great *īwān* of the palace or in a tent in which a minbar had been put up, and similarly to the sultāns whose investiture was read out from the minbar (cf Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/i 117, 149 *sqq*, 183 *sqq*) If one dreamt that he was sitting on the minbar, it meant that he would become sultān (*ibid*, ii/ii 103) — The ᶜAbbāsid caliph had however long had his own throne after the old Persian fashion in his palace (*al-Tādj fī Akhlāk al-Mulūk*, ed Ahmad Zakī, Cairo 1914, p 7 *sqq*) and so had the Fāṭimids (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/i 457) and the Mamlūks (Quatremere, *op cit*, i/i 87, cf 147) When later we find mention of the *kursī 'l-khiṭāfa* (v Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N⁰ 33), *sarīr al mulk* (*Chron Mekka*, iii 113), *sarīr al salṭana* (Makrīzī, ii 157, cf *al-sarīr*, royal throne *B G A*, ii 282, 285, *kursī* similarly cf Ibn ᶜArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed Manger, ii 486) or *martabat al mulk* (Quatremère, *op cit*, i/ii 61), the reference is no longer to the minbar This does not mean that the ruler could no longer make public appearances in the mosques thus in 648 Muᶜizz Aibak regularly gave audiences in *al-madāris al-ṣāliḥīya* (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/i 17) and memorial services for Baibars were held a year after his death in several mosques, madāris and khawānik in Cairo (677 = 1278, *ibid*, i/ii 164 *sq*)

The caliph spoke chiefly from the minbar of the capital, but when he made the pilgrimage he also spoke from the *manābir* in Mecca and Medina (cf e g Ṭabarī, ii 1234, Yaᶜkūbī, ii 341, 501, *Chron Mekka*, i 160) Otherwise in the provinces, the governor stood in the same relation to the mosques as the caliph in the capital He was appointed "over salāt and sword" or he administered "justice among the people" and the salāt (Ṭabarī, iii 860), he had "province and minbar" under him (*ibid*, ii 611), *al wilāyāt wa 'l-khutba* (*B G A*, iii 337) Speaking from the minbar was a right which the caliph had delegated to him and it was done in the name of the caliph ᶜAmr b al-ᶜĀṣī therefore refused to allow people in the country to hold *djumaᶜ* except under the direction of the commander (Makrīzī, iv 7) This point of view was never quite abandoned The khutba was delivered "in the name of" the caliph (*ibid*, p 94) or "for" him (*li ibid*, p 66, 74, 198, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/i 85 *infra*, *B G A*, iii 485 *supra*) and in the same way an emīr delivered a khutba "for" a sultān (Makrīzī, iv 213, 214). The sultān did not have the "secular" and the caliph the "spiritual" power, but the sultān exercised as a Muslim ruler the actual power which the caliph possessed as the legitimate sovereign and had formally entrusted to him During the struggles between the different pretenders, there was thus a confession of one's politics if one performed the salāt with the one or the other governor (Ṭabarī, ii 228, 234, 258, *Chron Mekka*, ii 168) The pretenders disputed as to whether the one or the other could put up his standard beside the minbar (Tabarī, iii 2009)

Like the caliph, the governor also made his formal entry into office by ascending the minbar

and delivering a khutba, this was the symbol of his authority (e g Tabarī, ii 91, 238, 242, *Chron Mekka*, ii 173, cf *Hamāsa*, p 660, v 2—3, Djāhiz, *Bayān*, iii 135) After glorifying God and the Prophet, he announced his appointment or read the letter from the caliph and the remainder of his address, if there was a war going on, was exclusively political and often consisted of crude threats The khutba was not inseparably connected with the Friday service The commander-in chief could at any time issue a summons to the salāt and deliver his khutba with admonitions and orders (see Tabarī, ii as above and p 260, 297 *sq*, 298, 300, 863, 1179) and it was the same when he left a province (*ibid*, p 241), a governor, who could not preserve his authority with the khutba, was dismissed (*ibid*, p 592)

Since war was inseparably associated with early Islām and the mosque was the public meeting-place of ruler and people, it often became the scene of warlike incidents While the governor in his khutba was issuing orders and admonitions relating to the fighting, cheers and counter-cheers could be uttered (*ibid*, p 238) and councils of war were held in the mosque (Tabarī, i 3415, ii 284, Balādhurī, p 267) Soon after his election ʿAbd al Malik asked from the minbar who would take the field against Ibn al-Zubair and al Hadjdjādj shouted that he was ready to go (*Chron Mekka*, ii 20) After the battle of the Camel, ʿAlī sent the booty to the mosque of Basra and ʿĀʾisha looked for another mosque (Tabarī, i 3178, 3223) Rowdy scenes occasionally took place in mosques (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 18), Ziyād was stoned on the minbar (Tabarī, ii 88), one could ride right into the mosque and shout to the governor sitting on the minbar (*ibid*, p 682), fighting often took place in and beside the mosque (*ibid*, p 960, 1701 *sqq*, Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p 13 *sq*) Some times for this reason, the governor was surrounded by his bodyguard during the salāt or on the minbar or even clothed in full armour (al-Walīd Tabarī, ii 1234, Yaʿkūbī, ii 341, al-Hadjdjādj Tabarī, ii 254) Salāt and sword were thus closely associated in reality

It thus came to be the custom for the enemies of the ruler and his party to be cursed in the mosques This custom continued the old Arab custom of regular campaigns of objurgation between two tribes but can also be paralleled by the Byzantine ecclesiastical anathematisation of heretics (cf Becker, *Islāmstudien*, i 485 *Gesch d islām Kultus*)

The first to introduce the official cursing of the ʿAlids from the minbar of the Kaʿba is said to have been Khālid al-Kasrī (*Chron Mekka*, ii 36) The reciprocal cursing of Omaiyads and ʿAlids became general (cf Tabarī, ii 12, 4 *sq*, *Aghānī*, 2nd edition Cairo, x 102, Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 248, see also Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, p 180 *sq*) Like the blessing upon the ruler, it was uttered by the *kussās* (Makrīzī, iv 16), it was even recorded in inscriptions in the mosque (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/i, ed Popper, p 63, 64, cf also Mez, *Renaissance*, p 61) As late as 284, al-Muʿtadid wanted to restore the anathematisation of Muʿāwiya from the minbar but abandoned the idea (Tabarī, iii 2164) Anathemas were also pronounced on other occasions, for example, Sulaimān had al-Hadjdjādj (*Chron Mekka*, ii 37) and al-Muʿtamid Ibn Tūlūn solemnly cursed from the manābir (Tabarī, iii 2048, 5 *sqq*) and other rulers had Muʿtazilī heretics cursed from the pulpits (see Mez, *op cit*, p 198, cf against Ibn Taimīya Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 256) Ibn Battūta describes the tumultuous scene with thousands of armed men uttering threats in a mosque in Baghdād when a Shīʿī khatīb was on the minbar (ii 58)

It was very natural to mention with a blessing upon him the ruler in whose name the Friday khutba was delivered Ibn ʿAbbās, when governor of Basra, is said to have been the first to pronounce such a *duʿāʾ* over ʿAlī (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, *faṣl* 37, end), it is not improbable that the custom arose out of the reciprocal objurgations of ʿAlids and Omaiyads, the *kuṣṣāṣ*, who had to curse the ʿAlids in the mosques, used to pray for the Omaiyads (Makrīzī, iv 17) Under the ʿAbbāsids, the custom became the usual form of expressing loyalty to the ruler (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/i 151) After the caliph, the name of the local ruler or governor was mentioned (*ibid*, p 156, 161), even in Baghdād in 369 by order of the caliph al-Tāʾiʿ, the actual ruler ʿAdud al Dawla was mentioned in the *duʿāʾ* (Ibn Miskawaih, vi 499, Cairo 1915, p 396) and the Būyids, according to al Makdisī, were generally mentioned in the khutba even in the remotest parts of the kingdom (this is evident from the above-mentioned expression *khuṭba lahū*, for which we also find *ʿalaihi* see *B G A*, ii 20, iii 337, 338, 400, 472, 485, cf Glossary, s v) There is also evidence that prayers used to be uttered for the heir-apparent (Makrizī, iv 37, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed Amedroz, p 420) Under the Mamlūks also, the sultan's heir was mentioned (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/i 101, ii/ii 3) Under the Fātimids, it was even the custom to call *salām* upon the ruler from the minaret after the *adhān al fadjr* (Makrizi, iv 45), this also took place under the Mamlūks (e g in 696 = 1297, when Ādjīn was elected Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 45) The prayer for the sovereign in the khutba did not find unanimous approval among the learned (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 214 *sq*)

In general, the mosque, and particularly the minbar, was the place where official proclamations were made, of course as early as the time of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 70, 71), ʿOthmān's bloodstained shirt was hung upon the minbar (Tabarī, i 3255), messages from the caliph were read from it (*ibid*, iii 2084) Al Walid announced from the minbar the deaths of two distinguished governors (Ibn Taghrībirdī, i 242), the results of battles were announced in khutbas (Yākūt, i 647, *al-ʿIkd al-farīd*, ii, Cairo 1321, p 149 *sq*) In the Fātimid and ʿAbbāsid periods also proclamations, orders, edicts about taxation etc by the ruler were announced in the principal mosque (Tabarī, ii 40, iii 2165, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii/ii 68, Makrizi, *Ittiʿāz*, ed Bunz, p 87 *supra*, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/ii 89, ii/ii 44, 151), documents appointing the more important officers were also read upon the minbar (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 589, 599, 603, 604, etc *pass*, Makrīzi, ii 246, iv 43, 88), frequently the people trooped into the mosque to hear an official announcement (Kindi, *Wulāt*, p 14, cf Dozy, *Gesch d Mauren in Spanien*, ii 170)

After the position of the caliph had changed, tradition was so far retained that he still delivered the khutba in the principal mosque on special occasions,

particularly at festivals Thus the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz preached in the mosque of al-Ḥākim on its completion (Makrīzī, iv 55) and in the month of Ramadān he preached in the three chief mosques of Cairo, one after the other (*ibid*, p 53, cf 61 *sq* , Ibn Taghrībirdī, II/1 482 *sqq* , exceptionally also in al-Rāshida Makrīzī, iv 63) The ʿAbbāsid caliph also used to preach at festivals (e g al-Rādī Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii 349 *sq*), it was the exception when a zealot like al Muhtadī (255) followed the old custom and preached every Friday (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 2) Even the caliph *fainéant* in Egypt preached occasionally (Makrīzī, iv 94, Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, II/1 138 *sq*) Although the mosque lost its old political importance in its later history, it has never quite lost its character as the place of assembly on occasions of public importance This is evident from al-Djabartī's history and even quite recently large meetings have been held in the mosques of Egypt on questions of nationalist politics

2 The Mosque and public administration

The actual work of government was very early transferred from the mosque into a special *dīwān* or *madjlis* (see Tabarī, *Gl*, s v) and negotiations were carried on and business frequently done in the *kaṣr al-imāra* (cf Tabarī, ii 230 *sq*) But when financial business had to be transacted at public meetings, the mosque was used, of this there is particular evidence from Egypt Here the director of finance used to sit in the Mosque of ʿAmr and auction the farming out of the domains, with a crier and several financial officers to assist him Later the Dīwān was transferred to the Djāmiʿ Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn but even after 300 A H we find Abū Bakr al-Madharāʾī sitting on such occasions in the Mosque of ʿAmr Under the Fāṭimids the vizier Yaʿkūb b Killis used first the *dār al-imāra* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see above), later his own palace and afterwards the caliph's kaṣr was used (Makrizi, i 131 *sq*) In the same way, in the reign of Muʿāwiya, the Coptic churches were used and the taxation commission took up their offices in them (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, N⁰ 577), and Ibn Rosta (c 290 = 903) says that the officials in charge of the measurement of the Nile, when they noticed the rising of the river, went at once to the chief mosque and announced it at one *halka* after another, at the same time scattering flowers on those seated there (*B G A*, vii 116)

The connection with administration was also seen in the fact that the treasure-chest, the *bait al-māl* (identical with the *tābūt*, Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 70, 117) was kept in the mosque In al-Fustāt Usāma b Zaid, the director of finance, in 97 and 99 built in the Mosque of ʿAmr a *kubba* on pillars in front of the minbar for the *bait al-māl* of Egypt A drawbridge was placed between it and the roof In the time of Ibn Rosta (c 300) it was still possible to move about freely below the kubba but in 378—379 al-ʿAzīz put up a running fountain below it (*B G A*, vii 116, Makrīzī, iv 9, 11, 13, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii 136, Yākūt, iii 899) Al Kindī records an attempt to steal the chest in 145 (*Wulāt*, p 112 *sq*) In the disturbed years about 300, the walī al Nūsharī closed the mosque between the times of salāt for the safety of the chest, which was also done in Ibn Rosta's time (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 266, *B G A*, vii 116) New approaches to the Bait al-Māl were made in 422 from the khizāna of the mosque and from the Dīwān (Maḳrīzī, iv 13)

In Kūfa, the *buyūt al amwāl*, at least during the early period, were in the Dār al Imāra (Tabarī, i 2489, 2491 *sq*), in the year 38 during the fighting, it was saved from Basra and taken with the minbar to the Mosque of al Huddān (*ibid*, p 3414 *sq*) In Palestine, in the chief mosque of each town, there was a similar arrangement to that in the Mosque of ʿAmr (*B G A*, iii 182) In Damascus the *bait al-māl* was in the most western of the three kubba's in the court of the Mosque of the Omaiyads, it was of lead and rested on 8 columns (*B G A*, iii 157, Ibn Djubair, p 264, 267, Ibn Battūta, i 200 *sq*), it is still called *kubbat el-khazne* ("treasure cupola", earlier *kubbat ʿĀʾisha*) (cf Baedeker, *Palastina und Syrien*) In the time of the two travellers mentioned, the kubba only contained property of the mosque Ibn Djubair saw a similar kubba in the chief mosque of Harrān and says that it came from the Byzantines (p 246) In Ādharbāidjān also by the time of Istakhrī, the Syrian custom had been everywhere introduced (*B G A*, i 184), in Īrānshahr in the centre of the court, there was a building with marble columns and doors (*B G A*, iii 316) which perhaps points to a similar statement of affairs and in Armenia it is recorded that the *bait al māl* was kept in the Djāmiʿ in the time of the Omaiyads as in Miṣr and elsewhere (*B G A*, ii 241) The kubba was usually of lead and had an iron door Ibn al-Ḥādjdj considers it highly illegal to shut off a dīwān in a mosque, which is the same as forbidding entrance to it This shows that the custom still survived in his time

Ibn Djubair's remark about Harrān suggests that here again we have an inheritance from Byzantium It was probably the building belonging to the *piscina* (cf above) that the Muslims put to a practical use in this way For the Byzantines had the treasury (*sakellē*) in the palace and it is doubtful if the treasure-chambers of the church (*skenophylakion*) were built in this way (cf Franz Dolger, in *Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 9, 1927, p 26, 34)

3 The Mosque as a court of justice

That the Prophet used to settle legal questions in his mosque was natural (see Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, bāb 19, 29 etc , cf *Ṣalāt*, bāb 71, *Khuṣūmāt*, bāb 4), but he could also deliver judgments in other places (*ibid*, pass) In Ḥadīth, it is recorded that some ḳādis of the earlier period (Shuraih, al-Shaʿbī, Yaḥyā b Yaʿmar, Marwān) sat in judgment beside the minbar, others (al Ḥasan, Ḍurāʿa b Awfā) on the open square beside the mosque (Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, bāb 18) The custom had all the better chance of survival, as churches were used in the same way (Joshua Stylites, ed Wright, ch 29, cf Mez, *Renaissance*, p 223) Sitting in judgment was primarily the business of the ruler but he had to have assistants and Abū Bakr's kādī is mentioned as assisting ʿOmar (Tabarī, i 2135) and a number of judges appointed by ʿOmar are mentioned (*B G A*, vii 227) In the reign of ʿOthmān, ʿAbd Allāh b Masʿūd is said to have been judge and financial administrator of Kūfa (Ibn Kutaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 128) On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh

b. Nawfal, appointed by Marwān in 42, was the first kādī in Islām (Tabarī, iii 2477), it is recalled that in the year 132 the ḳādī of Medīna administered justice in the mosque (*ibid*, p 2505) In Basra, we are told that al-Aswad b Sarī^c al Tamīm immediately after the building of the mosque (i e in the year 14) worked in it as kādī (Balādhurī, p 346) In the early period ^cOmar wanted to choose a kādī, who had been already acting as a judge before Islām (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 301 *sq*, *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 86) Even the Christian poet al-Akhtal was allowed to act as arbiter in the mosque of Kūfa (see Lammens, *Mu^câwia*, p 435 *sq*)

In al-Fustāt, as early as 23 or 24 A H by command of ^cOmar, ^cAmr b al-^cĀsī appointed a ḳādī named Kais (*Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 86, Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 300 *sq*) The kādī held his sessions in the Mosque of ^cAmr but not exclusively there The ḳādī Khair b Nu^caim (120—127) held his sessions sometimes before his house, sometimes in the mosque and for Christians on the steps leading up to the mosque (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 351 *sq*) A successor of his (177—184) invited Christians who had lawsuits into the mosque to be heard (*ibid*, p 391), of another judge (205—211) it is recorded that he was not allowed to sit in the mosque (*ibid*, p 428) It seems that the kādī could himself choose where he would sit A judge, officiating in the year 217, sat in winter in the great pillared hall turning his back towards the ḳibla wall and in summer in the sahn near the western wall (*ibid*, p 443 *sq*) During the Fātimid period, the subsidiary building on the north east of the Mosque of ^cAmr was reserved for the judge This judge, called from the year 376 onwards *kādī 'l-kudāt* (cf *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 91, Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 590), sat on Tuesday and Saturday in the mosque and laid down the law (Makrīzī, ii 246, iv 16, 22, cf Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 587, 589, cf *Sefer-Nāme*, transl Schefer, p 149)

In Ya^cḳūbī's time in Baghdād, the judge of the east city used to sit in its chief mosque (*B G A*, vii 245), in Damascus the vice-kādī in the fourth century had a special riwāḳ in the Mosque of the Omaiyads (*B G A*, iii 158), and the notaries (*al-shurūṭiyūn*) also sat in the Mosque of the Omaiyads at the Bāb al-Sā^cāt (*ibid*, p 17) In Nisābūr, every Monday and Thursday, the *madjlis al-hukm* was held in a special mosque (*ibid*, p 328) In course of time the judge was given a *madjlis al-hukm* of his own (cf *Husn*, ii 96) and in 279 al Mu^ctadid wanted to forbid the ḳādīs to hold sessions in the mosques (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i 87 *supra*, perhaps however we should read *kāṣṣ* see Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 164, note 4) Justice was also administered in the *dār al-^cadl* (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 79) But the administration of justice did not at once lose all connection with the mosque Under the Fātimids, the custom had been introduced that the kādī should hold sittings in his house, but Ibn al-^cAwwām, appointed just after 400 A H, held them either in the Djāmi^c at the Bait al-Māl or in a side-room (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 612, cf Ibn Taghribirdī, ed Popper, ii/ii, p 69, Kalkashandī, *Subh al-A^cshā*, iii 487 for 439 = 1046, see Nāsir-i Khosraw, ed Schefer, p 51, text, p 149, transl) In Mecca, the *dār al-kādī* was in direct connection with the mosque (Ibn Djubair, p 104) In the viiith century Ibn Battūta attended a court presided over by an eminent jurist in a mosque (madrasa) in Shīrāz (ii 55, 63, cf also *al-Madkhal*, ii 54 *infra*), and in Damascus the Shāfi^cī chief ḳāḍī held his sessions in the ^cĀdilīya Madrasa (so Ibn Khallikān, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/i 22, cf also for Egypt *ibid*, p 87, ii/ii 253), the vice kādīs sat in the Zāhirīya Madrasa (Ibn Battūta, i 218) The judgment might even be put into execution in the madrasa (*ibid*, p 220) During the Mamlūk period in Egypt, we occasionally find a small mosque being used as a madjlis for judges (Makrīzī, iv 270, Ibn Dukmāk, p 98 *supra*), Ibn Khaldūn held legal sittings in the Madrasa al-Ṣālihīya (*^cIbar*, vii 453)

A muftī, especially in the large mosques, was also frequently appointed, he sat at definite times in a *halka li 'l fatwā*, e g in Cairo (al-Kazwīnī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, i 182, Djalāl al Dīn, *ibid*, p 187), in Tunis (Zarkashī, *Chronicle*, transl Fagnan, *Rec Mem Soc Arch Constantine*, vol xxi, 1895, p 197, 202, 218, 248) In Baghdād Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d 405) was the last to give fatwās in the Mosque of al-Mansūr according to the madhhab of Sufyān al-Thawrī (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Popper, ii/ii, p 120)

F The Mosque as an Educational Centre

1 Islāmic studies in the Mosque to the end of the Fātimid period

The new studies stimulated by Islām were from their nature associated with the mosque The learning by heart and the understanding of the Kur'ān formed the starting-point and next came the study of Hadīth, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (Bukhārī, *^cIlm*, bāb 6, 52, 23, 24, 26, 46) After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of hadīths, as has been shown, notably by Goldziher This process is reflected in the hadiths themselves According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about hadīths (*ibid*, bāb 4, 14, 33, tr 9, 51, 53), the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *halka* and instructs his hearers, the latter repeat the hadīths three times until they have learned them (*ibid*, bāb 8, 30, 35, 42) The necessity of *^cilm* is strongly emphasised and the *talab al-^cilm* is recommended, a man is held up as a model because he undertook a month's journey for the sake of a single hadīth (*ibid*, bāb 19–22, cf Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 32 *sq*, 175 *sq*) Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, *^cIlm*, bāb 20, cf *Proverbs*, xviii 4, *Pirkē Abōth*, i 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbāniyūn* (Bukhārī, *^cIlm*, bāb 10) A special class of students, *Ahl al-^cIlm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid*, bāb 7) They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islām, ^cAbd Allāh held one of these *maw^ciza* every Thursday, only once a week, in order not to tire the people (*ibid*, bāb 12) In this simple form of instruction which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions lay the germ of Islāmic studies The teacher *dhakkara* his hearers, elsewhere it is called *fakkaha* or *allama* and the knowledge imparted is

ʿilm or *ḥikma* (*ibid*, bāb 15) Such knowledge was imparted to the tribes by the Prophet (*ibid*, bāb 25) or by teachers sent to them In the year 17, ʿOmar sent teachers of the Kurʾān in all directions and ordered the people to appear every Friday in the mosque The complicated nature of the subjects of study resulted at the principal centres of Islām in the formation not only of a guild of teachers but of a regular system of instruction The typical scholar, in addition to the *kārīʾ*, was the *muḥaddiṯ* (*ibid*, bāb 29) although new branches of study were soon added as a result of contact with lands with older cultures, notably linguistic studies and in this connection the study of the old poetry, philosophical and speculative studies, logic, etc The learned man of the old period was also called *fakīh* (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i 131, Ṭabarī, ii 1183, 1266, *Aghānī*, viii 89, Ibn Saʿd, v 167 etc) Even after the new branches of learning were added to the older studies, the mosque remained the chief centre of instruction This may have been facilitated by the fact that in the old Christian countries it had been the custom for studies to be prosecuted in connection with monasteries and churches (on the university connected with the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople cf A Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, ii, 1908, p 17 *sqq*)

We hear of a madjlis for educational purposes in the Medīna mosque in the first century A H (*Aghānī*, i 48, iv 162 *sq*) Yazīd b Abī Habīb sent by ʿOmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz as muftī to Egypt (d 128), is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i 131), he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al Laiṯ (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements fatwā's were issued had his halka in the mosque (*Husn*, i 134) ʿOmar II had before this sent al-Nāfiʿ, the Mawlā of Ibn ʿOmar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid*, p 130) He also sent an able reciter of the Kurʾān to the Maghrib as kādī to teach the people *kirāʾa* (*ibid*, p 131) Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office From the very first, education in Egypt was closely connected with admonition to right living The first teachers in the mosques were the *kuṣṣās*, as a rule kādīs, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Kurʾān and the proper conduct of divine service (cf C 3) Their *mawʿiza* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 12) The instruction started in the mosque of ʿAmr was continued for centuries In the third century A H, al-Shāfiʿī taught various subjects here every morning till his death (240) (*Husn al Muḥāḍara*, i 134, Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 383) It was after his time that the study of fiḳh came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give fatwās (cf *Husn*, i 182 ʿAbd Allāh al-Kazwīnī, d 315 i 183 ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Rāzī, d 339) In the year 326 (938), the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs had each 15, the Hanafīs 3 groups in the mosque of ʿAmr (Ibn Saʿīd, ed Tallquist, p 24) The Mālikī Muhammad al-Naʿṣālī (d 380) had so many hearers that the class occupied the area which 17 pillars included (*Husn*, i 207) In the fourth century, al-Maḳdisī mentions the groups (*halak*) of *fukahāʾ*, *kurrāʾ* and *ahl al-adab wa ʾl-ḥikma*, who sat in the mosque (*B G A*, iii 205, cf for the fifth century Nāsir-i Khosraw, ed Schefer, p 50 [text], p 148 [transl]) He also mentions that the followers of Abū Hanīfa held meetings in the Masdjid al-Aksā with *dhikr*, which here must mean something like lectures, where they read out of a volume and the *fukahāʾ* used to sit in the mosques of Palestine generally, to teach between the salāts (*B G A*, iii 182) In the third century, Ibn al-Fakīh tells how the *fukahāʾ* sit in the mosques of Sidjistān, Balkh and Herāt, while the people crowd around them (*ibid*, ii 317) The *madhāhib* which later lost their importance had also their study-circles in the mosques For example al-Maḳdisī says that the Dāwūdiya had study-groups in Fārs (iii 439) and the Awzāʿiya had even a madjlis in the mosque of the Omaiyads (*ibid*, p 179)

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islām, the fakīh Saʿīd b al Musaiyab (d 95) (cf Ṭabarī, ii 1266) discussed Arabic poesy in his madjlis in the mosque in Medīna, but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghānī*, i 48, iv 162 *sq*) In the year 256, al-Ṭabarī by request dictated the poems of al-Ṭirimmāh beside the Bait al-Māl in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yākūt, *ʿUdabāʾ*, vi 432 *infra*) In the chief mosque of Basra, the *Ashāb al ʿArabīya* sat together and were visited by Hamad b Salama (d 167 or 169) while he made Hasan al-Basrī give lessons (*ibid*, iv 135) In Granada we hear of a nahwī who gathered many pupils around him in the djāmiʿ (Maḳḳarī, ii 254) In Tunis in the viiith century, the Maḳāmas of al Harīrī were actually read in the Djāmiʿ Zaitūna (Zarkashī, transl Fagnan, *Rec Soc Arch Constantine*, 1894, p 111) In Baghdād al-Kisāʾī gave his lectures in the mosque, which bears his name and the pupils used to take their places in front of him after the morning salāt (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv 243 *sq*) About 200 A H we hear of lectures on *tafsīr* in the principal mosque of the same town (*ibid*, vii 105) At the same time, the study of Hadīth still retained its importance (Wustenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii 362) The Mosque of al-Mansūr remained the most distinguished school, the goal of all the learned (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 246 *sq*) When a traveller came to a new town, he could go to the djāmiʿ in the confidence that he could attend lectures on Hadīth there (*B G A*, iii 415, in Sūs) In Mecca, for example, al Shāfiʿī lectured (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 391), in Medīna Ibn Ishāk, who died in 234 (*ibid*, p 400, 401) In Damascus we hear of some one who lectured on *kirāʾa* (*Husn*, i 182) and of another, Abū Ṭāhir al Iskandarānī (d 359) who lectured on Hadīth in the same place (*ibid*, i 183) Teachers went from one town to another Makī b Abī Ṭālib came from Kairawān to Misr, Mecca and Kurtuba, in the last named place he put up in two riwāks of the chief mosque, where he lectured on *kirāʾa*, afterwards in another mosque, and he was much sought after on account of his *ʿilm* (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 174) At quite an early date we read of special apartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Kurʾān, for, according to al-Wākidī, ʿAbd Allāh b Umm Maktūm lived in Medīna in the *Dār al-Kurrāʾ* (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii 142)

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques In Egypt, not only

the Mosque of ʿAmr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī began to lecture in it on Hadīth (*Husn al-Muhādara*, II 139) During the Fātimid period this was continued In the year 361 (972), the Azhar Mosque was finished Soon afterwards, the new Shīʿī Kādī, ʿAlī b al-Nuʿmān, lectured in it on Fikh according to his school, in 378 al-ʿAzīz and his vizier Yaʿkūb b Killis founded 35 lectureships and in addition to their salaries, the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (Makrīzī, IV 49, Sulaiman Rasad al-Hanafi, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, p 32 *sqq*) Immediately after the foundation of the Mosque of al-Hākim, the *fukahāʾ* gave lectures (*tahallaka* Makrīzī, IV 55) in it In the Fātimid Mosque of al Akmar, also founded in 519, teaching was carried on from the very first (*ibid*, p 77)

We can therefore say definitely that mosques were from the beginning through the centuries educational institutions, that learned men occasionally used to live in mosques and that under the Fātimids and probably much earlier, there were special houses for the learned teachers The mosque therefore corresponded to church, town hall and school and sometimes hostel It was, then, a public place of assembly for the town Nāsir i Khosraw in 439 (1047) gives a vivid picture of the activity in the Mosque of ʿAmr which was visited by 5,000 people daily, teachers, Kurʾān reciters, students, strangers, scribes, who drew up bill of exchanges and contracts etc (ed Schefer, text, p 50 and transl, p 148) It was therefore an exception when the Sakhra Mosque was open only on Mondays and Fridays (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebr*, p 54) which happened with very few other sanctuaries, and also unusual for the mosque only to be opened for prayer, as sometimes happened out of consideration for the safety of the *bait al-māl* The people demanded unrestricted access to the mosque at all times (cf Makrizi, IV 54)

2 Special Educational Institutions

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *Muslimin* or *Ahl al-ʿIlm* (e g al-Khatīb al Baghdādi Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, I 252, cf IV 287) Many other libraries were semi-public These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, falsafa, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy, the latter were called *al-ʿulūm al-kadima* (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 113, uses this already for the pre-Islāmic period) or *ʿulūm al awāʾil* (on them see Goldziher, in *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1915, Phil Hist Kl, N⁰ 8, Berlin 1916) The academy, *Bait al-Hikma*, founded by al-Maʾmūn (198—202) in Baghdad, deserves first mention It recalls the older academy founded in Gundēshāpūr, to which Mansūr had invited Gorgios b Gabrīʾēl as head of the hospital, he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 123 *sq*) In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields, there was also an astronomical observatory attached to the institution in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p 243, cf Ibn al Kiftī, *Taʾrikh al-Hukamāʾ*, p 98) When the caliph al-Muʿtadid (279—289) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture-rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (Makrīzī, IV 192, 2 *sqq*, *Husn al Muhādara*, II 142)

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines ʿAlī b Yahyā, who died in 275 and was known as al-Munadjdjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands, they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *Khizānat al-Hikma*, without fee, astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, V 467) Al Munadjdjim also presented a whole library to Fath b Khākān (*ibid*, p 459, *infra*, on al Sūlī's library, see *ibid*, VII 136, II *sqq*) In Mawsil, Djaʿfar b Muhammad al-Mawsilī (d 323) founded a *dār al ʿilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid*, II 420) In the fourth century al-Makdisī visited in Shirāz a large library founded by ʿAdud al-Dawla (367—372) to which people of standing had access The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues, and the library (*khizānat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*wakil*), an assistant (*khāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif*) (*B G A*, III 449, cf a little later Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, V 446, 12 *sq*) In the fourth century, a certain Ibn Sawwār founded both in Basra and in Rām-Hurmuz a large *dār al-kutub* with stipends for the scholars who worked in it, in Basra a shaikh used to hold classes (*majālis*) on Muʿtazili *kalām* (*B G A*, III 413, 18) In al Raiy, there was at the same time, a *bait al-kutub* with over four hundred camel loads of books, which were catalogued in a ten volume *fihrist* and included many Shīʿi works (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, II 315, 9 *sqq*) In the year 383, the vizier Sābūr b Ardashīr founded a *dār al-ʿilm* in Karkh with a large library for scholars (Ibn Taghribirdi, ed Popper, p 51, 16 *sq*, Ibn al Athīr, IX, Cairo edition, p 35, 7)

Many of the libraries had a strongly, but by no means exclusively, Shīʿa character As to the *ʿulūm al awāʾil*, the ʿAbbāsids, as already mentioned, were interested in them and the Omaiyad Khālid b Yazīd b Muʿāwiya studied alchemy and medicine along with Hadīth (Ibn Taghribirdi, I 246, 5, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, IV 165) But the connection between the Shīʿa systems and Hellenistic science of which we have evidence, for example in the Ikhwān al-Safā, perhaps caused a greater interest to be taken in this branch of knowledge among the Shīʿīs than among the Sunnīs In Cairo, the Fātimids founded similar institutions in the interests of the Shīʿa In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islām It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented, they had for example 1,200 copies of al-Tabarī's History and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (Makrīzī, II 253—255) The vizier Yaʿkūb b Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 dīnārs a month on it (Yahyā b Saʿīd, ed Tallquist, fol 108a, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, II 334, cf Makrīzī, IV 192, 21) It was

ershadowed by the "House of Knowledge" (*dār ʿilm* or *dār al-ḥikma*) founded by al-Ḥākim in 5 (1005) It was at the northern end of the st palace and contained a library and reading- om as well as rooms for meetings and for classes brarians, assistants, with their servants administered and scholars were given allowances to study re, all branches of learning were represented — ronomy, medicine etc in addition to the specially Islāmic subjects Al Ḥākim built similar intutions in al-Fustāt (Maḳrīzī, II 334 *sqq*, according Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed Vollers, p 80, 5 *infra*, there ll existed in his time [about 800] a building lled the *Dār al-ʿIlm* in al-Fustāt) In the year 5, al-Sanbadī saw in Cairo a library with ,00 books on astronomy, handasa and falsafa n al-Kiftī, p 440, 13 *sq*) We do not learn ry much of the subjects taught there but occsionally hear of someone who lectured on Arabic ilology in it (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 610, 15) But e whole institution was closely associated with ʿa propaganda, which is obvious from the fact at it was administered by the *Dāʿī 'l-Duʿāt* o held conferences with the learned men ere every Monday and Thursday (Makrīzī, IV 6, Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā'*, III 487), occsionally he was a kādī (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 600,) A similar missionary institute (*dār 'l daʿwa*) is built in Ḥalab in 507 by the emīr Fakhr al-ulk (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Popper, p 360, 17) e may assume that these buildings were also ranged for the performance of the ṣalāt

With the *dār al-ḥikma*, Islām was undoubtedly ntinuing Hellenistic traditions Al-Makrīzī men ns a *dār al-ḥikma* of the pre Islāmic period, here the learned men of Egypt used to work 377, 4), Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, also mentions prelāmic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic arning was cultivated (*dār al-ʿilm*, I 104, 16, , Athens is also called *dār ḥikmat al-Yūnāniyīn* *G A*, II 135, 14) and the similarity with the lexandrine *Museion*, which was imitated in Perimon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (John H Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, ew York 1919, p 48—50) Al Ḥākim's institution as closed by the vizier al Afdal on account of olitical and religious disputes but shortly afterards (517 = 1123) reopened by the vizier al-Maʾmūn another building, south of the east palace (Makrīzī, 313, 337, 17 *sqq*) But it was now considerably naller During the famine in the reign of al-ustanṣir, the library was plundered In 461 (1068) eye-witness saw twenty-five camels carrying ooks from the palace library (Makrīzī, II 254, Wustenfeld, *Fātimidenchalifen*, p 261) The stitute was finally closed with the end of the ātimid dynasty (567 = 1171) Salāh al-Dīn had l the treasures of the palace, including the ooks, sold over a period of ten years Many ere burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown ito a great heap, which was covered with sand that a regular "hill of books" was formed and e soldiers used to sole their shoes with the fine ndings The number of books said to have disosed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000 but any were saved for new libraries The Kādī Fādil is said to have procured 120,000 volumes Maḳrīzī, II 253—255, Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-awḍataīn*, Cairo 1287, I 200, 268) Salāh al-Dīn so allowed anyone interested to take what he ked from the *ḵẖizānat al-kutub* in Halab for example (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, VII 20) These attacks on libraries did not mean they were tired of books as Yāḳūt (*Udabā'*, V 389) suggests, but was only one expression of the reaction against the Shiʿis

3 Origin and spread of the Madrasa

While the institutions called the *Dār al-ʿIlm* developed in Fātimid countries into centres of Shiʿa propaganda, the madrasa grew up in the east out of similar Sunnī institutions It is interesting to note that in 400, al-Ḥākim built a Sunnī *dār al-ʿilm* in Cairo In it lived two Mālikī scholars, who gave instruction and gathered round them men learned in ḥadīth and fikh (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Popper, II/II, p 64, 105, 106, al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, Ḥaidarābād, 1337, I 186) As the instruction (see the first reference) was given in the Djāmiʿ, the institute must have been connected with a mosque, probably that of ʿAmr It owed its existence however only to a passing fancy and after three years, the institution was abolished and the two learned teachers executed With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī form, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunnī character, the Sunna in the fourth century wanted to have influence with the other schools (*B G A*, III 323, 365, 415) Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated ḥadīths and held lectures on fikh, e g a teacher who died in Merw in 420 (Wüstenfeld, *Imâm Schâfiʿî*, II 232) Abū Ḥātim al Bustī born in 277 (890) founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid*, p 163) In Āmul, al-Rūyānī (d 502) built a school, he himself taught in the mosque, also in al Raiy (III 245) In Ṭabarān a school was built for al-Ḥātimī (d 393 = 1003) (*ibid*, II 202) In Baghdad, al-Ismaʿīlī (d 396 = 1006) founded two lectureships in fikh studies, one of which was filled by al-Isfarā'īnī, who otherwise lectured in the Mosque of Ibn al-Mubārak, and the other by al-Bāfī (*ibid*, p 204, cf p 217) The philologist and ḥiḏjā'-poet al Zawzanī who died in 463 lived with other learned men in a madrasat al-Suyūrī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, VI 409)

In Nīsābūr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e g Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, III 236) many such institutions arose Thus a special school was built for the Shāfiʿī fikh-scholar al-Sā'igh al-Nīsābūrī (349 = 960, *ibid*, II 156, cf 160) Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusainī (d 393) himself founded a school in which to teach Ḥadīth and it was attended by 1,000 scholars (*ibid*, p 203) Ibn Fūrak (d 406, *ibid*, p 216) did the same and in the year 437 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kushairī (*ibid*, III 284) and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfrā'īnī (d 418 = 1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid*, II 229) As early as the fourth century, we thus find al Maḳdisī praising the very fine *madāris* of Iṣṭaḵẖr (*B G A*, III 315) In the first half of the fifth century, there were four especially famous madāris in Nīsābūr al-Madrasa al-Baiḥakīya, founded by al-Baiḥakī (d 384), when he became a teacher in Nisābūr in 441 (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, III 270, al-Suyūtī is therefore wrong in ascribing its foundation to before the birth of Nizām al-Mulk [in 408], see *Ḥusn*, II 141), al-Saʿīdīya founded by the emīr Naṣr b Subuktakīn (governor of Nīsābūr in 389)

and one built by Abū Sa'd Ismā'īl al-Astarābādī and another built for the teacher Abū Ishāk al-Isfarā'īnī A Nizāmīya was also built here by Nizām al-Mulk for the Imām al-Haramain al Djuwainī (Makrīzī, iv 192, *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 141 *sq*) It was an event of great importance when Nizām al Mulk (456—485, vizier of the Saldjuk sultāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated Nizāmīya Madrasa in Baghdād, the building was begun in 457 and on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 459 (Sept 1067) it was consecrated It was founded for the Shāfi'ī teacher Abū Ishāk al-Shīrāzī, but he at first refused to accept the call, because the ground on which it was built was said to have been acquired illegally, and Abū Nasr Ibn al-Sabbāgh therefore held the office for the first twenty days (*ibid*, and Wustenfeld, *Schâfi'î*, iii 297, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo, i 143 *sq*)

The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the madrasa Nizām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Makrīzī and al-Suyūtī point out that *madārıs* were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named, but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations Al-Subkī thinks (says al-Suyūtī) the new feature was that Nizām al-Mulk endowed scholarships for the students But this again was nothing new as we have already seen But the enthusiasm and energy of Nizām al Mulk meant the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the Madrasa The sultān and men of high rank were now interested in it and the type evolved by Nizām al Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i e they resembled mosques The type of school known to us is built as a complete mosque Since even the older mosques containing living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque, only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madārıs*, it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic (Sūra lxviii 37 and elsewhere, *Hāshimīyāt*, ed Horovitz, p 53, 18, *Aghānī*, xiv, 2nd Cairo ed, p 78, cf *dārasa* "to teach" Bukhārī, *Bad'u 'l-Wahy*, bāb 5 and elsewhere, "to study" *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 171), where *Bait Midrās* is used of a Jewish school (Bukhārī, *Djizya*, bab 6, Ibn Hishām, p 383, 388), it is therefore an analogous formation to Masdjid (cf also Fleischer, *Klein Schriften*, ii 122 *sq*, Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage z sem Sprachw*, p. 38)

In the time of Nizām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the madrasa spread in the 'Irāk, Khurāsān, al-Djazīra etc He was not content with the two he founded in Nīsābūr and Baghdād There was also a *Madrasa Nizāmīya* in Balkh (Wustenfeld, *Schâfi'î*, iii 240), in Mawsil (*ibid*, p 319), in Herāt to which al-Shāshī (d 485 = 1092) was called from Ghazna and in Merw (Yākūt, iv 509) Ibn al Sabbāgh, who had to give up his position in favour of al-Shīrāzī, received a promise from Nizām al-Mulk that he would build a madrasa for him in Baghdād, but the death of this scholar prevented this being done (in 477, *ibid*, p 304) The great vizier's rival Tādj al-Mulk (d 486 = 1093) in Baghdād founded a *Madrasa Tādjīya* (*ibid*, p 311) In Nīsābūr, other madrasas were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manī'ī who died in 463 (*ibid*, p 277) and a Shatībīya (*ibid*, p 327) In Marw, al-Sam'ānī who died in 484 taught in a Shāfi'ī madrasa (*ibid*, p 321, cf above) In Marw al-Rudh, Ahmad al-Manī'ī (d 512) built a madrasa (*ibid*, p 326)

The prosperity of the madāris stimulated by Nizām al-Mulk in the fifth century survived for a long time in the east In the sixth century Ibn Djubair (580 = 1184) mentions some thirty madāris, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Nizāmīya, renovated in 504 (*Rihla*, p 229) In 631 (1234), the caliph al-Mustansir founded the magnificent Mustansirīya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy five students and a teacher for Kur'ān and one for Hadīth, as well as a physician Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens, there was a clock at the entrance, beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manzara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p 266 *sq*, Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p iv and 29)

The Nizāmīya and the Mustansirīya survived the destruction of Baghdād by Hūlāgū and both are mentioned at the beginning of the viiith century by Ibn Battūta (ii 108 *sq*) and the building of the latter still exists Ten others are known of the viiith—ixth century including the Madrasat 'Abd al-Kādir al Djilānī (688 = 1286), Madrasat Abi Hanīfa (of about the same date) and al-Mirdjānīya (758 = 1357), all still in existence, which were founded for Shāfi'īs, Hanafīs and for the study of Kur'ān and Hadīth Besides these three there still exist seven madrasas founded in Baghdād in the xviith and xviiith centuries (L Massignon, *Les Medresehs de Bagdâd*, *B I F A O*, vii, 1909, p 77–86, the inscriptions, do, in *M I F A O*, xxxi, 1912) Although the Tatars in 699 (1300) destroyed many madāris (Quatremère, *Hist des Sult Maml*, ii/ii 163 *sq*), Ibn Battūta shows that in the eighth century there were still flourishing schools in the east In Wāsit there was a madrasa which specialised in *tadjwīd al-Kur'ān*, it had three hundred rooms for foreign students (ii 3) In Tustar, the sultān expended one-third of the revenues on madrasas and monasteries (ii 31) and in Shīrāz and other Persian towns he also found madrasas (ii 62 and *pass*) For Nīsābūr, he mentions four madāris beside the chief mosque (iii 80), according to Hāfiz Abrū (c 820 = 1417), this town still had eight madāris under the 'Abbāsids and he mentions seventeen in which Shāfi'ī fikh was taught (*Sefer Nameh*, ed Schefer, p 281) For Marw, Yākūt about 600 mentions, in addition to the Nizāmīya, the school founded by Abū Sa'īd Muh b Mansūr al-Mustawfī (d 494), also the 'Amidīya and the Khātūnīya (iv 509) I arge madāris were still being built in Persia in the xviiith century and they are still to be found there in modern times (E G Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*², 1916, p 104, 217 *sq*) Although the institution had for long a Sunnī tendency, it could of course be taken over by the Shi'īs without any difficulty In 728 (1328) in Mashhad 'Alī, Ibn Battūta found a large Shī'a madrasa (i 415) The Mongols also built madāris, e g Karaka Khān, the descendant of Čingiz Khān (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/i 56) Hūlāgū's mother built two madrasas in Bukhārā

where 1,000 students studied daily in each (*J A*, ser 4, xx 389) The period of greatest prosperity of the madāris in Central Asia was under the Timūrids, notably in Samarkand, where Timūr built a djāmi' "in the Indian style", and his wife a madrasa (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed Manger, 1767, p 444 *sqq* , see also Diez, *Kunst der islam Volker*, p 99 *sq*)

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria the movement spread from the fifth century onwards Nūr al-Dīn b Zangī founded madāris for Shāfi'īs in Damascus, Halab, Hamā, Hims, Ba'albek (*J A*, ser 9, iii, p 428, cf 488, Makrīzī, iv 192) Kamāl al-Dīn (d 572) founded a madrasa in Mawsil, two in Nasībīn and one in Damascus (Wustenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p 317) Takī al Dīn, the nephew of Salāh al-Dīn, built a madrasa in al-Ruhā (Makrīzī, iv 195, 14) Ibn Djubair who travelled from 578 (1183) to 587 (1191) mentions two in Nasībīn (p 240), one in Harrān (p 247) and a large Hanafī madrasa in Halab and four or five others (p 253), three in Hamā (p 257), one in Hims (p 258), about twenty in Damascus notably the great al-Nūrīya (p 283, 8 *sq*, 284, 4) and six or more in Mawsil (p 236, 1 *sq*), a madrasa in the last-named town was built in two stories with a Dār al Hadīth on the ground floor (Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, i 204, in the year 585)

The development in Damascus was of particular importance Information about this is contained in the *Tanbīh al-Tālib wa Irshād al-Dāris* of Muhyi 'l-Dīn al-Nu'aimi (d 927 = 1521), the synopsis of which by 'Abd al-Bāsit al-'Ilmawī (d 1059 = 1549) has been published by Sauvaire (*J A*, ser 9, iii—vii), the substance had already been given by Fleischer from Mukhā'il Meshāka (*Kl Schriften*, iii 306 *sqq* = *Z D M G*, viii, 1854, p 346 *sqq* , cf iii, 1849, p 123, there are a few differences in points of detail between Fleischer's and Sauvaire's publications) A *Dār al-Kur'ān*, the Rishā'īya, was founded here about 400 (*J A*, ser 9, iii 262) and the first madrasa for fikh studies was the Hanafī Sādirīya, which was founded beside the Mosque of the Omaiyads by Shudjā' al-Dawla Sādir in 491 (1097) (*ibid*, iv 266), next came, sometime before 520, the likewise Hanafī Tarkhānīya (*ibid*) and in 514 the Shāfi'ī Aminīya founded by the Atābeg Amīn al-Dawla (*ibid*, iii 395), then the Hanbalī Sharifīya founded by a scholar who died in 536 (iv 467), the Hanafī Khātūnīya built *extra muros* by a princess in 526 (*ibid*, p 254), the Hanbalī 'Omarīya founded by a shaikh who died in 528 (*ibid*, p 473, cf Fleischer, *Kl Schr*, iii 328) The two rulers Nūr al-Dīn b Zangī (541–569 = 1146—1163) and Salāh al-Dīn (570–589 = 1174–1193) displayed a munificent activity in this direction as did their emīrs and relatives Nūr al-Dīn founded a *dār al hadīth*, the Nūrīya (*ibid*, iii 280), and the following Shāfi'ī madāris al-Salāhīya (*ibid*, p 414), al-'Usrūnīya (*ibid*, p 428), al-'Imādīya (*ibid*, p 430), al Kallāsa (*ibid*, p 439), and he began the building of the 'Ādilīya (completed by al Sālih, *ibid*, p 423), and as a Hanafī madrasa, the large and small Nūrīya (*ibid*, iv 388, 291) In his reign an emīr also built the Asadīya for Shāfi'īs and Hanafīs (*ibid*, iii 387), another emīr a Shāfi'ī Mudjāhidīya inside and another outside the town (*ibid*, p 440), of Hanafī madāris, an emīr al-Dukākī built two, al-Balkhīya and al-Nāshīya (*ibid*, iv 245 *sq*), a slave of Nūr al-Dīn's, the Raihānīya in 565 (*ibid*, p 259), an emir the Mu'īnīya in 555 (*ibid*, p 281), a lady built a Hanbalī madrasa with a *dār al-hadīth*, the 'Ālima (*ibid*, p 477), a Hanbalī Shaikh, who died in 596, the Musāmirīya (Fleischer, *op cit*, p 329) Salāh al Dīn rebuilt the Shāfi'ī Kallāsa, which had been burned down (*J A*, ser 9, iii 439) and himself founded the Mālikī Salāhīya and and a Mālikī zāwiya in the Mosque of the Omaiyads (*ibid*, iv 460 *sq*) There were also built in his reign a *dār al-hadīth* by the Kādī al-Fādil (*ibid*, iii 277), a madrasa for Shāfi'īs and Hanafīs, the 'Ādhrawīya, by his daughter or brother's daughter in 580 (*ibid*, p 425), six Shāfi'ī madāris (*ibid*, p 391, 399 *sq* , 403, 435, 442), some five Hanafī including one founded by his (previously Nūr al-Dīn's) wife (*ibid*, iv 256, 266, 277, 284 *sq*) This building activity was continued into the seventh to ninth centuries so that al Nu'aimī can give the following totals seven *dār al-Kur'ān*, sixteen *dār al-hadīth* (one the Kūsiya, is not given in Fleischer), three for both Kur'ān and Hadīth, sixty Shāfi'ī (two of them also for Hanafīs, in Fleischer, Nrs 16 and 30 are not given), fifty two Hanafī (two of them also for Shāfi'īs, in Fleischer, one of them, the Dammāghiya, is not given it appears among the Shāfi'ī as Dabbāghiya), four Mālikī and ten Hanbalī madāris (in Fleischer, one of the two Diyā'īya is not given, on the other hand he has the Musāmirīya), also three *madāris al-tibb*, all of which belong to the seventh century The founders were mainly rulers and emīrs, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also As in the east, especially in earlier times, a madrasa was often founded for a particular scholar (*ibid*, iii 400, 488) and one sometimes finds a learned man handing over his house to be a madrasa (al-Dawla'īya, *ibid*, p 403, cf 439, iv 470) According to Mikhā'il Meshāka, in his time (1848) these madāris had practically all disappeared or were used as dwelling-houses, because their endowments had disappeared and there were only five left in his time (Fleischer, *op cit*, p 307—311)

Salāh al-Dīn introduced the madrasa into Jerusalem In 585 (1189) he endowed the Khānakāh Salāhiya, in 587 the Zāwiya Khatanīya south of al Aksā for a particular scholar and in 588 he turned the Church of St Anna into the Salāhīya Madrasa, in 589, 583 and 598 emīrs built similar institutions and in the seventh—ninth centuries a whole series of them came into existence According to Mudjir al-Dīn (d 927 = 1521), there were thirty-one madāris and monasteries (which were in part used in the same way as madāris) in direct connection with the Haram area or near it, and sixteen at some distance Of these some forty are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Kur'ān* and one a *dār al-Hadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist Jerus et Hebr*, 1876, p 139 *sqq* , v Berchem, *Corpus*, ii 1, cf for Salāh al Dīn Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, Cairo 1310, p 402 *sq*) In Hebron there was also a madrasa, that of al-Malik al-Nāsir (Sauvaire, *op cit*, p 23)

Next to Nizām al-Mulk, Salāh al Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of madrasas He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries, which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt Even before the fall of the Fātimids he had founded in the year 566 in the vicinity of the Mosque of 'Amr, the Nāsirīya

for Shāfiʿīs and the Kamhīya for Mālikīs, for Shāfiʿīs also the Sharafīya (called after its head also Madrasa Zain al-Tudjdjār) and notably the great Salāhīya or Nāsirīya (for the identity of the two cf Makrīzī, iv 251, with *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 142 *sq*) beside al-Shāfiʿī's mausoleum, he also built a madrasa beside the Mashhad al-Husain and in 572 a Hanafī madrasa, the Suyūfīya, and he turned the house of an emīr named Saʿd al Suʿadā into a khānakāh (*Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 141 *sq*, Makrīzī, iv 192 *sqq*, Ibn Khallikān, ii 402 *sq*) Those around him emulated this activity His vizier the Kādī 'l-Fādil in 580 built the Fādilīya for Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and for *ikrāʾ* (Makrīzī, iv 197), a brother the Saifīya (*ibid*, p 199), another, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the Madrasat al ʿĀdil (*ibid*, p 195), his nephew Taki al-Dīn built in Cairo the Manāzil al-ʿIzz or Takawīya for Shāfiʿīs (*ibid*, p 194, Ibn Dukmāk, p 93) and two others in the Fayyūm (Makrīzī, iv 195) Other emīrs and their relatives followed his example (*ibid*, p 196, 199 *sq*) and even a merchant, al-Arsūfī, founded a madrasa in 570 (*ibid*, p 194) Ibn Djubair, who travelled through Egypt in the time of Salāh al Dīn, speaks of several madrasas in Alexandria (*Rihla*, p 42) and particularly of one beside al-Shāfiʿī's tomb, which looked like a whole town (*ibid*, p 48)

During the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks the number of madāris increased to an extraordinary degree In the street called Bain al Kasrain there were two long rows of madāris on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf P Ravaisse, in *M M A F*, i, 1889, p 409 *sqq*, pl 3) As a rule, the madrasa was in the street in line with the houses Ibn Dukmāk mentions that in Cairo only two stood isolated (p 98) Al-Nuʿaimī and Ibn Dukmāk describe several madaris (and masādjid) as *muʿallaka* i e above the ground-floor Ibn Battūta, who travelled at the beginning of the eighth century, found madāris even in quite small towns, e g in Dimyāt, Munyat b Khasīb, Kinā, Kūs, Asnā (i 65, 96, 106, 108) Ibn Dukmāk (p 92–99) about 800 gives a list of twenty four madāris, this is obviously very incomplete, on the other hand, it contains nine names, not given by al-Makrīzī This author (d 845 = 1442) mentions 73 madāris, fourteen for Shāfiʿīs, four for Mālikīs, ten for Hanafīs, three for Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, six for Shāfiʿīs and Hanafīs, one for Mālikīs and Hanafīs, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-hadīth*, while the rite of twenty-five is not mentioned and four remained unfinished Of these madāris, according to him, about thirteen were founded before 600, twenty in the seventh century, twenty nine in the eighth century and two after 800 To the two schools of Hadīth (al Kāmilīyā of the year 622 and al-Kharūbīya of about 780, see iv 201, 211 *sq*) is to be added the Marāghīya mentioned by Ibn Dukmāk (p 99) A notable feature is the decline of the Hanbalīs and in contrast to Damascus the large number of schools which included all four rites The first Egyptian madrasa to include all four rites was the Sālihīya, founded in 640—641 by al-Malik al-Sālih (Makrīzī, iv 209 *sq*) probably on the model of the Mustansirīya

In Salāh al Dīn's time, the madrasa was also introduced into the Hidjāz In the year 579, the governor of ʿAden built in Mecca a madrasa for the Hanafīs and in the following year a Shāfiʿī madrasa was also founded there (*Chron Mekka*, ii 104) Up to the beginning of the ninth century, eleven madāris are mentioned (*ibid*, p 104—107) but others were added (*ibid*, iii 177 *sq*, 211 *sq*, 225 *sq*, 351 *sqq*, 417) In the xvinth century they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 229 *sqq*) *Madāris* were also built in Medīna (Wüstenfeld, *Medīna*, p 58, 98, 112)

In Asia Minor, madrasas spread under the Saldjūks, the oldest known date from the seventh century In Konya for example there were the Sirčalī Madrasa of the year 640 (1242—1243), Karatai Madrasa 649 (1251—1252) and Indjeminārelī Madrasa 674 (1274—1276) (Cl Huart, *Konia*, 1897, p 156, 160, 178, Fr Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, p 48 *sq*, 51 *sq*, R Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 1928, p 106 *sqq*) In Siwās three madāris date from the year 670 (1271–1272) namely the Sāhibīya or Gok Madrasa, founded by Fakhr al-Dīn, that of Muzaffar Barūdjirdi and that of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad The first mentioned is probably identical with the *Dār al Tadris* described by Ewliyā, which contained eighty rooms in two stories (see v Berchem, *Corpus*, iii/1, p 18 *sqq*, 26 *sqq*, 31 *sqq*) In Diwrigī, a madrasa has been built in the Djāmiʿ Ahmad Shāh erected in 626 (1228—1229) (*ibid*, p 71 *sq*, 80) About 733 (1333) Ibn Battūta found madāris all over Asia Minor, even in quite small towns (ii 260, 267, 269, 283, 296 *sq*, 340, 343, etc) Building activity was continued under the Ottomans (cf Huart, *Konia*, p 59, 92, 109, Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, index, R Hartmann, *op cit*, p 24 *sq*)

According to the *Kirtās*, the madrasa was brought to North Africa as early as the time of Salāh al Dīn, for we are there told that the Almohad Yaʿkūb b Yūsuf (580—595 = 1184—1199) built mosques, hospitals and madrasas in Ifrikiya, the Maghrib and al Andalus (Tornberg, *Annales Regum Mauritaniae*, Upsala 1843, i 143), but no exact details are given to corroborate this statement The Maghribī madrasas were exclusively Mālikī In Tunis, many madāris were erected under the Hafsids (625–941 = 1228—1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Maʿrad about 650 In the Chronicle of Tunis (Zarkashī, in *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafçides*, transl E Fagnan, in *Rec Not et Mem Soc Arch Const*, xxi, 1895, see index) eleven are mentioned including the Madrasat ʿUnk al-Djamal of 742 (1344), the Midrasat Ibn Tāfiradjīn, founded by a learned man in 766 (1364), the Madrasa Shammāʾīya (before 734 = 1333, see *op cit*, p 105, 106, 221), Madrasat Belhalfawīn in 796 (1393) (*ibid*, p 183), and six of the ninth century (see *op cit*, index, cf also Marçais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii 500, N° 2) Ibn Battūta mentions at the beginning of the eighth century the Madrasat al-Kutubiyīn (i 20) There is no trace of madrasas of the Almohads and the statement in the *Kirtās* regarding them does not agree with the other sources The first madrasa in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marzūk, *Musnad*, the Madrasa al-Saffārīn built by the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb b ʿAbd al-Hakk (656–685 = 1258–1286) in Fās in 684 [also called al-Halfāʾīyīn, see the edition by Lévi-Provençal, in *Hespéris*, v, 1925, p 34 (Arabic) = p 44 (French)] In Fās, we are told by the same source, Abū Saʿīd (720–731) and his son Abu 'l-Hasan (731—749) built several madrasas the M al-Madīna al-Baidāʾ (= M Dār al-Makhzin in Fās Djadīd) in 721 (1321), the M

al-Ṣihrīdj in 723 (1321), the M al-ʿAttārīn in 725 (1325) later called M al-Wādī and in 747 (1346–1347) M Misbāh after the teacher, the next Marīnid Abū ʿInān (749—759) built in 756 (1385) the Bū'anānīya (Tornberg, *Annales Reg Maur*, i 280 *infra*, Ibn Marzūk, in *Hesperis*, v 34 and 68, Ed Pauty, *ibid*, iii, 1923, p 515 *sqq*, Bel, *Inscriptions de Fès*, in *J A*, ser 11, x, 1917, xii, 1918, Marçais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii, 1927, p 465 *sqq*) These Marīnid madāris are all still in existence No longer in existence is the M al-Lebbādīn (Bel, *J A*, ser 11, x 148), the M al-Ṣihrīdj consisted of a larger and a smaller madrasa, the latter is now the M al-Shāʿīyīn (*ibid*, p 215 *sq*) Others were built under the Sharīfs, notably the M al Sharrātīn in the xiᵗʰ (xviiᵗʰ) century, now the largest in Fās (*ibid*, p 114, Bel writes Shaghghatīn) In other towns also Abu 'l-Hasan built madāris in Tāzā Miknāsa, Salā (742 = 1340), Tandja, Sabta, Ānfā, Āzammūr, Āsfī, Āghmāt, Marrākash, al-Kasr al-Kabīr, al-ʿUbbād near Tilimsān (747 = 1346—1347), Tilimsān and al-Djazā'ir (Ibn Marzūk, *Hesperis*, v 35 and p 69) That of Miknāsa was completed by the son of Abu 'l-Hasan, Abū ʿInān, who was a great builder of schools (Ibn Battūta, i 84) In Tilimsān, the Ziyānid Abū Hammū Mūsā I had already built a mosque in 710 (1310) and before 737 Abū Tāshifin founded the similar institute, which bore his name (Marçais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, do, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, 1927, ii 483, 515)

In Spain according to Ibn Saʿīd (viiᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ century), there were no madrasas, instruction was given in the mosques (al Makkarī, ed Dozy, i 136), but in the following year, however, a large madrasa was founded in Granada by the Nasrid Yūsuf Abu 'l Hadjdjādj in 750 (1349) (Almagro Cardenas, in *Boletin de la Real Acad de la Hist*, xxvii 490, Marçais, *op cit*, p 517)

According to Ibn Saʿīd, men of learning were held in high esteem in al-Andalus, the Marīnids in the Maghrib also built madrasas in their enthusiasm to further learning The traveller al-ʿAbdarī (688 = 1289), however, found no interest in learning in Tilimsān, al-Djazā'ir or Constantine (with one exception), it was only in Tunis that he found any enthusiasm (*J A*, ser 5, iv, 1854, p 154, 157, 158, 161, 169) This is certainly connected with the fact that the madrasa had just then been introduced into Tunis But not even the madrasas brought about any deepening of interest in study in the west Ibn Khaldūn (808 = 1406) testifies to the spread of madrasas in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Kurtuba and Kairawān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level, while the old schools in the ʿIrāk were no longer of importance, Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way and studies also flourished in Persia (*Mukaddima*, Cairo 1322, p 342—344, *faṣl* 6, N⁰ 2) This decline in interest in learning soon became general The learning of the time lacked vitality and international scholarship was affected by political conditions In 1517 A D, Leo Africanus says that the lecture rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small Some still studied fikh, but very few the arts (*Descr de l'Afr*, iii 372, in *Rec de Voy et de Doc*, ed Schefer, Paris 1896—1898) In Egypt, interest in the specialised madrasa decreased considerably and the great builder of the xiiᵗʰ (xviiiᵗʰ) century, the emīr Katkhudā, still built madrasas, but his real interest was in the mosque (see below) Lane only mentions the Azhar Mosque as an important centre of study in Cairo The development in Mecca was similar, where in modern times studies are only prosecuted in the mosque (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i 17, and cf above) On education and the madrasa in general cf also F Wustenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Gottingen 1837, Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, 1877, ii 479 *sqq*, Hanebeig, *Abhandlung uber das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850, v Berchem, *Corpus Inscr Arab*, i 252—269, G Gabrieli, *Manuale di Bibliografia Musulmana*, i, 1916, p 109 *sqq*

4 Development of the Madrasa and similar Institutions

a Madrasa, Masdjid and Djāmiʿ

There was, as already mentioned, no difference in principle between the madrasa and other mosques Even after the introduction of madāris, the regular mosques remained schools as before Ibn Battūta, who travelled in the eighth century, in the period when madāris flourished most, attended lectures on Hadīth not only in the Djāmiʿ of Shirāz but also in the Djāmiʿ Mansūr in Baghdād (ii 83 110) In Damascus in 580, Ibn Djubair refers to rooms in the Mosque of the Omayads, which were used for Shāfiʿī and Mālikī students, who received considerable stipends (*idjrā'*, *maʿlūm*) and among them were many *Maghārība*, the mosque had large endowments (*marāfik*) for strangers and *ahl al talab* (*Rihla*, p 266 supra, 272 supra), Ibn Battūta also speaks of the *halakāt al tadrīs* of this mosque in the different sciences (i 212) In Egypt in the time of al Makrīzī (ninth century), there were 8 rooms for fikh studies in the Mosque of ʿAmr and before 749 there were over 40 *halakāt* in it (Makrīzī, iv 20, 21) In the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn after its renovation in the reign of Lādjīn (696—708) courses of fikh, according to the four madhāhib, and other studies were arranged (*ibid*, p 41, cf Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 47 *sqq*) and in 767 an emīr appointed 7 teachers in Hanafī fikh there (Makrīzī, iv 42) In al-Azhar in the seventh century and later after the earthquake of 702 many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid*, p 52), likewise in the Mosque of Hākim, where, after the earthquake, lectureships in fikh for each madhhab and for Hadīth were founded with salaries for the teachers and scholarships for the students (*ibid*, p 57) In Fātimid mosques, like the Djāmiʿ al Zāfir and the Djāmiʿ Maks built by al Hākim, Mamlūk emirs founded new lectureships (*ibid*, p 66, 81) and not only in the Mashhad al-Husaini but also in the Mashhad al Nafīsī were studies carried on in the eighth century (*Husn al-Muhādara*, i 195, Muhyi 'l-Dīn)

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a madrasa, for example 6 of the Damascus madāris were in the Mosque of the Omayads the Shāhīnīya, Ghazālīya, Kūsīya, ʿIzzīya, Safīnīya, Munadjdjā'īya, of which the first and third were also known simply as *halka* (*J A*, ser 9, iii 410, 432, 437, iv 262, 270, 481, others vii 230), al-Hākim's Mā'ikī madrasa was

in the Mosque of ʿAmr (see above) and Ibn Duḳmāk (p 100 *sq*) mentions 8 zawāyā in this mosque, which were endowed for *tadrīs* The madrasas were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them This was the case in Mecca (*Chron Mekka*, II 104 *sqq*, cf Ibn Battūta, I 324), in Damascus where there was a Shāfiʿī madrasa beside the western gate, Bāb al Barīd (Ibn Djubair, p 271), in Nisābūr (Ibn Battūta, III 80) and in Cairo where al-Madrasa al Taibarsīya in 709 and al-Ākbughāwīya about 730 were built so close to the Azhar Mosque that they had common walls and windows in them, which was specially permitted by a fetwā, they were afterwards completely incorporated in the Mosque (Makrīzī, IV 223 *sq*) In Fās, the chief madrasas are arranged round the great mosque al Karawīyīn and the same arrangement is found in Marrākash (Pauty, in *Hesperis*, 1923, p 515 *sqq*, 523)

If the madrasa, as a building, had little independence, its character as a home for students and place of instruction was very marked But even where it was quite an independent institution, the distinction between madrasa and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the madrasa In the fifth century the minbar had already been introduced into a large number of mosques In the Nizāmīya in Nīsābūr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by ʿAbd al-Rahīm Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, III 285) and the Nizāmīya in Baghdād had a minbar (Ibn Djubair, p 219) A problem was however raised by the fact that these madāris were Shāfiʿī and this school held that only one mosque in a town could celebrate the Friday service, unless the town was of very considerable size and we are definitely told that al-Djuwainī conducted the Friday service in the madrasa in Nīsābūr although he was also khatīb at the Maniʿī mosque (Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, III 251) In Egypt from 569 to 665 there was only one Friday khutba, but after this time there was usually a minbar in the larger madrasas The caliph actually preached in the madrasa built by Kalāʾūn (678–689, Makrīzī, IV 221) The minbar for the djumʿa in many mosques is expressly mentioned, e g the Hidjāzīya 761 (*ibid*, p 222 *sq*), the Bakrīya 776 (*ibid*, p 236), the Zamānīya 797 (*ibid*, p 241), the Djāʾī (*ibid*, p 249) The Sāhibīya, which had not a minbar at first, was given one in 758 and was henceforth used for the Friday service (*ibid*, p 205) In Fās the mixed type of djāmiʿ and madrasa was found in the Būʿanānīya (Bel, *J A*, ser II, XII 339)

It was only natural that the *madrasa* should also be called *masdjid* (cf Ibn Djubair, p 48, II with line 19, 20) Ibn al-Hādjdj in the VIIIth century still wants to distinguish between *masdjid* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madkhal*, II 3, 48) The distinction remained however quite an artificial one and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *djāmiʿ* The name madrasa was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building The name djāmiʿ was only given if the Friday service was held in it Thus, as late as 772, we find the emīr Būbakrī building a madrasa and opposite it a djāmiʿ, but in the year 815, the madrasa was given a minbar and used as a djāmiʿ (Makrīzī, IV 235 *sq*) If these two uses of the building are equal) either name may be used (cf the double name in an inscription of the emīr Mukbil van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, N⁰ 201) In some cases a Friday mosque can be said to be in the madrasa (Ibn Battūta, II 39) The great Djāmiʿ Hasan begun in 757 was also one of the largest madāris in Cairo (Makrīzī, IV 117 *sq*) and on the other hand, the Djāmiʿ Khatīrī in Būlāk built in 737 and the Djāmiʿ Aslam founded in 746 were educational institutions (*ibid*, p 106, 111, *Husn al Muḥādara*, I 192) In the ninth century the Djāmiʿ al-Muʾaiyadī was the most important new madrasa in Cairo (Makrīzī, IV 139) The same variation in nomenclature is often found in this century (cf v Berchem, *Corpus*, I, N⁰ 235, 248, 253, 262) On the other hand Makrīzī, in the ninth century, only uses masdjid as a name for quite insignificant mosques (IV 263 *sqq*, where 19 masādjid are mentioned) In the XIIth century the emīr Katkhudā built 18 large mosques and many smaller ones and his interest in the furtherance of learning was specially displayed in his buildings at the Azhar mosque, which had developed at the expense of the specialist madāris (al-Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, III 230 *sqq*, Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, p 74 *sq*), for the similar situation in Mecca cf above

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the madrasa The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's madrasa in Damascus (Ibn Djubair, p 284, 4 *sq*) and during the Mamlūk period it was the regular custom for the founder of a madrasa to be buried under a kubba in it

b Monasteries

A close connection arose between the monastery and the madrasa As already mentioned, it was quite a common thing for devout men to live permanently in the mosque e g in the minaret or somewhere else on the roof or in subsidiary buildings or in a cell in the mosque Such a cell which can be used for teaching or for meditation is called *zāwiya*, lit corner (Ibn Djubair, p 240, 245, 266, Makrizī IV 20, cf Greek γωνία, see Dozy, *Supplement*, s v) Pious ascetics however had retained from the older religion the custom of living in special monasteries e g in Djawlān in the fourth century (*B G A*, I 188), Muslim historians trace these back to the time of the Companions (Makrīzī IV 272 *sq*) In the fourth century ascetics and Sūfis, especially the Karrāmīya [q v] or Kirāmīya (cf Mez, *Renaissance*, p 273), had quite a number of monasteries (*khawānik*, also *khuwānik*, sing *khānakāh*) in Farghāna, Marw al-Rūdh, Samarkand Djurdjān, Tabaristān etc (*B G A*, III 323, 365) in Jerusalem and in Egypt also the Kirrāmīya had their monasteries in which they held *dhikr* (*ibid* p 179, 182, 202)

The distinction between *khānakāh* and *ribā* (plur *rubut*) is one of origin rather than fact Ribāt was simply a dwelling for men who waged the *djihād* on the frontier but the word was also used by the Sūfīs who waged a spiritual *djihād* (cf Makrīzī, IV 292 *sq*) There was a *ribāt* in the Maghrib in the fourth century in the Wād Salā (*B G A*, II 56) When Ibn Marzūk says that they had only two *rubuṭ* of the eastern kind (in Safī and Salā, *Hespéris*, V 36, 71), it is doubtful whether he means an establishment of Sūfīs or of ghāzīs In the Vth (XIth) century there were several military *rubut* on the river Niger, from

which the Almoravids originated From the xvth century onwards many were built in Morocco against the Spaniards and Portuguese *Mahris* is the usual word for *ribāṭ* (see Bel, *J A*, ser 11, ix, 1917, p 325, N° 1) In the east in the fourth century, rubat are frequently mentioned, which probably had a military character (*B G A*, iii 303, 354,415) The original distinction between *khānakāh* and *ribāt* is never quite forgotten, as late as the beginning of the eighth century we find *ribāṭ* used of a barracks (Makrizī, iv 276) Ibn Battūta says that the word *khānakāh* had not reached the west, here the old Arabic term *zāwiya* was used (Ibn Battūta, i 71, *khānakāh* however in Ibn Marzūk, *Hesperis*, v 35 *sq*) Usually we find the three terms used without any definite distinction being made between them (*sawma'a* also seems to be used in the *Asrtās* of a Muslim monastery, see Tornberg, *Annales*, p 143, cf p 18), for all three names are applied to Sufi monasteries, which also take in strangers, i e are used as hospices

Ibn Battūta mentions many monasteries in the ʿIrāk and Persia Beside the tomb of al Rifāʿi, not far from Wāsit was a ribat, which he calls *riwāk*, where "thousand of poor men", i e Sufis, lived (ii 4) In al Lūr especially, he found a vast number of monasteries, the sultān there built 460 *zawāyā* and spent $^1/_3$ of his revenues on them and the madāris (ii 31)

For Syria, Ibn Djubair testifies to the flourishing monasteries which were often regular palaces and he says that the names *khānakāh* and *ribāt* are used indiscriminately (p 243, 271, 284), the word *khānakāh* sounded strange to him as a westerner, as to Ibn Battūta (p 284) Nevertheless al-Nuʿaimī distinguishes the three terms and mentions 29 khawānik, 23 rubut and 26 zawāyā The oldest khānakāh mentioned by him (Duwaira) was founded for a learned man who died in 401 (Sauvaire, in *J A*, ser 9, v 269, 377, 387 *sqq*)

It was similar with Egypt The first khānakāh was built by Salāh al-Dīn in 569 in Cairo (al-Sālihīya, originally called Dār Saʿid al-Suʿadā Makrizī, iv 273), the next in the seventh century by Baibars al Bundukdārī, who also founded new monasteries in Syria (*ibid*, p 282, 298) Of *khawānik*, al Makrizī mentions 22 (Ibn Dukmāk only one), of the sixth century one, seventh one, eighth 18, ninth one Of rubut 12 (Ibn Dukmāk 8), of the seventh century 9, of the eighth one, besides 5 on al-Karāfa Of zawāyā 26 (Ibn Duḳmāk, 9), these were mainly outside the town and were obviously quite small, often being simply the house, later the tomb of some devout man The oldest dated from the sixth century In Jerusalem also Salāh al-Dīn built a *khānakāh* (v Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, p 87 *sqq*) Among the khawānik, zawāyā and rubut in this city the last named seem to have been specially intended as hostels for pilgrims (*ibid*, p 197 *sqq*, see also Sauvaire, *Jerus et Hebron*, index) In Mecca 50 rubut are mentioned, the oldest dated from 400 (*Chron Mekka*, ii 108—115) At places of pilgrimage, the monasteries played an important part as hostels but even in other places they also gave accommodation to strangers Ibn Battūta on his travels usually stayed in them (he calls them *zawāyā*) but he also lodged in madāris, which were generally used as hospices (cf Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 35, note) Some of these institutions were convents for single women (Makrīzī, iv 293 *sq*)

The main object of monasteries, however, was to afford Sūfis a home and place for their devotional exercises In the khānakāh of Baibars founded in 706, 400 Sūfīs were maintained (Makrizī, iv 276 *infra*) and in the khānakāh Siryākūs 100 (*ibid*, p 285) They were given lodging, food, clothing and money, there were often baths attached to them The building was arranged for *dhikr* exercises, and also for salāts so that it was a kind of mosque Ibn Djubair mentions a ribāt on the summit of Abū Kubais in which there was a mosque (p 108) A ribat may be actually called a masdjid (Makrīzī, iv 294, cf *khānakāh* and *masdjid*, p 282 and the term *masdjid al ribāt* Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed Manger, iii 880) The monastery founded by Salah al Din was actually given a minaret in 780 (*mi'dhana*) and it is recorded that people used to wear sandals to walk in the *sahn* (Makrīzi, iv 275 *infra*) Sometimes only the occupants of the monastery are admitted to the salāt (*ibid*, p 277 Khānakāh Baibars) There was therefore an imām on the staff of the khānakāh (*ibid*, p 287) Like other sanctuaries the monasteries sometimes preserved relics, the Ribāt al-Athār, for example, preserved a piece of iron and wood which had belonged to the Prophet (*ibid*, p 295) We sometimes find a khānakāh built close to a large mosque like the khānakāh of Akbughā beside the Azhar Mosque (*ibid*, p 292, cf p 289 Kūsūn) or the founder built a masdjid for the Friday salāt beside the monastery (Siryāḳūs, *ibid*, p 285) The occupants of the Sālihiya Khānakāh took a prominent part in the Friday service in the mosque of Hākim (*ibid*, p 274) At a later date, we find the monasteries themselves arranged for the Friday salāt This was the case with the Ribāt al Afram, which in 663 was given a minbar for the Friday and festival khutbas (*ibid*, p 297) and al-Muʾaiyad made a house, that had been begun before he came to the throne, into a *djāmiʿan wa-khānakāh* (*ibid*, p 134 *infra*) just as *vice versa* a djāmiʿ could be built with living-rooms for Sūfīs, e g the Djāmiʿ al Bāsitī (beginning of the ixth century, like the preceding, *ibid*, p 140 *infra*) and in the viith century, the Djāmiʿ Shaikhū (before the building of his khānakāh, *ibid*, p 113) Baibars al-Bundukdārī was buried in his khānakāh and the monasteries had as a rule tombs, either of the founder, or of devout men who had lived in them

The development of the monastery is therefore quite analogous to that of the madrasa, the one institution merges into the other, because learning and manifestation of piety are inseparable in Islām Learning was also cultivated in the monasteries, at the present day, we find students living in a monastery and attending lectures in a madrasa Some scholars lectured on Hadīth in their rooms in a monastery (*ibid*, p 294, 295, 303) but instruction was also arranged for in some monasteries just as in the madāris ʿAbd al-Latif (d 629 = 1231) lectured in a ribāt in Baghdād on *uṣūl, hadīth*, etc (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 203) and a Ribāt al-Khātūnī is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al Kifti, ed Lippert, p 269) There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw Yāḳūt, iv 509) In Khānakāh Shaikhū founded in 756, an extensive course of lectures, Fikh according to all four Madhāhib, Hadīth and

Ikrā' (Maḳrīzī, iv 283), was given In the Ribāt al-Āthār in the eighth century, instruction was given in Shāfi'ī Fiḳh (*ibid*, p 296) and in the Djāmi' al-Fakhrī built in 821, arrangements were made for students as well as for Sūfīs (*ibid*, p 136), the Hanafī madrasa al-Djamālīya (730) was also a khānaḳāh (*ibid*, p 238 *supra*), they had a common director

In the eighth and ninth century this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Nizāmīya in Cairo of the year 757 (v Berchem, *Corpus*, i 242 *sqq*), in the mausoleums of Barsbāi 835 (*ibid*, p 365 *sq*, cf Ibn Iyās, ii 21, 22, 41), of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ināl, 855—860 (*ibid*, N° 271 *sqq*) and of Ḳā'it Bāi 879 (*ibid*, p 431 *sqq*) The same institution thus came to be given different names (cf *ibid*, p 172 *sqq*) and al-Suyūṭī deals with the khawānik under the madāris In the east, Ibn Battūta found the same relationship, for example in Shīrāz and in Kerbelā' (ii 78 *sq*, 88, 99) and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the zāwiya madrasa (ii 30, 32) In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid zāwiya in Fās (i 84), here also learning and Sufiism were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplement*, s v *zāwiya*) and the zāwiya still plays an important part in North Africa (see Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confreries Religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, El-Hachaichi, *Voyages au Pays des Senoussia*, transl Serres and Lasram, Paris 1912) Cf on the monasteries v Berchem, *C I A*, i 163 *sqq*, 174 *sq*

c Hospitals

We commonly find, e g in Ibn Djubair and al-Makrīzī, the hospital, *bīmāristān*, *māristān*, *mūristān*, mentioned in close connection with the madrasa, probably because it was administered by learned men and as a rule also contained a medical school Al-Walīd is said to have been the first in Islām to build a hospital, in the year 88 (Makrīzī, iv 258 *sq*, *B G A*, v 106) In Cairo in 259 or 261 (i e before the mosque) Ibn Ṭūlūn built a hospital for the poor At the same time he installed a dispensary behind the mosque and a physician used to sit here to be consulted every Friday According to al Makrīzī, his māristān (called in Ibn Dukmāk, p 99 the "upper") was the first in Egypt, this probably means the first free public hospital, it is improbable that this Hellenistic institution did not already exist in Egypt (Makrīzī, iv 38, 39, 258, *Husn*, ii 139) Al-Makrīzī (iv 259 *sqq*) mentions in addition to this hospital in Cairo the *Māristān Kāfūr* (in 346, perhaps identical with that called the "lower" by Ibn Dukmāk, p 99), al-Maghāfir (232–247), al-Mansūrī (682), al-Mu'aiyadī (821) To these must be added the two which Salāh al-Dīn maintained in Miṣr and Kāhira (Ibn Djubair, p 51, 52, cf Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1302, ii 402 *sq*) In Damascus Ibn Djubair found two hospitals, one of them the *Bimāristān al-Nūrī* (p 283, 284, cf Ibn Khallikān, ii 403) He also mentioned one in Nasībīn (p 240), in Harrān 2 (p 247), in Halab 1 (p 253), in Hamā 1 (p 257), in Baghdād he refers to a number without particularising them but we know of hospitals here from the third century and in 304 Sinān b Thābit was director of the hospitals of Baghdād, he was responsible for the foundation of three more (Ibn al Kifṭī, ed Lippert, p 193, cf *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed Amedroz, p 21 and on the whole question Mez, *Renaissance*, p 326 *sq*) There was a hospital attached to the great Mustanṣirīya madrasa (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p 268)

As regards the teaching of medicine, Ibn Abī Usaibi'a shows (i 103 *sqq*) that it was continued without interruption in Islām for example, he mentions 'Abd al-Malik b Abdjar, who was in charge of the medical school in Alexandria, and after the conquest adopted Islām At a later date, the chief medical schools were in Antākiya and Harrān, among other places (i 116 *infra*) For a long period most of the physicians were Christians (cf also *B G A*, iii 183) Teaching was usually given in connection with the hospitals The head physician collected the students around him whom he trained (*kharradja*) and they assisted him (e g the Georgios, summoned from Gundēshāpūr to Baghdād by Manṣūr Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, i 124) Kalā'ūn had a lecture-room installed in his hospital, the Manṣūrī, where the *ra'is al-aṭibbā'* lectured on medical science (Makrīzī, iv 260), instruction was also given in the great al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī in Damascus (Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, ii 192) Lectures on medicine (*ṭibb*) were sometimes also given in the mosques but in this case it was for the most part a theoretical science closely connected with philosophy Ibn al-Haitham (d c 430) lectured on *ṭibb* in the reign of al-Ḥākim (*ibid*, ii 90) and when Lādjīn restored the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn he also endowed lectureships on this subject (Makrīzī, iv 41, which shows that *tibb* should be read in Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 47) *Ṭibb* could also be studied in a madrasa, for example, al-Djīlī, who died in 641 lectured on it in the 'Adhrāwīya in Damascus (Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, ii 171) At the same time there were special *madāris al-ṭibb*, thus in the seventh century three were built in Damascus (*J A*, ser 9, iv 497—499, Fleischer, *Kl Schr*, iii 329) The teachers in them could also be physicians at the hospitals (Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, ii 266)

d Children's Schools

These were older than Islāmic science, since at the very beginning of Islām, reading and writing were taught in Arabia In Medina the teachers were often Jews (see Balādhurī, p 473 *infra*, cf the name *rabbānī* for the teacher Sūra, iii 73, v 48, 68, Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 10, Ya'kūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 243), but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca (cf on the question Noldeke–Schwally, *Gesch d Qorāns*, i 15 *sq*, Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, i 110 *sq*) After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medīna (*Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 171, cf Goldziher, *op cit*, p 111, Sprenger, *Leben Muh*, iii 131) After the capture of Kaisārīya, the prisoners were settled in al Djurf and some were employed in the school (*kuttāb*) (Balādhurī, p 142) Another contemporary of 'Omar's, Djubair b Haiya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*mu'allim kuttāb*) in a school in Ṭā'if (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1323, i 235) Mu'āwiya, who had acted as the Prophet's amanuensis took a great interest in the education of the young They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Kur'ān and the necessary observances of religion Famous men like al-Ḥadjdjādj and the poets Kumait and Ṭirimmāh are said to have been schoolmasters (Lammens, *Mo'āwia*, p 329 *sqq*, 360 *sqq*) The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madjālis al-adab* (*Aghānī*, xviii, 2nd Cairo ed, p 101), and the teacher was called

mu'addib (e g Makrīzī, iv 223, cf Yākūt, *Udabā'*, iv 272, vii 105), also *mu'allim* (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 27, Yāḳūt, iii 410, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i 213), in modern times *fikīh* (s Lane, *Manners and Customs*, *Everyman's Library*, p 61) The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools, thus Dahhāk b Muzāhim who died in 105 or 106, the exegist, traditionist and grammarian, had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yakūt, *Udabā'*, iv 272 *sq*) As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Bedouin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Basra (*ibid*, ii 239) Schools spread during the Omaiyad period They were found in Khurāsān and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen*, p 4 *sq*) Under the Fātimids, there was a boys' school in the palace where the youth of the upper classes was prepared for the Caliph's service (Makrīzī, ii 209—211) It is natural to find a children's school also attached to the mosque, but education became probably more and more centred round the Kur'ān In the Mosque of the Omaiyads children were taught (Ibn Battūta, i 213, Ibn Djubair, p 272) and the teachers had special rooms at the north door of the mosque (Ibn Djubair, p 271) In Palermo most of the numerous mosques were also used for teaching the Kur'ān (*ibid*, p 332), according to Yākūt (iii 410), there were no less than 300 teachers here, but, he adds, because they were exempt from military service, but in the fourth century Ibn Hawkal counted 300 *katātīb* in Palermo, the teachers of which were held in high esteem (*B G A*, ii 87)

To this day children are taught in the sahn of the Azhar Mosque In the sixth century there were also many independent schools In Cairo, Ibn Djubair found a large number of schools mainly for orphans and poor children and the teachers and pupils were maintained by the Sultān (p 52) and in Damascus he saw a similar large institution (p 272) In Jerusalem Ṣalāh al-Dīn built a school (v Berchem, *Corpus*, II/1, 108 *sq*) Ibn Djubair says that in these eastern countries, the Kur'ān was only taught orally (by *talkīn*) while writing was practised with poems etc, out of respect for the Kur'ān (*Rihla*, p 272) This did not hold generally however At a later date (xiiith century) we are told that a pipe was led from a school in the Azhar Mosque to the tomb of the founder so that his grave could be watered by the water in which the slates, on which sentences from the Kur'ān had been written, were washed (Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Ta'rikh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, p 73) As a rule the school was placed close to the mosque and beside a drinking fountain During the Mamlūk period, nearly every founder of a madrasa built in connection with it a similar institution for orphans and poor children, who received free instruction and sometimes also maintenance in it (see Makrīzī, s v *madāris*, *passim*) The object of one such school beside the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn is thus defined by Lādjīn as "to teach the orphans of the Muslims to recite the Book of God, the Exalted and also for other works pleasing to God and the various kinds of piety" (Makrīzī, iv 41) Elsewhere it is often said to be "to teach them the Kur'ān" In the Maghrib also, the children only learned the Kur'ān, i e to recite it, while in Andalus they also learned reading and writing (*kitāb*), poems and a little grammar In Ifrīkīya they learned, beside the Kur'ān, some Hadīth and a little of other sciences (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, p 447 *sq*, *fasl*, vi 32)

The children's school is called *maktab* (e g Yākūt, *Udabā'*, iv 272, Makrīzī, iv 41, 201) or *kuttāb* (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 27, Balādhurī, p 142, Makrīzī, iv 197, 240), those founded for poor children *kuttāb sabīl* or *maktab sabīl* (cf e g Makrīzī, iv 53, 117, 199, 201) The word *sabīl* characterises the school as a public benevolent institution, cf the expression "she made a *maktab li 'l-sabīl*" (*ibid*, p 223, of Kalā'ūn's hospital, *ibid*, p 260, s also Dozy, *Supplement*, s v, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, I/i, 229 note and *B G A*, iv 211, 258) — Cf on elementary education Goldziher, Art *Education*, in Hastings, *Encycl of Rel and Ethics*, Mez, *Renaissance*, p 177 *sq*, Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 144 *sqq*

5 Libraries

In Mecca, as well as in Medīna, there were large collections of books in the mosques (Ibn Djubair, p 89, 193, on modern conditions in Medīna, see Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 254 *sq*) The Djāmi' Zaitūna in Tunis had a large library (*Rec Soc Arch Constantine*, 1894, p 287) The Nizāmīya in Baghdād had a library of which al-Isfarā'inī (d 488) was librarian (Wustenfeld, *Shāfi'ī*, iii 314) The Mustansirīya was better supplied in this respect than any other madrasa (*Chron Mekka*, iii 174) In Marw there were in the sixth century 10 public endowed libraries in the mosques and madāris, two of them in the chief mosque, one of the latter containing about 12,000 volumes (Yākūt, iv 509) Among the madāris in Cairo, the Fādilīya was particularly well endowed in this respect, it contained 100,000 volumes (Makrīzī, iv 197), these were acquired by al-Kādī al Fādil from the Fātimid Academy (Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, *K al-Rawdatain*, Cairo 1287, i 200, 268, Makrizi, ii 253 *sqq*) and in Kalā'ūn's hospital there were according to Ibn Taghribirdī (II/i 482), 100,000 volumes from the same library These libraries were often broken up and portions put in other madāris During the famine of 694, the students of the Fādilīya sold the valuable books for a loaf a volume (Makrīzī, iv 197, cf also p 252) In Syria, Asia Minor (v Berchem, *Corpus*, III/i 26 *sqq*) and in the Maghrib also (*J A*, ser II, x 109 *sqq*, *Hesperis*, v 35) and elsewhere, libraries formed part of the endowments of the madāris With the decline in interest in learning many of these libraries became neglected What survived has often been collected and placed in new libraries, as for example in Cairo in the Royal Library since 1891 for Damascus see Habīb al-Zayāt, *Khazā'in al Kutub fī Dimashk wa-Dawāhihā* (Cairo 1902)

6 The subjects taught and the methods of instruction

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Kur'ān and Hadīth to which was added the study of the Arabic language In Bukhārī (*K al-'Ilm*)

ʿilm still means Hadīth but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques In the mosque of al-Mansūr in Basra, al Ashʿarī heard al Djubbāʾī expound the Muʿtazila *kalām* (Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, p 131), closely connected with this was methodology (*al-Mudhākara wa ʾl-Nazar*, cf Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 383) But many different subjects could also be taught Al Khatīb al Baghdādī, who taught in Mansūr's Djāmiʿ in Baghdād, lectured on his history of Baghdād (Yākūt, *l dabāʾ*, i 246 *sq*) Philosophy proper however disappeared from the mosques In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tandjīm* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as zindīk, even stoned or burned (Makkarī, ed Dozy, i 136) The madāris were mainly established to teach the established systems of fikh and originally each school was intended to represent only one madhhab Where the four madhāhib are represented in one school one can talk of four madāris, e g *al-Madāris al-Sālihiya* (Makrīzī, iv 209, 282, also *al-Madārasatān*, because it was divided by the street, p 209, cf v Berchem, *C I A*, i 104, note 1) The custom, often occurring before Nizām al-Mulk's time of founding a *Dār al-Hadīth* was also continued after him Al Makrīzī mentions two of them in Cairo al-Kāmilīya, founded in 622 by al Malik al-Kāmil (iv 211 *sq*) and al-Khatūbīya, founded in 785 (*ibid*, p 201) The former was restored in 1166 again as a hadīth school (v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N⁰ 61) Before al-Malik al Kāmil, Nūr al-Dīn (d 599) had founded the Nūrīya in Damascus as a *Dār al-Hadīth* (Makrīzī, iv 211, cf *J A*, ser 9, iii 280), when al-Makrīzī says this was the first built on the earth he must be corrected In Damascus many similar schools were built 16 are mentioned, and 3 Kurʾān and Hadīth schools besides (*J A*, ser 9, iii 271 *sqq*, Fleischer, *Kl Schriften*, iii 318 *sq*, 329 differs slightly)

The ordinary madāris however included other subjects beside the study of fikh alone Special mention is made of *nahw* (al-Ṣāhibiya, Makrīzī, iv 205) In the Nizāmīya in Baghdād and in other madāris in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 409, v 423 *sq* and iv 253, but it must be an anachronism when Sulaimān b ʿAbd Allāh is said to have taught philology in 403 in the Nizāmīya in Baghdād) In 604 (1207) al-Malik al-Muʿazzam built beside the Ṣakhra mosque a *Madrasa nahwīya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvaire, *Hist Jer et Hebr*, p 86, 140) and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf Subkī, *Muʿīd*, ed Myhrmann, p 153) In addition to those in Makrīzī, there are frequent references to *kirāʾa* (often *al kirāʾāt al sabʿ*), *hadīth*, *tafsīr* and *miʿād* (devotional exercises cf thereon Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 47) Al-Subkī mentions, in addition to the special Hadīth schools, also *Madāris al-Tafsīr* and *Madāris al-Nahw* (*Muʿīd al-Niʿam*, ed Myhrmann, p 153)

In his *Mukaddima* (*fasl* 6, N⁰ 4 *sqq*), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islāmic studies They are divided into *ʿulūm tabiʿiya* and *naklīya* The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafiya* or *ʿaklīya*, the latter are dependent on revelation by the "legitimate determiner" (*al-Wādiʿ al-Sharʿi*), are therefore based on special communication The *ʿulūm naklīya* therefore comprise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islām, namely *Kurʾān*, i e *tafsīr* and the seven *kirāʾāt* (N⁰ 5), *hadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-nāsikh wa l-mansūkh*, *mustalah al-hadīth* (N⁰ 6), *al-fikh* with special emphasis on *al farāʾid*, the law of inheritance (N⁰ 7—8), *usūl al fikh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction on the differences between the madhāhib (No 9), *al kalām*, theology, which is *naklīya* in as much as it is really a further development of *imān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is *ʿaklīya* in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (N⁰ 10), *al-tasawwuf*, something like practical theology (N⁰ 11), *taʿbīr al-ruyā*, interpretations of visions (N⁰ 12)

Linguistic sciences come next to the study of Kurʾān and Hadīth (cf N⁰ 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts *al nahw*, *al-lugha*, *al bayān*, *al adab* (N⁰ 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature

The *ʿulūm ʿaklīya* are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (N⁰ 13) and are *al-mantik*, logic, which is the foundation of all others (N⁰ 17), *al arithmātikī*, arithmetic, including *hisāb* etc (N⁰ 14), *al handasa*, geometry (N⁰ 15), *al-haiʾa*, astronomy (N⁰ 16), *al-mūsīki*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc (see N⁰ 13), then there is *al tabiʿiyāt*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion, — heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral, among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-tibb*, medicine, and *al-falāha*, agriculture (N⁰ 18—20, cf N⁰ 29) The seventh main head is *ʿilm al ilāhiyāt*, metaphysics (N⁰ 21) Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers etc also form branches of Muslim learning (N⁰ 22 *sqq*)

As above remarked, medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques, about 600 A H, ʿAbd al-Latīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *tibb* was also given there (Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa, ii 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" in particular were cultivated in the mosques Another division which still prevails, developed, that into principal sciences, those having a definite aim (*makāsid*) and instrumental sciences (*ālāt* or *wasāʾil*) To the former belong *kalām*, *al-akhlāk al dinīya* (ethics, practically the same as *tasawwuf*), *fikh*, *usūl al fikh*, *Kurʾān* (*tadjwīd* and *tafsīr*), *hadīth* The latter comprise linguistics, (*sarf*, *maʿānī*, *bayān*, *badīʿ*) and in addition metrics and prosody (*ʿarūd*, *kāfiya*), logic (*mantik*) including the theory of proof (*ādāb al-bahth*), probably the same as the older *mudhākara* and *nazar*, mathematics (*hisāb* and *djabr*), *mustalah al hadīth* (cf Mustafā Bairam, *Risāla*, Cairo 1902, p 20, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 200 *sqq*) There are no hard and fast lines drawn When in 1162 Ahmad Pasha came to Cairo as governor, no shaikh in the Azhar could give answers to simple questions on mathematics and astronomy, because they only knew as much arithmetic as sufficed to deal with questions raised by the law of inheritance, a very few studied these subjects privately The Pasha pointed out that astronomy was necessary for the study of religious duties, to settle the times and seasons (al-Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, ii 110 *sqq*, cf also A Sprenger, *Die Schulfächer und die Scholastik der Muslime*, *Z D M G* xxxii, 1878, p 1—20)

The method of teaching was by lectures which had to be learned by heart afterwards (*talkīn*) The first task was to learn the Kur'ān by heart and then acquire as many traditions as possible The hadīth was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, p 30) Lecturing soon became dictation (*imlāʾ*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Kur'ān (approved Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bab 34, 36) The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for Hadīth, Tafsīr, etc The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Duraid (Wüstenfeld, *Schafiʿi*, p 127) or ʿAmr b ʿAbd al-Wāhid (d 344) who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *lugha* (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 26) but also the text of the poets, like al-Tabarī, who lectured on *al Tirimmāh* in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256 (*ibid*, vi 432) Abū Bakr b al-Anbārī (d 327 or 328), who dictated in one part of the mosque and his father in another, knew by heart 300,000 *shawāhid* for the Kur'ān and 120 commentaries on verses of the Kur'ān with their isnāds (*ibid*, vii 73) Dictation was specially important in the case of Hadīth, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity It is therefore always said "he dictated Hadīth" (*Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 139, Wüstenfeld, *Schafiʿi*, p 210, 224, 248, 257, 287 etc , Ibn Kutlūbughā, *Tabakāt al-Hanafiya*, ed Flügel, p 51, Yaḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 246) The position of a teacher is therefore *madjlis al-imlāʾ* (*ibid*, ii 243, vii 74), and his *famulus* among the students is *al-mustamlī* (cf *ibid*, vi 282, vii 74) Problems of fikh were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Kutlūbughā, ed Flügel, N⁰ 249)

Instruction frequently began immediately after the salāt and the students performed the salāt along with the teacher The class (*dars*) began with the recitation of the Kur'ān by a *kāriʾ*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Madkhal*, i 56, cf Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p 172 *sq*) At the present day, the teacher as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom In time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 255) It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology, it is said to have been dropped as early as the fourth (tenth) century (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 171 with a reference to Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, iii 259, Suyūtī, *Muzhir*, i 30) This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments, for example Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahmān (d 584) dictated a commentary on Harīrī (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 20), and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained any remarkable phrases was used as early as by the teacher of Hadīth, Ibn Kaisān (d 299, *ibid*, vi 282) At the present day, either the teacher or his famulus reads the text to be expounded from printed copy

Cooperation between teachers and taught by questioning one another has always been an important feature of method Ibn Khaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*turuk al-taʿlim*) They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of which the *talkin* must be arranged systematically, so that it is always combined with exposition and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects In Spain and North Africa in particular in his time, the instruction was not particularly good, and they laid too much stress on learning by heart (*hifz*) (*Muḳaddima*, p 342, 443 *sq*, 445 = *fasl* 6, N⁰ 2, 29, 30, cf Subkī, *Muʿid al-Niʿam*, ed Myhlmann, p 151 *sq*) Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Kur'ān It is therefore regularly said "he dictated and expounded" (e g Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿi*, p 220, 326) When the above mentioned Ibn Kaisan expounded hadīths, he also asked his hearers about their meaning (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 282) Vice versa, the class was at liberty to catechise the teacher Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great halka in Mecca and say "Ask me what you want and I will then give you information on the Kur'ān and *sunna*" (*ibid*, vi 391, cf *B G A*, iii 379) The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, v 272) Ibn Djubair saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Nizāmiya in Baghdād (p 219 *sq*) Both practices are still in vogue and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions Ibn al Hādjdj condemns irregular interruptions of the lecture (*Madkhal*, i 57)

7 The Teachers

The name for a teacher is *mudarris* (also used in the pre Muhammadan period Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i 104), *ustādh* is a kind of honorary title (see Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 113, 209, ii 271, v 353, 354, 358, 448) and is still in use and applied also to students There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques In the madrasa at first only one was appointed, for example in the Nizāmiya in Baghdād (see above), in the first of those founded by Salāh al Dīn in Cairo (al-Nāsiriya Makrizī, iv 193) and in many others A madrasa frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e g the Ghaznawīya in Cairo Makrīzi, iv 235, the Sharifiya, originally the Nāsirīya *ibid*, p 193, M Ibn Rashik *ibid*, p 195, cf Masdjid al Kisāʾī in Baghdād) In the larger madāris, however, several teachers were appointed, Salāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lectures to the Kamhīya in Cairo (*ibid*, p 193 *sq*), in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf *Chron Mekka*, ii 105 *sq*)

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the madāris, which were built for particular teachers and students There was certainly no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period After text books had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *idjāza*, and so it has remained to modern times Any one who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation, the teacher wrote this permission (*idjāza*) in the book (e g Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 253, ii 272) A teacher could also give an *idjāza ʿāmma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Battūta, i 251) In Damascus, Ibn Battūta was given quite a number of these "diplomas" (i 251—253) It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *idjāzāt*,

thus ʿAbd al-Latīf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdād, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, II 202) As late as about 1700 we find al-Nābulusī acquiring *idjāzāt* on his travels (*Z D M G*, XVI 690) There were special formulae for the *idjāza* for *tadrīs* and *futyā* (al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubh al-Aʿshā*, XIV 322 *sq*) Some scholars only gave occasional lectures ʿAbd al-Wāhid (d 494) lectured on Hadīth every Friday in the Nizāmīya (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, p 287) and originally this was the case in the Azhar Mosque (see above)

The caliph al-Kādir, in his earlier days, used to lecture every Friday in a mosque in Baghdād (*ibid*, p 233) Some scholars only dealt with a very limited subject, thus one was appointed to the Nizāmīya to lecture on Bukhārī's *Sahih* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher (*ibid*, p 288) There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects Thus al-Shāfiʿī began his *halka* immediately after the *salāt al-ṣubh* and taught students of the Kurʾān, at sunrise the students of Hadīth came to him and heard his comments, later in the day he lectured on method (*mudhākara wa 'l-nazar*), at the *duhā* the *ahl al ʿArabīya* came to him and he lectured on *ʿarūd*, *nahw* and *shiʿr* He went off at midday (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, VI 383) About 300 A H we find Ibn Kaisān lecturing for the best part of the day on a number of subjects in somewhat the same order (*ibid*, VI 282), others lectured from early morning till late in the evening (*ibid*, VII 176, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, II 207 *supra*) and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, p 258) Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating hadīth and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid*, p 239)

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute, any one could have an *idjāza* in one subject, while he was still a student in others and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect hadīths (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, p 7, 19, 26) All the biographies of learned men give examples of this, the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf J W H Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1910) and royal courts still played the same part, at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e g Ibn Battūta, II 75 *sqq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Būlāk 1284, VII 452, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, II 205, cf Mommsen, *Romische Geschichte*, V 589) Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning, of one of the latter, it is said *ruhila ilaihi* or *ilaihi kānat al-rihla* "they used to travel to him" (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, VII 174, *Husn al Muhādara*, I 207, cf p 141) 4—600 *fukahāʾ* had gathered round a teacher in the Maghrib in the time of Ibn al Hādjdj (*Madkhal*, II 5) Sometimes a scholar attended another's class to try him with questions (see e g for al-Bukhārī Brunnow–Fischer, *Chrestomathie*, p 103) and disputations often took place in which the pupils used to support their teacher very vigorously If the stranger was recognised, the teacher might receive him with marks of honour (al-Akhfash at al-Kisāʾī's Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, IV 243 *sq*) As in the Christian universities of Europe, public disputations were held in the mosques, in which considerable feeling might be displayed, e g in the disputations in the Rusāfa mosque in Baghdād between Ibn Suraidj (d 306 = 918) and the son of Dāwūd al-Zāhirī in which the former was victorious (Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, p 110 *sq*) The teachers of the Nizāmīya also used to hold disputations (*ibid*, p 309) Celebrated teachers were not only visited by other scholars When (about 300) Ibn Kaisān was lecturing, about 100 horses etc used to stand outside the mosque because prominent men were listening to him (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, VI 282) The teachers made up the class of "the turban wearers" (*muʿammam*, *mutaʿammim*, *arbāb al-ʿimāma*, *aṣhāb al-ʿimāma*, see Makrīzī, II 246, Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, I/I, 244 *sq*, II/II 266, Dozy, *Supplement*, II 169a), in eastern Andalus, they did not wear the *ʿimāma*, but this was exceptional (Makrizi, I 137) The Kadi Abū Yūsuf (d 82) is said to have settled the dress worn by learned men (Ibn Kutlūbughā, ed Flügel, N° 249)

In spite of all this flexibility a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques This was connected with the question of pay It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction In the collections of Hadīth, the practice is both supported and condemned and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned There are continual references to people who gave lectures without payment (Bukhārī, *Idjāza*, bāb 16, Abū Dāwūd, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 36, Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt*, bāb 8, cf Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, II 181 *sq*, Art *Education*, N° 3–4 in Hastings, *Encycl of Rel and Ethics*, Lammens, *Moʿawia*, p 360 *sq*, *J A*, 1901, p 143, Wustenfeld, *Schafiʿi*, p 295, Mez, *Renaissance*, p 176) The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims but was found occasionally Among men of learning we find shoe makers, locksmiths, sandal-makers (Wustenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, p 227, 231, 267, cf also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, p 179) It was the rule however for the teacher to be paid for his work This might be quite a personal donation from a prince or other rich man, for example al-Tabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, VI 428, cf the remarks above on wandering scholars), it was as a rule however a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair (see under G), this was especially the case in the madāris The salaries of the teachers (*maʿlūm*, also *djawāmik*, sg *djamakīya*, see Dozy, *Supplement*, s v) varied considerably, according to the endowment The lecturer in the Suyūfīya received 11 dīnārs a month (Makrīzī, IV 196) but in another of Salāh al-Dīn's schools, the Salāhīya or Nāsirīya, the pay was much higher, the principal teacher received 40 dīnārs (of $13\frac{1}{3}$ dirhams) a month and 10 dīnārs as principal, along with 60 *ritl* of bread and two beasts of burden, to bring water from the Nile (*ibid*, p 251) In the Djamāl al-Dīn madrasa, each teachers got 300 dirhams a month (*ibid*, p 253) The teachers also received donations in kind on special occasions, in the other Nāsirīya school they received sugar and meat every month at the festivals (*ibid*, p 222),

in the Hidjāzīya on ʿId al-Fitr different kinds of bread and biscuit (*kaʿk* and *khushkunānik*), at the feast of sacrifice meat and in Ramadān food was prepared for them (p 243) According to al Makrīzī, learned men might have 50 dīnārs a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii 364) On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour

The men of learning were organised in a gild How the organisation worked in detail is not known At the end of the third century we find the institution of the *riʾāsa* established in Egypt While Yazīd b Habīb (d 128) is called *fakih Misr wa shaikhuhā* and *saiyidunā wa-ʿālimunā* and ʿUbaidallāh b Abī Djaʿfar (d c 135) *fakih zamānihi* (*Husn*, i 131), it is said of a series of scholars beginning with ʿAbd al Rahmān b al Kāsim (d 191), Ashhab b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d 204), ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al Hakam (d 214 or 215) that they had *al-riʾāsa* in Egypt (*Husn*, i 133 *sq*) which seems to mean that they belonged to an organisation The position is also called *riʾāsat al-ʿilm*, as, for example, with reference to Yūnus (d 264) (*ibid*, i 136) When the *madhāhib* arose, each school had its own *raʾis* in the district The formulae for this was *intahat ilaihi ʾl riyāsa fi madhhab mālik*, e g of Ibn al-Mawāz (d 281), and others (*Husn*, i 136, Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii 116), for the Shāfiʿis e g Isfarāʾīnī, died 406 (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii 121 *sq*, cf *Husn*, i 196, Ibn Djubair, p 219, 220), for the Hanafis e g al-Karkhī, died 340 (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N⁰ 115, cf N⁰ 11, 13, Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii 116), for the Hanbalis al Barbahārī (d 329) (Ibn Maskawaih, i, Cairo 1905, p 260) Besides *raʾis* we find other names like *Imām al-Hanafiya bi-Baghdād* or *bi-Khuʿāsān* or *Shaikh Aṣhābinā bi-mā waraʾ al-Nahr* (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N⁰ 67, 96, 196, cf *Shaikh al Hanafiya* Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii 116, *Shaikh al-Mālikiya fi Waktihi Husn*, i 209) With such names it is not always clear whether they are simply epithets like *Imām Waktihi*, *Imām ʿAsrihi* (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N⁰ 206, 217), *Ustādh Zamānihi* (*Husn*, i 141), *Raʾs fi ʿIlm al-Kalām* (*ibid*, N⁰ 192), *Saiyidunā* (*ibid*, N⁰ 50), "the teacher of the Hanbalis and their Fakīh" (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii 114) There is also evidence of the Riyāsa within the special subjects, e g *Shaikh al-Kurrāʾ bi Misr* (*Husn*, i 230), *Riyāsat al-Hadith bi-Misr* (*ibid*, i 163 al-Rashīd), *Riyāsat al-Fatwā* (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 27), *Riyāsat al-Ikrāʾ wa ʾl-Iftāʾ* in Alexandria (*Husn* i 210) The physicians of a district had their *Raʾis al-Aṭibbāʾ* (Makrīzī, iv 237, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 86, 247), a Kādī was appointed in 684 (1285) chief of the physicians (Quatremère, *op cit*, ii/i 81) There was also a *Raʾis al-Muhandisin* (Makrīzī, iv 224) *Shaikh al-Islām* is found as a title of honour for a scholar, e g in the viiith, viiith, ixth century (*Husn*, i 143, 205, Quatremère, *op cit*, ii/i 68, note, ii/ii 270, 280 Ibn Taimīya), probably also used earlier (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 179), while *Shaikh al Shuyūkh* means the most distinguished leader of the Sūfīs (Makrīzī, iv 285)

It is not clear what real importance the organisation of teachers had in the earlier period In different districts there was a principal director of the organisations, a *raʾis al-ʿulamāʾ*, in Medīna (Ibn Djubair, p 200, 5), in Baghdād (*ibid*, p 220, 12), in Cairo and Upper Egypt (*Husn*, i 141, 143, 191), also called *raʾis al riʾasā* (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 204, Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 248) Every madhhab had its *raʾis* for the district (*Husn*, i 148, 21, Yākūt, iv 512) The chief raʾīs could interfere in the activities, for example, of the teachers of Hadīth (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, *loc cit*) He is probably identical with the *nakib al-nukabāʾ*, without whose permission the caliph would not admit a teacher to the Mosque of al-Mansūr in 451 (*ibid*, i 246 *sq*) This shows that the head of the gild of learned men even then could exact influence on the appointment of new teachers Whether appointments were made after an examination we do not know The right of lecturing was in any case limited in this way in practice, but a systematic set of regulations hardly existed ʿAbd al-Latīf lectured in the Masdjid al-Hādjib Luʾluʾ, being paid by the Kādī al-Fādil and afterwards in the Azhar, paid out of the Bait al Māl (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 205, 207), but what his relation to the gild of teachers was is not known In later times the chief of the learned men in Cairo and Mecca had great influence, because he decided who should be admitted into the gild of teachers and also controlled salaries (see G 2ᵃ)

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar this was his *madjlis*, which was inherited by his successors, al-Buwaitī was *khalifatu ʾl-Shāfiʿī fi halkatihi* (*Husn al-Muhādara*, i 135, cf 181 infra, 182, Makrīzī, iv 5, Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv 135, Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, p 239) The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries His hearers sit in a circle (*halka* the listeners *tahallakū* Makrīzī, iv 49, 17 *sq*, cf on the word Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/ii 197 *sqq*) on the ground before the lecturer The teacher sits on a carpet (*sadjdjāda*, cf Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 254) or skin (*farwa*) This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waṣīya* (al ʿUmarī, *Taʿrif*, p 134) It is quite irregular for any one to teach standing (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, v 424, 8, for the other view see Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 45) On the other hand, we often find in large audiences that the teacher has a raised seat (for the older period see Ibn Battūta, i 212) Ibn al-Hādjdj condemns this because the teacher must not raise himself out of the circle of his hearers, he even wants to reject the use of the skin and carpet as effeminate (*Madkhal*, i 96 *sq*)

It was not the custom for teachers, to live in the mosque Of course a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there, al-Ghazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umaiyads, where Ibn Djubair saw his room and Ibn Battūta mentions a teacher, al-Kermānī, who lived on the roof of the Azhar Mosque (i 92, cf also Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa, ii 204) But these were exceptions, al ʿAzīz built a dwellinghouse for the teacher in the Azhar near the mosque (Makrīzī, iv 49) The earlier madāris founded by Nizām al-Mulk had often lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom and this is also found later Thus al-Khadjudī, who died in 543 (1149) lived in the Baihakīya (Wustenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, p 307) and in the Salāhīya the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djubair, p 48) Shams al-Dīn (d 637) lived in Damascus in the ʿĀdilīya where he taught fikh (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 171, cf also p 260) This must also have been the case in other madāris But in any

case many teachers lived outside, which is evident from the fact that not a few taught in several places (of the many examples see for the fourth century, Wustenfeld, *Schâfi'ī*, p 187, later *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i 148, 185—187)

Of the teachers many were also kādīs (as in their day were the kussās, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers see above) Thus the Fātimid kādī 'Alī b Nu'mān read Shī'a fikh shortly after the conquest in the Azhar mosque and later another member of this family of kādīs also taught there (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 600), in the same way the kādīs taught in Baghdād (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'ī*, p 235) We find the chief kādīs especially teaching in the madāris In the Sālihīya in Cairo, the Hanbalī chief kādī taught (Makrizī, iv 209, another chief kādī Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/1 135), in the Mansūrīya also a chief kādī (Makrizi, iv 219), in the Nāsirīya the chief kādīs of the Mālikīs, Hanbalīs and Hanafīs (*ibid*, p 222, see also Manāzil al-'Izz, p 194, al-Djamalīya, p 238 etc , for Mecca *Chron Mekka*, ii 105 *sq*) The kādīs frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of offices The chief kādī Ḳādī Ibn Bint al A'azz (c 700) had 17 offices (Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/1 137 *sq*) The teacher could also be a muftī (e g Yākūt, *Udabā'*, iv 136)

When a teacher dies, in modern times it has been the custom to mourn 3 days in the Azhar mosque, with recitation near his pillar and the recitation of the Kur'ān on the minbar, while the teaching is interrupted (Mustafā Bairam, *Risāla*, p 65) This is an old custom When al-Shīrāzī died, his pupils sat in silence for 3 days in the Nizāmīya and the madrasa was closed for a whole year, after al-Djuwainī's death also, no lectures were given for a year, his desk was destroyed and his pupils broke their inkwells and pens (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'ī*, p 252, 301)

Alongside of the teacher proper, a repeater (*mu'īd*) was often appointed, usually two for each teacher His duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students The celebrated fakīh al-Bulkīnī began as a repeater with his father-in-law in the Kharrūbīya (Makrīzī, iv 202), it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al Nasir, d 669, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i 189) When Ibn Khallikān became old, he put the teaching in his madrasa into the hands of repeaters (Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/ii 182) The Salāhīya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by 10 repeaters and no teachers (Makrīzi, iv 251, cf also p 210, Subkī, *Mu'īd al-Ni'am*, p 154 *sq*, Kalkashandī, *Ṣubh al A'shā'*, v 464 and Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner*, p 25, Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 1837)

8 The Students

Every one was absolutely free to join a *halka* in the mosques in order to hear a teacher Al-Makdisī for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fārs used to sit from early morning till midday and from 'Asr to Maghrib for the common people (*fī 'l-'awāmm*) (*B G A*, iii 439) But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (*ṭalaba*, *ṭullāb*, sg *ṭālib*) who were systematically training in the Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, *aṣḥāb al 'imāma* (now *ahl al 'imme* in Egypt) They were able to select their teachers as they pleased, the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students The Mālikī Imām Muhammad al-Na'ālī in Egypt (d 380) had so large a class that they occupied the area around 17 pillars in the mosque (*Husn al Muḥādara*, i 207) and al-Isfarā'inī (d 406) in the Masdjid b al Mubārak had a close of 3—700 (Wüstenfeld, *Schafi'ī*, p 217) Some students heard a large number of teachers, Ibn Hamakān (d 405) attended lectures of no fewer than 470 teachers in Basra (*ibid*, p 215) Many never finished studying for they could always find new teachers to study under up to their old age, even if they themselves also taught (cf above) The ambitious would only study under great teachers (*dārasa 'alā*) and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf *B G A*, iii 237) This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student (cf Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'ī*, p 121), for the sake of *talab al-'ilm* was long kept up in Islām Ibn Khaldūn regards it as necessary and says that in his time, when learning in the Maghrib was at a low level, very many Maghribis used to go to study in Egypt and Syria (*Mukaddima*, *fasl*, 6—7, N° 2, 34) and down to the present day the Azhar has attracted students from the whole world of Islām

The student *kara'a 'alā* his teacher, in Fikh studies *tafakkaha 'alā* (Ibn Kutlūbughā, p 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 54 etc) or *kara'a 'l-fikh 'alā* (*ibid*, p 12) When the student had completed his teacher's course, the teacher declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject (*kharraja lahu fī* Yākūt, *Udabā'*, iv 255, 17) and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (*takharraja 'alaihi ibid*, p 244 or *bihi fī Husn al Muḥādara*, i 163, 7 from below, 192, 209, 212, Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/1 122, *B G A*, iii 237, Ibn Kutlūbughā, ed Flugel, p 44, Yāḳūt, iv 512) The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands This does not prevent quarrels breaking out and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al-Djawhar*, p 141 *sqq*, 192 *sqq*)

The madāris introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule twenty, see above) was allotted to a particular teacher Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines But even then irregular students were also admitted (cf Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, ii 168) In Ibn Khaldūn's time the period of study for students in the madrasa in Tunis was five years, but in the Maghrib sixteen (*Mukaddima*, *fasl* 6, N° 2 = p 343 of the Cairo edition of 1322) But it was only in quite modern times that the instruction was really properly organised Ibn al-Hādjdj complains that students go from one mosque to another except when the new teacher is more learned (*Madkhal*, ii 3, 9 *sq*)

We hear exceptionally of women students, one was a member of al-Shāfi'ī's madjlis (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, i 181, *infra*) In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual, for it is several times mentioned in hadīths, which reserve special days for women (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 32, 36, 50)

It is now the custom in the Azhar mosque to have no lectures on Fridays and Thursday afternoons and also in Fās (Péretié, in *Archives Marocaines*, xviii 301) From Ibn Hādjdj, we learn that the custom was already known in his time for he protests against it and only allows the forenoon to be used for purification etc (*Madkhal*, ii 13 below the middle), the time after the Friday salāt is particularly suitable for studies This agrees also with the general practice, in the Azhar mosque after its foundation instruction was given at this very time (Makrīzī, iv 49, 17 *sq* , cf Yākūt, *Udabā'*, vii 198) On the other hand it has always been a common practice to close the shops on Fridays, as al Makdisī mentions for Egypt for example (*B G A* , iii 205), Ibn Battūta for Khwārizm (iii 4) In al-Azhar in addition to the period already mentioned, holidays are given on festivals and various mōlid's during the months of Sha'bān, Ramadān and the first half of Shawwāl and also forty five days of the hot season, when the usual holidays do not fall in it

Many of the students have always been poor Bukī b Mukhallad (d 276) held up to his pupils, as an example, one who lived only on cabbage leaves thrown to him, and another who sold his trousers to buy paper (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, ii 370) The student could, like any one else, live in the mosque (*ibid*, i 255, 5 in the minaret of the Omaiyads, about 400) Charity took an interest in them The learned caliph al Kādir (363—381) sent food from his table every day, which was distributed among those who lived in the mosques (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 11, 297 *sq* , from Ibn al-Djawzī), and the vizier Ibn al Furāt, who was executed in 312 gave an endowment of 20,000 dirhams for *tullāb al hadīth* (*K al-Wuzarā'*, ed Amedroz, p 201 *sq*)

In the *madāris*, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition In the Suyūfīya, founded by Salāh al Dīn, the students received stipends according to their *tabakāt*, after the teacher had received 11 dīnārs monthly (Makrīzī, iv 196) In another madrasa they received 3 *ritl* of bread daily and 30 dirham fulūs monthly (*ibid*, p 253) On special occasions they were given meat, sugar etc (*ibid*, p 222, cf for Fās *Arch Maroc aines*, xviii 289) With increasing interest in the madrasa, interest was also taken in those studying in other mosques In the mosque of Ibn Tulūn in 767, the emir Yalbughā revived the school with 7 Hanafī teachers and the students received 40 dirhams and 1 *irdabb* of wheat monthly (Makrīzī, iv 42) The Azhar from its restoration by Salār after the earthquake in 702 had lecture-rooms and dwelling apartments continually added to it In 818 there were in all 750 poor students in the Mosque of different nations, each in its own riwāk They received stipends and food, bread and halāwa (*ibid*, iv 54) Kā'it Bāi among others (872—901) built lodgings for Syrian and Turkish students and in the twelfth century the emir Katkhudā extended not only the large lecture rooms but renovated the lodging for Meccan and Sūdānese students and built new hostels with a kitchen for those from Upper Egypt There were at this time several kitchens connected with the mosque (cf still the name of the eastern door *Bāb al-Shurba* "Gate of Soup"), and Katkhudā during the month of Ramadān gave them many gifts in kind, and increased the daily ration of bread (*djarāya*) for them (see down to about 820 Makrīzī, iv 49—55 and to the present day Sulaimān Rasad al-Zaiyātī, *Kanz al Djawhar fi Ta'rikh al Azhar*, to Katkhudā cf al Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, iii 238—246, cf for Fās *Arch Maroc* , xviii 289) Shortly before 'Uthmān Katkhudā had built a home for the blind in connection with the Mosque In the nineteenth century Muhammad 'Alī built a new students' hostel and his successors have imitated him (see Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al Djawhar* etc , p 76, 86, 96, 112)

A student living in a mosque is called *mudjāwir* (Makrīzī, iv 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims (Ibn Djubair, p 122) and to anyone living in a mosque (see above) The students' apartments are divided into *arwika*, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades (cf above) Each *riwāk* is under a shaikh Many students live in khānakāh's, other in private houses When Lane was in Egypt, the teachers usually had students as boarders In Fās at the present day, the students in a madrasa themselves choose a *mukaddim*, who acts as door keeper and supervisor, they have at the same time a *nāzir* (*Arch Maroc* , xviii 288, 298) With lodging in the Azhar Mosque goes a small sum of money, at most about £ 1 monthly, in addition to the daily ration of bread, which however is shared by others, about 3,000 in number Troubles often break out in these students' hostels (cf Sulaimān Rasad, *Kanz al-Djawhar*, p 175—196) and the Azhar has played a prominent part in political movements since the World War (on teaching methods, teachers and students, see also 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khitat al-djadīda*, iv 26 *sqq*)

9 Recent Reforms in Education

When intercourse between the Muslim world and Europe became active, the decline in Islāmic studies above mentioned was already far advanced On the one hand it resulted in the planning of new educational institutions on the European model, on the other in the reformation of the old system of education in the mosques

In India in the xviiith century education was given in the mosques as in other Muslim countries, except that Persian played a considerable part alongside of Arabic (cf *Report on the State of Education in Bengal*, Calcutta 1835, *Second Report* etc , 1836) In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasah with a reformed system of education in order to train officials, it was imitated by other madāris When in 1837 Persian was abolished as the language of the law courts, the madāris only retained significance mainly as religious institutions Other institutions arose of more markedly English character, like the Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in 1875 (cf Th Morison, *The History of the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College Aligarh*, Allāhābād 1909, *R M M* , ii , 1907, p 380 *sqq*) and the Islamic College in Lahore etc This led to new reforms in the madāris In the Calcutta Madrasa an Anglo-Persian Department was instituted Conferences were held in 1907–1908, 1909–1910 and 1912, and on July 31, 1914 the *Reformed Madrassah Scheme* was promulgated English was to be learned in the reformed madāris and Muslim studies to be based on modern text-books, only the Calcutta Madrasah retained a department, the Arabic department, where the old Islāmic education, although

somewhat modernised, was still given The education in the madrasas is linked up with the new universities in Calcutta and elsewhere (*Calcutta University Commission*, 1917—1919, *Report*, Calcutta 1919, I/i 143—187, V/ii 60—70) In 1922 there were already 14 universities of which five were founded after 1919 (*Oriente Moderno*, ii, 1922, p 60, on earlier discussions on the foundation of a university see *R M M*, xxi 1912, p 268 *sqq*) The older universities, founded on the model of that of London, are those of Calcutta 1857, Madras and Bombay 1857, Lahore 1882, Allāhābād 1887 (*R M M*, vi 4, on Chiefs' Colleges, *ibid*, p 1—51, ix 44—81) The essential feature of the reforms is the new method of instruction, the systematic organisation of the courses, which are concluded by examinations, and the creation of a qualified body of competent teachers

Inspired by the same spirit, if not so thorough, were the reforms which were carried through at the capital of Islāmic studies, the Azhar in Cairo without the assistance of a European power In 1872 an examination for those beginning teaching was instituted and the ordinance expanded by new regulations in 1885, 1888 and 1895 The principal could however appoint teachers without examination The students had to be registered so that unworthy persons should not share the stipends On June 4, 1895, a council of five members was appointed to prepare reforms They dealt with the finance and organisation In 1896 the mosque-schools in Tanṭā, Damietta, and Dassūk and in 1903 those of Alexandria were put under the Azhar On July 1, 1896 (supplemented in 1897 and 1898) examinations for students were arranged, history, geography and mathematics were introduced as voluntary subjects and it was forbidden to read glosses and super-commentaries in the first four years The driving power in the council was one of its members, Muhammad ʿAbduh, but he retired in 1905 The Khedive ʿAbbās II Hilmī in 1908 and in 1911, after several commissions had been working at the subject, promulgated a new law which is still (1928) practically in force The administration of the Azhar Mosque and the institutions connected with it (particularly other mosques and the Kādī School) were reorganised The organisation is based on the old organisation of the staff with the principal as head of the ʿulamāʾ and the heads of the madhāhib as members of the committee of management New subjects were instituted, such as *akhlāk* in combination with the *sīra*, history, especially Muslim, geography, natural history, chemistry, mathematics, drawing, hygiene, education Instruction is given in three divisions, each of which is estimated to cover 5 to 7 years To obtain admission a student must be 10—17 years of age, be able to read and write and know the Kurʾān by heart (by the law of 1911 he was allowed to learn half of it in his first six months in the Mosque, but this was abolished in 1921) Each year ends with the examination in the month of April, the final examination of the first section enables the successful candidate to teach in elementary schools, that of the second to obtain an appointment in certain offices or as *imām* or *khaṭīb* in the mosques, by the examination, the candidate obtains the highest degree of *ʿālim*, and can become a teacher in the Azhar, or judge or council in the Sharīʿa courts By new laws of 1921, 1923 and 1924, the examinations were reformed and the relationship to the Kāḍī School, Dār al-ʿUlūm and other educational institutions reorganised so that in the Azhar, a *kism al-takhaṣṣuṣ* for *Fikh*, *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Tawhīd*, *Manṭik*, *Wadʿ*, *Bayān*, *Akhlāk*, Islāmic history and practical courses in teaching and court practice were instituted When by the law of Aug 26, 1927, a university was founded with faculties of arts, law, science, and medicine (cf *Oriente Moderne*, v, 1925, p 110 *sq*, 434—436, vii, 1927, p 627 *sqq*), the question of education in the mosque again came up and a new commission on Nov 27, 1927 was charged to consider new proposals (for the reforms of Egyptian institutions see P Arminjon, *L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmane d'Egypte*, 1907, Mustafā Bairam, *Risāla*, 1902, Sulaiman Rasad al-Zaiyāti, *Djawhar fī Taʾrikh al-Azhar*, 1320, p 147 *sqq*, *Aʿmāl Madjlis Idārat al Azhar*, Cairo 1323, anonymous, but by ʿAbd al Karīm Salmān, cf *al Manār*, xxv, 1324 p 703, *Commission de la Reforme de l'Université d'El Azhar, Projet de Reforme presente par Muh. Pacha Said*, Cairo 1911, and the official regulations, Johs Pedersen, *al Azhar*, Copenhagen 1922, p 65 *sqq*, A Sékaly, in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, i, 1927, p 95 *sqq*, 465 *sq*, ii, 1928, p 47 *sqq* etc, *Oriente Moderno*, v, 1925, p 113 *sq*, vii, 1927, p 634) In Morocco the ruler in 1844 introduced European subjects into the Madrasa in Fās Djadīd (whence its name *Madrasat al-Muhandisīn*), these innovations did not become permanent but in 1916 the madāris in Fās and Rabat were reformed (Bell, in *JA*, ser 11, x 152, Péretié, in *Arch Maroc*, xviii, 1912, p 257 *sqq*, see for Tunis *R M M*, iii 385)

Since the World War, throughout the world of Islām, particularly in Turkey, very far reaching reforms in education have been introduced the results of which cannot yet be surveyed

G The Administration of the Mosque

1 Finances

The earliest mosques were built by the rulers of the various communities and the members of the community did all the work necessary in connection with the primitive mosques The later mosques as a rule were erected by rulers, emirs, high officials or other rich men in their private capacity and maintained by them The erection of the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn cost its builder 120,000 dīnārs, the Mosque of Muʾaiyad 110,000 (Makrīzī, iv 32, 137, 138) The upkeep of the mosque was provided for by estates made over as endowments (*wakf*, *habs*) (cf thereon besides the Fikh books I Krcsmárik, *Das Wakfrecht*, *Z D M G*, xlv, 1891, p 511—576, E Mercier, *Le code du hobous ou ouakf selon la législation musulmane*, 1899) In the third century we thus hear of houses which belonged to the mosques and were let by them (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, *Führer*, N⁰ 773, 837) and Ibn Tūlūn handed over a large number of houses as an endowment for his mosque and hospital (Makrīzī, iv 83) This custom was taken over from the Christians by the Muslims (see Becker, in *Isl*, ii 404) According to Makrīzī, estates were not given as waḳf endowments until Muhammad Abū Bakr al-Mādharāʾī (read thus) bequeathed *Birkat al-Habash* and *Suyūṭ* as endowments (about 300 A H), this was however cancelled by the Fātimids again (*ibid*) Al-Hākim made large endowments not only for his own,

but also for mosques previously in existence, such as the Azhar, al-Hākimī, Dār al ʿIlm and Djāmiʿ al Maḳs and Djāmiʿ Rāshida, the endowments consisted of dwelling houses, shops, mills, *ḳaisārīya* and *ḥawānīt*, and the document (*ibid*, p 50 *sq*) specifies how and for what purposes the revenues are to distributed Baths were also given as endowments for mosques (*ibid*, p 76 for 529, cf 81 of the year 543) Salah al Dīn granted lands to his madāris in 566, for example, a *ḳaisārīya* to the Kamhīya and a *daʿa* in al-Fayyūm and the teachers received wheat from al Fayyūm and in the same year he endowed the Nasirīya with goldsmiths' shops and a village (*ibid*, p 193 *sq*, cf an other document p 196 *sq*) During the Mamlūk period also, estates were given as endowments (for documents of this period see van Berchem, *C I A*, i, N⁰, 247, 252, 528, Moberg, in *M O*, xii, 1918, p 1 *sqq*, *J A*, ser 9, iii 264—266, ser 11, x 158 *sqq*, 222 *sqq*, xii 195 *sqq*, 256 *sqq*, 363 *sqq*) They were often a considerable distance apart the mosques in Egypt often had estates in Syria (v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N⁰ 247, Makrīzī, vi 107, 137) Not only were mosques built and endowed but already existing ones were given new rooms for teachers, minbars, stipends for Kur'ān reciters, teachers etc There were often special endowments for the salaries of the imām and the mu'adhdhins, for the support of visitors, for blankets, food etc (see Ibn Djubair, p 277 with reference to the Mosque of the Umayyads) The endowments and the purpose for which they might be used was precisely laid down in the grant and the document attested in the court of justice by the kadī and the witnesses (cf Makrīzī, iv 50, 196 *infra*) The text was also often inscribed on the wall of the mosque (cf *ibid*, p 76, the above mentioned inscriptions amongst others Documents from Tashkent see *R M M*, xiii, 1911, p 278 *sqq*) Certain conditions might be laid down, e g in a madrasa that no Persian should be appointed there (Makrīzī, iv 202 *infra*) or that the teacher could not be dismissed or some such condition (v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N⁰ 201), that no women could enter (*J A*, ser 9, iii 389), that no Christian, Jew or Hanbalī could enter the building (*ibid*, p 405), etc Endowments were often made with stipulations for the family of the founder or other purposes That mosques could also be burdened with expenses is evident from an inscription in Edfū of the year 797 (1395) (v Berchem, *C I A*, N⁰ 539) If a mosque was founded without sufficient endowment, it decayed (e g Makrīzī, iv 115, 201, 203) or the stipends were reduced (*ibid*, p 251), but in the larger mosques as a rule the rulers provided new endowments According to al-Māwardī, there were also special "Sultān-mosques" which were directly under the patronage of the caliph and their officials paid from the Bait al-Māl (*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya*, ed Enger, p 172 *supra*, 176 *supra*)

Just as the Bait al Māl of the state was kept in the mosque, so was the mosque's own property kept in it e g the *ḳanz* or *ḵhizānat al Kaʿba*, which is mentioned in ʿOmar's time and may be presumed to have existed under his predecessors (Balādhurī, p 43 *supra*, *C M*, i 307, ii 14) The *Bait Māl al Djāmiʿ* in Damascus was in a kubba in the sahn (*B G A*, iii 157, Ibn Djubair, p 267, Ibn Baṭṭūta, i 201, cf for Medīna Wustenfeld, *Medīna*, p 86) Rich men also had their private treasure chambers in the mosque (see E 2) as used to be the case with the Temple (see E Schurer, *Gesch d jud Volkes*⁴, ii, 1907, p 322–328, F Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, p 405 *sq*)

2 Administration

As Imām of the Muslim community, the caliph had the mosques under his charge This was also the case with the sultān, governor or other ruler who represented the caliph in every respect The administration of the mosques could however not be directly controlled by the usual government offices By its endowment the mosque became an object *sui generis* and was withdrawn from the usual state or private purposes Their particular association with religion gave the kādis special influence and on the other hand the will of the testator continued to prevail These three factors decided the administration of the mosque but the relation between them was not always clear

a Administration of the separate mosques

The mosque was usually in charge of a *nāzir* or *walī* who looked after its affairs The founder was often himself the *nāzir* or he chose another and after his death, his descendants took charge or whoever was appointed by him in the foundation charter In the older period the former was the rule and is said to have applied especially in the case of chief mosques, if we may believe Nāsir i Khosraw, according to whom al-Hākim paid the descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn 30,000 dīnārs for the mosque and 5,000 for the minaret and similarly to the descendants of ʿAmi b al ʿĀsī 100,000 dīnārs for the Mosque of ʿAmi (*Sefer-Nāma*, ed Schefer, p 39 and 146, 40 and 148) In 378 we read of an administrator (*mutawallī*) of the mosque in Jerusalem (Makrīzī, iv 11) In the case of mosques and madāris founded during the Mamlūk period, it is often expressly mentioned that the administration is to remain in the hands of the descendants of the founder e g in the case of a mosque founded by Baibars (Makrīzī, iv 89), in the Djāmiʿ Maks when the vizier al-Maksī renovated it (*ibid*, p 66), the Ṣāhibiya (*ibid*, p 205), and the Ḳarāsunḳurīya (*ibid*, p 232) etc, so also in the Badrīya in Jerusalem ("to the best of the descendants", cf v Berchem, *C I A*, ii/1 129) Other cases are also found Sometimes an emir or official was administrator e g in the Mu'ayyad (Makrīzī, iv 140), the Taibarsiya (*ibid*, p 224), the Azhar, (*ibid*, p 54 *sq*) or the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā'*, xi 159—162) In Djamāl al Dīn's madrasa, it was always the *kātib al-sirr* (Makrīzī, iv 256), in the Khanakāh of Baibars the *ḵhāzindār* and his successors (v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N⁰ 252), but it was more frequently a kādī, for example in the mosque of Baibars just mentioned, the Ḥanafī kādī was to take charge after the descendants (Makrīzī, iv 89), in the Ākbughawiya, the Shāfiʿī kādī was appointed but his descendants were expressly excluded (*ibid*, p 225) In the Mosque of the Umayyads during the Mamlūk period, the Shāfiʿī chief kādī was as a rule the nāzir (Kalḳashandī, iv 191) and in the Nāsir mosque in Cairo (*ibid*, xi 262—264) In this city we find during the Mamlūk period that emīrs and kādis alternately acted as nāzirs in the large mosques (e g the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn

Maḳrīzī, iv 42) Cases are also found however in which descendants of the founder unsuccessfully claimed the office of nāẓir (Makrīzī, iv 218, 255) This was the result of the increasing power of the kādīs (see below) In the madāris the nāẓir was often also the headmaster, the two offices were hereditary (*ibid*, p 204 the Sāhibīya al-Bahā'īya, p 238 *supra* the Djamālīya) In Tustar a descendant of Sahl as nāẓir and teacher conducted a madrasa with the help of four slaves (Ibn Battūta, ii 25 *sq*)

The Nāẓir managed the finances and other business of the mosque Sometimes he had a fixed salary (in Baibars' Khānaḳāh 500 dirhams a month v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N° 252, in the Dulāmīya in Damascus in 847 only 60 dirhams a month *J A*, ser 9, iii 261), but the revenues of the mosque were often applied to his personal use His control of the funds of the mosque was however often limited by the central commission for endowments (see below) The nāẓir might also see to any necessary increase of the endowments He appointed the staff and he fixed their pay (cf e g Makrīzī, iv 41) He could also interfere in questions not arising out of the business side of administration for example the emīr Sawdūb, the nāẓir of the Azhar in 818 ejected about 750 poor people from the mosque He was however thrown into prison for this by the Sultān (*ibid*, p 54) Generally speaking the nāẓir's powers were considerable In 784 a nāẓir in the Azhar decided that the property of a mudjāwir, who had died without heirs, should be distributed among the other students (*ibid*, p 54) In Mecca, according to Kutb al Dīn, the *Nāẓir al-Harām* was in charge of the great festival of the mawlid of the Prophet (12th Rabī' I) and distributed robes of honour in the mosque on this occasion (*C M*, iii 439) In the Azhar, no nāẓir was appointed after about 1100 but a learned man was appointed Shaikh al Azhar, principal and administrator of the mosque (Sulaimān Rasad al-Laiyātī, *Kanz al Djawhar fī Ta'rikh al Azhar*, p 123 *sqq*) Conditions are similar in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 235 *sqq*, 252 *sq*)

As we have seen, kādīs were often nāẓirs of mosques This was especially the case in the madāris, where the kādīs were often teachers (cf Makrīzī, iv 209, 219, 222, 238, etc), the kādīs were particularly anxious to get the principal offices in the large schools (cf Kalḳashandī, xi 235) Their influence was however further increased by the fact that, if a nāẓir qualified by the terms of the founder's will no longer existed, the kādī of the madhhab in question stepped into his place (cf *Z D M G*, xlv, 1897, p 552) By this rule, which often gave rise to quarrels between the different kādīs (e g Maḳrīzī, iv 218 the Ẓāhirīya), a kādī could accumulate a large number of offices and "milk the endowments" (*ibid*, iii 364) Sometimes their management was so ruthless, that the schools soon declined (e g the Sāhibīya and the Djamālīya Maḳrīzī, iv 204 *sq*, 238) They also exercised influence through the committee of management of the mosque

b Centralisation in the Management of the Mosques

The large mosques occupied a special position in the Muslim empire, because the caliph had to interest himself particularly in them especially those of Mecca and Medina where the rulers and their governors built extensions and executed renovations (cf *C M*, i 145, iii 83 *sqq*) During the 'Abbāsid period, the ḳādī occasionally plays a certain part in this connection, for example al-Mahdī (158—169) presented the ḳādī with the necessary money to extend and repair the Meccan mosque (*C M*, i 312, ii 43) In 263, al-Muwaffaḳ ordered the governor of Mecca to undertake repairs at the Ka'ba (*ibid*, ii 200 *sq*) In 271 the governor and the kādī of Mecca co operated to get money from al Muwaffak for repairs and they saw the work through (*ibid*, iii 136 *sq*) In 281, the ḳādī of Mecca wrote to the vizier of al-Mu'tadid about the Dār al-Nadwa and backed up his request by sending a deputation of the staff there (*sadana*) The caliph then ordered the vizier to arrange the matter through the ḳādī of Baghdād and a man was sent to Mecca to take charge of the work (*C M*, iii 144 *sqq*)

The importance of the ḳādī was based primarily on his special knowledge in the field of religion A zealous kādī like al-Hārith b Miskīn in Cairo (237—245) forbade the *kurrā'* of a mosque to recite the Kur'ān melodiously, he also had the *maṣāḥif* in the mosque of 'Amr inspected and appointed an *amīn* to take charge of them (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 469) After the building of the Tūlūnid mosque, a commission was appointed under the Kādī 'l-Kudāt to settle the ḳibla of the mosque (Makrīzī, iv 21 *sq*) But it a quite early date they also obtained a say in the management of the funds The first kādī to lay his hands on the *aḥbās* was Tawba b Namir al Hadramī, while hitherto every endowment had been administered by itself by the children of the testator or some one appointed by him, in 118 Tawba brought about the centralisation of all endowments and a large diwān was created for the purpose (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 346) How this system of centralisation worked is not clear at first, but it was carried through under the Fātimids

Al-Mu'izz created a special *dīwān al-aḥbās* and made the chief kādī head of it as well as of the *djawāmi' wa 'l-mashāhid* (Makrīzī, iv 83 and 75, cf Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 585, 587, 589, according to whom al-'Azīz specially appointed the chief kādī over the two djāmi's), and a special *bait al māl* was instituted for it in 363, a yearly revenue of 150,000 dirhams was guaranteed, anything left over went to form a capital fund All payments were made through this office after being certified by the administration of the mosques (Makrīzī, iv 83 *sq*) The mosques were thus administered by the kādīs, directly under the caliph The *dīwān al-birr wa 'l-ṣadaka* in Baghdād (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 72) perhaps served similar purposes

Al-Ḥākim reformed the administration of the mosques In 403 he had an investigation made and when it proved that 800 (or 830) had no income (*ghalla*), he made provision for them by a payment of 9,220 dirhams monthly from the Bait al-Māl, he also made 405 new endowments (of estates) for the officials of the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv 84, 264) Under the Fātimids, the ḳāḍīs used to inspect all the mosques and mashāhid in and around Cairo at the end of Ramadān and compare them with their inventories (*ibid*, p 84) The viziers of the Fātimids, who also had the title ḳādī did much for the mosques (Djawhar, Ya'kūb b Killis, Badr al-Djamālī cf v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N° 11, 576, p 631)

Under the Ayyūbids, conditions were the same as under the Fātimids The *diwān al-ahbās* was under the kādīs (Maḳrīzī, iv 84) Salāh al-Dīn gave a great deal to the mosques, especially the madāris (cf above) 20,000 dirhams a day is a figure given (*ibid*, p 117) When Ibn Djubair says that the sultān paid the salaries of the officials of the mosques and schools of Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus (p 43, 52, 275), he must really mean the Dīwān already mentioned

The same conditions continued for a time under the Mamlūks In the time of Baibars, for example, the chief kādī Tādj al-Dīn was *nāzir al-ahbās* He caused the Mosque of ʿAmr to be renovated and when the funds from the endowments were exhausted, the Sultān helped him from the Bait al-Māl (Maḳrīzī, iv 14), after conferring with experts, the chief kādī forbade a water-supply brought by Salāh al-Dīn into the mosque (*ibid*, p 14, Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 137) In 687 the chief kadī Fakr al-Dīn complained to Kalāʾūn that the ʿAmr and Azhar mosques were falling into ruins, while the *ahbās* were much reduced The Sultān would not however permit their restoration but entrusted the repairs of the mosques to certain emīrs, one to each (Makrīzī, iv 14, 15) This principle was several times applied in later times and the emirs frequently gained influence at the expense of the kādis Thus after the earthquake of 707 (1303) (cf thereon Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii, 214 *sqq*), the mosques were allotted to emirs, who had to see that they were rebuilt (Makrizī, iv, 15, 53) From the middle of the seventh century, we often find emīrs as administrators of the chief mosques The kādi had however obtained so much authority that he was conceded "a general supervision of all matters affecting the endowments of his madhhab" (al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf bi 'l Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, p 117, cf *Z D M G*, xlv, p 559), according to this theory the kādī could intervene to stop abuses In Syria in 660 (1262) Ibn Khallikān became kādī over the whole area between al ʿArish and the Euphrates and superintendent of wakfs, mosques, madrasas etc (Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/i 170)

Sulṭān Baibars reformed these endowments and restored the office of *nāzir al awkāf* or *nāzir al-ahbās al mabrūra* or *n djihāt al-birr* (Kalkashandi, iv 34, 38, v 465, ix 256, xi 252, 257 *sqq*, cf Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, p 109) According to al Makrizī, the endowments were distributed among the Mamlūks in three departments (*djihāt*) 1 *djihāt al-ahbās*, managed by an emīr, the Dawādār this looked after the lands of the mosques, in 740 in all 130,000 faddān, 2 *djihāt al-awkāf al hukmiya bi Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, which administered dwelling houses, it was managed by the Shāfiʿī *Kādī 'l-Kuḍāt*, with the title *Nāzir al-Awkāf* This department came to an end in the time of al-Malik al-Nāsir Faradj because an emīr supported by the opinion of the Hanafī chief kādī, spent a great deal and misused the funds, 3 *djihāt al-awkāf al-ahliya*, comprised all the endowments which still had particular nāzirs, either descendants of the testator or officials of the Sultān and the ḳādī The emīrs seized their lands and Barḳūḳ, before he became Sulṭān, sought in vain to remedy the evil by appointing a commission The endowments in general disappeared somewhat later because the ruling emīrs seized them (Maḳrīzī, iv 83—86) In modern times, as a rule, endowments in Muslim lands have been combined under a special ministry

To be distinguished from the administrators of the mosque is the *nāzir* who is only concerned with the supervision of the erection of mosques Any one could be entrusted with the building of a mosque (e g Makrīzī, iv 92) Under the Mamlūks there was also a clerk of works, *mutawallī shadd al ʿomāʾir* or *nāzir al-ʿimāra* he was the overseer of the builders (*ibid*, p 102, see *Zubdat Kashf al Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, p 115, cf p 109, v Berchem, *C I A*, i 742 *sq*, 751)

The caliph or the ruler of the country was in this, as in other matters, supreme As we have seen, he intervened in the administration and directed it as he wished He was also able to interfere in the internal affairs of the mosque, if necessary through his usual officers In 253 (867) after the rising in the Fayyūm, the chief of police issued strict orders by which it was forbidden to say the *basmalah* aloud in the mosque the number of prayers in the month of Ramadān was cut down, the *adhān* from the minaret forbidden etc (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, *Führer*, N° 788) In the year 294, the governor ʿIsā al-Nūshārī had the mosque of ʿAmr closed except at the salāts because the Bait al Mal was kept in it, which however produced protests from the people (Makrizī, iv 11, Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 266, *B G A*, vii 116) Many similar examples could be mentioned, especially during periods of unrest In 821 the nāʾib in conjunction with the kādis revised the budget of the Mosque of the Omayyads and made financial reforms (*J A*, ser 9, vii 220) The adhān formulae were laid down in edicts by the ruler (Makrīzī, iv 44, 45) In the year 323, the vizier in Baghdād had a man whipped who had recited a variant text of the Kurʾān in the mihrāb, after he had been heard in his defence in the presence of the ḳādīs and learned men (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi 300) The importance of the sovereign in connection with the mosque depended on his personality As a rule he recognised the authority of the regular officials When for example al-Khatīb al Baghdādī asked the Caliph al-Kāim for authority to read Hadīth in the mosque of al-Mansūr, the latter referred the question to the *nakīb al-nukabāʾ* (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, i 246 *sq*, cf Wustenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii 280)

The consecration of the mosque was attended by certain ceremonies When for example the midday service was conducted for the first time in the Djāmiʿ al Sālih in Cairo, a representative from Baghdād was present (Makrīzī, iv 81) At the consecration of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, the builder gave al-Rabīʿ b Sulaimān, a pupil of al Shāfiʿī, who lectured on Hadīth there, a purse of 1,000 dīnārs (Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, ii 139) Al Makrīzī describes the consecration ceremony at several mosques In the M al Muʾayyad the Sultān was present seated on a throne surrounded by his officers, the basin of the sahn was filled with sugar and halwa, the people ate and drank, lectures were given, then the salāt was read and khutba delivered and the Sultān distributed robes of honour among the officials of the Mosques and Sūfīs (Makrīzī, iv 139), similarly at the Ẓāhirīya (p 662, were poems were also recited cf Quatremère, *Hist Sult Maml*, i/i, p 228 *sq*), Madrasat Djamāl al-Dīn, p 811, al Sarghitmishīya, p 757 (Makrīzī, iv, p 217 *sq*, 253, 256)

H The Personnel of the Mosque

1 The Imām

From the earliest days of Islām, the ruler was the leader of the salāt, he was *imām* as leader in war, head of the government and leader of the common salāt The governors of provinces thus became leaders of the *ṣalāt* and heads of the *kharādj* and when a special financial official took over the fiscal side, the governor was appointed *ʿala 'l-salāt wa 'l-harb* He had to conduct ritual prayer, especially the Friday salāt on which occasion he also delivered the khutba If he was prevented, the chief of police, *sāhib al shurta*, was his khalīfa (cf Makrīzī, iv 83) ʿAmr b al ʿĀṣi permitted the people of the villages to celebrate the two festivals, while the Friday divine service could only take place under those qualified to conduct it (who could punish and impose duties, *ibid*, p 7) This was altered under the ʿAbbāsids The caliph no longer regularly conducted the salāts (after the conquest of the Persians Makrīzī, iv 45), and ʿAnbasa b Ishāk, the last Arab governor of Egypt (238—242), was also the last emīr to conduct the salāt in the djāmiʿ An imām, paid out of the *bait al-māl*, was now appointed (*ibid*, p 83), but the governor still continued to be formally appointed *ʿala 'l salāt* Henceforth the ruler only exceptionally conducted the service, for example the Fātimids on ceremonial occasions, especially in the month of Ramadān (Ibn Taghrī birdī, ed Juynboll, ii 482 *sqq* , Kalkashandī, *Subh al Aʿshā'*, iii 509 *sqq*), in many individual mosques probably the most prominent man conducted the service, according to the Hadīth, the one with the best knowledge of the Kur'ān and, failing him, the eldest should officiate (Bukhārī, *Aḏhān*, bāb 46, 49)

The imām appointed was chosen from among those learned in religious matters, he was often a Hāshimid (Mez, *Renaissance*, p 147), he might at the same time be a kādī or his nā'ib (see Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 575, 589, Ibn Battūta, i 276 *sq*) During the salāt he stood beside the mihrāb, al-Makdisī mentions the anomaly, that in Syria one performed one's salāt "in front of the imām" (*B G A* , iii 202), he could also stand on an elevated position, on one occasion Abū Huraira conducted the *ṣalāt* in the Meccan mosque from the roof (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 17) In Mecca, in Ibn Djubair's time, each of the four recognised madhāhib (with the Zaidīs in addition) had an imām, they conducted the salāt, one after the other each in his place, in the following order Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs, Hanafīs and Hanbalis, they only performed the salāt al-maghrib together, in Ramadān they held the *tarāwih* in different places in the mosque, which was also often conducted by the kurrā' (*Riḥla*, p 101, 102, 143 *sq*) This is still the case, very frequently one performs the salāt, not after the imām of his own madhab (Snouck Hurgronje *Mekka*, ii 79 *sq*) In Jerusalem according to Mudjīr al-Dīn the order was Mālikīs, Shāfiʿis, Hanafīs, Hanbalīs, who prayed each in their own part of the Haram, in Hebron the order was the same (Sauvaire, *Hist Jer et Hebron*, p 136 *sq*) In Ramadān extraordinary imāms were appointed (*ibid*, p 138)

When the imām no longer represented a political office, each mosque regularly had one He had to maintain order and was in general in charge of the divine services in the mosque In al-Makdisī's time the imām of the Mosque of ʿAmr read a djuz' of the Kur'ān every morning after the salāt (*B G A* , iii 205) It was his duty to conduct every salāt, which is only valid *fī djamāʿa* He must conform to the standards laid down in the law, but it is disputed whether the salāt is invalid in the opposite case According to some, the leader of the Friday salāt should be a different man from the leader of the five daily salāts (Māwardī, *al Ahkām al-Sultāniya*, ed Enger, p 171 *sqq* , Ibn al-Hādjdj, *K al Madkhal*, ii 41, 43 *sqq* , 50, 73 *sqq* , al-Subkī, *Muʿid al Niʿam*, ed Myhrman, p 163 *sq* , for hadīths s Wensinck, *Handbook*, p 109 *sq*) Many cherished misgivings against payment being made for religious services and quoted in support of their view a saying of Abū Hanīfa (*B G A* , iii 127)

2 The Khatīb

The development of this office is analogous to that of imām When the ʿAbbāsid caliph no longer delivered khutbas regularly, a man learned in religious matters was appointed to the office of khatīb [see D 1 and the article KHAṬĪB] It could be pointed out that the Prophet himself had a khatīb namely ʿUtārid b Hadjib (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i 178) and sermons outside the Friday service had in any case become quite usual Thus Hasan al-Basri was already a noted preacher (*ibid*, p 190) Later it sometimes happened that a general like Djawhar himself acted as imām at the salāt, while the khutba was left to a learned man (Makrīzī, iv 44) As the khatīb in theory represented the ruler, he uttered a blessing upon him, to this extent the office had a political significance The caliph was blessed and the heir-apparent and the king of the country (cf above D 1) When the caliph himself preached, he also pronounced a prayer for himself (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, ii 349 *sq*) and the Fātimids mentioned their fathers The sermons gradually became quite stereotyped, Ibn Battūta (i 348) praises the khatīb in Mecca, because he gave a new sermon every Friday A kādi was frequently chosen as khatīb and a chief kādī could some times preach in a large mosque (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 589, Makrizī, iv 132, Ibn Djubair, p 156, according to Quatremere, *Hist Sult Maml*, ii/ii 25, a kādī was for the first time appointed khatīb in 694 [1925] in Damascus) The khatīb could also be a "witness" (Hilal al Sābi, *K al-Wuzarā'*, ed Amedroz, p 421 *infra*) or hold another office like that of *kātib al-sirr* (Makrīzi, iv 137, 138, 139, 140), in the last mentioned case the office was hereditary, which we also find elsewhere (*ibid*, p 9, 98, Suyūtī, *Husn al Muhādara*, i 185 al-ʿIrāki) The khatīb had frequently a khalīfa In the Rāshida mosque, where in 414 two khatībs were deliberately appointed, they both preached at the same time on the minbar (Makrīzī, p 63 *sq*) Later we find in the larger mosques a number of khutabā' being appointed who relieve one another

In Mecca the khatīb was a particularly imposing figure In his black robe, trimmed with gold, and turban with tailasān, he went up to the minbar between two black banners carried by mu'adhdhins, while a servant walked in front of him cracking a whip, after he had kissed the Black Stone, the chief mu'adhdhin went quickly in front of him with the sword with which he girded him on the minbar (Ibn Djubair, p 95 *sq* , Ibn Baṭṭūta, i 376 *sqq*)

The whip (*farkaʿa* Ibn Djubair, p 96, 97, 144, 156, Ibn Battūta, i 376, 379, 390, 394, see *B G A*, iv, s v) is also used as he goes out and on other occasions The black was the colour of the ʿAbbāsids, it was also used in Egypt (Ibn Djubair, p 50) The Fātimid khatīb wore a cap (*kalansuwa* Makrīzī, iv 44, 22 *sq*) The dress of the khutabāʾ varied with time and country (cf *ibid*, p 90, *B G A*, iii 129, 416, Ibn al Hādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii 73) In Mecca there were celebrations when a young man became a khatīb (Ibn Djubair, p 149)

Very frequently the khatīb and the imām were one individual, especially in the smaller mosques, but sometimes also in larger ones (Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 174, 179, Makrīzī, iv 124) Ibn al-Hādjdj even regards this as the normal thing (*K al-Madkhal*, ii 59, 60, 73, 74), s also al-Subkī, *Muʿīd*, p 160 *sq* and the article KHATĪB

3 Kāss and Kārīʾ

On these see C 3 Sometimes, in the later usage *wāʿiz* is used of the official speaker, very like khatīb (cf Ibn Battūta, iii 9), while al kāss is only applied to the street story-teller (al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-Niʿam*, p 161 *sq*) The *kurrāʾ* are also frequently appointed to madrasas and particularly to mausoleums (Makrīzī, iv 223, Yākūt, iv 509, Subkī, *Muʿīd*, p 162, v Berchem, *C I A*, i, N° 252)

4 The Muʾadhdhin

According to most traditions, the office of muʾadhdhin was instituted in the year 1, according to others only after the *isrāʾ*, in the year 2, according to some weak traditions while Muhammad was still in Mecca At first the people came to the salāt without being summoned Trumpets (*būk*) were blown and rattles (*nāķūs*) used or fires lit after the custom of Jews, Christians and Mādjūs ʿAbd Allāh b Zaid learned the adhān formula in a dream, it was approved by the Prophet and when Bilāl proclaimed it, it was found that ʿOmar had also learned the same procedure in a dream (Ibn Hishām, p 357 *sq*, *Khamīs*, i 404 *sq*, Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 1, Zurkānī, i 121 *sqq*) There are also variants of the story, e g that the Prophet and ʿOmar had the vision, or Abū Bakr or seven or fourteen Ansār, according to some, the Prophet learned it at the *miʿrādj* from Gabriel, wherefore the introduction of the *adhān* is dated after the *isrāʾ*, among the suggestions made, the hoisting of a flag is mentioned (*Sira Halabiya*, ii 100 *sqq*) Noteworthy is a tradition which goes back to Ibn Saʿd, according to which at ʿOmar's suggestion at first a *munādi*, Bilāl, was sent out who called in the streets *al-ṣalāta djāmiʿatan* Only later were other possibilities discussed, but the method already in use was confirmed by the dream, only with another formula, the one later used (*Khamīs*, i 404, *Sira Halabiya*, ii 100 *sq*) According to this account, the consideration of other methods would be a secondary episode and probably the tradition in general represents a later attitude to the practices of other religions But in Islām other methods were certainly used In Fās, a flag was hung out in the minarets and a lamp at night (*J A*, ser 11, xii 341) The flag is also found in the legend of the origin of the practice

The public crier was a well known institution among the Arabs Among the tribes and in the towns important proclamations and invitations to general assemblies were made by criers This crier was called *Munādī* or *Muʾadhdhin* (*Sira Halabiya*, ii 170, Lammens, *La Mecque*, p 62 *sqq*, 146, do, *Berceau*, i 229 note, do, *Moʾâwia*, p 150) *Adhān* therefore means proclamation, Sūra ix 3, and *adhdhana*, *muʾadhdhin*, Sūra vii 70 "to proclaim" and "crier" *Munādī* (Bukhārī, *Fard al-Khums*, bāb 15) and *Muʾadhdhin* (*ibid*, *Ṣawm*, bāb 69, *Salāt*, bāb 10 = *Djizya*, bāb 16, *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 270) are names given to a crier used by the Prophet or Abū Bakr for such purposes Official proclamations were regularly made by criers (cf Tabarī, iii 2131, 3) Sadjāh and Musailima used a muʾadhdhin to summon the people to their prayers (Tabarī, i 1919, 1932, cf *Annali dell' Islām*, i 410 *sq*, 638 *sq*) It therefore was a very natural thing for Muhammad to assemble the believers to common prayer through a crier (*nādā li'l* or *ila 'l-salāt*, Sūra v 63, lxii 9), the summons is called *Nidāʾ* and *Adhān*, the crier *Munādī* (Bukhārī, *Wudūʾ*, bāb 5, *Adhān*, bāb 7) and *Muʾadhdhin*, the two names are used quite indiscriminately (e g *ibid*, *Wudūʾ*, bāb 5, Tabarī, ii 297 *sq*) *Munādī 'l-Salāt*, *B G A*, iii 182, 12, also *Sāʾih* "crier" is used (Tabarī, iii 861, *Chron Mekka*, i 340)

In these conditions, it was very natural for the crier in the earliest period to be regarded as the assistant and servant of the ruler, he is his muʾadhdhin (Ibn Saʿd, i 7, Muslim, *Salāt*, tr 4, Makrizī, iv 43, etc, cf Tabarī, ii 1120) ʿUmar sent to Kūfa ʿAmmār b Yāsir as emīr and ʿAbd Allāh b Masʿūd "as *muʾadhdhin* and *wazir*" (*B G A*, v 165), he is thus the right hand of the ruler Al Husain had his *munādi* with him and the latter summoned to the salāt on al Husain's instructions (Tabari, ii 297, 298, cf Ibn Ziyād, *ibid*, p 260 and in the year 196 the *ʿāmil* in Mecca, *ibid*, iii 861, 13, also *Chron Mekka*, i 340) During the earliest period, the muʾadhdhin probably issued his summons in the streets and the call was very short *al ṣalāta djāmiʿatan* (Ibn Saʿd, i 7, 7, *Chron Mekka*, i 340, Tabarī, iii 861, cf also in the year 196, *Sira Halabiya*, ii 101, *Khamīs*, i 404 *sq*) This brief summons was, according to Ibn Saʿd, also used later on irregular occasions (i 7 *sqq*, cf the passage in Tabarī) Perhaps also the summons was issued from a particular place even at a quite early date (see D 2a) After the public summons the muʾadhdhin went to the Prophet, greeted him and called him to prayer, the same procedure was later used with his successor when he had come, the muʾadhdhin announced the beginning of the salāt (*akāma 'l salāt* cf Bukhārī, *Wudūʾ*, bāb 5, *Adhān*, bāb 48, *Sira Halabiya*, ii 104 *sq*, Makrīzī, iv 45) The activity of the muʾadhdhin thus fell into three sections the assembling of the community, the summoning of the imām and the announcement of the beginning of the salāt With time changes were made in all three stages

The assembling of the community by crying aloud was not yet at all regular in the older period During the fighting, Ibn Ziyād in the year 60 called his munādī with threats to the evening salāt in the mosque and when after an hour the mosque was full he had the *ikāma* announced (Tabarī, ii 260) When a large number of mosques had come into existence, the public call to prayer had to be organised lest confusion arose, and the custom

of calling from a raised position became general after the introduction of the minaret While previously the call to prayer had only been preparatory and the *ikāma* was the final summons, the public call (*adhān*) and the *ikāma* now formed two distinct phases of the call to prayer Tradition has retained a memory of the summoning in the streets, now completely fallen into disuse, when it tells us that ʿOthmān introduced a third adhān, a call in al-Zawrāʾ, which was made before the call from the minaret this call however was transferred by Hishām b ʿAbd al-Malik to the minaret (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 22, 25, *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 110, Ibn al-Hādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii 45) This may be evidence of the gradual cessation of the custom of summoning the community by going through the streets Ibn Battūta, but this is exceptional, tells us that the muʾadhdhins in Khwārizm still fetched the people from their houses and those who did not come were whipped (iii 4 *sq*), which recalls Wahhābī measures When exactly the Sunnī and in distinction to it the Shīʿī formula, finally developed can hardly be ascertained [see ADHĀN] The call *hayya ʿala 'l-falāh* is known from the time of ʿAbd al-Malik (65–85) (Akhtal, ed Salhānī, p 254, see Horovitz, in *Isl*, xvi, 1927, p 154, on *takbīr* see *ibid*, on *adhān* formulae see further *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 105 *sq*) At first the call was only made at the chief mosque, as was the case in Medīna and Misr (Makrīzī, iv 43 *infra*) but very quickly other mosques were also given muʾadhdhins their calls were sufficiently audible in the whole town The chief mosque retained this privilege, that its muʾadhdhin called first and the others followed together (Makrīzī, iv 43 *infra*, 44)

The summoning by the imām in Medīna was therefore quite a natural thing The custom, at first associated with the ruler's mosque, was not observed in Medīna only (see for ʿOthmān and ʿAlī Tabarī, i 3059 *sq*) but was also usual under the Omayyads The formula was *al-Salām ʿalayka ayyuha 'l-Amir wa-Rahmatu 'llāh wa Barakātuhu*, *hayya ʿala 'l-Ṣalāt*, *hayya ʿala 'l-Falāh al-Ṣalāt*, *yarhamuka 'llāh* (Makrīzī, iv 45, *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 105) After the alteration in the adhān and the greater distance of the ruler from the mosque, to summon him was no longer the natural conclusion to the assembling of the community In the ʿAbbāsid period and under the Fātimids there was a survival of the old custom, in as much as the muʾadhdhins ended the adhān call before the *salāt al-fadjr* on the minarets with a salām upon the caliph This part of the muʾadhdhin's work was thus associated with the first adhān call When Salāh al-Dīn came to power, he did not wish to be mentioned in the call to prayer, but instead he ordered a blessing upon the Prophet to be uttered before the adhān to the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*, which after 761 only took place before the Friday service A muhtasib ordered that after 791 in Egypt and Syria at each adhān a salām was to be uttered over the Prophet (Makrīzī, iv 46, *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 110) Ibn Djubair relates that in Mecca after each salāt al maghrib, the foremost muʾadhdhin pronounced a duʿāʾ upon the ʿAbbāsid Imām and on Salāh al-Dīn from the Zemzem roof, in which those present joined with enthusiasm (p 103) and according to Makrīzī, after each *salāt* prayers for the Sultān were uttered by the muʾadhdhins (iv 53 *sq*) Another relic of the old custom was that the trumpet was sounded at the door of the ruler at times of prayer, this honour was also shown to ʿAdud al-Dawla in 368 by order of the caliph (Ibn Maskawaih, vi 499, Cairo 1315, p 396)

The *ikāma* always remained the real prelude to the service and is therefore regarded as the original adhān (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 24 *sq*) In the earliest period it was fixed by the arrival of the ruler and it might happen that a considerable interval elapsed between the summoning of the people and the *ikāma* (cf Tabarī, ii 260, 297 *sq*) The times were later more accurately defined, one should be able to perform 1—3 salāts between the two calls (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 14, 16) Some are said to have introduced the practice of the muʾadhdhin calling *hayya ʿala 'l-salāt* at the door of the mosque between the two calls (*Sira Halabiya*, ii 105) From the nature of the case the *ikāma* was always called in the mosque, at the Friday service, it was done when the imām mounted the minbar (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 22, 25, *Sīra Halabiya*, ii 110, Makrīzī, iv 43) while the muʾadhdhin stood in front of him This muʾadhdhin, according to some, ought to be the one who called the adhān upon the minaret (*Sira Halabiya*, ii 109), while Ibn al-Hādjdj ignoring the historical facts only permits the call from the minaret (*Madkhal*, ii 45) In Tunis, the *ikāma* was announced by ringing a bell as in the churches (Zarkashī, transl Fagnan, in *Rec Soc Arch Constantine*, 1894, p 111 *sq*) A similarity to the responses in the Christian service is found in the fact that the call of the muʾadhdhin, which contains a confession of faith, is to be repeated or at least answered by every one who hears it (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 23), this is an action which confers religious merit (Ibn Kutlūbughā, *Tabakāt al-Hanafiya*, ed Flugel, p 30) It is possible that we should recognise in this as well as in the development of the formulae the influence of Christians converted to Islām (cf Becker, *Zur Gesch d Islam Kultus*, in *Isl*, iii, 1912, p 374 *sqq* and *Islamstudien*, i 472 *sqq* who sees an imitation of the Christian custom in the ikāma in general, on the possibility of Jewish influence see Mittwoch, in *Abh Pr A W*, 1913, Phil -Hist Cl 2)

The muʾadhdhin thus obtained a new importance His work was not only to summon the people to divine service, but was in itself a kind of religious service His sphere of activity was further developed In Egypt we are told that Maslama b Mukhallad (47—62) introduced the *tasbīh* This consisted in praises of God which were uttered by the muʾadhdhins all through the night until *fadjr* This is explained as a polemical imitation of the Christians, for the governor was troubled by the use of the *nawākis* at night and forbade it during the adhān (Makrīzī, iv 48) In the time of Ahmad b Tūlūn and Khumārawaih, the muʾadhdhins recited religious texts throughout the night in a special room Salāh al Dīn ordered them to recite an *ʿakīda* in the night adhān and after 700 *dhikr* was performed on Friday morning on the minarets (*ibid*, p 48 *sq*, *Sira Halabiya*, ii 111) In Mecca also the muʾadhdhins performed dhikr throughout the night of the first Shawwāl on the roof of the kubba of the Zemzem well (Ibn Djubair, p 155, 156, cf for Damascus Makrīzī, iv 49) Similar litanies are kept up in modern times as well as a special call about an hour before dawn (*Ebed*, *Tarhim* see Lane, *Manners and Customs* [Everyman's Library],

p 75 *sq* ; cf p 86, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 84 *sqq*)

The original call of the mu'adhdhin thus developed into a melodious chant like the recitation of the Kur'ān Al-Makdisī tells us that in the fourth century in Egypt during the last third of the night, the adhān was recited like a dirge (*B G A* , iii 205) The solemn effect was increased by the large number of voices In large mosques, like that of Mecca, the chief mu'adhdhin called first from a minaret, then the others came in turn (*Chron Mekka*, iii 424 *sq* , Ibn Djubair, p 145 *sqq* , cf *B G A* , vii 111, 1 *sqq* , *et supra*) But in the mosque itself the *ikāma* was pronounced by the mu'adhdhins in chorus on the dakka (see D 2e) erected for this purpose, which is also traced to Maslama In the third and fourth centuries we hear of these melodious recitations (*tatrīb*) of the mu'adhdhins on a raised *podium* in widely separated parts of the Muslim world (Ṣan'ā', Egypt, Khurāsān *B G A*, iii 327, vii 111, the expression *al-mutala''ibīn*, "the musicians", if correct, probably refers to the mu'adhdhins *B G A* , iii 205, cf also Kindī, *Wulāt*, p 469, for Fārs we are expressly told that the mu'adhdhins call without *tatrīb B G A* , iii 439, 17) Sometimes in large mosques they were stationed in different parts of the mosque to make the imām's words clear to the community (*tabligh*) The singing, especially in chorus, like the *tabligh*, was regarded by many as *bid'a* (Kindī, *op cit* , *K al-Madkhal*, ii 45 *sq* , 61 *sq* , *Sīra Halabīya*, ii 111) In other ways also the mu'adhdhins could be compared to deacons at the service The khatīb on his progress to the minbar in Mecca was accompanied by mu'adhdhins and the chief mu'adhdhin girded him with a sword on the minbar (Ibn Djubair, p 96 *sq*)

The new demands made on the mu'adhdhins necessitated an increase in their number, especially in the large mosques The Prophet in Medīna had two mu'adhdhins, Bilāl b Ribāh, Abū Bakr's *mawlā* and Ibn Umm Maktūm, who worked in rotation 'Othmān also is said occasionally to have called the adhān in front of the minbar (i e the ikāma) (Makrīzī, iv 43) It is therefore regarded as commendable to have two mu'adhdhins at a mosque (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr 4, cf Subkī, *Mu'id*, p 165) Abu Mahdhūra was also the Prophet's mu'adhdhin in Mecca Under 'Omar, Bilāl's successor as mu'adhdhin was Sa'd al-Karaz, who is said to have called to prayer for the Prophet in Kubā' (Makrīzī, *op cit* , cf *Sīra Halabīya*, ii 107 *sqq*) In Egypt under 'Amr, the first mu'adhdhin in al-Fustāt was Abū Muslim he was soon joined by nine others The mu'adhdhins of the different mosques formed an organisation, the head (*'arīf*) of which, after Abū Muslim, was his brother Shurahbīl b 'Āmir (d 65), during his time Maslama b Mukhallad built minarets (Makrīzī, iv 44)

The office of mu'adhdhin was sometime hereditary The descendants of Bilāl were for example mu'adhdhins of the Medina Mosque in al Rawda (Ibn Djubair, p 194), we also find in Medīna the sons of Sa'd al-Karaz officiating (Ibn Kutaiba, *Handb d Gesch* , ed Wustenfeld, p 132, 279), in Mecca the sons of Abū Mahdhūra (*ibid* , p 278, *Sīra Halabīya*, ii 106), in Basra, the sons of al-Mundhir b Hassān al-'Abdī, mu'adhdhins of 'Ubaid-allāh b Ziyād (Ibn Kutaiba, p 279), it is however possible that this was really the result of a system of guilds of mu'adhdhins In the djawāmi' of the Maghrib in the eighth century each had regularly four mu'adhdhins who were stationed in different parts of the mosque during the salāt (*K al Madkhal*, ii 47 *supra*), but there were often quite a large number In the Azhar mosque in the time of al-Hākim there were fifteen, each of whom was paid two dīnārs a month (Makrizi, iv 51) Ibn Battūta found seventy mu'adhdhins in the Mosque of the Omaiyads (i 204) About 1900, in Medina there were in the Mosque of the Prophet fifty mu'adhdhins and twenty-six assistants (Batanūni, *Rihla*, p 242) Blind men were often chosen for this office, Ibn Umm Maktūm for example was blind (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bab 11, *Sīra Halabīya*, ii 104, cf Lane, *op cit* , p 75) The Prophet is said to have forbidden the Thakif to pay a mu'adhdhin (Wākidī Wellhausen, p 383) 'Othmān is said to have been the first to give payment to the mu'adhdhins (Makrīzī, iv 44) and Ahmad b Tūlūn gave them large sums (*ibid* , p 48) They regularly received their share in the endowments, often by special provisions in the documents establishing the foundations

The mu'adhdhins were organised under chiefs (*ru'asā'* Makrizī, iv 14) In Mecca the *ra'is al-mu'adhdhinin* was identical with the *mu'adhdhin al-Zamzamī* who had charge of the singing in the upper story of the Zemzem building (*Chron Mekka*, iii 424 *sq* , Ibn Djubair, p 145, cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 322) The ra'īs was next to the Imām but subordinate to him, in certain districts, it was the custom for him to mount the pulpit during the sermon with the imām (when the latter acted as khatīb) (*K al-Madkhal*, ii 74, correct above p 928, l 31 *sq* in keeping with this) The position which they originally occupied can still be seen from the part which they play in public processions of officials, e g of the *Kādi 'l-Kudāt*, when they walk in front and laud the ruler and his vizier (Makrīzī, ii 246)

Closely associated with the mu'adhdhin is the *muwakkit*, the astronomer, whose task it was to ascertain the kibla and the times of prayer (Subkī, *Mu'id*, p 165 *sq*), sometimes the chief mu'adhdhin did this (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 322)

5 Servants

According to Abū Huraira, the Mosque of the Prophet was swept by a negro (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 72, cf 74) The larger mosques gradually acquired a large staff of servants (*khuddām*), notably *bawwāb*, *farrāsh*, and water carriers (cf e g v Berchem, *C I A* , 1, N° 252) In Mecca there have always been special appointments, such as supervisor of the Zemzem and guardian of the Ka'ba (*sādin*, pl *sadana*, also used of the officials of the mosque Makrīzī, iv 76, cf Ibn Djubair, p 278) In Ibn Battūta's time the servants (*khuddām*) of the Mosque of the Prophet were eunuchs, particularly Abyssinian, their chief (*shaikh al-khuddām*) was like a great emir and paid by the Egyptian–Syrian government (i 278, 348), cf the title of an emīr of the year 798 *shaikh mashā'ikh al-sāda al-khuddām bi 'l-haram al sharīf al nabawī* (v Berchem, *C I A* , 1, N° 201) In the Mosque of Jerusalem about 300 A H , there were no less than 140 servants (*khādim B G A* , v 100), others give the figure 230 (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p 163) and according to Mudjīr al Dīn, 'Abd al Malik appointed a guard of three hundred black slaves here, while the actual menial work was done by

certain Jewish and Christian families (Sauvaire, *Hist Jer et Hebr*, p 56 *sq*)

In other mosques superintendents (*kaiyim*, pl *kawama*) are mentioned, a vague title which covered a multitude of duties thus the Madrasa al-Madjdiya had a kaiyim who looked after the cleaning, the staff, the lighting and water-supply (Makrizi, iv 251), the Azhar Mosque had one for the mi'da'a, who was paid twelve dinars (*ibid*, p 51) and also 4 kawama, who were paid like mu'adhdhins (two dinars a month) and are mentioned between them and the imams, probably supervisors of the staff (*ibid*, p 51) In other cases a *kaiyim al-djami'*, sometimes a kadi, is mentioned, who is apparently the same as the imam, the khatib or some similar individual of standing (*ibid*, p 75, 121, cf 122, cf Ibn Djubair, p 51) A *mushrif*, inspector, is also mentioned, e g in the Azhar (Makrizi, iv 51)

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II

The Mosque in the Dutch East Indies

In the Dutch East Indies, two kinds of mosque have to be distinguished, the mosque for the Friday service — these alone are called mosques (*masigit*, also *masdjid*) — and simple houses of prayer This second category is found all over the country, especially in smaller villages and owes its origin, partly to private initiative and partly to public efforts, they have native names (*langar* [Javan], *tajug* [Sum], *surau* [Malay]) The *langar*, or whatever it may be called, of the village is a centre at which the *salat* can be performed, but it also serves other purposes of general interest The upkeep of the building is the affair of the community and in particular one of the tasks of the religious official of the village The upkeep of the other langars, erected by private individuals, is left to them The building stands on its own site and is maintained by the founder or his descendants The owner cannot however refuse admission to strangers who desire to use it for the *salat* or as shelter the night Such private chapels are always found beside the Muhammadan seminaries (Jav *pasantren*) We sometimes find that these langar are endowed as *wakf* (Jav Mal *wakap*) The village langar on the other hand has a more public character

The mosques, i e the *masdjid djami'*, are found in larger places usually in those which are also centres of administration Their erection and maintenance is regarded as a duty of the Muslim community, every one contributes his share in materials, work or money, according as he is requested and is able to do When a new mosque is to be built, not only is the site necessary for the building railed off, but also that for the dwellings of the staff and other people, whose piety induces them to seek a dwelling place near the mosque, here they find the spot, where in their opinion they can be best benefitted by the atmosphere of their faith, spiritually and socially This mosque area, at least the mosque itself and its immediate neighbourhood, is popularly regarded as *wakap* although the conditions necessary to make it an endowment in the sense of the *shari'a* are not fulfilled In *wakap* affairs, the shari'a is regarded as authoritative and not affected by common law

Each mosque has its own staff, of the size it requires, in the large mosques there may be 40 or more In Java and Madura, they form a regular hierarchy, this holds also for the relation of the larger and smaller mosques to each other A mosque serves the requirements of a definite area, the staff of the mosque at the chief place in a smaller district is subordinate to that of a larger one and so on up to the capital of a regency (which is the highest native administrative unit) At each mosque a superintendent is appointed and the head of the mosque at the capital of the regency is regarded as head of all the mosque officials in the whole district On the other islands the native, political organisation is less developed, the hierachy of the secular power therefore less influenced by it Generally speaking the personnel of the mosque is the same everywhere, the more the secular hierarchy is graded, the more noticeable is the classification of the personnel of the different mosques into various ranks, but we always find one recognised as the head of the staff

The superintendent of a mosque in Java and Madura bears the general name *pan[h]ulu* His main duty is to see that the Friday service is held, he can act as imam at it himself but usually he leaves this to someone else Besides him there are a large number of other officials, whose names usually are taken from the Arabic and whose duties are very varied, among them however we find the *ketib* (Jav Ar *khatib*) He delivers the sermon, but this also can be done by some one else The maintenance of the building is also the duty of the superintendent The expenses have to be met from the money collected by the staff, of which he has control (see below)

In Java and Madura generally, and very often elsewhere, the superintendent of a mosque is also an official, i e he is the legal authority who is present at the marriage ceremony, sometimes he acts as *wakil* of the *wali* He is also authorised to give in marriage women who have no blood-relative to act as walī, in this capacity he is called *wali hakim* Marriages are concluded in the mosque, it is exceptional for the pan[h]ulu to perform the marriage ceremony in person, he usually leaves this to one of his subordinates People of high rank marry in the house, on these occasions the pan[h]ulu himself acts The same holds *mutatis mutandis* of *talak* and *rudjū'*, these also are reported to the pan[h]ulu and recorded by him along with marriages in a register

In smaller centres, where there are only langar (chapels) there is an official, who assists the villagers in matters of Muhammadan law, he belongs to the village administration and may be regarded as the lowest rank of the mosque hierarchy, people desirous of matrimony apply to him, he accompanies them to the mosque of the district to which his village belongs, he also acts for the pan[h]ulu as *'amil* of the *djakat* (*zakat*) and *pitra* (*zakat al fitr*) (see below) From this capacity comes the name he bears in some parts of the country *amil*

The appointment of the mosque officials (as distinct from the village officials in whose cases the local customary law is followed) is not done everywhere in the same way In Java and Madura, it is in the hands of the native chiefs who are also the highest state officials, on the other islands of the East Indian Archipelago, in so far as Islam prevails on them, the wishes of

the Muslim community are more or less respected, the secular authorities however exert a great influence

The revenues of mosque officials come from various sources donations, freewill offerings, in cases where their services are required — at religious festivals, burials, etc — need only be mentioned The chief source of revenue is the so-called marriage fees, less from *djakat* and *pitra*, these are administered and distributed by the superintendent of the mosque As already mentioned the mosque and its accessories have to be maintained out of the income Neglect of this duty has induced the chiefs in Java and Madura to intervene and form a special fund, the so-called mosque fund for this purpose This was arranged as follows a certain percentage of marriage fees and of the *djakat* and *pitra* was set aside, the chiefs took charge of these funds The revenues of the mosque officials earmarked in this way were however only a small fraction of the total, the greater part, perhaps $^4/_5$ or more, remained at the disposal of the officials This same procedure is found here and there on other islands but is not general

The Dutch government maintains a neutral attitude to Islām, in all business matters of the mosque also It takes no part in the building or restoration of mosques, only very exceptionally does it give a contribution in money for such purposes This was done for example in Kuta Radja (Atjeh), where the chief mosque, which had been destroyed during fighting, was rebuilt from government funds in 1881 But this act of the authorities was not appreciated by the Muslim population, in general, the government officials only see that no compulsion is used to procure materials or funds for the building or maintenance of mosques

With the end of the XIXth century the Colonial administration began to pay some attention to the regular organisation of the staffs of the mosques, primarily in Java and Madura Their measures aimed at maintaining things as they were and at getting rid only of abuses and such customs as had proved to be a burden on the people

Djakat and *pitra* are regarded as "freewill offerings" by the colonial authorities, the native chiefs and village authorities were therefore forbidden to interfere with them It is left to the individual to give them or not, he is also free to give his gifts to whom he pleases The giving of djakat varies very much with places and persons and is smallest in Central Java It is concerned almost entirely with agricultural produce, especially with the staple product and even then it rarely happens that the legal quantity is given In practice the djakat, where it is levied, is collected by the village mosque officials and handed over to the pan[h]ulu, he then distributes it in a certain proportion among his subordinates The proceeds go almost entirely to the staff of the mosque and the village officials, firstly because they are *ʿāmil* and secondly because they consider themselves *fakir* and *maskin*, they have, as they say, no means of livelihood like other people

Pitra is paid regularly, it happens very frequently with this "donation" that it is paid direct to those entitled to it and not through the officials Nevertheless a considerable portion goes the same way as the djakat

The government confined itself to seeing that the djakat and pitra collected by the Pan[h]ulu, was distributed as it ought to be according to custom but this was not always done

Marriage, *talāk* and *rudjūʿ* have been regulated by a colonial law The pan[h]ulu or his deputy was confirmed in his already mentioned functions as an official with legal standing At the same time, others than the appointed pan[h]ulu were forbidden by the secular authority to perform marriages The registration of marriages, *talāk* and *rudjūʿ* was improved The fees and their distribution among the staff were fixed according to local custom Every effort is made to keep these as low as possible Similar regulations were later promulgated for the other islands

As to the funds of the mosques, it was ascertained that there was more money in them than was required for the maintenance of the building and that they were being used for other purposes than the traditional ones This caused the government to place the funds of the mosques under the joint control of European and native authorities This holds particularly of Java and Madura, but wherever else the mosque had funds, these were retained

The regulations promulgated for Java and Madura have recently been attacked by Muslims, they wanted as far as possible to withdraw everything relating to marriage from government interference The intervention of the government is now (since 1929) limited to the fact that parties who wish to enter into matrimony have to report themselves to a registrar *Talāk* and *rudjūʿ* have also to be reported to him The marriage ceremony may be performed by others, but they are under the control of the registrar, this last method is now the exception, the majority continue to go to the district officer

In one other respect the mosque has come under the control of government regulations In Muslim districts of the East Indian Archipelago hardly a mosque is built without the consent of the local secular authority Although it does not have to give its approval expressly, no work will be begun until the plan is approved In Java and Madura the chiefs have long held themselves entitled to decide on the question whether a new mosque should be erected, though they justified this claim by saying among other things that a new mosque, if not desired by the entire community, may easily lead to jealousy and disputes about the validity of the Friday service etc, which might result in general unrest

The custom of making the site of a mosque *wakaf* — or at least regarding it as such, — results in it being impossible to use such pieces of ground for public purposes, even if it is long since the mosque buildings had been removed from them

These and other difficulties induced the government to require the approval of the chiefs for the building of new mosques on Java and Madura and also that the sites should become *wakf* It was however expressly laid down that there can be no possible question of interfering with the religious requirements of the Muslims, the chief can only refuse his consent in the public interest

The law of the Dutch Indies demands the presence of the *pan[h]ulu* or some one with similar functions, at the courts for Muslim natives and also when a native appears as accused or plaintiff

in a court, to assist the court as adviser An endeavour is made to get the most suitable people as advisers they are officially appointed It was found to be desirable to combine this office and that of the administrator of the mosque in the one individual, and this is now the usual practice The influence of the government on the appointment of the personnel of the mosque, which otherwise is reserved for the chief, has thus been increased, especially as in the appointment of the assistant[s] of the *pan[ḥ]ulu*, the ability of acting as adviser is also taken into account

The bonds which connect the personnel of the mosque and the secular authority are thus fairly close, — in the opinion of some too close In recent years the effort has been made in nationalist Muslim circles, to loosen or even break all secular connections in the fulfilment of religious duties One way of doing this is to get private individuals to found mosques with the help of similar-minded people This is quite possible in the conditions described and is still done

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III

Architecture

The mosque with an open quadrangle was the natural form for the hot southern lands of Islām, and is simply a continuation of the many types of pillared halls and chambers which were to be found all over the near east, beginning with the Egyptian temples and coming down to the apadanas of the Persians and the stoas of the Greeks, of which of course only the latter influenced the development of the early Muslim mosque This consists of a courtyard or quadrangle (*ṣaḥn*) usually very large which is surrounded by cloisters (*riwāḳ*) which are either connected by flat beams, or more usually by arches and covered by a flat roof At the kibla side the riwāks were deeper so that the rows of worshippers could find shelter from the sun The supports were at first very often columns taken from ancient buildings and where these were not obtainable, were of wood or brick The pillared hall at the kibla side was called *al-īwān al-ḳiblī* or *īwān* A portion of the *īwān* was shut off by a railing and reserved for princes and priests On the quadrangle side of the īwān is a podium (*dikka*) supported by pillars and reached by a staircase or ladder, this is for the officials of the mosque, who repeat the words of the imām during the service to make them audible on all sides At the end of the īwān the *miḥrāb* is set into the middle of the wall and beside it is the *minbar* In the centre of the court is a well, originally intended for ritual ablutions but these were as a rule performed in rooms specially set apart for the purpose

These mosques with open quadrangle were built in the first century A H on a large scale, as they were primarily intended to be mosques for the troops, whence they were called *ʿaskar* mosques The Djāmiʿ Ibn Tūlūn in al Katai, Cairo is a comparatively well preserved specimen of one of these ʿaskar mosques It was built in 264—267 (876—879) and measures 466 × 383 feet and its court is 300 feet square The principal īwān had originally five rows of pillars but has now only four since the first one fell down, the others had two rows each, which are connected by pointed arches, parallel to the walls, thus still following the type of the Hellenistic agora The piers are built of brick and into the corners are let small columns Between the pillars are pointed arches and ornamental windows with little pillars at the sides Similar windows with stucco gratings pierce the outer walls The roof, most of which is now modern, was made of palm trunks with sycamore planks nailed over them In front of the *miḥrāb* was a *maḳṣūra* for the ruler This *maḳṣūra* was as here usually distinguished by its cupola In the later mosques of this kind an aisle of some width led through the pillars up to the *maḳṣūra*, usually through the naves of the *īwān* so that an aisle was created for a ceremonial procession by the ruler into the mosque In the Djāmiʿ Ibn Tūlūn as in the ʿaskar mosques of the third (ninth) century in general there are no transepts as yet so that the succession of pillars is quite uniform The *miḥrāb* projects out as the wall juts out a little here and the niche has two steps cut into the wall and then projects in a semi circle Two marble pillars are built into the angles formed by the projection of the niche, which have been taken from older Christian buildings The white stuccoed surfaces of the walls are ornamented along the upper margins and archivolts with decorative strips of carving, which were originally painted The interiors of the arches were also originally decorated but are now for the most part whitewashed Immediately below the roof on a wooden frieze runs a Kūfic inscription two miles long with sūras from the Kurʾān, the letters of which are cut out of wood and nailed on to the boards The mosque has a battlemented wall, which again was surrounded on three sides by a second outer wall so that the whole area was square in shape and the outer courtyards put some distance between the quadrangle of the mosque and the surrounding streets The outer walls of these early army mosques were turreted like a fortress with round projecting towers even though not intended for defence This was not the case with the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn On the minaret, which stood outside the mosque among the outer buildings on the north side and like the mosque itself was restored under the Mamlūk Sultān Ladjin, cf the article MANĀRA Similar mosques for the troops were built in all the garrison towns of the young empire, like Basra, Kūfa, Baghdād, Samarra, Rakka, in Cairo, Kairawān and elsewhere

The type of mosque with quadrangle and piers or columns was however by no means limited to the mosques for the troops but was general in the early centuries of Islām and survived much longer than this, just as the early Christian basilica had done Many pillared mosques, the foundation of which dates back to the early centuries A H are still in use, like the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus, the great mosque of Sīdī Uḳba in Kairawān, many mosques in the Maghrib, where they have frequently remained faithful to this type down to the present day, the Djāmiʿ al-Azhar and others in Cairo In towns that are cold in winter, the

ḥarām was shut off by doors and windows from the quadrangle as in the pillared mosques in Konya, Sīwās and Turkish towns, but also in Damascus and Córdoba

The Domed Mosque The great mosques built on piers — in so far as they were not simply army mosques — were primarily used for the Friday service in the larger cities In addition to these, there were in every town several smaller mosques either for the use of the separate quarters or for special purposes For these also in Egypt and the lands of the Maghrib the type of piered mosque with open quadrangle persisted while in Mesopotamia, the lands of the Caucasus and Persia, suiting the ruder climate and undoubtedly stimulated by the influence of the Christian churches the closed domed mosque became the type Some of these mosques (e g in Werāmīn) reveal with their combination of a long building and a dome such a striking similarity to the older, mainly Nestorian, churches that M Dieulafoy and van Berchem comprised them under a type to which they gave the name "mosquée église" Typical mosques of this kind with a central domed chamber and internal piers are to be found in Tabrīz, Fīrwān, Diyār Bakr etc It was only under the Ottomans in Asia Minor that the domed mosque attained the next stage in its development and it reached its zenith — not by chance — where the similar Christian style of church architecture had reached its final development, namely in Constantinople

Madrasa The foundation for the further development of the mosque with a great open quadrangle, as perfected under the Saldjūks in the east, was the type of madrasa which had in the meanwhile been evolved [cf the articles MADRASA and ARCHITECTURE] The ideal plan of a madrasa is an open court with vaulted cloisters opening on a central quadrangle in the centre of the four façades, i e at the intersection of the axes This plan however only became regular in Persia and we only find a few specimens exceptionally in Cairo On both sides of these four īwāns are the cells and dwelling apartments of the teachers and pupils usually in two stories In contrast to the pillared mosque with an open court, which arose out of a Hellenistic Mediterranean type of building, the model for the development of the eastern madrasa, which combined both school and monastery, was on the one hand the Indian Buddhist monastery and on the other the Khurāsān īwān, while the madrasa of Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib was influenced by native types of mosque and house The Turkish peoples, as representatives of the Sunna and its propaganda through the madrasa, before they invaded Persia and became Muslims, were mainly under the influence of Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, which survived much longer in Turkestān and the Tarīm basin than in Persia and still was very important as late as the xiiith century A D, as is evident from the narrative of William of Rubruck The Turks before they adopted Islām had, among the Buddhists and Nestorians, become acquainted with the missionary side of religion This seems to explain the prominent part later played by them as propagandists of Islām in Persia and Asia Minor It must have seemed to them that the most suitable centre of propaganda was the same type of building as that used by the Nestorians and Buddhists, namely the monastery The Buddhist monasteries which were courtyards with cells built round them, numbered hundreds in Central Asia They are as a rule oblong quadrangles with cells built round them and a stūpa in the centre and several large rooms for meetings In Persia, under the influence of these buildings, the type of quadrangle and cells with 4 īwāns in the form of a cross became established as the ideal scheme of a madrasa That this plan which was architectonic in origin was also the practical ideal for the fourfold doctrine of the Sunnis, was a fortunate combination, which in some large state madrasas became of practical significance

The Persian Mosque-Madrasa The quadrangle surrounded by cells with four īwāns of the Persian Madrasa was now combined with the old piered mosque and the result was a very happy combination the mosque-madrasa (as we Europeans call it) The important result of this combination was from the architectonic point of view the monumental quadrangle with cells, which now replaced the old courtyard with pillars or piers which was no longer architectonically satisfactory and was also foreign to the spirit of Persian architecture But with this transformation of the quadrangle a change was brought about in the spiritual aspect of the mosque It symbolised the transformation which had meanwhile taken place internally and externally in Islām from a combative, conquering religion organised on military lines into a spiritual attitude to life controlled by theologians and men of learning The fighting, however, which was still conducted by military forces, and the conquests had now become more or less the private business of the secular rulers, above whom was the religious propaganda of the Muslim clergy The most instructive example of this penetration of the older type of mosque by the Persian quadrangle surrounded with cells is the Masdjid-i Djum^ca in Isfahān This mosque, like all the Friday mosques in Persia was originally built as a pillared mosque and had been frequently enlarged At the present day, as the plan shows, it consists of colonnades which have in course of centuries been added to one another from time to time A great deal of wood must have been built into its framework, since Yākūt tells as that during the siege of Isfahān by the Saldjūk Tughril Beg (442 = 1050/1051) the mosque was destroyed to obtain wood From the contemporary accounts that have been handed down, we further learn that the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh when the mosque was completely restored by his orders began with roofing the walls of the courtyard He is credited with building the southern īwān The other three īwāns are over their present form of later origin By covering over this huge quadrangle, the courtyard, the only characteristic architectural feature of the mosque, received the necessary unity and importance (Around it, this mosque, like most Friday mosques, was completely surrounded by bazaars which made any external development impossible the quadrangle was therefore all the more important) The rows of cells had here no longer any practical significance as dwellings but became an architectural feature Behind the southern īwān, directed towards Mecca, a large domed hall was built as a sanctuary, in the south wall of which were the miḥrāb and pulpit Here the solemn Friday service was held Thus the Friday mosque was created of the type which became general in Īrān and Turkestān Mosques and madrasas were frequently combined with mausoleums [cf the article ARCHITECTURE]

The Mosque building in the early period Muhammad left no instructions as to how future mosques were to be built so that the earliest mosques varied considerably and we can hardly talk of a fully developed type before the third (ninth) century The Prophet's house in Medīna, where he performed the salāt with his faithful followers and instructed them, was a *dār* of the usual local type quite unsuitable as a model for the future mosque It consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall with living rooms and outhouses along the inner wall As was usual and still is in every house of this kind in Arabia and other tropical lands, palm trunks were put up in the courtyard and a flat roof of palmleaves put over them and covered with a layer of clay This is how the earliest accounts would lead us to picture the Prophet's house In the courtyard was a reception tent furnished with fine carpets and materials, for Muhammad did not despise the nomadic luxuries and comforts of his people (cf H Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet* and *do*, in *J A*, 1915, p 238 *sqq*) Around this establishment of the Prophet, his wife and daughters, lay the court in which his friends and followers used to assemble for the daily prayer and which thus became the first quadrangle of the first mosque The use of a typical Arabian courtyard arranged in this way as a masdjid however gives us no idea of the future imposing building For half a century, it is true, they were content with this primitive mosque, during the patriarchal period of the first four caliphs, out of respect for the Prophet's mosque, but the first Omaiyad caliph Walīd I who in transforming the church of St John in Damascus into the Mosque of the Omaiyads had acquired experience "in matters of building" and connections with builders, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Medīna in 90 (709) ordered the primitive mosque which had served the purpose so far, to be removed so that an entirely new building could be erected on its site, which was extended For this purpose, as Samhūdī tells us, he asked the Byzantine emperor for skilled workmen and shells for the ornamentation, which were sent to him "The walls and columns of the new mosque were built of large hewn stones of equal size and bound with plaster, ornamentation in shell and marble was carried out and the roof built of palm wood and covered with gold paint" Instead of the early primitive mosque, Walīd had thus given the Medīnese a substantial pillared mosque, like the first mosques which he had built in Syria with the help of Byzantine artisans from pillars plundered from Hellenistic colonnades and Christian churches It was only in this Hellenicised form that the mosque of Medīna could have influenced the further development of the mosque in so far as we can speak of such influence at all (It was given its present form by the Mamlūk Sultān Kā'it Bey in 888 = 1483) The ordinary Arab village mosque is different in appearance It has retained the form of the Arab pre islāmic *muṣallā* This "place of salāt" was and still is a long hall supported by pillars, open on one side without a courtyard and having no *miḥrāb* and *minbar*

The lack of any generally binding or recognised rules or tradition is shown by the varying form of the mosque in the early centuries A H The earliest mosque of the general ʿAmr in Fustāt of 21 (642) was an enclosed rectangular hall without a courtyard, with a *kibla* which was not yet marked by a *miḥrāb* The first mosque in Basra was, like the whole city of encampments, built of reeds so that it could be taken down with the camp In the year 16 or 17 A H Abū Mūsā, the newly appointed governor of Basra, built a mosque of unbaked brick and clay with a roof of grass It was only under the Omaiyad governor Ziyād that a mosque was built of brick and plaster with a roof of teak and pillars, which came from the quarries of Ahwāz on the Kārūn river The first mosque in Kūfa on the other hand of 17 A H was "a covered hall which had no side wings nor buildings behind it" (Tabarī), before it was an open square "and so, continues Tabarī, were all the mosques except the *Masdjid al-Harām* (i e Mecca), out of respect for the sanctity of the latter, it was not copied in the other mosques" This mosque also was rebuilt by Ziyād, governor for the first Omaiyad Muʿāwiya I (41–62 = 661–680) For it he had plans drawn up by Mazdaean architects "Uno degli architetti gli fece un disegno sul modello degli edifizi eretti dai rei sassanidi, ossia un vasto colonnato con tetto e chiuso ai lati" (cf *Annali dell' Islām*, III, § 47, p 857) When, on the other hand, the conquerors found buildings in towns which were suitable for masdjids from the point of view of space, they utilised them In al Madāʾin, for example, the old twin city of Seleuceia–Ctesiphon, the *iwān* of the white palace was used as a place of assembly for the Friday salāt, and the pictures of men and animals in it were not destroyed In Syria, however, the churches were turned into mosques by changing the orientation from east to south and placing a quadrangle in front of them In this way the building of the mosque of any place in the early centuries A H was adapted to the traditions in existence and where there were no buildings, as in the newly founded camp cities, it was on every occasion a problem for the governor requiring much consideration In spite of this uncertainty, as one can deduce from the descriptions, they were more inclined, even as early as the first century A H, to the type of pierced mosque with a quadrangle, to which all the prototypes as well as the climate pointed

Development of the Masdjid and the Madrasa in the different countries

Syria As the place of residence of the first dynasty of the young Muslim empire and a land of ancient culture, Syria was naturally destined to build the first substantial mosques and to influence early developments This influence it exercised on the one hand indirectly through the Syrian mosque built by Walīd in Medīna, next to Mecca the most sacred and most visited city of Islām, on the other hand, the Mosque of the Omaiyads in Damascus, as we know from Arabic sources, was taken as a model as far away as Córdoba The earliest centre of Muslim building was Jerusalem, which the Omaiyads endeavoured to play off against Mecca Beside the rotunda of the *Kubbat al Sakhra* on the Harām al Sharīf, the sacred rock of which was to supplant the Kaʿba, ʿAbd al-Malik used the parts still standing of Justinian's Church of the Virgin to built the *Djāmiʿ al-Aḳṣā* (finished in 83 = 702) According to de Vogué's plan, this building, later often restored or rebuilt, was a pil-

lared hall with three naves, of necessity oriented to the south with the mihrāb in the long axis At a later date the transept with the dome and four side naves was added The Mosque of the Omaiyads in Damascus arose out of the rebuilding of the Church of St John, which had been built on this site by Theodosius out of the pillars and other stones of the Antonine temple of Jupiter We must assume that Walid had the pillars of the basilica moved so that three equal naves were built These were crossed in the centre by a transept, which led up to the mihrāb and had a dome over its centre The rich decoration with mosaics was a suggestion from Syria and was probably done by Syrian workmen (plan and history of these buildings in Diez, *Die Kunst d islam Völker*, p 14 *sqq* of the first and p 32 *sq* of the second edition, with references to the literature) The mosque of Damascus was the first to have a transept, the prototype of which Thiersch no doubt rightly finds in the chalke of Byzantium (*Pharos*, p 214), which frequently appears again in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia The great mosque of Aleppo was also built after the plan of the Omaiyads with a transept, as the latter can hardly have been added until the rebuilding of 365 (976) (pictures in Saladin, *Manuel*, p 85) The mosque of ʿĪsā in Ephesus, finished in 777 (1375), and the mosque of Diyār Bakr are northern outposts of this type, the influence of which can also be often traced in Cairo and the Maghrib

Alongside of these principal mosques in Syria a series of smaller mosques arose, partly out of ancient temples (Aleppo, Hamā, Homs, Baʿalbekk, Tripolis, al-ʿUmtāya), partly built out of material available from Christian buildings (Ramla, Kusair, al-Hallābāt, Bosrā) Some of these mosques may have been pre-Omaiyad foundations, certainly the Mosque of ʿOmar in Basra All these mosques, except Kusair al-Hallābāt, have the same type of quadrangle with halls around it, two or more being on the kibla side, without transept The development of these halls varies however, as a result of local tradition or the material available (e g the naves of Christian churches) They are as a rule vaulted with pointed arches but sometimes have gable roofs and thus, along with their closed façades, in front of which we exceptionally have a bowered corridor, bear a western or northern stamp in keeping with the ruder climate The later Syrian mosques under the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks differ very much in their plans The Mosque of Firdaws in Aleppo, for example, has a small pillared court and a broad nave, with a row of five small domes, as the harām besides various side rooms, cf M v Berchem and E Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (*M I F A O*, Cairo 1914, 2 vols)

Madrasas in Syria A very complete study of the madrasa in Syria and Egypt by K A C Creswell (*The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of the Cairene Madrasas*, *B I F A O*, 1920) has brought some clearness into the question of its typical form etc After an examination of eight madrasas built before 1270 A D, the plans of which can still be traced in Aleppo, Damascus and Hamā, Creswell shows that the symmetrical plan was unknown in Syria and that there was no regular scheme in the arrangement of the rooms, but it depended on the site available A typical specimen is the always correctly oriented mosque a nave of three vaulted rooms with three pointed arched doors to the court, a *liwān* on the court, rows of cells in the rest of the court and usually two tomb cupolas usually flanking the mosque, the rest of the area is occupied by rooms Madrasas used by two rites had two liwāns Of the 80 madrasas counted by al ʿIlmawī in Damascus in the xvith century (*J A*, ser 9, vol III—IV), 33 were Hanafī, 31 Shāfiʿī, 9 Hanbalī, 1 Mālikī, 6 used by Shāfiʿīs and Hanafīs Creswell's investigation shows that in Syria there was not one madrasa of all four rites nor a cruciform one, a result, which suggests new deductions for the Egyptian madrasas

Arabia The indigenous form of the masdjid in Arabia is a large hall formed of chambers with pillars and arches The author found such oratories, more correctly to be described as musallās, in Manāma on Bahrain (picture in Diez, *K d isl V*, p 46) These praying chambers, open to the street without a courtyard, have no furniture, not even a minbar or mihrāb The latter was foreign to Arabia and in the larger masdjids its place was taken simply by a slab of stone with some adornment But these pillared halls were only a more substantial form of the local native masdjid of palm trunks, which could probably often be found in the simple villages of the interior and whose sanctified precursor was the Masdjid al-Nabawī in Medina built in this fashion Alongside of this type of mosque which was indigenous to Arabia we find imported forms, like the masdjid in Medina (see above), of slight importance from the archaeological point of view Mention may be made of the ruins of a mosque near Manāma of 740 (1339/1340) described in an inscription as *mashhad al-sharīf dhu 'l-mināratain*, with old pillars of teak of the fourth (tenth) century, the Shiʿa form of the creed on this as well as the inscriptions on the kibla stones of the xivth century mark it as a Shiʿa edifice (cf Diez, *Eine schiitische Moscheeruine auf der Insel Bahrayn*, in *Jahrb d asiat Kunst*, II, 1925)

ʿIrāk and Mesopotamia The earliest settlements of the conquering Arabs in the ʿIrāk were primitive camps built of reeds, equally primitive were the earliest mosques Sāsānian buildings were used for the purpose in conquered cities, like Ctesiphon A pillared mosque was early built in Kūfa (17 A H) which Tabarī describes and which was rebuilt as early as the beginning of the Omaiyad period by "Persian builders" in the form of a completely enclosed pillared hall (see above) In the capital of the caliphs also, as a result of its complete destruction by Timūr nothing worthy of note has survived We know however that the Friday Mosque of al-Mansūr (149 = 766) was built of pillars of teak with capitals of wood and a flat roof A wooden dome over the *maksūra* is probable It was rebuilt under Hārūn in 192—193 (808) Al-Muʿtadid began to enlarge it after the return of the troops from Samarra (280 = 893) (cf Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch Reise*, II, 134 *sqq* with plan) Outside of Baghdād the unlimited space available permitted great mosques for the soldiers to be systematically planned, as in Rakka and Samarra, these were the great piered mosques of the third (ninth) century, which were copied in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo Of the three large old mosques in Mōsul, that of the Omaiyads has completely disappeared, according to Yākūt's description it was "completely vaulted, with alabaster slabs" This seems to be the origin of that type of piered mosque

with vaulted arches which was later further developed by the Saldjūks and Ottomans (see below) The Mosque of Nūr al Dīn (541—569 = 1146—1173) or Djāmiʿ al-Kabīr was also vaulted from the first (with cross-vaulting) on piers (543 = 1148) and on its rebuilding in 566—568 (1170—1172) was not given cupolas The third Mosque of al-Mudjāhid, Khidr Ilyās, has been completely modernised Smaller mosques of the vith (xiith) century like the Djāmiʿ Nabī, Djirdīs have single domed chambers as praying-rooms

In Baghdād the following madrasas were built under the ʿAbbāsids the Shāfiʿī Nizāmīya in 459 (1066), the Tādjīya in 482 (1089), the Hanafī Tutushīya in 508 (1114), the Nāsirīya, c 600 A H and the Mustansirīya about 630 A H Only the latter is still in existence and is used as a customs warehouse (sketch-plan in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch Reise*, ii 161) Of remarkable oblong shape (86 × 210 feet) it has six līwāns, a large vaulted hall, rows of cells and side-rooms Besides the four rites this, the first state madrasa, also accommodated a *dār al-hadīth* and a *dār al-Kurʾān* If the Mustansirīya was not planned in a strictly symmetrical way with four līwāns at the intersection of the axes, it nevertheless incorporated the same idea and may therefore have stimulated the development of the next type In Mōsul there were several Hanafī madrasas

Egypt The type of pillared mosque imported from the ʿIrāk under Ibn Tūlūn prevailed in Cairo along with the pillared mosque down to the Mamlūk period It is the regular rule that the large military and Friday mosques always have piers, the smaller mosques intended for the people of the quarter have pillars Some of the latter however were on occasion also used as Friday mosques The rows of piers were always parallel to the Kibla wall and connected by arches, a natural result of the rectangular form of the piers, which had to run parallel to the rows of worshippers In the pillared mosques the naves might also be perpendicular to the Kibla wall, without inconveniencing the worshippers The Cairo mosques of this group are

The Mosque of ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀs in Fustāt, which received its present form as a result of repeated rebuilding and additions to the above mentioned hall of the year 21 (642) (cf E K Corbett, *The History of the Mosque of Amr at Old Cairo*, *J R A S*, 1890)

The Mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tūlūn of 263—265 (876—879, for a description see above, cf E K Corbett, *The Life and Works of Ahmad Ibn Tūlūn*, *J R A S*, 1891, p 527—562)

The Mosque of al-Azhar of 359-361 (970-972) on pillars the first Mosque of Fātimid Cairo, remarkable for the central nave, broader than usual with two domes (*seldjuka*) probably borrowed from the Maghrib and unusual here, also for its stilted pointed arches which henceforth became frequent in Cairo, finally for the rich decoration of the plaster in the arches, which were recently cleaned (They will be published by S Flury in Creswell's great work on the architecture of Cairo) The Azhar has long been used as a *Dār al-Funūn* (state madrasa)

The Mosque of Hākim, a piered mosque of the year 380—403 (990—1012), with valuable decorations on the plaster and inscriptions and two unwalled, historically important manāras [q v] (cf M v Berchem, *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe*, *Monum et Inscr Fatimites*, *J A*, 1891, reprint, p 23)

The Mosque of al Akmar, a small pillared mosque historically important for its façade built by Abū ʿAlī al-Mansūr al-ʿĀmir (495-524), finished 519 (1125), restored by Barkūk in 799 (1396—1397) and given a manāra which was removed in 815 (1412) (cf M v Berchem, *l c*, *J A*, 1891, reprint, p 81)

The Mosque of al-Fakihānī, built by the Fātimid caliph al-Zāfir in 543 (1148-1149), completely restored in the Ottoman period

The Mosque of al-Sālih Talāʾiʿ outside the Bāb el-Zuwēle, built about 550 (1160) A smaller pillared mosque of the usual type, which was sometimes used as a Friday Mosque (cf M v Berchem, *l c*, reprint, p 3 *sqq*, pictures in R L Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders*, London 1921, p 1—10)

The Mosque of al Zahir Baibars of the year 665—667 (1266—1269), a mosque with piers of brick, built for the troops with a very strong stone wall and three portals jutting out like the Mosque of al-Hākim The six rows of columns in the haram are crossed by a transept with a dome of three naves breadth in diameter before the mihrāb Porticoes with double naves surrounded the court

The Mosque of Sultān Muhammad al Nāsir on the citadel, of the year 718—735 (1318—1335) on pillars

The Mosque of Amīr al Mās (Shāiʿ Hilmīya) of 730 (1329—1330)

The Mosque al Mardānī of 739- 740 (1338—1340) on pillars

The Mosque of Amīr Aksunkur of 747—748 (1346—1348) on pillars

The Mosque al Muʾaiyad of 819—823 (1416—1420)

Of pillared mosques in Egypt outside Cairo we may mention the Mosque of "St Athanasius" and the Mosque of the "Thousand Pillars" in Alexandria the plans of which were recorded by the French expedition (*Description de l'Egypte*, *Antiquites*, v, reproduced in Thiersch, *op cit*, p 224) Shortly before the arrival of the French, Alexandria still had 88 mosques, 46 of which were large Practically nothing of these is left at the present day The two above mentioned were pillared mosques and particularly the second, also called the "Mosque of the Seventy", with its līwāns of equal depth on all sides (only the northeastern one has 4 instead of 5 rows of pillars) the arches of which always run parallel to the outer walls, i e palm-like, continue the type of the Hellenistic pillared agora or the gymnasion as Thiersch has pointed out The same type predominated in the towns of the Delta The second, later type of mosque in Egypt was decisively influenced by the madrasa, to which we may now turn our attention As Creswell has shown, the Egyptian madrasa was by no means always cruciform, as was usually supposed previously It is also distinguished from the Syrian type and cannot be at once said to have been introduced from Syria It is true that the first madrasa for all four rites in Cairo was built by Sālih Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb, but this Sālihīya was a building divided into two halves and cannot be considered as the original of the later type (641 = 1243—1244) The first cruciform madrasa with 4 līwāns in Cairo was the Zāhirīya which was built on the site of a part of the old Fātimid palace which was cleared for this purpose and consecrated in

660 (1263) The south līwān belonged to the Shāfiʿīs, the north to the Hanafīs, lectures on Hadīth were given in the east līwān and in the west līwān the seven ways of reading the Kurʾān were taught (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II) While the Ṣālihīya held all four rites but was not cruciform, the Zāhirīya was cruciform but did not accommodate all four rites The Nāsirīya of 695 (1295–1296) was the first madrasa of the rare type which, cruciform and accommodating all four rites, allotted a līwān to each Maḳrīzī also mentions a large number of other madrasas of one or two rites which have completely disappeared but probably were of different forms, as the existing madrasas and ruins show One great difference in principle between the Syrian and Cairene madrasas was the installation of the mosque In Syria this was always a broad chamber with a central dome and two tunnel vaults but in Cairo one of the līwāns was always used as a mosque and with this object was furnished with a miḥrāb The Egyptian madrasas also always had minarets, which was the exception in Syria Creswell's assertion that the cruciform mosque is of Cairene origin, although it remained the exception, therefore will hardly find acceptance Timūr and his successors certainly did not get the design for their numerous cruciform madrasas from Cairo but followed the old Khurāsānian tradition It remains to be seen whether future excavations in Nishābūr, Tūs and other towns of Khurāsān will supply further information on this point Creswell gives a chronological list of the madrasas of Cairo mentioned by Makrīzī and others, which were built between 566—811 (1170—1408), these number 55, 26 of which are still in existence Two of these are devoted to all four madhhabs, the Madrasas of Sultān Ḥasan 757–764 (1356—1363) and of Djamāl al-Dīn of 811 (1408) (Creswell, *loc cit*, p 44) Further details of these madrasas will be found in Creswell, *op cit* and in Diez, *Kunst d isl V* 2, p 118–125 Here we shall just mention the most celebrated building of this kind in Cairo, the tomb mosque-madrasa of Sultān Ḥasan It belongs to the group of buildings which contain several places of worship and are devoted to all four rites, the school līwāns of which were however outside the central court at the four corners of the building, quite separate from one another The four līwāns had therefore only an architectural significance In keeping with the Cairo tradition, the kibla līwān was made much larger and arranged as a masdjid

With this adaptation of the madrasa for use as a mosque, the foundations were laid for the further development of the mosque during the period of the Circassian Mamlūks when it may be described as a transformed and roofed madrasa As a rule we can distinguish in it three compartments, the Kibla līwān, a central chamber sunk a step lower occupying the place of the former open courtyard and a room at the back, as a rule a smaller one Of little importance from the architectural point of view, these small mosques were elaborately decorated and formed fine specimens of the decorative art of Cairo The tomb mosque of Kāʾit Bey of 880 (1475), the mosques of Kishmā al-Ishāḳī of 885–886 (1480—1481), of the Āmir Akhōr of the year 908 (1503) and of al-Ghūrī of the year 908—910 (1503—1504) are building of this group The Ottoman domed mosques from 935 (1528) follow the Turkish tradition

The Maghrib (North Africa and Spain) The typical mosque of the Muslim west is the mosque with courtyard, on pillars or columns It was only under Turkish rule that the domed mosque became established in those parts of North Africa affected by it The rows of pillars run, as a rule, perpendicular to the Kibla wall from which however they are separated by a transept The axis of the latter is a continuation of the axis of the central nave which is always broader Of the rows of pillars in the axis the two or three outermost ones are continued over the court and form the arcades, of which the inner entrance side of the court has as a rule only one The beginning and end of the central nave are as a rule marked by a dome The western mosques are given their characteristic features by the horseshoe and bulbous arch (a mixture of the horseshoe and the pointed arch) The miḥrāb of the western mosques is as a rule a pentagonal niche considerably deeper than the eastern semi-circular one The oldest surviving large mosques in the west are in Kairāwān, Tunis and Córdoba (since the expulsion of the Church)

The foundation of the Great Mosque of Kairawān like that of ʿAmr in Cairo goes back to the first century A H but like that in Cairo also retains nothing from its founder ʿUḳba b Nāfiʿ except the name By 76 (695) the original masdjid was rebuilt, and later enlarged but in 221 (836) it was completely taken down by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh and rebuilt and in the third (ninth) century again enlarged on two occasions In spite of many later restorations, the mosque has retained the form it was given in the third (ninth) century Seventeen naves on pillars run perpendicular to the Kibla wall from which however they are separated by the transept The central nave is broader and flanked by double columns and marked externally by two domes It may be noted as a special feature that the first two travées of the harām seem to be one with the court arcades while the part behind was shut off by doors The arcades of the court rest on pillars with double columns in front of them, which with their bulbous arches give the court its special charm The Djāmiʿ Zaitūna in Tunis was built as early as 114 (732) by the Omaiyad governor Ibn al-Habhāb but entirely rebuilt in 250 (864), in spite of many internal restorations, it has in the main retained to the present day its old form of the end of the ninth century In Spain we have from the Omaiyad period the (former) Mosque of Córdoba It was built by ʿAbd al Rahmān I (138—172 = 756—788) and several times extended by his successors until the harām contained 19 naves each with 35 pillars The special feature of this mosque is the double storied arrangement of its rows of arches, a bold innovation, which does not seem to have been imitated elsewhere Recent investigations have revealed the original floor of the mosque at a much lower level, which is decorated with mosaic This would alter the proportions The horseshoe arch taken over from the Visigoths was varied in the clover leaf and indented arch and these arches were imitated in the Maghrib (mosques of Algiers, Tlemcen etc) The domes swelling into various shapes were frequently imitated in Kairawān and Córdoba The mosques of Sūs (236 = 850) and Sfax (235 = 849) were founded in the Aghlabid period but the latter was completely restored in the tenth century. The rise of

the Fāṭimid empire in North Africa (297 = 909) brought about a new development of mosque building The mosque of the new Shīʿī capital Mahdīya in Tunis however corresponds completely to the preceding Aghlabid type A novelty however is the use of cross vaulting which henceforth we find frequently, first of all in the two mosques of Monastir and in the new part of the Great Mosque of Sfax Of the great pillared mosque of the Kalʿa of the Banī Hammād, the minaret of which still stands and was mentioned in the article MANĀRA, it is only possible to reconstruct the ground plan, which had 13 naves with 8 travées (cf Blanchet, *Nouvelles archives de Missions*, vol xviii, p 13 *sqq* and De Beylie, *La Kalaa des Beni Hammâd*, p 77 *sqq*) A second mosque of the Banī Hammād has been destroyed in Bougie but it is evident from an old description that it belonged to the type of Kairawān (De Beylie, *op cit*, p 102—104)

Mosques of the Almoravids (448–541 = 1056–1147) and Almohads (524–667 = 1120–1267) The great mosques in Algiers and Tlemcen, the Kutubīya in Marrākesh and the mosque in Tinmāl are pillar mosques with bulbous arches On the other hand the Mosque of Hasan in Rabāt, now completely destroyed, the largest mosque of the Maghrib, stood on round pillars (610 × 465 feet, begun 539 = 1196–1197) A noteworthy feature is the mausoleum behind the miḥrāb in the mosque of Tlemcen, which now becomes frequent in the Maghrib (but seems not to have been unknown in eastern Islām, as the plan of the madrasa of Khargird shows, cf Diez, *Churasan Baudenkmaler*, p 73)

Marinids in Morocco (1195—1470), successors of the Almohads (xiiith—xivth century) a large mosque in Tāza, Morocco, piers, broad central nave and transversal nave, finished in 693 (1294) A large mosque in Auyda on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier (696 = 1296) Sidi bel-Hasan in Tlemcen (696 = 1296), a small mosque with onyx columns, and Awlād al-Imām in Tlemcen (710 = 1310), small, but richly decorated The great Mansūra mosque in Tlemcen (736 = 1336), a very regular building, thirteen naves on onyx columns, a broad central nave, a three naved transept, a maksūra in the centre, a polygonal miḥrāb with mausoleum behind Sidi bū Medyen of al-Awbād (739 = 1339) and Sidi al-Halwī (754 = 1353), both in Tlemcen, small, the former on piers, the second on columns with slightly modified horseshoe arches with a wide span Shella (harbour of Rabāt), Necropolis of the Marinids, a tomb-mosque (739 = 1339) (plan in Marçais, *Manuel*, ii, p 498) Around Tlemcen are several small mosques of the xivth century

Mosques of the Hafsids in Tunis, xiiith—xivth century Mosque of the Kasba in Tunis, built by the founder of the Hafsid dynasty Abū Zakarīyā Yahyā I (625—647 = 1228—1249), finished in 633 (1235) Pillars with chaptrels, supporting horseshoe arches in the quadrangle and cross vaulting, the usual form of roof in Ifrīkiya from the tenth century (cf Sfax etc) is similar The Mosque of al-Hawā of the xiiith century is similar

Mosques in Morocco under the Sharīfs 951—1311 (1544—1893)

In Morocco preference was given to the old Almohad type of mosque as exemplified in the Kutubīya The Bāb Dukkāla 965 (1537) and Muasiyn 976 (1562) mosques in Marrākesh have seven naves at right angles to the kibla, and a transept along the kibla wall Innovations seem to be, in addition to the broader central nave, that the two outside naves left and right along the side walls were broader and a dome was placed at each of the four corners of the mosque A second transept on the court side of the Harām seems to be exceptional, as in the Bāb Dukkāla The mosque of the Kasba of Marrākesh dates from a foundation of the Almohad al-Mansūr After the explosion of 1574 it was rebuilt and in the xviiith and xixth centuries repeatedly restored (cf the monograph by H Basset and Terrasse) The mosques of al Kairawiyīn and Mūlāy Idrīs in Fēs have likewise been restored

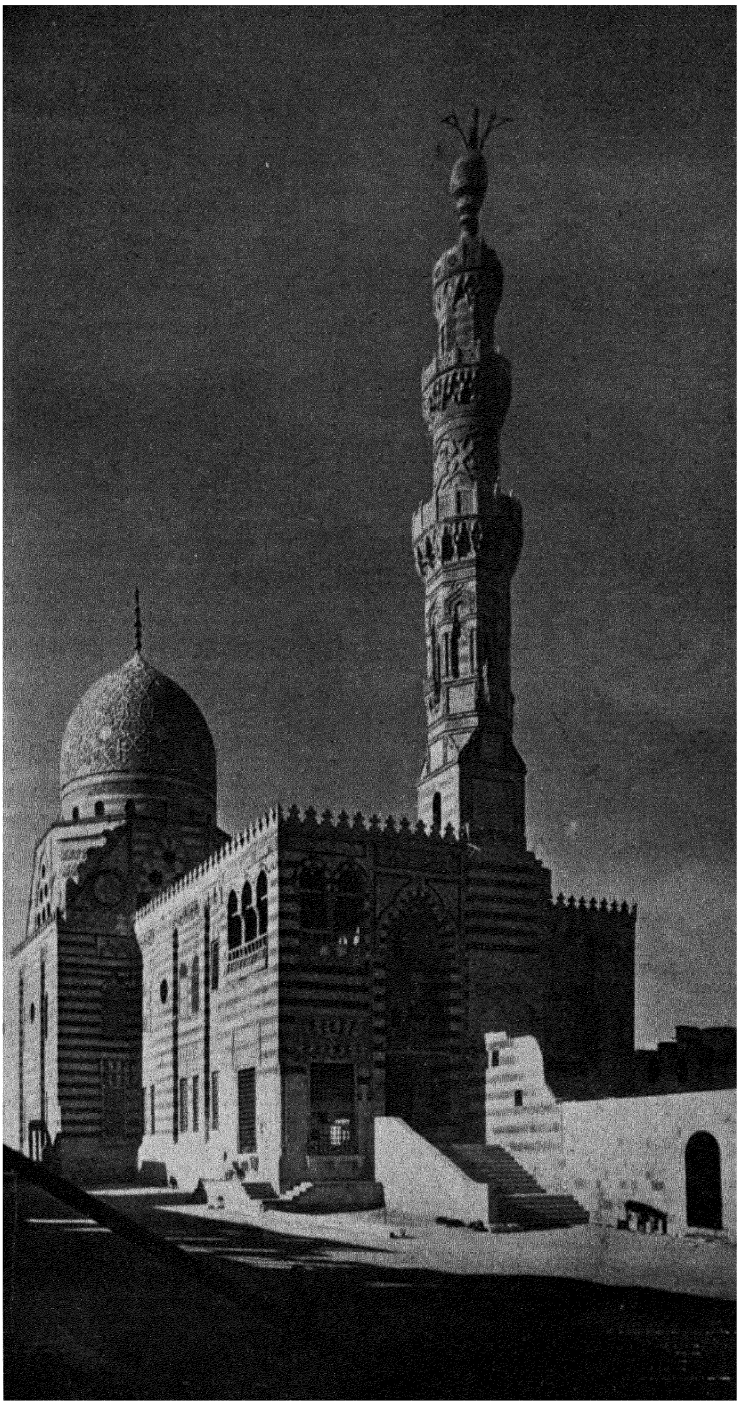
Mosques in Algeria under Turkish rule (1518) In addition to the two mosques which date from the Almoravid period, the Great Mosque 490 (1096) and the M Sidi Ramdān in Algiers, only two other mosques of the old type are believed to exist, all the others, over 100 in number, are Turkish The oldest Turkish mosque is ʿAlī Bitshnūn (1622), now Nôtre Dame des Victoires This building had a large central dome, which is surrounded by small domes It is noteworthy that the square minaret was not ousted by the Turkish type All the later mosques of Algeria show variations of this type, except the "Mosque on the Fish-Market" 1070 (1660) the plan of which recalls those of the Jesuit churches of the xvith century, it may however owe nothing to them but derive from Byzantine-Turkish models

Mosques in Tunis under the last Hafsids and Turks (from 1534) Under the last Hafsids the venerable Djāmiʿ Zaitūna was again restored, enlarged and given its present portico and the outer gallery of arcades The oldest Turkish mosque is Yūsuf Dāʿī (1610–1637) It is significant that it is built after the old Tunisian type on pillars with cross-vaulting, as are the later M of Hammūda Bey finished in 1067 (1654) and several mosques of the xviiith and xixth centuries The Turkish style (Ahmedīya in Constantinople) represented by the Sidi Mahiez (second half of the xviith century) remains the exception in Tunis

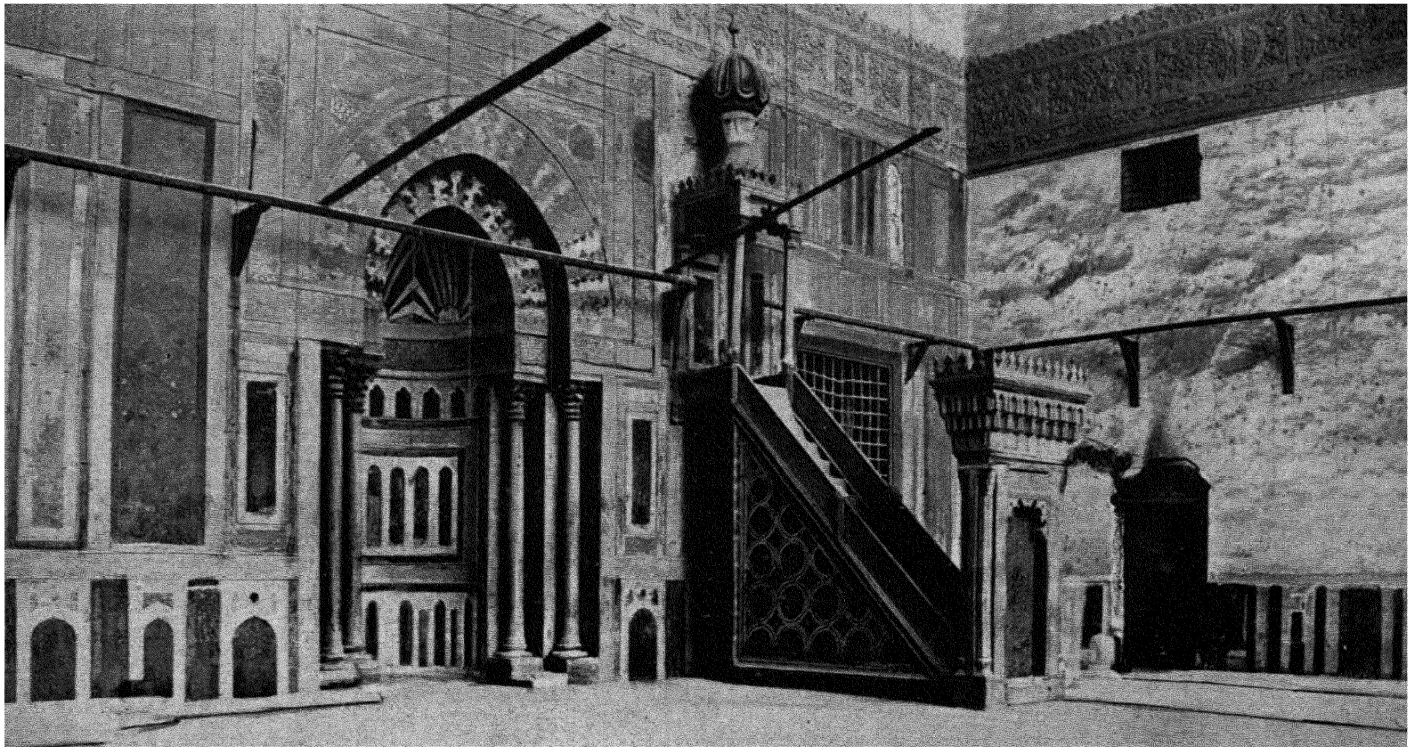
The medersa in the Maghrib Medersas were first introduced into the western lands of Islām by the Almohads but nothing of these seems to have survived The oldest medersas date from the xiiith—xivth centuries The Marinids in Maghrib al-Aksā were particularly active in building and encouraging medersas, which, as in Syria and Egypt, were also state institutions This evolution of the medersa was apparently a result of the Sunnī, particularly Mālikī, revival under the Marīnids (1195—1470) Al-Saffārīn, the oldest medersa in Fēs, built by the great warrior and champion of the faith Yakʿūb Yūsuf (685–706 = 1286—1306) of the Marīnids who also built Shella (see above), was the prototype of all the later medersas in the extreme Maghrib An angular gateway, such as is usually only found in private houses leads into a court with a central basin and the cells A domed chamber with a pentagonal miḥrāb adjoins it On the analogy of the tombs, it is called kubba Adjoining it reached by a corridor is a *miḍaʾa*, with a basin in the centre for ablutions and latrines These three main parts of the building, *ṣaḥn*, *kubba* and *miḍaʾa* and usually



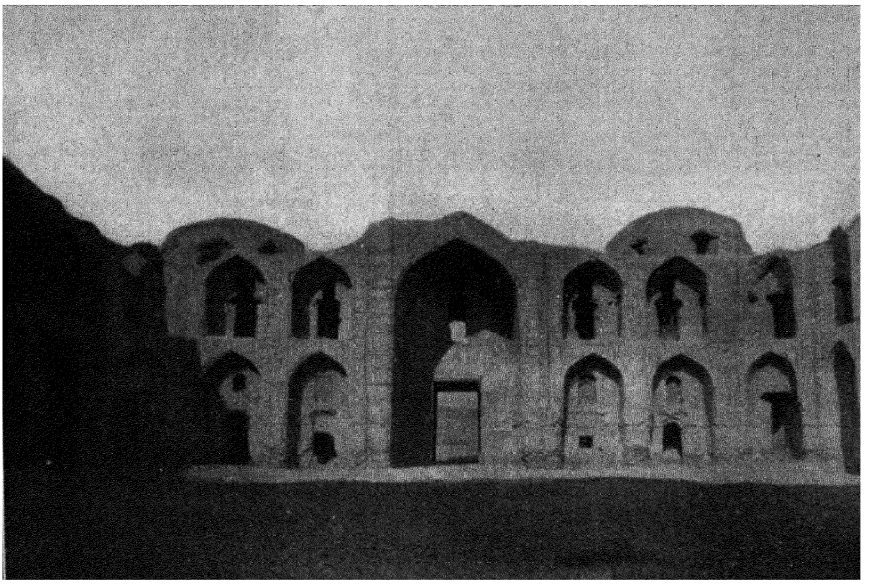
15. **Mashhad** (Khurāsān). Mosque in the sanctuary of imām Riḍā.



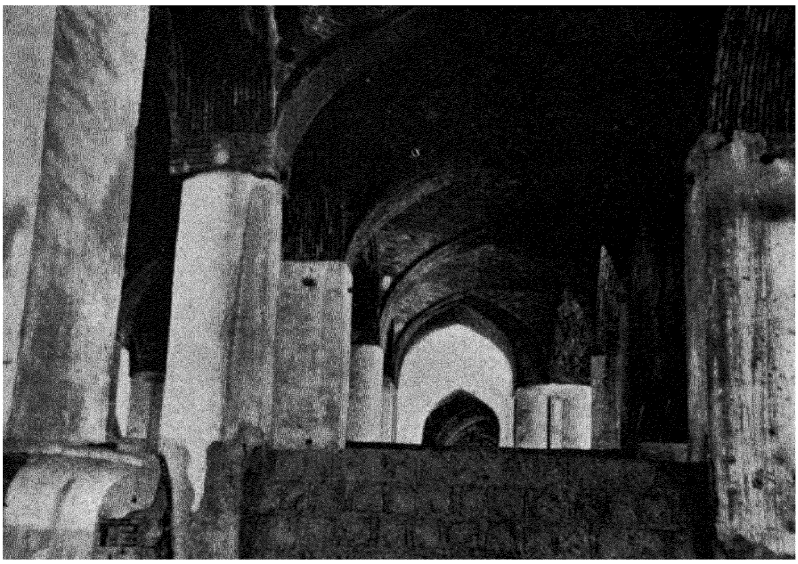
14. Cairo. Mausoleum of Ḳā'it Bey.



13. Cairo. Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan.



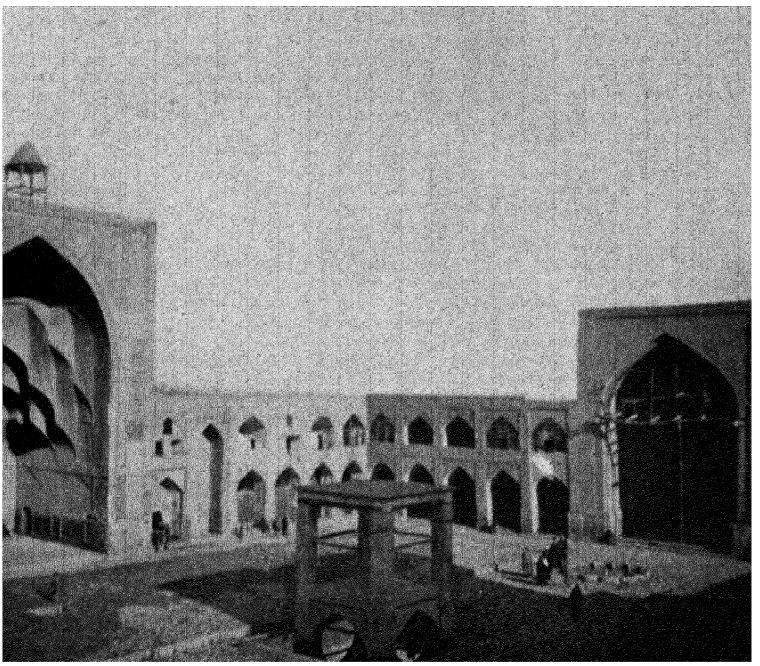
12. Khargird. Madrasa.



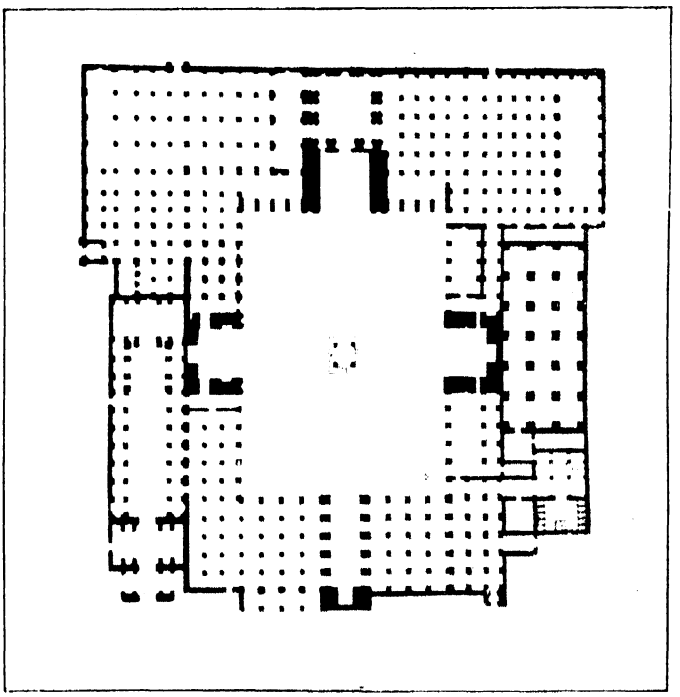
10. Iṣfahān. Djāmiʿ. Detail.



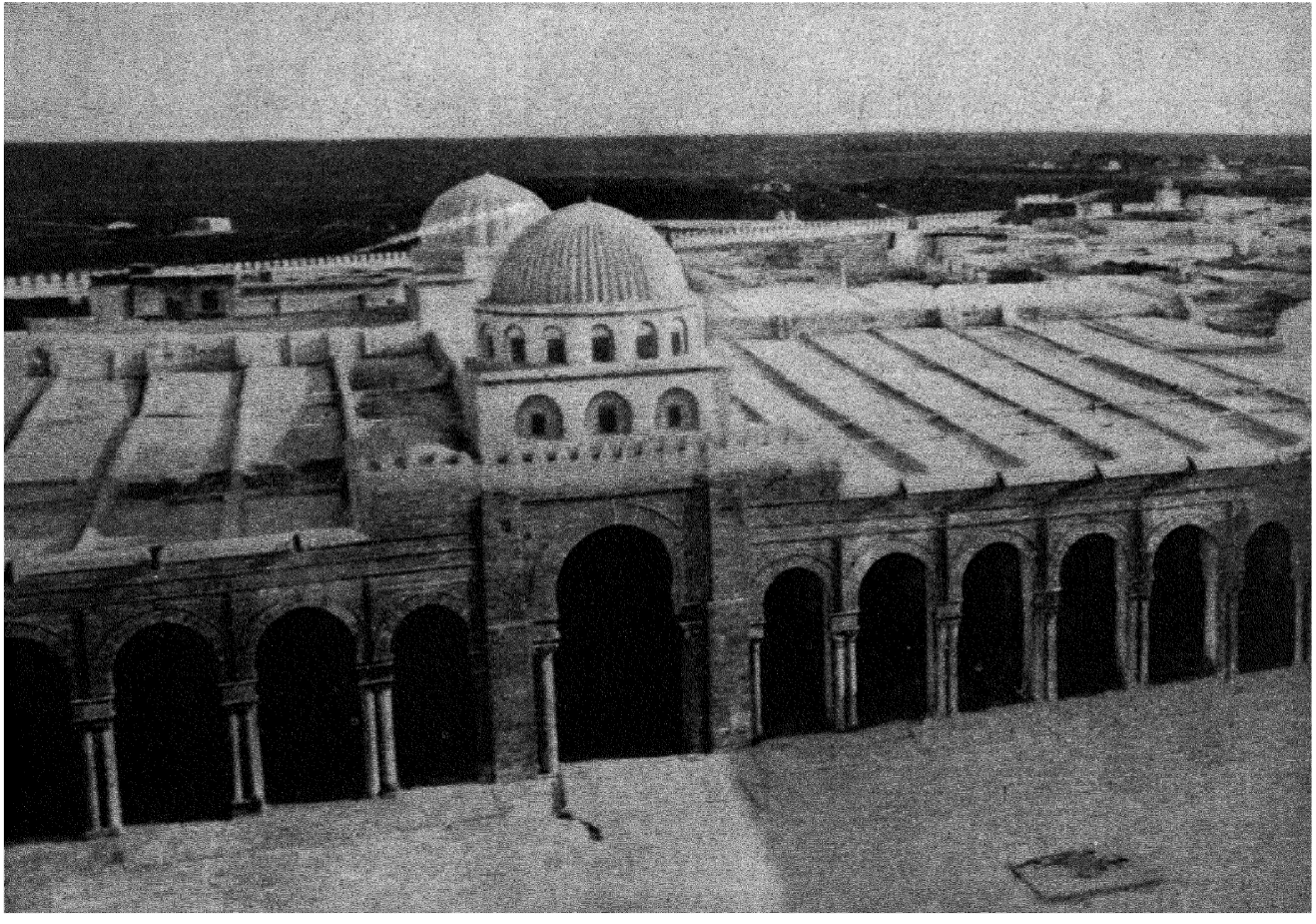
11. Iṣfahān. Shāh Ḥusain Madrasa.



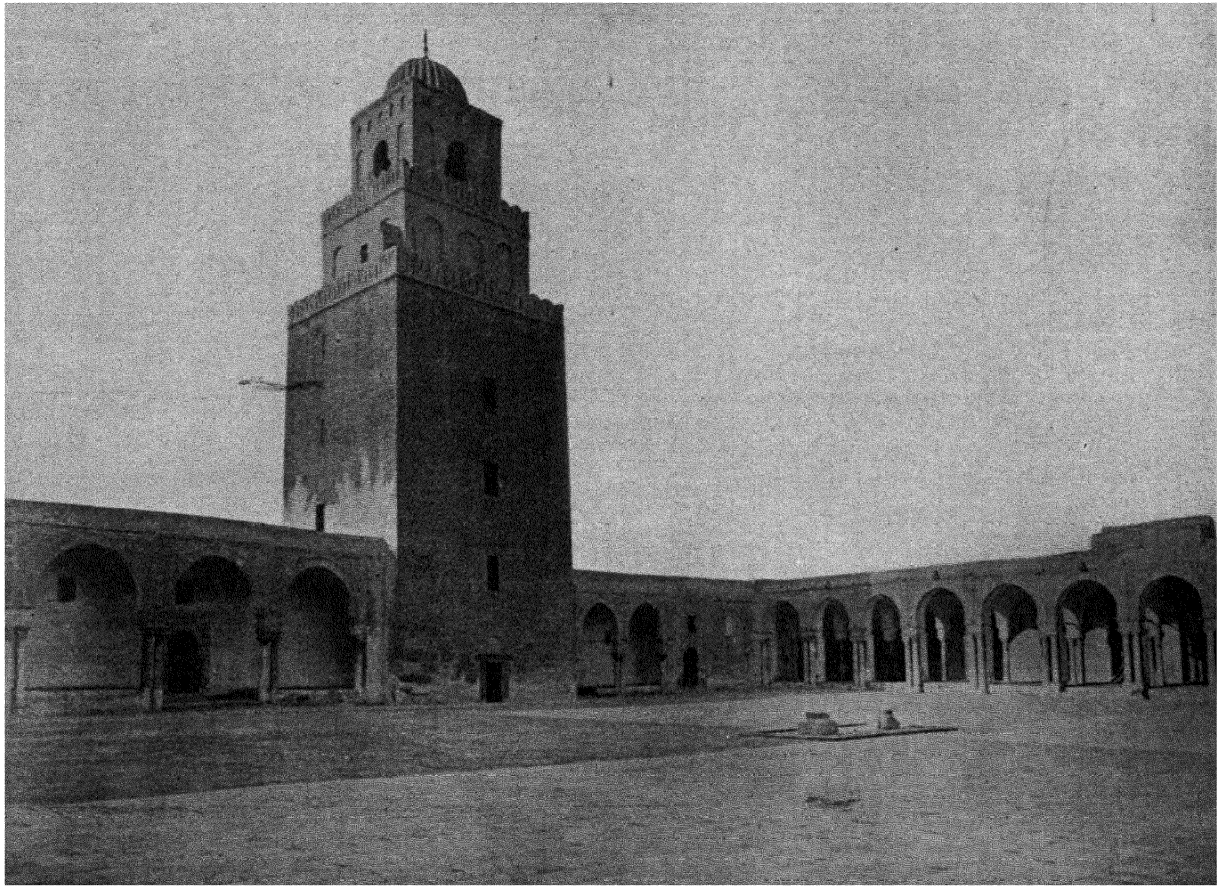
8. Iṣṭahān. Djāmi'.



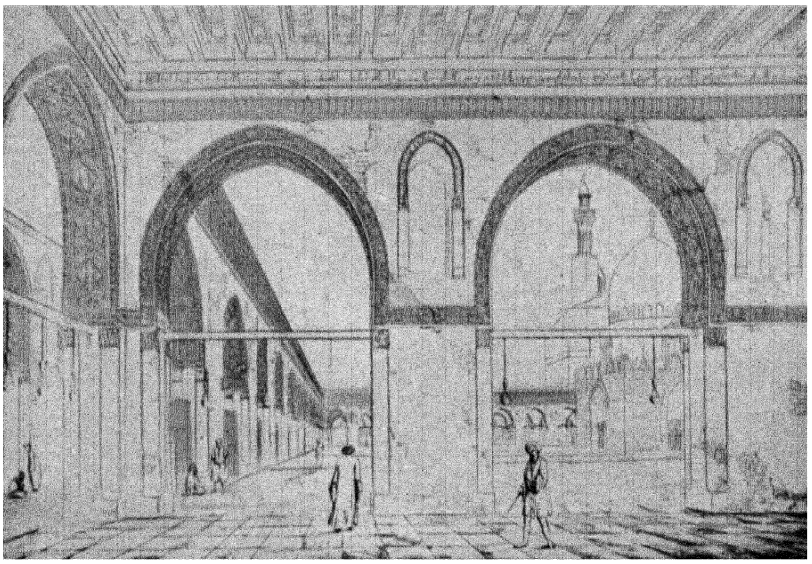
9. Iṣfahān. Djāmi'. Plan.



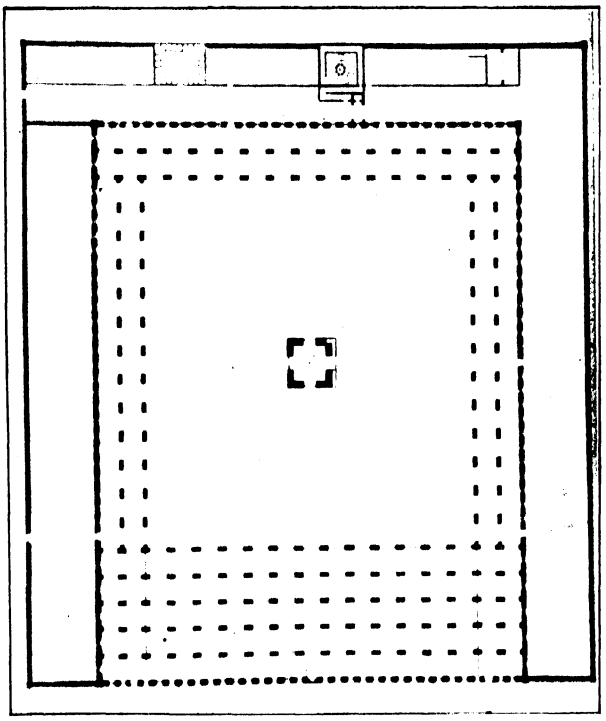
7. Ḳairawān. Mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba.



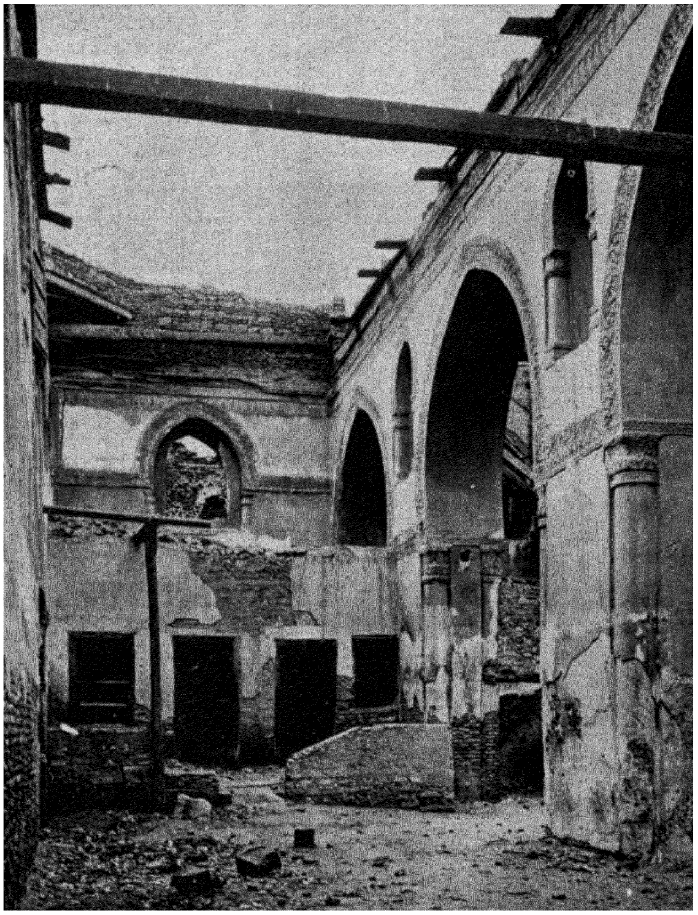
6. Ḳairawān. Mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba.



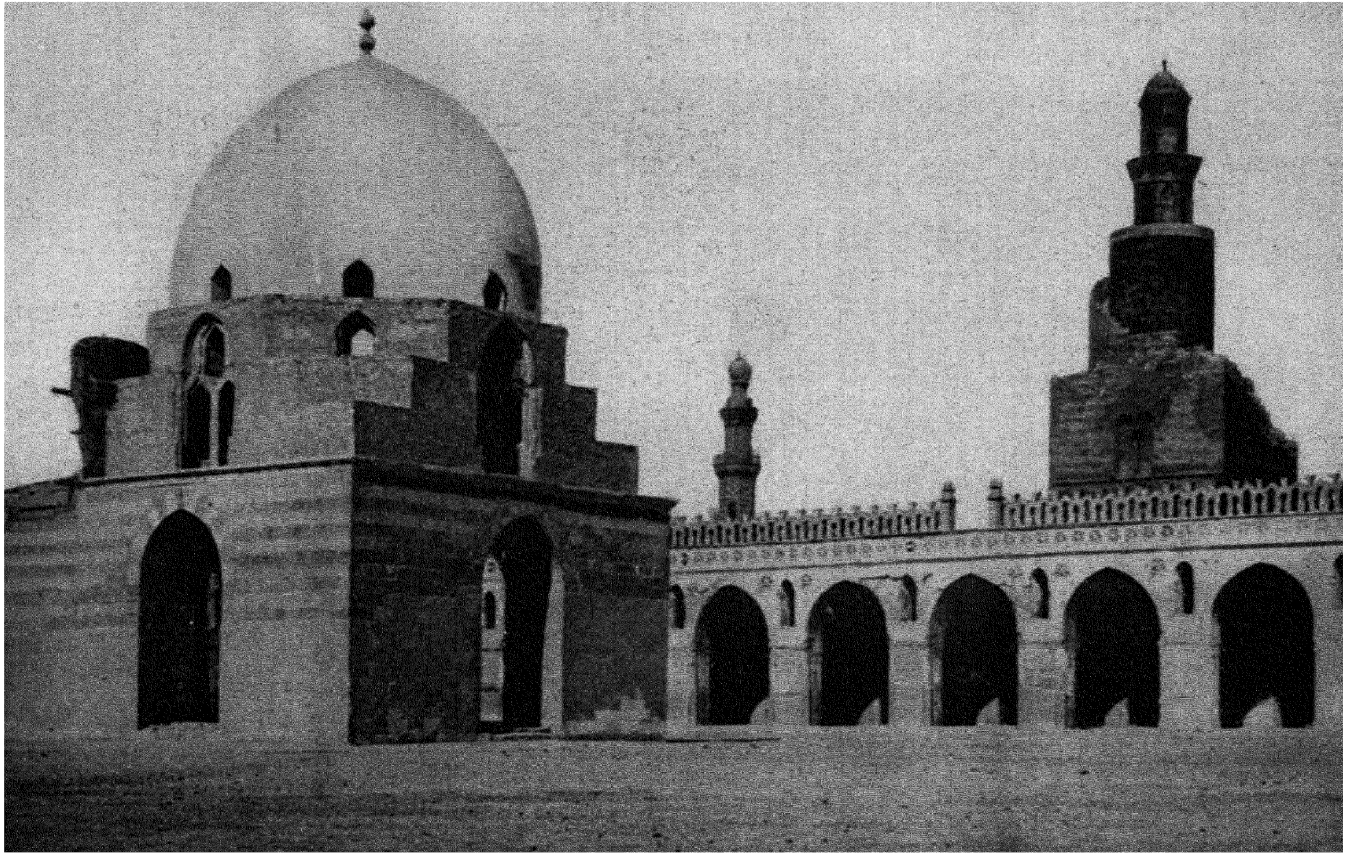
4. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Reconstruction.



5. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Plan.



3. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Detail.



2. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn.



1. Fosṭāt. Mosque of ʿAmr.

a separate minaret, are found continually in a number of variations, usually dependent on the space available, which Marçais, *op cit*, ii 504, divides into three groups In Fēs in addition to those mentioned there are other seven medersas of the xivth century With the medersas of Meknes, Sale, Taza and al-Awbād in Tlemcen we have in all eleven medersas of the Marīnids extant (cf the list in Marçais, *op cit*, ii 504 *sqq*) The most imposing and finest medersa in Fēs is the Bū ʿAnānīya, founded by Abū ʿAnān, 749–759 (1348–1358) With its masdjid of two transepts at the end of the square court and two domed chambers in the central axis of the court it recalls the mosque of Hasan in Cairo with its īwāns The façades on the court display the wealth of wall adornment usual in the Maghrib tiles, stucco moulding and stalactites

Medersas of the xvith–xixth centuries in Morocco The Medersa of Ben Yūsuf in Marrākesh is regarded as the largest in the Maghrib and stands on the site of an originally Almoravid (?) and next Marīnid Medersa Abu 'l-Hasan The plan seems to be old and in its regularity recalls the *al Hīrī* type of Arab palace and the palaces of the Omayyads and ʿAbbāsids built in this style in the desert (plan in Marçais, *op cit*, ii, p 702) The Medersa al-Sharrātīn in Fās, begun in 1670, shows a similar plan but is smaller and simpler

Medersas of the xvith–xixth centuries in Tunis In the xvth century the Hafsids built a number of medersas here Of the Turkish, the most interesting is the Medersa Bashīya of ʿAlī Pasha (1740–1755) a court with cells, masdjid on pillars and *mīdaʾa*, but, like the Egyptian madrasas, it has also the tomb of the founder and a public fountain In Tunis, probably as the result of Egyptian or Oriental influence, it is common to find medersas and mosques associated with the tomb of the founder The three varieties distinguished in Egypt by van Berchem, mosque-mausoleum, madrasa-mausoleum and monastery-mausoleum were also built in Tunis

Saldjūk empire in Rūm, Armenia and Georgia In Saldjūk Anatolia (470–700 = 1077–1300) the three types of pierced mosque, the court-īwān madrasa and domed madrasa are to be distinguished The pierced hall was used as the large public mosque On account of the colder climate the open courtyard with pillars was not found here The pillars were sometimes of wood (Ḳshref Rūm Djāmiʿ), usually however of stone The flat wooden roof rested directly on the piers or on the arches which connected them, which run sometimes parallel, sometimes perpendicular to the kibla wall The Ulū Djāmiʿ in Wān has a vaulted roof resting on pillars, a system later often used in the Ottoman empire Of more importance architecturally are the smaller (mosque-)madrasas, which played a prominent part in the Saldjūḳ empire, but they fell far behind the Persian madrasas in impressiveness and harmonious development The model for the evolution of the īwān-madrasa was the Mesopotamian-Anatolian *ṭarma* house From the latter came the bowers along the sides of the court which were placed in front of the Iwān and the rows of cells The combination of school and mausoleum in which the builders, usually high officers of state, were interred, was the rule The domed madrasa consists of a domed hall with a water basin in place of the open court with living rooms, a lecture-room and a mausoleum adjoining it The external ornamentation of these Saldjūk madrasas and mosques is confined to the gateways The façades of the gates, irrespective of the material used elsewhere in building (brick or moulding), were always covered with slabs and the portals then ornamented with strips of decoration or inscriptions, fantastic looking candelabra of palmettes (Diwrigi), bundles of rods and convolutions in low and high relief and thus one of the highest points in Muslim decorative art was attained The iwāns along the court, interiors of the comparatively low domes (which here usually bridge over the corners on triangular consoles), the friezes on the wall and the mihrābs are frequently adorned with glazed brick and mosaic friezes in a style which in pattern and colour is readily distinguished as an independent pattern from the Persian decoration Here we find geometrical network patterns, which were not usual in Persia and a colour scheme which receives its special character from the much used black, alternating with bright and dark blue, although other colours are also found The following is a list of the most important buildings, so far as they are known I Pierced mosques Mosque of ʿAlā al-Dīn in Konya, completed 616 (1209–1210), Djāmiʿ Kebīr in Siwās, xiith—xiiith cent, citadel mosque 576 (1180–1181) and great mosque 679 (1280–1281) in Diwrigī, Eshref Rūm (Eski) Djāmiʿ, xiiith century, in Beyshehir, Ulū Djāmiʿ in Egerdir, xiiith century (?), Ulū Djāmiʿ in Caesarea (Cappadocia), mosque of Minučehr 464—495 (1072—1100) in Ānī (with octagonal Manāra), Ulū Djāmiʿ in Wān, xiith—xiiith century — 2 Court īwān madrasas Sirdjely Madrasa 641 (1243—1244), Gök Madrasa, Barudjirdīya and Tjifte Mināre, all 670 (1271—1272) in Siwās, Khātūnīya, 783 (1381—1382) in Karāmān, Ibrāhim Bey Madrasa, xiiith—xivth century in Akserai, Ijifte Minareli, xiiith–xivth century in Erzerum — 3 Domed madrasas Karatai Madrasa 649 (1251) in Konya, Indje Minareli 650—684 (1252—1285) in Konya, Enirge Djāmiʿ 657 (1258) in Konya, Tāsh Madrasa 613 (1216) and 659 (1260) in Akshehir, Sultān Wālide xiiith and xvth century in Sayid-i Ghāzī

The mosque of the Turcoman ruler ʿĪsā I (1348—1390) in Ayasoluk (Ephesus) is an exception in Asia Minor, it was finished in 777 (1375—1376) and its architect is said to have been ʿAlī b al-Dimishkī The interior is modelled on the mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus, the walls however are in the Turkish style of that period, as developed in the provinces of the Atābegs The west façade is closely related to the façades of the mosque of Hasan in Cairo, which also drew inspiration from Northern Mesopotamia

The Ottoman empire The Ottoman Turks further developed the types of mosque built by their predecessors, the Saldjūks A second very important factor in the development was their expansion into Europe and the new model, the Byzantine domed churches, especially the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople Here three main types of mosque may again be distinguished the pierced hall, the cruciform domed mosque and the central or great domed mosque The first and third were

commonly used for Friday mosques and mosques for the people, while the second type was reserved for the Sultān's Friday service and religious instruction, and was more used for private mosques The Ottoman pıered hall mosque is distinguished from the Saldjūk, principally by its vaulting, rows of cupolas over the piers The court is limited to a hypaetral water-basin of the same size as the dome above it The Ulū Djāmi' in Brussa for example is an unadorned pillared hall, rectangular in shape with five aisles each with four domes in a row The second group of four pillars in the central aisle was originally uncovered (now it has a glass dome) and contains the basin for ablutions, the rudiments of a court The domes of the five aisles rise one above the other to the central row The most important buildings of this group are Ulū Djāmi' 1370—1420 in Brussa, Uč Sherefeli Djāmi' 889–893 (1484–1487/8) in Adrianople, Ulū (Eski) Djāmi' ca 1403—1420 in Adrianople, Ulū Djāmi' xvth century (?) in Manissa (Magnesia on Sipylos), Djumaya in Filibe (Philippople), old mosque (now museum) 882 (1477–1478) in Sofia, Sindjirli Koyu Djāmi' ca 1500, Ahmad Pasha Djāmi' by Sinan ca 1555 and Piale Pasha Djāmi' 1573, all in Constantinople, Eski Wālide in Scutari ca 1570 The pıered hall as an unmixed form became extinct in the xvith century The Hekīm Oghlu Djāmi' in 1734 in Constantinople is a mixture of the latter with the great dome The origin of the cruciform domed mosque is rightly sought by Wulzinger in the Saldjūk madrasas with courtyards which come in time to be covered over with a dome The centre which lies somewhat below the level of the rest, is occupied by a square roofed with a dome, again the rudiments of the former courtyard, and still often containing a fountain The Kibla chamber is vaulted with a barrel or dome, the praying chambers to right and left are either like Iwāns open towards the centre or have barrel-vaulting The similarity of these mosques to Byzantine churches (in plan, not in structure) is involuntary and lies in the system On the other hand, the open pıered outer court (*khiyāl*) may go back to Byzantine stimulation These outer courts however are very general in the east to give shade The most important buildings of this type are according to Wulzinger's list (*op cit*, p 186) Mosque of Murād I (1359—1389) in Brussa, fin end of xivth century, two storied, Mosque of Bāyazīd I Yildirim (1389—1403), fin after 1402, Yashil-Djāmi' in Brussa, fin 1423, Mosque in the Koimesis church in Isnik, beg of xvth century, Nilufer Khātūn 'Imāret, end of xivth century, Piruz Bey Djāmi' in Milas, fin 797 (1394), Mosque of Murād II (1421–1451), fin 1447 in Brussa, Mosque of Murād II in Adrianople, 'Imāret Djāmi' in Philippopolis 1359, Mosque of Hamza Bey before 1451 in Brussa, Ghāzī Michal Djāmi' ca 1400 in Adrianople The great domed mosque developed out of the more primitive single domed mosque which was very common throughout Asia Minor and Turkey as the simple village mosque, private mosque etc and continued to survive (In Ayasoluk alone 14 small single domed mosques can be counted) This type of building was also used for the numerous turbes The following are more important single domed mosques outside Constantinople Yashi 'l-Djāmi' 794 (1392) and Mahmūd Čelebi Djāmi' about 1400 in Isnik, Masdjid of Khodja Yadygyar beg 1369 in In-Önü, Masdjid of Elias Bey fin 806 (1404) in Balāt (Milet) The development of the great domed mosque from this type took place in part through combination with cruciform domed types, but its aim was however the elimination of all minor domes which at first it had for constructional reasons to put at the sides A Gabriel's table gives a good idea of the different variations He gives the mosques of Constantinople, which number 42 (with Scutari), under six main types (*Les Mosquees de Constantinople*, in *Syria*, vii, 1926, p 352—419)

A Square or oblong halls with one or more domes, sometimes flanked by secondary domed chambers Mahmūd Pasha Djāmi' 868 (1464), Murād Pasha Djāmi' 870 (1466), Dāwūd Pasha Djāmi' 890 (1485), 'Atīk 'Alī Pasha Djami' 902 (1497), Sultān Selim Djāmi' 926 (1520)

B Quadrangular single domed halls (continuing the list just given of the not yet very large single domed mosques from the city area of Constantinople) Firūz Agha Djāmi' 896 (1491), Djezeri Kāsim Pasha Masdjid 921 (1515), Khāsseki Khurem Djāmi' 946 (1539), Mehmed Agha Djāmi 993 (1585), Činili Djāmi' 1050 (1640), Nūri 'Othmānīya Djāmi' 1169 (1755), Ialeli Djāmi' 1177 (1763), Wālide Djāmi' 1287 (1870)

C Square hall with a central dome, usually supported by two half domes Sultān Bāyazīd Djāmi' 906 (1500), Sultān Sulaiman Djāmi' 957–964 (1550—1557), Kilidj 'Ali Pasha Djāmi' 988 (1580)

D Square hall with a central dome supported by four axial half domes Shāhzāde Djāmi' 955 (1548), Sultān Ahmad Djāmi' 1026 (1617), Yeñi Walid Djāmi' 1120 (1708), Sultān Mehmed Djāmi' 867 (1463), reconstructed 1180 (1767), variants oblong hall with a central dome supported by three half domes Iskele Djāmi' in Scutari 954 (1547)

F Oblong hall with six domes of equal size (old type of people's mosque, cf above) Zindjirli Kuyu Djāmi' ixth (xvth) century, Piale Pasha Djāmi' 981 (1573)

F Oblong hall with central dome and aisles

Group *a* Central dome with square plan and pendentives Bali Pasha Djāmi' middle of xth (xvith) century, Mihrimāh Djāmi' middle of xth (xvith) century, Zal Mahmūd Pasha Djāmi' 958 (1551)

Group *b* Central dome on octagonal basis Ibrāhīm Pasha Djāmi' 958 (1551), Rustam Pasha Djāmi' middle of xth (xvith) century, Eski 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 994 (1586), Yeñi Wālide Djāmi' 1120 (1708) in Scutari, A'zāb Kapu Djāmi' 985 (1577), Aiyūb Sultān Djāmi' founded ixth (xith) century, rebuilt xiith (xviiith) century, Nishāndji Mehmed Pasha Djāmi' 992 (1584)

Group *c* Central dome on hexagonal basis Ahmad Pasha Djāmi' 962 (1555), Sukūl or Mehmed Pasha Djāmi' 979 (1571), 'Atik Wālide Djāmi' 991 (1583) in Scutari, Djerāh Pasha Djāmi' 1002 (1594), Hakīm Oghlu 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 1147 (1734)

A survey of this list shows that the type given under *A* is also the earliest This was directly linked up with that in use in the older capital Brussa and already being built in Konya in the xiiith century (Kara Tai Madrasa, Yildirim and Yashil Djāmi') which seems to be continued in the Mahmūd and Murād Pasha Djāmi' But already the original Sultān Mehmed Djāmi' (rebuilt in the xviiith century)

which forms a striking anachronism in Gabriel's list under *D* with its date 1463 (only the second modern Mehmedīya of 1767 belongs properly there), had made the first important step towards a single great chamber (cf Agha Oghlu's reconstructed plan in Diez, *Kunst d isl Volker*, 2nd ed, p 105) and this plan was repeated for the ʿAtīk ʿAlī Pasha Djāmiʿ, while the Dāwūd Pasha Djāmiʿ of 1485 had already used another variation (cf the plans in Gabriel, *op cit*) This in brief is the historical development of the Constantinople mosque from the Anatolian Saldjūk-Ottoman type The next important step to the gigantic domed mosques of Constantinople given under *D* was completed by the greatest of Ottoman architects Sinān (1489—1588) step by step in the Shāhzade Djāmiʿ, the Sulaimānīye and the Selīmiye (1567–1574) in Adrianople His guiding idea was, by thrusting the pillars of the domes as far back into the walls as possible, to get a single domed chamber of the largest possible dimensions, no longer interrupted by pillars, Sinān achieved this end in the Selimīye in Adrianople

Persia, Turkestān and Afghānistān, Old mosques or remains of them have not survived in Persia, as in Egypt, the Maghrib and Syria, except perhaps for a few old parts still standing in the great complex of buildings, that forms the Friday Mosque of Isfahān or in the old Friday Mosque of Shīrāz We know however from literary sources that at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period large mosques were built everywhere in the towns and some must have existed even earlier Abū Muslim, the celebrated general and ʿAbbāsid propagandist, built mosques in Merw and Nishābūr The latter was built on pillars of wood and similar structures are occasionally mentioned in Persia (e g at Rubāt in the province of Djurdjān, Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf etc) In the ninth century, however, greater use began to be made of columns of brick or stone or marble columns taken from older buildings where they could be obtained, as in Istakhr at Persepolis ʿAmr b al-Laith (265—287 = 878—900), the second ruler of the Saffārid dynasty, renovated the Friday Mosque in Nīshābūr and among other mosques built the Djāmiʿ ʿAtik in Shīrāz, both mosques with columns of brick, of which parts are still standing in Shīrāz The Friday Mosque of Balkh destroyed by the Mongols in 1220, is said to have had splendid pillars, as Ibn Battūta records An old mosque on piers of the fourth (tenth) century has survived in the remote desert town of Naiyin, east of Isfahān, and enables us to make deductions about the architecture of mosques in the early period in Irān The harām consists of eleven barrel-vaulted aisles running perpendicular to the ḳibla wall, of which the central one is broader than the others The court is flanked by four-aisled riwaks which run parallel to the kibla wall, only the wall of the entrance has an arcade The plan is therefore similar to that of the mosques of the Maghrib It is built on columns or piers of different forms The part around the mihrāb is richly ornamented in stucco and has bands of inscriptions around it (cf H Viollet and S Flury, *Un monument* etc, *Syria*, II, 1921) How securely the piered hall, as the type of Friday Mosque, maintained itself in the Sunnī east, is seen from the rebuilding of Timūr's great mosque in Samarḳand after his return from his raid on India in 1410, a mosque with columns, which was directly connected with the madrasa of Bibi Khanum, but has now completely disappeared The mosque had 460 columns of hewn stone, each seven ells in height The vaulting was covered with large beautifully carved and polished slabs of marble There was a minaret at each of the four corners of the mosque The door was of bronze and the walls were covered inside and outside with inscriptions in relief (according to Sharīf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī) How far there was any Indian influence here cannot now be ascertained In any case, the īwān and mihrāb court became established in Persia in the fifth (eleventh) century and as the above described Friday Mosque in Isfahān shows, became blended with the pillared court The great Mosque of Herāt (cf Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p 55 and figg 149—153) shows a similar mihrāb court adapted to the (probably older) piered halls In the completely new buildings of the Timūrid and Safawid period, the piered hall completely disappeared and the harām is extended by a central dome with vaulted halls at the side, when the kibla īwān itself does not fulfil the purpose The mosque of the great sanctuaries in Kūm Mashhad, Kerbelāʾ, the Masdjid-i Shāh in Isfahān and many other urban mosques of Persia are built on this plan Only in Eastern Khurāsān, as in the Turbat i Shaikh Djam, does the old piered mosque survive but with vaulted arches and a large dome in the centre of the harām, all of which betrays Indian influence (cf the plan in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, p 79)

Of the already characterised type of domed mosques may be mentioned the "Blue Mosque" in Tabrīz and the Masdjid-i Shāh in Mashhad, both similar in plan with a large central dome and two flanking minarets The former was built during the reign of the Turkoman ruler Djihān Shāh (1437—1467), the latter by Amīr Malik Shāh, the architect being Ahmad b Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Tabrīzī (cf *JRAS*, 1910, p 1131) The Tabrīz mosque had a chapel leading from the domed area with a second smaller dome Both domes were decorated with tiles, the larger with white tendrils on a green ground, the smaller with white stars on a black ground (Tavernier) Only fragments survive of the Blue Mosque, which show how splendidly it was once decorated, on the other hand, the Masdjid-i Shāh in Mashhad is still standing, although the dome has lost its decoration To this group belong also the mosque on the citadel mound of Eriwān, the mosque of Shaikh Lutf Allāh in Isfahān, the Kāliyān mosque used as a royal private mosque and the public Mosque of 1611 in Bukhārā, both with high entrance īwāns and without a court At largely attended common prayer, the people assemble in front of such mosques This is particularly the case in Turkestān, for the īwān and niches were simply very large mihrābs and nothing further was necessary In Balkh also there is a similar, formerly domed mosque probably intended for the ruler with a towering īwān (xvth century) (cf Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, figg 204—205) Besides these large main types, there were and are in these lands of eastern Islām hundreds of smaller mosques in the towns and villages, which sometimes show very interesting structures Thus in Djādjarm in the Isfarāʾin steppe (northern Persia) there is a mosque with a small

open court and domed chamber in front of the mihrāb, and two triple yoked aisles, probably a reminiscence of Nestorian churches (cf Diez, *Churas Bdkm*, p 83) We also find everywhere small masdjids, which are simply little oratories, where the people can promptly worship at the proper time flat-roofed large halls on wooden pillars, which are frequently richly carved in Turkestān, Afghānistān (Kābul) and Central Asia (Kashmīr etc)

The Madrasa in Persia, Turkestān and Afghānistān Shāfi'ī madrasas were built in the 'Abbāsid period in Nīshābūr (where Hāfiz Abrū counted 17), Merw, Bukhārā, Āmol, Tūs and other towns Nasr, brother of Mahmūd of Ghazna, is said to have built the first state madrasa Under the Saldjūks, Nizām al Mulk, vizier of Alp Arslān and of Malik Shāh, built three state madrasas in Nīshābūr, Tūs and Baghdād None of these pre-Timūrid madrasas in Persia has survived, unless the ruined īwān in Khārgird is what is left of a madrasa, which is very probable (cf Diez, *op cit*, p 71 *sq*) The ruins of the Timūrid period however give us a picture of the Persian madrasa of the golden period of Muslim Persian architecture The madrasa in Khārgird near Khāf close to the Afghān frontier, completed in 848 (1444—1445), still shows a pure unmixed madrasa design a quadrangular court with four barrel-vaulted large īwāns, equal in size, at the intersection of the axes, each flanked by two or, with the upper storey, four cells, four vaulted corner-chambers, a narthex-like outer building, consisting of three successive domed chambers, low confined mihrāb façades with low flanking towers at the corners The walls, especially of the court, were adorned with rich tiled mosaic, the walls of the domed chambers with ornamental frescoes (cf Diez, *Churas Baudkm*, p 72—76, pl 31–34) In contrast to the low façade of Khārgird built by a West Persian (Shīrāz) architect are the Turkestān madrasas with their high īwāns, characteristic of the east in general, and gateways especially In Samarkand we have the three Rigistān madrasas Shīr Dār (c 1610), Tillya Kārī (c 1610?) and Ulūgh Beg (c 1434), also the Madrasa Bibi Khanūm (about 1410) built by Timūr, all large courtyards with mihrāb courts and domed chambers, usually four minarets at the surrounding walls In Bukhārā, the Madrasa Mīr Arab of the end of the xvith century is related to the Madrasa Shīr Dār Of the madrasas in Herāt, e g the celebrated Ekklaussiya, nothing has survived, nor do we have anything left of the madrasa of Turbat-i Shaikh Djām in Eastern Khurāsān (cf Diez, *op cit*, p 78) A ruin architectonically interesting is the state madrasa founded in the xviith century by Malik Hamza, the Gumbaz-i Surkh at Kal'a-i Fath in Sidjistān (cf Tate, *Seistan*, fig p 78) The cells are vaulted with the typical Persian house and bazaar domes The last fine Persian madrasa is the Mader-i Shāh Sultān Husain in Isfahān built by the Safawid Shāh of this name (1694—1722) The tiled decoration of the court is among the finest of its kind that has survived in Persia (cf Sarre, *Pers Bdkm*, and Diez, *Kunst d isl Volker*, p 106—107) The dome still shows the original glazed tiles with foliage patterns dark blue and white, changing to black stalks and and yellow leaves on a turquoise blue ground

India In India the history of Muslim architecture so far known does not go beyond the xiiith century The two earliest mosques of which the ruins still survive, the mosques of Adjmir and of Dehli, are large covered courts, built of pillars taken from Jaina temples The domes on eight pillars found in all Jaina temples are here found ranged in rows The richly sculptured pillars were simply cleared of any figures on them before being used Vaulting on square piers continued in use after there were no more pillars to plunder (mosques in Kulbarga and Bidjāpūr) For the rest, Indo-Muslim mosque architecture developed in different ways according to varied traditions and local conditions In towns completely islāmised like Mandu on the Narbada, the capital of the sultānate of Mālwā founded by Dilāwar Shāh at the beginning of the xvth century, or Djawnpur near Benares, which was founded by the sultān of Dehli in 1359, Muslim places of worship show a marked synthesis of Hinduistic tradition with the rigid forms of Muslim symbolism Similarly in the Muslim towns of Gudjārāt, in Ahmadābād, Cambay, Dholka, Mahmūdābād, Muslim sacred architecture developed out of the local Hindu art so that the demands made by Islām on the shape of a mosque, such as an entrance īwān and minaret, were carried through by purely Indian means and only the arch gave the building a Muslim stamp In Bengal again, where the curved bamboo roof prevailed, mosques were built with curved roofs from the bricks in use there, as is shown, notably by the ruins in Gaur on the Ganges Instead of glazed tiles, the walls were generally adorned with richly ornamented slabs of stone South of the Vindhya range also, in the Deccan and in South India local schools of architecture grew up according to the same general principles In Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Kulbarga, Bidār, Awrangābād and other capitals of Muhammadan principalities, the building of mosques was much cultivated Architectonically, the most important city was Bidjāpūr, the capital of the state of the same name, which became independent in 1490 under Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and survived down to the xviith century, when its great period of building culminated in the gigantic dome of the mausoleum of 'Ādil Shāh The mosque of Bidjāpūr (second half of the xvith century) consists of a pierced hall with small domes over each group of four piers and a large dome in the centre In the Moghul period little change was made in this mixture of Hindu and Muslim methods, although the Persian elements are often more marked The huge mosque with courtyard built by Akbar in Fathpur Sīkrī has the usual plan with slight variations The Great Mosque of Agra built by Akbar still shows little Indian pavilions on the tops of the cornices It was only under his successors that a Puritan reaction set in, which finds its fullest expression in the mosques of Dehli and Lahore The process of assimilation thus attained its end

China and Indo-China From the Maghrib to the Pamirs and southeast of them the general character of the country, plains and deserts, linked the peoples of Islām together by certain common features, which also secured the mosque its uniformity of structure in the early centuries In China where Islām was only the religion of a few isolated groups of immigrants the mosque soon adapted itself to the well marked Chinese style of architecture and the mosques of the south and western

provinces, where Islām has established itself in places, are not distinguished externally from the Chinese temples or yamen and internally only by the absence of idols which are replaced by the miḥrāb and minbar Exceptions are the mosques in the seaports, where the colonies of Muslims kept up steady intercourse with the home of Islām and the mosques were at the same time built by native architects This holds for example of the mosques of Ts'iuan-tscheu, province of Fu kien, the Zaitūn of mediaeval writers, which was built in 400 (1009—1010) and restored in 710 (1310—1311) by an architect, a native of Jerusalem, who came from Shīrāz, as the inscription testifies This mosque which is built of hewn stone consists of a hypostyle hall, such as we find in Asia Minor (e g Sīwas) and has bulb shaped niches (cf G Arnaiz and M v Berchem, *Memoires sur les antiquites musulmanes de Ts'iuan Tcheou, T'oung Pao*, vol xii, 1911) The mediaeval chief mosque of Canton also followed the western tradition and even has a minaret, which is never seen on the mosques of the interior The same holds of mosques in Burma and the Indian Archipelago They are usually built of wood and adapted to the native architecture

Bibliography The works quoted under MANĀRA will also serve for Mosque and Madrasa Special works are quoted in the text For the Maghrib the new, excellent *Manuel d'art musulman* of G Marçais was mainly used, which deals only with the Maghrib (2 vols, Paris 1927)

(ERNST DIEZ)

AL **MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ**, the mosque built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem The name means "the remotest sanctuary" and is first found in the Kur'ān, Sūra xvii 1 "Praise Him who made his servant journey in the night from the holy place to the remotest sanctuary, which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs"

As was explained in the article ISRĀ' [q v], the older exegesis refers this verse to the journey to heaven [cf MI'RĀDJ] and sees in the name al Masdjid al-Aksā a reference to some heavenly place (cf *Sidrat al Muntahā*, Sūra liii 14)

This explanation had however in time to give way to another, according to which the expression is a name of Jerusalem This explanation is connected with Muhammad's "journey in the night" (*isrā'*) The combination of the *isrā'* and *mi'rādj* thus gives the story of the Prophet's journey by night to the Masdjid al-Aksā (Jerusalem) and his journey following it from Jerusalem to the heavens

The question arises how Jerusalem came to have this name among the exegists of the Kur'an According to Schrieke [cf ISRĀ'] it is a result of the Omaiyad tendency to glorify Jerusalem at the expense of the holy land of Islām Horovitz has challenged this explanation (in *Islām*, cf the *Bibl*) In any case, Jerusalem was from very early times regarded in Islām as a sacred place, the original Kibla, which, although abandoned in favour of Mecca, still retained its sanctity as may be seen, for example, from the fact that 'Omar had a Masdjid built on the site of the Temple [see AL-KUDS, ii, p 1097]

The name al-Masdjid al-Aksā is now particularly attached to the mosque in the south of the Temple area, which according to some was originally a church built by Justinian [cf AL-KUDS, ii, p 1096b] According to late Arab writers the mosque was built by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (785—805), a statement which might simply mean that Justinian's church was rebuilt On this compare AL-KUDS, ii, p 1098 *sqq* where the further history of the mosque is given

For a picture of the site and the mosque see Pl v to the article AL-KUDS, plan and description of the interior in *Travels of Ali Bey*, London 1816, ii 214 *sqq*, Baedeker, *Palastina und Syrien*[7], p 54 *sqq*

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AL **MASDJID AL-ḤARĀM**, the name of the Mosque of Mecca The name is already found in the pre-Muhammadan period (Horovitz, *Koranische Studien*, p 140 *sq*) in Kais b al-Khatīm, ed Kowalski, v 14 "By Allāh, the Lord of the Holy Masdjid and of that which is covered with Yemen stuffs, which are embroidered with hempen thread" (?) It would be very improbable if a Medina poet by these two references meant anything other than the Meccan sanctuary The expression is also fairly frequent in the Kur'ān after the second Meccan period (Horovitz, *op cit*) and in various connections it is a grave sin on the part of the polytheists that they prohibit access to the Masdjid Harām to the "people" (Sūra ii 214, cf v 3, viii 34, xxii 25, xlviii 25), the Masdjid Harām is the pole of the new kibla (Sūra ii 139, 144), contracts are sealed at it (Sūra ix 7)

In these passages *masdjid harām* does not as in later times mean a building but simply Mecca as a holy place, just as in Sūra xvii 1 Masdjid Aksā [q v] "the remotest sanctuary" does not mean a particular building

According to tradition, a salāt performed in the Masdjid al-Harām is particularly meritorious (Bukhārī, *al-Ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka*, bāb 1) This masdjid is the oldest, being forty years older than that of Jerusalem (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 10, 40)

This Meccan sanctuary included the Ka'ba [q v], the Zemzem [q v] and the Maḳām Ibrāhīm [see KA'BA], all three on a small open space In the year 8, Muhammad made this place a mosque for worship Soon however it became too small and under 'Umar and 'Uthmān, adjoining houses were taken down and a wall built Under 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair, the Umaiyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs, successive enlargements and embellishments were made Ibn al Zubair put a simple roof above the wall Al-Mahdī had colonnades built around, which were covered by a roof of teak The number of minarets in time rose to seven Little columns were put up around the Ka'ba for lighting purposes The mosque was also given a feature which we only find paralleled in a few isolated instances this was the putting up of small wooden buildings, or rather shelters for use during the salāt by the imām, one for each of the four orthodox rites The fact that one of these maḳāms might be more or less elaborate than another occasionally gave

rise to jealousies between the Hanafis and the Shāfi'īs. Ultimately the ground under the colonnades, which was covered with gravel was paved with marble slabs, in the matāf around the Ka'ba as well as on the different paths approaching the matāf

The mosque was given its final form in the years 1572—1577, in the reign of the Sultān Selīm II, who, in addition to making a number of minor improvements in the building, had the flat roof replaced by a number of small white-washed cone-shaped domes

A person entering the mosque from the Mas'ā or the eastern quarters of the town, has to descend a few steps The site of the mosque, as far as possible, was always left unaltered, while the level of the ground around — as usual in oriental towns and especially in Mecca on account of the Sēl — gradually rose automatically in course of centuries (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i 18—20)

The dimensions of the Harām (interior) are given as follows (al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p 96) N W side 545, S E side 553 feet, N E side 360, S W side 364 feet, the corners are not right angles, so that the whole roughly represents a parallelogram

Entering the matāf from the eastern side, one enters first the Bāb Banī Shēba, which marks an old boundary of the masdjid Entering through the door, the Makām Ibrāhīm is on the right, which is also the Makām al-Shāfi'ī, and to the right of it is the minbar On the left is the Zemzem building As late as the beginning of the xix^th^ century, there stood in front of the latter, in the direction of the northeast of the mosque, two domed buildings (*al-Kubbatain*) which were used as store-houses (*Chron d Stadt Mekka*, ii 337 *sq*) These Kubbas were cleared away (cf already Burckhardt, i 265), they are not given in recent plans

Around the Ka'ba are the makāms for the imāms of the madhhabs, between the Ka'ba and the south-east of the mosque, the makām (or musallā) al Hanbalī, to the south west the makām al-Mālikī, to the north-west the makām al-Hanafī The latter has two stories, the upper one was used by the mu'adhdhin and the muballigh, the lower by the imām and his assistants Since Wahhābī rule has been established, the Hanbalī imām has been given the place of honour The makām al-Hanafi stands on the site of the old Meccan council-chamber (*dār al-nadwā*) which in the course of centuries was several times rebuilt and used for different purposes The matāf is marked by a row of thin brass columns connected by a wire The lamps for lighting are fixed to this wire and in the colonnades

The mosque has for centuries been the centre of the intellectual life of the metropolis of Islām This fact has resulted in the building of madrasas and riwāks for students in or near the mosque, for example the madrasa of Kā'it Bey on the left as one enters through the Bāb al-Salām Many of these wakfs have however in course of time become devoted to other purposes (Burckhardt, i 282, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i 17) For the staff of the mosque cf SHĒBA (BANŪ), Burckhardt, i 287—291

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(A J WENSINCK)

MAṢHAF. [See MUSHAF]

MASHAFĪ, GHULĀM HAMADĀNĪ B WALĪ MUHAMMAD, a distinguished Urdū poet, was born in Lucknow but went to Dihlī in 1190 (1776), where he applied himself to the cultivation of Urdū poetry His house was resorted to by the eminent poets of the capital In 1201 (1786) he returned to Lucknow and spent the rest of his life there under the patronage of Prince Sulaimān Shikōh, son of Shāh 'Ālam He died in 1240 (1824) He is the author of several *Diwāns* in Persian and Hindustānī, and of biographies of Urdū poets, called *Tadhkira-i Hindī* He also wrote another *Tadhkira* of Persian poets who flourished in India from the time of Muhammad Shāh (1131—1161 = 1719—1748) to the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1173—1221 = 1759—1806) entitled *'Ikd Thuraiyā*, and a historical work in verse which he entitled *Shāh Nāma*

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(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, the son of Ath(a)rī or Sāriya, a celebrated astrologer, who along with Nawbakht fixed the day and hour for the foundation of Baghdād by order of al-Mansūr According to the *Fihrist*, he was a Jew whose original name was Mishā (a corruption of Manasshī, i e Manasseh), whether he later adopted Islām and for this reason took the name Māshā'allāh is not recorded The date of his birth is unknown, but it can hardly be later than 112 (730) He is said to have died in 200 (815)

In numerous works Māshā'allāh covered the whole field of astrology, and also the making and uses of astronomical instruments There has only survived in Arabic fragments of a treatise on the prices of various wares which was translated into Latin under the title *Mesahallae Libellus de Mercibus* Many of his astrological works were translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis and others and later printed Hebrew versions are also known It may be safely assumed that Arabic originals will still be found in eastern libraries The critical study of the Latin translations existing in manuscript and printed form is most desirable in view of the early date of the author

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AL-**MASĪḤ**, the Messiah, in Arabic (where the root *m-s-ḥ* has the meanings of "to measure" and "stroke") it is a loanword from the Aramaic where משיחא was used as a name of the Redeemer

Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, p 129) considers the possibility that it was taken over from the Ethiopic (*masīh*) Muhammad of course got the word from the Christian Arabs In Arab writers we find the view mentioned that the word is a loanword from Hebrew or Syriac Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on Sūra III 40 vol III, p 169) gives only purely Arabic etymologies, either with the meaning "purified" (from sins) or "filled with blessing" Horovitz, *op cit*, calls attention to the occurrence of the word in inscriptions, proper names and in the old poetry

In the Kur'ān the word is first found in the Meccan sūras, *a* alone Sūra IV 170, IX 30, *b* with Ibn Maryam Sūra V 19, 76, 79, IX 31, *c* with ʿĪsā b Maryam Sūra III 40, IV 156 None of these passages make it clear what Muhammad understood by the word From Sūra III 40 "O Maryam, see, Allāh promises thee a word from Him, whose name is al-Masīh ʿĪsā b Maryam" one might suppose that al-Masīh was here to be taken as a proper name Against this view however is the fact that the article is not found with non-Arabic proper names in the Kur'ān

In canonical Ḥadīth, al Masīh is found in three main connections *a* in Muhammad's dream, in which he relates how he saw at the Kaʿba a very handsome brown-complexioned man with beautiful locks, dripping with water, who walked supported by two men, to his question who this was the reply was given al-Masīh b Maryam (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 68, *Taʿbīr*, bāb 11, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 302), *b* in the descriptions of the return of ʿĪsā [q v], *c* at the Last Judgment the Christians will be told "What have you worshipped?" They will reply "We have worshipped al Masīh, the Son of God" For this they shall wallow in Hell (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra IV, bāb 8, *Tawhīd*, bāb 24, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 302)

In Ḥadīth also we frequently find references to al Masīh al-Kadhdhāb and al-Masīh al-Dadjdjāl, see the article AL DADJDJĀL

Bibliography given in the article

(A J WENSINCK)

MASKAT, a seaport on the Gulf of ʿOmān, on the east coast of Arabia in 23° 37′ 26″ N Lat and 56° 15 26″ East Long Maskat is the only harbour between ʿAden and the Persian Gulf, which ships of any size can enter and next to ʿAden and Djidda, the best harbour in the Peninsula The port is of considerable importance from its position commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf It lies at the end of a horse-shoe-shaped bay 900 fathoms long and 400 broad which is enclosed and sheltered from the winds by multi coloured rocks of volcanic origin, devoid of any vegetation Behind the white town rises a series of extensive ranges of mountains on the highest of which, the Djabal Akhdar, 9,000 feet high, snow occasionally lies in winter time On the slopes we even find the Muscatel vine growing which is said to have been introduced by the Portuguese The harbour is very busy, in the middle on the shore stands the sultān's palace, at the south end the offices of the British political agent On either side the town is flanked by an old Portuguese fort, Marānī and Djallālī The chapel in one of them bears the date 1588 The bazaar consists of low buildings and is of little importance The mosques are remarkable for the absence of the usual tall minarets

The climatic conditions are by no means favourable With al-Hodeida and Djidda, Maskat is one of the hottest towns in the world In 1912 the maximum temperature was 45½° C, the minimum 17½° C, the rainfall varies between 75 and 150 mm The high temperatures are caused mainly by the hot winds which at certain periods in the summer months usually blow from the Arabian desert and from the rocky hills for several hours in the night From November to the middle of March the weather is however quite pleasant, but one must beware of malaria and fever

Maskat plays a considerable part as centre of trade with the nearer east There are regular communications with India, Persia, East Africa and Mauritius The ships of quite a number of steamship companies call regularly at Maskat, e g the British India Steam Navigation Company on the route from London to India, the Bucknall Steamship Company and the Strick Line to Basra, the West Hartlepool Steam Navigation Company on the ʿAden-Basra route, the Hamburg America Line monthly to the harbours of the Persian Gulf, the Arab Steamers Ltd on the Bombay-Basra route, and the Compagnie Russe de Navigation a Vapeur et de Commerce In 1912—1913 the total tonnage entering the port was 98 steamers with 127,885 tons and 63 sailing vessels with 5,021 tons and leaving it 86 steamers of 90,803 tons and 30 sailing ships of 2,379 tons The ships in question were mainly British (86 73 %) Maskat has a regular postal service with the rest of the world instituted by the British, as well as a cable connection which the Indian Government has laid to Djashk The population, which changes a good deal, is about 10,000 souls, primarily Arabs but there are also Persians, Hindus, Indian Muslims, Beludjis and a few Europeans settled here, mainly traders

Maskat was at one time a flourishing centre of the silk and cotton trade but in recent years this has almost been destroyed by Indian and American competition The gold and silver work done by Indians here is famous, notably richly ornamented swords and daggers The imports of Maskat in 1912—1913 were valued at £ 463,551 and the exports at £ 301,477 The former were mainly arms and munitions, cereals, dyes, precious metals, pearls, foodstuffs, textiles, tobacco, building materials, enamel, glass and porcelain, ironmongery, perfumes and soaps, the latter camels, horses and asses, weapons, cereals, dried and salt fish, dates, lemons and pomegranates, *wars* and dragon's blood, pearls, melted butter (*ghī*), mussels, mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, textiles, hides and leather The chief importer was India, then Belgium, England and ʿAden, the exports went mainly to India, the Arabian coast, England, Persia, America and Zanzibar

According to local tradition Maskat was founded at an early period by Himyar colonists A Sprenger has identified Maskat with the κρυπτὸς λιμήν of Ptolemy, VI 7, 12 As the harbour has only a narrow entrance on the north and is enclosed on

the east by rocky heights, it is, as a matter of fact, easy for sailors to overlook it, and the name "the hidden" would be quite appropriate Al-Muḳaddasī (*B G A*, iii 93 *sq*) who mentions the port of al-Maskat, says that it is the first place which the ships from Yemen reach and is a fine town, rich in fruits Ibn al-Fakīh al Hamadhānī (*B G A*, v 11) says of Maskat that it is the very end of ʿOmān, about 200 parasangs from Sīrāf, the starting point for ships sailing to India and to Kūlūmalī, a month's journey beyond it Ships take in water here and Chinese ships pay 1,000 dirhams for it, the other 10—20 dinārs Idrīsī briefly mentions Maskat as a densely populated town, Ibn al-Mudjāwir is fuller (in A Sprenger's *Post und Reiserouten*, p 145 *sq*) and tells us that Maskat was originally called Maskat — so also Niebuhr, p 296 — and that it is a considerable centre of trade with Africa and the east coast of the Persian Gulf, whence the wares are forwarded to Sidjistān, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Ghawr and Zābulistān In the beginning of the xvith century A D, Maskat, whose history had hitherto been that of ʿOmān, attracted the attention of European powers In 1506, Albuquerque appeared before the town and demanded that it should submit to the Portuguese At the first the people seemed to be peacefully inclined and willing to accept his terms, but this attitude changed and the Portuguese admiral decided to attack and destroy the town Forty large and small ships and many fishing-vessels and the Imām's arsenal were destroyed, the mosque pulled down and the town burned The Portuguese fortified the place and in 1527 built two forts, Marīnī and Djallālī, and factories, the present buildings of these names were however only built after the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 by direct instructions from Madrid The Portuguese had not an easy position here They were frequently attacked by the surrounding tribes and in addition by the Turks, in 1526 a rising in Maskat was put down by Lopo Vaz, the governor of India In 1550 a Turkish fleet under Pīr Bey appeared before Masḳat, attacked the town and took it by storm after eighteen days' bombardment The Portuguese commander and 60 men were carried off to be Turkish galley-slaves, but in 1553 the Portuguese succeeded in destroying the Turkish fleet and re establishing their sway in the Persian Gulf Maskat was now fortified as a naval base But after 1631 Portuguese prestige began to decline rapidly At the end of 1649, Maskat was attacked by the Imām's army and had to surrender on January 23, 1650, as relief came too late The town now lost much of its former importance, although under Dutch influence its commerce was still considerable Towards the end of the xviith century it attained an unenviable notoriety as a nest of pirates, in 1737 it was taken by the Persians, who were driven out by Ahmad b Saʿūd, the founder of the dynasty still ruling in Maskat, who was elected imām in 1741 Since 1793 Maskat has been the capital of the sultānate of ʿOmān After 1797 the French began to be influential in Maskat, the town played a prominent part as a base for attacking India in Napoleon's grandly conceived plan for destroying England's power, we need therefore not be surprised that England also soon paid increased attention to the town In January 1800, Capt John Malcolm was sent to Maskat by the Indian government and concluded a treaty with the Sultān by which an earlier agreement with the East India Company was ratified and an agent of the company established at Masḳat In 1807 and 1808 the French made treaties with the Sultān and also sent a consular agent to Maskat The town flourished under this sultān, Saʿīd b Sultān, and became a centre for commerce with the Persian Gulf Maskat repelled an attack of the Wahhābīs with the assistance of the English in 1809, but in 1833 it became tributary to them The change from sailing to steamships brought about a decline in the importance of the town In 1863 Palgrave describes Masḳat as an important harbour with 40,000 inhabitants, but in 1895, Bent puts the population at only 20,000 and at present it can hardly be more than 10,000 In 1833 however, the sultān was able to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States, followed by a similar one with England in 1839, in 1844 France and Maskat drew up a commercial treaty by which France obtained the privilege of the most favoured nation and French subjects were given full freedom to trade in Maskat The independence of Maskat, although expressly stated in the Anglo-French declaration of 1862, was however little more than nominal, for England, who had several times come forward to protect the sultānate, had through her political agent considerable control over the sultān In connection with the slave trade, which England was endeavouring to suppress, the sultān of Maskat had bound himself in various ways to England and in 1854 even ceded to England the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands of which France was endeavouring to obtain possession When Sultān Saiyid Saʿīd died in 1856, his kingdom was divided between his two sons Thuwainī and Madjid of whom the former received Maskat, while the latter was given Zanzibar which had belonged to Maskat since the end of the xviiith century This division was negotiated by England through Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India In 1861 Zanzibar was declared independent, but it had still to pay an annual tribute to Maskat, which England in 1873 undertook to pay in compensation for various concessions of the sultān of Masḳat in connection with the suppression of the slave trade so long as the sultān fulfilled his pledges and showed friendship for England This readiness to meet the English was also seen in a telegraph agreement of 1864 In 1891 Sultān Faisal concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with England in which the Sultān bound himself and his successors not to cede, sell or let land except to England The French opposed this and in 1894 succeeded in obtaining a coaling station five miles S E of Maskat England raised objections and quoted the treaty with the sultān although France in the treaty of November 17, 1844, had secured the right to acquire land Diplomatic negotiations finally brought about a settlement, by which France gave up the coaling station in the Gulf of ʿOmān, and in compensation was lent half the coal depots of Mukallā As France in 1916 again lent this coaling station to the English, the dispute was finally settled in favour of the English A second *contretemps* was similarly settled, although for a time it caused grave diplomatic negotiations The French consul of Masḳat and Zanzibar had given French papers and flags to a number of ships belonging to ʿOmān The captains of these who often traded in slaves and smuggled arms, resisted the jurisdiction of their sovereign, the

sulṭān of Masḳat, and when the latter took steps to deal with them they were protected by France The affair finally became so serious that in 1903 there appeared to be danger of a conflict between England and France, but in 1905 the question was submitted to the Hague Tribunal which decided that only those sailing-vessels which had received the French flag before January 2, 1892, had the privilege renewed and licences later issued were cancelled as invalid, in so far as they were not given to French protéges of 1863 As, in 1917, only 12 ʿOmān sailing-vessels still carried the French flag, this privilege of France must soon die out It was only natural that the active smuggling of weapons from Maskat not only to Persia and Afghānistān but also into the interior of Arabia, should cause anxiety to England The flourishing trade in arms was put down in 1912 by the establishment of a depot for the sale of arms under government control, which alone could sell arms It is true that the smugglers have now migrated to Birk, Shabʿam and Ruʾais, but the great decline in the import of arms into Maskat is best shown by the statistics of the year 1912—1913 when in the first half year 147,391 lbs of arms were still imported while in the last five months the total was only 36,667 In 1913, the new ruler Sultān Taimūr, who succeeded his father on October 4 and was recognised by England and France on November 15, 1913, met with serious opposition from the tribes in the south of ʿOmān, who declared themselves independent under an imām whom they chose themselves It is only England's power that keeps these rebels from Maskat and thus secures the existence of the dynasty, whose rule has long been quite nominal

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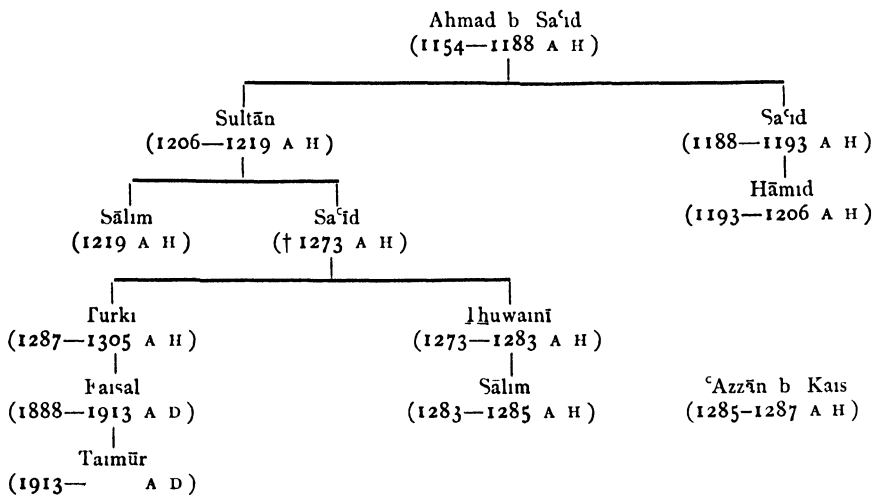
Genealogical Table of the Imāms of Maskat



2 Maskat al-Raml, a village on the road from al-Baṣra to al-Nibādj

3 Market town on the Black Sea (Bahr al-Khazar), said to have been founded by Khusraw Anūshirwān

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(A GROHMANN)

MASLAMA IBN ʿABD AL-MALIK, son of the second Marwānid caliph "His chivalrous figure seems to have made a vivid impression on the popular imagination, one might think he came out of a popular romance" (C H Becker) Few of the Marwānid princes were so active and gifted in so many diverse directions He lived long enough to give proof that he was not unworthy of the high hopes placed upon him His gifts earned him the confidence of all the Marwānid rulers, to whom he was a Nestor whose counsels were always heeded, from ʿAbd al Malik to Hishām, not even excepting ʿOmar II, who was not at all favourably inclined to the sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, nor the hysterical Yazīd II nor the criminal and fanatic Walīd II, who wept at his loss He had been carefully educated by his father ʿAbd al-Malik His long career as a military leader revealed his personal courage and his knowledge of the art of war A man of good counsel and excellent judgment, versed in literature, a patron of poets and an accurate critic of their merits, adored by his men, Maslama made use of his exceptional position to be a protector of all the oppressed, to maintain the unity and cohesion at the heart of his dynasty, which was threatened by the absurd law of seniority which regulated the succession to the throne

The chance of birth — his mother was a slave-girl — prevented him from rising higher Walīd I gave his brother Maslama the task of conducting the military operations against the Greeks Henceforth — with a few short intervals — he was to hold the office of commander in-chief of the Arab armies, in which he frequently had under him his nephew, the able and valiant ʿAbbās [q v], son of the caliph Walid In the year 91 (709–710) he succeeded his uncle Muhammad as governor of Armenia, a province not completely subdued, which required a military man to rule it He also governed the *djund* of Kinnasrīn [q v], another frontier province continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy He never spent much time in civilian appointments, for which his soldierly spirit seemed less adapted and in which the independent character of the Marwānid prince usually came into conflict with the central power

His first campaign was marked by the capture of the important fortress of Tyana (Tuwāna) the rigorous winter of the high Anatolian plateaus did not interrupt the operations of this long siege, in which the assailants suffered great hardships [for the chronology see AL-ʿABBĀS IBN AL-WALĪD] The dismantled town remained deserted, a serious loss for the Byzantines Their enemies now held both slopes of the Cilician Taurus, the gateway to Anatolia Under Maslama's directions, his nephew ʿAbbās in the next two or three years completed the conquest of mountainous Isauria In 93 (712) the fortress of Amasia was taken and Maslama entered Galatia through Armenia This opened up the road to Constantinople In 98 he laid siege to the capital The attack dragged on and caused unspeakable sufferings in the Arab army Contemporary writers blame for their failure the lack of foresight and insufficient diplomatic skill in the commander-in chief ʿOmar II recalled the besiegers to Syria and sent Maslama to the ʿIrāk against the Khāridjīs Yazīd II sent his brother to put down the rebellion of Yazīd b Muhallab [q v] in the ʿIrāk After the death of this rebel (102 = 720), Maslama became governor of the two ʿIrāḳs Before this, he had very opportunely persuaded the caliph not to modify the order of succession to the disadvantage of Hishām Yazīd was not long in finding fault with his brother, especially as he neglected to send him the taxes of his immense eastern vice-royalty He recalled him to Syria, where Maslama endeavoured to combat the influence of favourites on this weak sovereign Returning to the army in 108 he conquered Caesarea in Cappadocia The following years were marked by Maslama's great campaign in Armenia and the land of the Khazars After partial successes in which the country was laid waste, the stubborn resistance of the natives and the Turkish tribes forced him to retire The retreat was a disastrous one with great difficulty Maslama succeeded in bringing back the remnants of his army to Arab territory by sacrificing all his baggage and equipment (115 A H) His intervention to support the claims of Walīd b Yazīd [q v], heir presumptive to Hishām, compromised him at court He died before this caliph and seems to have taken with him to his grave the fortune of the Marwānids, for they rapidly declined after his time

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(H LAMMENS)

MAṢMŪDA (the broken plural *Masāmida* is also found), one of the principal Berber ethnic groups forming a branch of the Barānis

If we set aside the Masmūda elements mentioned by al Bakrī in the neighbourhood of Bone, the post Islāmic Masmūda seem to have lived exclusively in the western extremity of the Maghrib, and as far back as one goes in the history of the interior of Morocco, we find them forming with the Sanhādja [q v], another group of Barānis Berbers, the main stock of the Berber population of this country Indeed from the first Arab conquest in the seventh century to the importation of the Hilālis by the Almohad Sultān Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr in 1190, it was the Masmūda who inhabited the great region of plains, plateaus and mountains, which stretches from the Mediterranean to the Anti Atlas to the west of a line from N E to S W passing through Miknāsa (Meknās) and Dimnāt, the only parts of this territory which were not occupied by them were three small Sanhādja enclaves the Sanhādja of Tangier, of the valley of the Wargha and of Azammūr To the north and to the west, the land of the Masmūda was bounded by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic To the east and south it was bounded by the lands of the Sanhādja To the north were the Sanhādja of the region of Tāzā and those of

Wargha, in the centre, the Zanāga or Sanhādja of the Central Atlas, to which should be added the Zanāta of Fāzāz, to the south, the Haskūra, the Lamṭa and the Gazūla

It was from the presence of this Masmūda bloc, extending continuously from Sūs to the Mediterranean, that eastern Morocco generally must have received the name of Sūs, a name found for example in Yākūt (cf *Muʿdjam*, s v *Sūs*) who distinguishes a Hither Sūs (capital Tangier) and a Farther Sūs (capital Tarkala [1]) separated from the other by two months' journey It is also to this racial unity that are due the legends according to which all the N W corner of Morocco was once inhabited by the people of Sūs (*ahl Sūs*) Before the coming of the Hilālī Arabs, the Masmūda peoples were divided into three groups

1 In the north, from the Mediterranean to the Sabū and Wargha, the Ghumāra [q v]

2 In the centre from the Sabū to the Wādi Umm Rabiʿ, the Baraghwāta [s BERGHAWATA]

3 In the south, from the Wādī Umm Rabiʿ to the Anti-Atlas, the Masmūda in the strict sense of the word

Like the majority of the Barānis, who in this respect are a contrast to the Butr, who are inclined to be nomads, the Masmūda were all settled, for if, in one passage, Ibn Khaldūn mentions two nomad tribes, the Lakhs and the Zaggan as forming part of the Masmūda confederation of the Hāha, he also points out that they were tribes of the Lamta, i e of the nomadic Sanhādja, who finally became incorporated in the Dhawū Hassān, Maʿkilī Arab nomads of Sūs Ibn Khaldūn further makes special mention of the fortresses and fortified villages (*maʿākil wa husūn*) of the Masmūda who lived in the mountains of Daran or the Great Atlas Other Arab historians and geographers mention the many little towns (*karya*) in the plains occupied by the Dukkāla or the Baraghwāta, a pastoral and agricultural people, but these were gradually ruined and destroyed in the course of the fighting which went on without interruption in their country from the establishment of the Zanāta principalities of Shālla, Tādlā and Aghmāt the Almoravid and Almohad conquests, repeated campaigns against the heretical Baraghwāta, the Hilālī occupation, the struggle between the Almohads and the Marīnids, the rivalry between the Marīnid kingdom of Fās and that of Marrākush and lastly the wars with the Portuguese Exterminated as heretics, dispossessed of their lands and driven from them by the Arab or Zanāta nomads brought into their territory, transported to a distance (region of Fās) by the Wattāsid sultāns, for whose taste they showed too little hostility to the Portuguese, the central Masmūda, the original inhabitants of the Azghar, of Tāmasnā and of the land of the Dukkāla finally disappeared, their place was taken by nomads, Hilālī Arabs (in the north, in Habt and Azghār, the Riyāh, in the south, the Djusham, Sufyān, Khulṭ, Banū Djābir) and the Berbers (Zanāta Hawwāra), in the xvɪth century the coming to power of the Saʿdian dynasty brought about the immigration of Maʿḳil Arab tribes to the same region ʿAbda, Ahmar, Rahāmina, Barābish, Wadāya, Awlād Dulaim, Zuʿair, etc

From the xvɪth century onwards, as a result of the occupation of their central plains by the Arabs, Hilālī then Maʿḳilī, the Masmūda only survived in the mountainous regions which formed the northern and southern extremes of their old domains

The Masmūda of the north (or *Masmūdat al Sāhil* "M of the shore" of *al-Bayān*) were chiefly represented by the Ghumāra group [q v] But, alongside of them, we find two small groups having the same racial origin

a The Masmūda of the Straits, settled between the district of Ceuta, which belonged to the Ghumāra and that of Tangier, a Sanhādja country It was they who gave their name to the fortified port of Kasr Masmūda, also called Kasr al-Madjāz, the modern al-Kasr al-Saghīr Their presence here is attested in the tenth century, for it was while fighting here against them that Hā-Mīm, the prophet of the Ghumāta, was slain, al-Bakrī (xɪth century) knows them in the same area corresponding to that of the modern Andjra

b Al-Bakrī mentions another group of Masmūda (tribe of the Assāda) settled in the land lying between al-Kasr al-Kabir and Wāzzān, there is still a small Masmūda tribe between these two towns

The Masmūda of the south, who inhabited the lands between the Wādi Umm Rabiʿ and the Anti-Atlas, were divided into two groups those of the plain and those of the mountain

a The Southern Masmūda of the plain lived to the north of the Great Atlas The chief tribes were the Dukkāla, the Banū Māgir (around Safi), the Hazmīra, the Ragrāga and the Hāha (to the south of the lower course of the Tānsīft) The chief town in this region was Safi (Ar *Āsfī*), for the town of Azemmūr [q v] and the *ribāt* of Tit [q v] were in the enclave of Sanhādja, beside the port of Safi, we must also mention that of Kūz (the *Agoz* of the Portuguese) at the mouth of the Tānsīft, which gave Aghmāt access to the sea and had a *ribāt*, and that of Amagdūl (the *Mogador* of the Portuguese) which served the district of Sūs Besides these three centres, there were, as in Tāmasnā, a large number of fortified little towns (*karya*) many of which survived down to the xvɪth century, the Portuguese chroniclers, Leo Africanus and Marmol have preserved for us many names of these places which have now disappeared their very memory being lost, the local hagiographic collections and notably the *Kitāb al Tashawwuf* of al Tādilī (xɪɪɪth century) have preserved a good deal of valuable information on this subject At the present day all the country to the north of the Atlas is arabicised and if the old Berber element has not completely disappeared, it is at least overwhelmed by Arabs of whom the majority seem to be of Maʿkilī origin The Hāha alone, between Mogador and Agadir, have remained almost intact and have retained the use of the Berber language

b The Southern Masmūda of the mountains occupied the Great Atlas (*Djabal Daran*), the massif of Sirwā (and Sirwān) and the Anti-Atlas or mountains of the Nagisa (Berb In Gist)

In the Great Atlas, the Masmūda extended to the east as far as the upper course of the Tānsīft (a pass called Tīzi n Telwet) From east to west, the following were the chief groups the Galāwa, the Hailāna (or Ailāna), the Warika and the Hazradja, near Aghmāt, the Assādan, including the Masfiwa, the Māghūs and the Dughāgha or Banū Daghūgh, the Hintāta, including the Ghaighāya, the people of Tīn-Mallal, on the upper course of the river of Naffīs, the Sauda or Zauda, in the lower valley of the Asif al-Māl, the Gadmīwa and

lastly in the west, the Ganfīsa, the chief tribe of which was the Saksāwa or Saksīwa

The massif of Sīrwā and the high valley of the Wādī Sūs were inhabited by the Banū Wāwazgīt and the Saktāna The N E part of the Anti Atlas was occupied by the Hargha

Farther to the south, the Sūs, properly so-called, was inhabited by heterogeneous elements of Masmūda origin (al-Idrīsī, *akhlāṭ min al-Barbar al-Maṣāmida*) Describing the road leading from Tārūdant to Aghmāt, al-Idrīsī mentions between Tārūdant and the land of the Hargha, four tribes the names of which, corrupted by the copyists, are unfortunately hardly identifiable

Besides these highlanders, who were strictly Masmūda, we must mention the Haskūra (or Hasākira) These were highlanders of Sanhādja origin, brethren of the Lamta and Gazūla, who led a nomadic existence to the south of the Great Atlas and the Anti-Atlas The Haskūra were settled in the high valley of Tānsīft and the Wādī al-ʿAbid, on the two slopes of the mountain range which links the Great Atlas, the home of the Masmūda, with the Central Atlas, the home of the Zanāga (= Sanhādja) of Tādlā, their chief tribes were the Zamrāwa, the Mughrāna, the Garnāna, the Ghudjdāma, the Fatwāka, the Mastāwa, the Hultāna, and the Hantīfa, who, according as they lived on one slope or the other, belonged to the Haskūrat al-Kibla (H of the south) or to the Haskūrat al Dill (H of the north) Ibn Khaldūn, who calls attention to the Sanhādja origin of the Haskūra, adds that, as a result of their taking up the Almohad cause, it became customary to associate them with the Masmūda tribes, but that they never enjoyed the same privileges as these latter

History In 682, ʿUkba b Nāfiʿ marched against the Masmūda of the Atlas with whom he fought several battles On one occasion he was surrounded in the mountains and owed his safety solely to the help given him by a body of Zanāta In the same year he attacked and took the town of Naffīs which was occupied by "Rūm" and Berbers professing Christianity Thence he went to Iglī, a town of Sūs which he also took

Legend adds that he even thrust his way to the Atlantic where he rode his horse into the water, calling God to witness that there were no more lands for him to conquer This first submission of the Masmūda does not however seem to have lasted after the departure of ʿUkba In 707, Mūsā b Nusair had to reconquer Morocco, he in person took Darʿa and Tāfilālt and sent his son to the conquest of Sūs and the land of the Masmūda

In 732 ʿUbaid Allāh b al-Habhāb was appointed governor of the Maghrib, he appointed his son Ismāʿīl as assistant to the governor of Morocco and gave him particular charge of the district of Sūs

In 735, the same ʿUbaid Allāh sent Habīb, grandson of ʿUkba, to make an expedition into Sūs against the Masmūda and the Sanhādja (Massūfa) Later the latter's son ʿAbd al-Rahmān al Fihrī (d 745) becoming semi-independent governor of the Maghrib occupied Iglī and built a camp there, the remains of which could still be seen in al Bakrī's time It is to the same governor that is attributed the making of the wells which supply the road from Tāmdalt to Awdāghast via Wādān, through the modern Mauritania

The land of the Masmūda then disappears from history till the ninth century The conquests of Idrīs I did not extend in the south beyond the Tāmasnā and the Tādla But in 812 Idrīs II made an expedition against the town of Naffīs, on his death in 828, his son ʿAbd (or ʿUbaid) Allāh obtained as his share of the kingdom, Aghmāt, Naffīs, the lands of the Masmūda and of the Lamta as well as Sūs Al-Bakrī records that some of his descendants ruled as lords of Naffīs and among the Banū Lamās, not far from Iglī Other Idrīsids, descendants of Yahyā b Idrīs, were at this time lords of Darʿa

With the decline of Idrīsid power in the tenth century, the Masmūda again became independent and were ruled by elected chiefs or *imghāren* (= Arabic *shuyūkh*), al Bakrī tells us that those of Aghmāt were appointed by the people for a term of one year When at the end of the tenth century, Zanāta principalities became established in Morocco (at Fās, Shālla and Tādlā), Maghrāwa established themselves at Aghmāt, but all we know of them is that they were attacked by the Almoravids In 1057, after receiving the submission of Sūs and of the Masmūda (Zauda, Shafshāwa, Gadmīwa, Ragrāga and Hāha), the Almoravid chief ʿAbd Allāh b Yā-Sīn took Aghmāt, the last Maghrāwa ruler of which, Iagūt b ʿAlī, fled to Tādlā His wife, the famous Zainab, who was one of the Nafzāwa, finally became the wife of Yūsuf b Tāshfīn whom she initiated into the fine art of diplomacy

From 1057 Aghmāt was the capital of the Almoravids till 1062, when Yūsuf b Tāshfīn founded Marrākush [q v] In 1074 the same ruler, having divided his empire among several governors, gave his son Tamīm the governorship of Marrākush, Aghmāt, of the Masmūda and of Sūs, then of Tādlā and Tāmasnā

The Masmūda seem to have remained subject to the Almoravids till the rebellion in 1121 provoked by the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart [q v] of the tribe of Hargha, who, supported by ʿUmar Intī, shaikh of the Hintāta, and by ʿAbd al Muʾmin [q v], brought about the foundation of the Almohad dynasty [q v] The history of the Masmūda is henceforth involved with that of the dynasty which they brought to power and which was to last till 1269 The Masmūda, together with the Almohad dynasty, thus contributed to the rise of the Hafsids [q v], who ruled over Ifrikiya from 1228 to 1574, through the descendants of Abū Hafs ʿUmar Intī, shaikh of the Hintāta

During the first half of the XIIIth century, the power of the Almohads, routed by the Christians of Spain at the battle of Hisn al-ʿUkāb (las Navas de Tolosa) in 1212 and vigorously attacked in Morocco by the Banū Marīn, soon began to decline The Masmūda of the Atlas, indifferent to the fate of the dynasty, took advantage of its plight to regain their independence It was the tribes of the Hintāta and the Haskūra, which in 1224 at the proclamation of al-ʿĀdil assumed the leadership in the movement, frequently allied with the Hilālī Arabs of the plains, Sufyān and Khult, we find them fighting in all the civil wars and supporting various pretenders to the throne

When in 1269, the Marīnids had definitely crushed the Almohads, the Masmūda retained a certain amount of independence and lived more or less in submission to the central power, ruled by chiefs chosen from the great local families Awlād Yūnus among the Hintāta, Awlād Saʿd Allāh among the Gadmiwa, among the Saksāwa, ʿUmar b Haddū

was an independent chief who went so far as to claim the Berber title *agellīd* (= king) In Sūs the Banū Yaddar founded an independent principality which lasted from 1254 till about 1340 As to the Haskūra, the power among them was exercised by the Banū Khattāb

Down to the xv^th^ century, except during the first half of the reign of the Almohad dynasty of which they had been the principal supporters, the Masmūda of the Atlas were hardly ever under the direct rule of the Moroccan government, only the tribes of the plains, Dukkāla and Hāha in a position of inferiority as a result of their geographical situation, were able to offer less resistance and had to submit The later dynasties, Sa'dian and 'Alawī, were no better able to subdue the Masmūda of the highlands, but instead of gathering round local chiefs with temporal power, the latter now placed themselves under the leadership of holy men with religious prestige

In the beginning of the xvi^th^ century, the land of the Masmūda was in a state of anarchy Some *aṣḥyāḳḥ* of the tribe of the Hintāta held the lands of Marrakush, the most famous was Abū Shantūf, to the south of Tānsift, the xiv^th^ century saw the rise of the warlike group of the Ragraga, in the xv^th^ century, the power of the mystic al Djazūlī [q v] spread among the Hāha In the adjoining country of Dar'a, the Sa'dian dynasty was rising, which after occupying Sūs imposed its domination on the whole of Morocco

But it did not however succeed in subjecting completely the highlanders of the Atlas The powerful Ahmad al-Mansūr himself had to fight against a pretender who had proclaimed himself king of the Saksāwa

After the death of al Mansūr, the Atlas and Sūs were all under the authority of local religious leaders of whom the most important were to be found among the Hāha and in Tāzarwālt (family of Ahmad U Mūsā)

It was the 'Alawid Sultān Mawlāy Rashīd who restored Sūs and the Atlas to the Moroccan empire The only episode to note is the constitution in Tāzarwālt, by a marabout Saiyidī Hishām of a kind of independent kingdom, the capital of which was Ilīghet and which lasted from the end of the xviii^th^ century till 1886

Henceforth the Masmūda disappear from history The Atlas remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power of the ruling sovereigns, but all the important events in the region took place among the Hāha or in Sūs [q v] The French occupation found the old Masmūda grouped, since the death of the 'Alawid Sultān Mawlāy al Hasan, into three bodies each under the authority of a local family the Glāwa in the east, the Gundāfa in the centre, and the Mtugga in the west The only one now in existence is the Glāwa, as a result of the disappearance of their leaders, the two others were recently broken up

The name Masmūda, still preserved in the north Morocco in the name of a little tribe of al-Kasr al-Kabīr, seems to have completely disappeared in the south, where the former Masmūda peoples, continuing to talk Berber, bear the name of *Shulūh* (French *Chleuhs*, q v) It may even be asked if the name Masmūda, which is found so often in the Arab historians and geographers, was ever in regular use among the peoples to whom they apply it, it is, indeed, suggestive that it is not found in the long lists of ethnics given in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, published in the *Documents inedits d'Histoire Almohade*

Sociology The Masmūda of the Atlas lead a settled life, living by a little agriculture and breeding a poor type of cattle, they live in villages or hamlets of stonehouses with clay roofs Ibn Khaldūn notes the existence among them of numerous little strongholds and fortified villages (*ma'ākil wa-huṣūn*), the ancestors of the modern *tighremts* and *agādirs* There were no towns among the mountains, Tīn Mallal, famous for the mosque where Ibn Tūmart was buried, was never a town Before the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b Tāshfīn founded Marrākush in 1062, built moreover in the plains out of reach of the highlanders, whom it was to control, the only urban centres in the district were situated at the foot of the Atlas on its lowest slopes The principal towns were in the north, the double town of Aghmāt [q v] and that of Naffīs on the river of the same name, in the south, in Sūs, Igli and Tārūdant, as places of less importance we may mention in the north, Shafshāwa (mod Shīshāwa), Afifan and Tamarūrt, in the east, among the Hāha and in the borders of Sūs Tadnast The great trade-routes which traversed the region started from Aghmāt for the port of Kūz (at the north of the Tānsift), Fās (via Tadlā), Sidjilmāssa (through the land of the Hazradja and the Haskūra), and Sūs (via Naffīs, the land of the Banū Māghūs and Igli, no doubt using the pass now called Tizi-n-Test) Al-Bakrī particularly mentions the industry and application and the thirst for gain, characteristic of the Masmūda of the Atlas and of Sūs The principal products of the country were fruits (nuts and almonds), honey and oil of argan (*hargān, argān*), a tree peculiar to the country, of which there were regular forests among the Hāha The Masmūda could cast and work iron and also copper, which they exported in the form of ingots or "loaves" (*tāngūlt*), they also worked and chased silver jewellery In Sūs also the cultivation of the sugar cane enabled sugar to be made

From the intellectual point of view, the Masmūda seem to occupy a place of first rank among the Berbers Each of their three principal groups has produced a reforming prophet, the author of sacred works in the Berber language Hā-Mīm of the Ghumāra, Sālih b Tarīf of the Baraghwāta, Ibn Tūmart of the Masmūda of the Atlas It may also be noted that, Sūs is one of those few districts in which books were written in Berber down to a quite recent date (cf H Basset, *Essai sur la litterature des Berbères*, p 73—81)

As regards religion, the Masmūda were converted to Islām in the viii^th^ century by 'Ukba b Nāfi', who left his comrade Shikār among them to teach the new religion The latter died among them and was buried on the banks of the Tānsift where his tomb is still venerated The place is now called Ribāt Saiyidī Shīkar near the confluence with the river of the Shīshāwa The Mosque of the town of Aghmāt of the Hailāna was founded at the beginning of the eighth century in 704

Ibn Khaldūn describes the Masmūda of the Atlas as being attached to Islām from the first conquest, in which they differed from their brethren of the north, the Baraghwāta and the Ghumāra, who remained faithful to their heretical beliefs At the beginning of the eighth century, several

of them accompanied Tārik on his conquest of Spain, the best known of these was Kuthayyir b Waslās b Shamlāl, of the tribe of the Assāda, who settled in Spain and was the grandfather of Yahyā b Yahyā, one of the *ruwāt* of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, many others also settled in Spain and their descendants played important parts under the Omayyads

In the eleventh century however, al-Bakrī notes Rāfidī heretics among the Masmūda, these were the Banū Lamās settled to the north of the Hargha and the town of Igli In this district he also mentions the existence of idolators who worshipped a ram perhaps we have here a relic of the cult of the god Ammon among the ancient Berbers The towns however formed important centres of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt not only by the Masmūda of the district but also by the Sanhādja of the adjoining deserts Lamta and Gazūla We know that it was in the town of Naffīs, with Wāggāg b Zallū, a learned jurist of Lamta origin and a pupil of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī of al-Kairawān, that in 1039 Yahyā b Ibrāhim al-Gudālī recruited 'Abd Allāh b Yā-Sīn al-Gazūlī who was the promoter of the Almoravid movement For the Almohad period al-Tādilī's hagiographic collection, entitled *Kitāb al-Tashawwuf* shows us the land of the Masmūda of the south full of wonder-working saints Later the tribe of the Ragrāga, settled on the lands now occupied by the Shayādima, was the cradle of a movement at once religious and warlike, the details of which are little known but the memory still alive In the first half of the xviith century, religious activity seems to be concentrated in the south of Sūs, in Tāzarwālt where the descendants of the saint Sayyidī Ahmad U-Mūsā carved themselves out an independent marabout principality

Bibliography See the *indices* to the geographers, especially al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī, Leo Africanus, ed Schefer, i, p 181—231, Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-'Ibar*, chapters devoted to the Masāmida, E Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inedits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, principally p 55—67, R Montagne, *Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, H Basset and H Terrasse, *Tinmel*, in *Hesperis*, 1924, p 9—91 (G S Colin)

AL-MAṢMUGHĀN, a Zoroastrian dynasty whom the Arabs found in the region of Dunbāwand (Damāwand) to the north of Rayy

The origins of the Masmughāns The dynasty seems to have been an old though not particularly celebrated one as is shown by the legends recorded by Ibn al Fakīh, p 275—277, and in al-Bīrūnī, p 227 The title of masmughan is said to have been conferred by Farīdūn upon Armā'il, Bēwarāsp's former cook (Zohāk), who had been able to save half the young men destined to perish as food for the tyrant's serpents Armā'il (according to Yākūt, ii 606, a Nabataean, a native of the Zāb) showed to Farīdūn in the mountains of Dailam and Shirriz, a whole nation of these refugees, which caused Farīdūn to exclaim *was mānā kata āzād kardi* which is explained to mean "What a large number of people of the house (*ahl baitin*) thou hast saved!"

The first historical reference to a masmughān is found in Tabarī's (i 2656) account of the taking of Rayy by Nu'aim b Mukarrin in the time of the caliph 'Omar [according to Ibn al-Athīr in the years 18, 21 or 22, Marquart however puts these events as late as 98 (716—717)] The King of Rayy, Siyāwakhsh b Mihrān b Bahrām-Čōbīn, had received reinforcements from the people of Dunbāwand, but when he was defeated, the masmughān of Dunbāwand made peace at once with the Arabs and received honorable terms (*'alā ghairi nasrin wa lā ma'ūnatin*) promising an annual payment of 200,000 dīnārs The charter given by Nu aim was addressed "to the masmughān of Dunbāwand, Mardān-shāh, to the people of Dunbāwand, of Khwār, of Lāriz (Lārijān) and of Shirriz" This gives us an idea of the extent of the sway of the masmughān His possessions included the country round Mount Damāwand [q v] and stretched down the plains as far as the east of Rayy The district of Dunbāwand [*Dubā-wand, (the land occupied by) the * Dubā clan ?] did not form part of Tabaristān The Arabs mention it along with Rayy (Tabarī, i 2653—2656, Mukaddasī, p 209, Ibn al Fakih, p 275—277), but as we have seen at the time of the conquest, Rayy and Dunbāwand were under different dynasties The old capital of Dunbāwand may have been at Mandān where, according to Ibn al-Fakīh, Armā'il had built a wonderful house of teak and ebony, which in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd was taken to pieces and transported to Baghdād In the Arab period there were two towns in Dunbāwand Wimā and Shalanba (the latter is marked on Stahl's map to the south of the modern town of Damāwānd, which lies on the slopes of Mount Damāwand) According to Yākūt, the masmughān's principal stronghold was called Ustūnāwand or Djarhud This should be sought above the village of Reinà, which must correspond to the old Karyat al-Haddādin (Ibn al-Fakih's story of the shops [*hawānīt*] in which worked the smiths, the noise of whose hammers exorcised the enchained Bēwarāsp must refer to the chambers carved out of the rock near Reinā, cf Crawshay Williams, *Rock-Dwellings at Reinah*, *J R A S*, 1904, p 551, 1906, p 217)

An attempt made by Abū Muslim in 131 to conquer the masmughān was a disastrous failure his general Mūsā b Ka'b was attacked by the masmughān's men and on account of the difficult nature of the country (*li-dīki bilādihi*) was forced to return to Rayy (Ibn al Athīr, v 304, cf Hāfiz Abrū in Dorn, *Auszuge*, p 441)

The principality was not conquered until 141 In this period there were dissensions in the family of the masmughān Abarwīz b al-Masmughān, quarrelled with his brother and went over to the caliph al Mansūr who gave him a pension (Tabarī, iii 130) The *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa 'l-Hadā'ik*, p 228, testifies to his bravery in the rising of the Rāwandiya and calls him "al Masmughān Mālik b Dīnār, malik of Dunbāwand" This Abarwīz (or Mālik) had enjoyed considerable influence, for, according to Ibn al-Fakīh, the appointment of 'Omar b 'Alā as commander of the army sent against Tabaristān was made on the advice of Abarwīz who had known him since the trouble with Sunbādh (on the partisans of this "Khurramī" in Ṭabaristān cf Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi 188) and with the Rāwandiya

In the year 141, the brother of Abarwīz who occupied the throne of Dunbāwand was at war with his father-in-law, the ispahbad Khurshīd of Tabaristān, but when he heard that the forces sent by al-Mansūr were on their way to Tabaristān, he hastened to effect a reconciliation with his adversary (Tabarī, iii 136, Ibn al-Athīr, v 386)

The stories of the campaign against Tabaristān directed by al-Mahdī by order of his father al-Mansūr are very contradictory as is shown by their very detailed analysis in Vasmer, *op cit* After the defeat of the ispahbad, the Arabs conquered the masmughān and captured him and his daughters Bakhtariya (?) and Simyr (? or Shakla) Of these princesses one became the wife of Mahdī b Mansūr and the other the *umm-walad* of ʿAlī b Raita According to a story in Ibn al-Fakīh, p 314, Khālid b Barmak (Vasmer, *op cit*, p 100, thinks that his expedition was sent especially against the lord of Dunbāwand) sent the masmughān and his wife and his two daughters to Baghdād, but in another passage, p 275, the same writer says that the masmughān obtained *amān* from Mahdī b Mansūr and came down from the mountain of al-ʿAirain (?) He was taken to Raiy and there Mahdī ordered him to be beheaded

After the death of the masmughān, the people of these mountain regions lapsed into barbarism (*hawziya*) and became like wild beasts (Tabarī, iii 136) According to Ibn al-Fakih (p 276) however, the descendants of the masmughān (= Armāʾil ?) were still well known

Spiegel's and Marquart's hypotheses Yākūt i 244 interprets *masmughān* as *kabīr al-maǧūs* "the great one of the magi" (*mas*, "great", N W Iranian form) Spiegel thought of connecting this dynasty with the prince priests of Raiy, whose existence is known from a well known passage in the Avesta (*Yasna*, ix 18, transl Darmesteter, i 170, cf Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p 202—205) In spite of Marquart's criticisms, who says it is impossible to quote the authority of Avestan traditions which relate to much earlier state of affairs, Spiegel's suggestion is still of interest We have certainly to deal with vague memories and not with actual facts In the time of the Arab conquest the descendants of Bahrām-Čōbīn were ruling in Raiy, but the Arabs (Tabarī, i 2653—2656) installed there a certain al-Zainabī, son of Kūla and father of al-Farrukhān It remains to be seen if this family of Zainbadī, "whom the Arabs call al-Zainabī" (Balādhurī, p 317) is connected with Dunbāwand Their stronghold in Raiy was called ʿĀrīn (?) which resembles the name of the mountain al ʿAirain from which the last masmughān came down (cf the note by de Goeje in Ibn al Fakih, p 275) Marquart wanted to connect the masmughāns of the Bāwanid dynasty, the eponymous ancestor of which Bāw, a descendant of Kayūs, brother of Khusraw I, is said to have lived in the time of the later Sāsānians This Bāw was a man of piety and after the fall of Yazdagird III had retired to his father's fire-temple Marquart regards him as a "magus" and identifies him with the father of the Christian martyr Anastasius, who bore this name (Βαῦ) and was a "master of magian lore" Lastly he quotes the fact that the Bāwanids appeared in 167 only after the disappearance of the masmughān (after 141) as if to continue their line Unfortunately several details of the ingenious argument are not accurate our sources (Ibn Isfandiyār, Zahīr al-Dīn p 204–205) give not the slightest suggestion that Bāw belonged to the priestly caste According to Ibn Isfandiyār (transl Browne, p 98), his grandfather's temple was at Kūsān, which Rabino, p 160, locates a little distance west of Ashraf i e quite remote from Dunbāwand The passage in Tabarī, iii 1294, which Marquart quotes to prove the occurrence of the name Masmughān among the Bāwanids refers to the cousin of Māziyār of the Kārinid dynasty, which is quite different from the Bāwanids (cf below)

The Kārinid masmughāns It is curious that neither Ibn Isfandiyār nor Zahīr al-Dīn speak of the dynasty of the masmughān of Dunbāwand, perhaps because they do not include this region in Tabaristān proper On the other hand, they mention a masmughan (madmughān > *mazmughān) Walash, who was the marzubān of Miyān-du rūd (Zahir al-Din, p 42 says that this canton was near the Sārī between the rivers Kalārud and Mihribān and that on the east it adjoined Karatughān, Miyān-du rūd is thus quite close to where Rabino puts Kūsān!) This masmughān Walāsh (Ibn Isfandiyār, p 101, Zahir al Din, p 42) lived in the time of Djamāspid Farrukhān the Great (709—722 ?) and belonged to the elder branch of the Kārinids descended from Zarmihr b Sūkhrā (We do not know why Justi, p 430, takes this Walāsh to be the son of the last masmughān of Dunbāwand ?) The Kārinid Wandād Hurmuzd (of the younger line, descended from Kārin, brother of Zarmihr) in his rising against the caliph (cf Mahdī, p 158–169 ?) had combined with the ispahbad Shārwīn (772—797) and the masmughān Walāsh of Miyān-du-rūd This latter (Ibn Isfandiyār, p 126, Zahir al Din, p 155) seems to have been one of the successors of the masmughān Walāsh mentioned above

Under 224 (838) Tabarī (iii 1294) mentions a cousin of the Kārinid Māziyār, who was called Shāhriyār b al Masmughan According to this, al Masmughān would be identical with Wandād Ummīd, uncle of Māzyār (cf Justi, p 430) On the other hand under the year 250 (864), Tabari, iii 1529, mentions a Māsmughān (*sic*) among the allies of the ʿAlid Hasan b Zaid Ibn Isfandiyār, p 165 calls him Masmughān b Wandā Ummīd One must either suppose there is an error in Tabarī's genealogy or admit that the title of masmughān was borne both by Wandā-Ummīd and his son, but the form of the designation of the latter (ماصمغان with the article) would rather show that the title had become a simple proper name (Browne is wrong in translating "*the* Masmughān")

To sum up then Alongside of the masmughāns of Dunbāwand, we have the masmughāns of Miyān-du-rūd These *marzubān*, if we may rely on Zahir al-Dīn, belonged to the Zarmihrid branch of the dynasty of Sūkhrā (Sāsānian governor of Tabaristān descended from Kārin, son of the famous smith Kāwa) Later we find the title (or proper name!) of masmughān recurring in the younger branch of the line of Sūkhrā (the Kārinid branch), which occupied a position in Tabaristān subordinate to the Bāwandid ispahbads (Zahīr al-Dīn, p 154, 14)

Bibliography Tabarī, i 2656, iii 130, 136 (1294, 1529), Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bākiya*, p 101 (transl p 109), p 227 (transl p 213), *Kitāb al ʿUyūn wa 'l-Hadāʾik*, ed de Goeje and de Jong, p 228, Ibn al-Athīr, iii 18, v 304, 386–387, Ibn Isfandiyār, index, Yākūt, i 243–244 (Ustūnāwand), ii 606—610 (Dunbāwand), Zahīr al-Dīn, index, Spiegel, *Eran Alterthumskunde*, 1871, iii 563, Spiegel, *Über d Vaterland d Avesta*, *Z D M G*, xxxv, 1881, p 629–645, Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, p 199 and 430 (tables), Marquart, *Beitrage*, *Z D M G*, xlix, 1895,

p 661, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 127, Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamica*, III, p 86–150 (V MINORSKY)

MĀSSA (Berber *Māsset*), the name of a small Berber tribe of Morocco of Sūs, settled some 30 miles south of Agadir at the mouth of the Wādī Māssa, the latter is probably the *flumen masatat* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (v 9) to the north of the *flumen Darat*, the modern *Wādī Dar'a*, and the *Masatas* of the geographer would correspond to the modern *ahl Māssa*

The name Māssa is associated with the first Arab conquest of Morocco according to legend, it was on the shore there that, after conquering Sūs, 'Ukba b Nāfi' drove his steed into the waves of the Atlantic calling God to witness that there were no more lands to conquer on the west In any case, Māssa appears very early as an important religious and commercial centre Al-Ya'kūbī (end of the third = ninth century) notes that the harbour was a busy one and mentions a *ribāt* already renowned, that of Bahlūl Al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī mention the harbour of Māssat, al-Bakrī emphasises the fame of the *ribāṭ* and the importance of the fairs held there Ibn Khaldūn devotes several passages in his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* to the *ribāṭ* of Māssa, where according to popular belief the expected Mahdī or Fātimid was to appear, this belief induced many devout people to go and settle in this ribāt and also sent many adventurers there to raise rebellions

Towards the end of the xv^th^ century, the religious movement begun by al-Djazūlī made Māssa one of the great *zāwiya*'s of Sūs In the middle of the ix^th^ (xv^th^) century Leo Africanus describes Māssa as a group of three little towns surrounded by a stone wall in the middle of a forest of palm-trees, the inhabitants were agriculturists and turned the rising of the waters of the Wādī to their advantage Outside the town on the seashore was a very venerated "temple", from which the Mahdī was to come, a peculiar feature of it was that the little bays in it were formed of ribs of whalebone the sea actually throws up many cetaceans on this coast and ambergris was collected here, local legend moreover says that it was on the shore of Māssa that Jonah was cast up by the whale

After the fall of the Sa'dians, the development of the Marabout principality of Tāzarwālt again made Māssa a commercial centre The port was frequented by Europeans but it was soon supplanted by that of Agadir The rapid decline of the principality of Tāzarwālt and the steadily increasing influence of the central Moroccan power finally destroyed almost completely any religious and economic importance of Māssa

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MAS'ŪD ABŪ SA'ID, the eldest son of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, was born in the year 388 (998) In 406 (1015—1016), Sultān Mahmūd nominated him his heir-apparent, and two years later made him governor of Herāt In 411 (1020), at the command of his father, he led an expedition to Ghūr and reduced the north western part to submission Shortly after this, he was disgraced and sent as a prisoner to Multān but he was soon taken back into favour and was reinstated in his government at Herāt When the province of Raiy was conquered in 420 (1029) Sultān Mahmūd placed it under Mas'ūd who, after subjugating the outlying parts, conquered Hamadhān and Isfahān from their Buwaihid ruler, 'Alā' al Dawla b Kākawaih, in the beginning of 421 (1030), and was making preparations for further conquest when news arrived of the death of his father and the succession to the throne of his brother Abū Ahmad Muhammad Mas'ūd hurried to Ghazna to claim the throne In the meantime the army tired of Muhammad, deposed him and had the *khutba* said in the name of Mas'ūd Muhammad was blinded and sent to the fort of Mandīsh, and Mas'ūd ascended the throne in Shawwāl 421 (October 1030), about 5 months after the death of his father The Caliph al-Kādir bi'llāh conferred on him the titles of Nāsir Dīni 'llāh, Hāfiz 'Ibād 'llāh and Zahīr Khalifati 'llāh

In 422 (1031), Sultān Mas'ūd sent an army to punish 'Isā, the ruler of Mukrān, for his rebellion 'Isā was defeated and put to death, and his brother named Abu 'l-Mu'askar was placed on the throne In 424 (1032—1033), Mas'ūd laid siege to a fort named Sarasti in the southern Kashmīr hills, took it by assault and returned to Ghazna in the spring After this he attacked Tabaristān, as the ruler of that country, named Abū Kālindjār, had adopted a hostile attitude, and captured Astarābād Abū Kālindjār was forced to offer submission and to promise to pay annual tribute About the end of 426 (October 1035), Ahmad b Niyāltigīn, the governor of Lahore, rebelled Mas'ūd sent against him one of his Hindū generals who was defeated and slain in battle He then sent another Hindū general named Tilak, who defeated Ahmad and forced him to fly to Sind where he was drowned while attempting to cross the river Indus About the end of 427 (October 1036), Mas'ūd led an expedition to India, took the forts of Hānsī and Sonīpat and returned to Ghazna, leaving his son Madjdūd as the governor of the Pundjāb In 430 (1038—1039), Mas'ūd crossed the Oxus to punish Pūrtigīn, son of 'Alitigīn, ruler of Bukhārā, for his hostility, but before he could accomplish anything he received news that the Saldjūks were advancing to Balkh to cut off his retreat, and he immediately returned to Khurāsān

Early in his reign, Sultān Mas'ūd had been called upon to deal with the Saldjūks whose power had considerably increased during the period of disturbance following the death of Sultān Mahmūd They raided Herāt as early as 422 (1031) but were repulsed with heavy loss at Farāwah and forced to take refuge in the Balkhān Mountains This however did not stop their activities, and by 423 (1033—1034) they had started to make systematic incursions into Khurāsān In Sha'bān 426 (June 1035) Mas'ūd sent against them two of his generals the Hādjib Baktrghdī and Husain 'Alī b Mīkā'īl who inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but while the Ghaznawid troops were engaged in plundering the camp of their vanquished foes, a body of the Saldjūks under Dāwūd issued from the hills, fell upon their disorderly ranks, and made fearful slaughter among them Husain 'Alī was taken prisoner, and

Baktoghdī managed to escape Instead of marching against the Saldjūḳs, Mas'ūd wasted his time in a fruitless expedition to India in 427, as stated above, and the result was that they became bolder and more powerful In 428 (1036—1037), they captured Balkh, but retired to Marw at the approach of Sultān Mas'ūd, and sued for peace Mas'ūd gladly consented to it, but it was only a shampeace and when Mas'ūd started on his return march to Ghazna, the Saldjūks fell upon his rear and put many of his soldiers to death Mas'ūd turned round and took terrible revenge for this treachery The Saldjūks redoubled their efforts against the Sultān, and won over the people of Sarakhs, Nasa and Bāward to their side Mas'ūd now personally took the field against them The Saldjūks advanced to meet him under their leader Tughrīl The two armies met at Dandānakān on 8th Ramadān, 431 (May 23, 1040) Mas'ūd fought bravely but being deserted by his generals and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, he fought his way out of the field of battle and managed to reach Ghazna in safety

The Saldjūks had evidently become too strong for him, and he resolved to withdraw to India, possibly with a view to gaining a respite and preparing a large army there to retrieve his affairs He left Ghazna with all his treasure, and accompanied by his captive brother Abū Ahmad Muhammad At Ribāṭ i Mārikalah, shortly after crossing the river Indus, his slaves rebelled against him, plundered his treasure, and, being joined by the rest of the army, they seized Mas ūd and acclaimed the blind Muhammad as their sovereign Mas'ūd was sent as a prisoner to a fort where he was put to death on 11th Djumādā I, 432 (January 17, 1041) His reign had lasted 10 years and three months

Mas'ūd was a man of strong build and great physical strength He was brave and generous, but he lacked the wisdom of his father, and early in his reign, he lost the co operation of his officers by foolishly attempting to bring about the ruin of the old servants of the House on the advice of his young and ambitious courtiers, and demanding the return of the money which Muhammad had distributed among them at the time of his succession to the throne Mas'ūd was a great lover of learning, and numerous scholars had assembled at his court, one of whom was the famous Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī who dedicated some of his greatest works to him Several poets sang his praises and were given munificent rewards He adorned his capital with beautiful buildings, and the New Palace with its magnificent throne was one of the wonders of the times

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MAS'ŪD b Mawdūd b Zangī, 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (or Abu 'l-Muzaffar), lord of al Mawṣil Mawdūd [q v] died in 565 (1170), he was followed by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī [q v] as Atābeg of al-Mawsil When the latter came into conflict with Saladin [q v] in 570 (1175) he gave his brother Mas'ūd command of the troops sent to relieve Halab, which was being besieged by Saladin After Saladin had left Halab and seized the citadel of Ḥimṣ, Mas'ūd, who had in the meanwhile attached the Halabīs to his side, attacked him but was defeated in Ramaḍān 570 (April 1175) at Kurūn Hamat Saif al-Dīn died on 3rd Ṣafar 572 (Aug 11, 1176), or according to another less authenticated statement in 576 (began June 29, 1180), and Mas'ūd then became lord of al-Mawṣil To this in 577 (1181 1182) was added Halab, which his cousin al Malik al Ṣalih [q v] bequeathed to him shortly before his death, but Mas'ūd did not hold it very long On the advice of the influential emīr Mudjāhid al Dīn Kaimāz, he ceded his new possessions to his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī who gave him Sindjār in exchange, and in Muharram 578 (May 1182) the latter occupied Halab Soon afterwards, Saladin took Edessa, al-Rakḳa, Sarūdj and Nasibīn, and in Radjab (November) of the same year he appeared before al Mawsil but could not take it by force, so he retired in the following month and turned his attention to Sindjār After he had taken this town, he forced 'Imād al-Dīn to capitulate (Ṣafar 579 = June 1183) In 581 (1185) Saladin again attacked al-Mawsil but had once more to retire with his object unachieved After the capture of the town of Maiyāfāriḳīn, he made a third attempt to take al Mawsil, and encamped at some distance from the town but fell ill and was taken to Harran In spite of this, 'Izz al-Dīn did not dare to oppose him any longer but began negotiations Saladin declared himself ready to make terms, and in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 581 (March 1186) peace was made on condition that 'Izz al-Dīn recognised the suzerainty of Saladin and gave him Shahrazūr with the lands behind the Zāb 'Izz al-Dīn died in al-Mawsil on Sha'bān 27 or 29, 589 (Aug 28 or 30, 1193) after designating his son Nūr al Dīn Arslān Shāh as his successor The Arabic historians pay him as high a tribute as they do to his father Mawdūd

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MAS'ŪD b Muhammad Abu 'l Fatḥ Ghiyāth al Dīn, a Saldjūḳ ruler in the 'Irāḳ (529—547 = 1134—1152) Like Muhammad's other sons, Mas'ūd, when quite a child, was entrusted to an atābeg to be educated, namely the celebrated emīr Mawdūd and when the latter was murdered, Ak Sonkor and Aiaba Djuyūsh Beg acted successively as Mas'ūd's tutors The latter, an ambitious emīr, in the beginning of Mahmūd's reign tried to secure the sultānate for his protégé, then an eleven-year-old boy, but the attempt failed, in an encounter with Mahmūd's troops he was put to flight and Mas'ūd as well as his wazīr, the famous Arab poet al-Tughrā'ī [q v], were taken prisoners (514 = 1120) On the fate of the poet see the article on him Mas ūd was pardoned and later given Gandja by his brother (1130) After Mahmūd's death (525 = 1131), his son Dāwūd was at first recognised as sultān but Sandjar decided that Mas'ūd's brother Tughrīl should be sultān Mas'ūd soon made peace with Dāwūd, after some fighting near Tabrīz, and sought to obtain from the caliph al-Mustarshid that the latter should mention him in the khuṭba in

Baghdād The caliph, who had been approached with the same object by another brother of Mas'ūd named Saldjūk and his atābeg Karadja, found himself forced to accede to both by having Mas'ūd's name mentioned first, followed by that of Saldjūk He also collected his forces to go in alliance with them against Sandjar, but when he arrived in Khānikīn, he withdrew so that Mas'ūd and Saldjūk had to continue the struggle against their uncle alone and they were routed by him near a hill called Pandj Anghusht in the neighbourhood of Dīnawar (1132) Sandjar however allowed Mas'ūd to return unhindered to Gandja and at the end of the same year Mas'ūd found an opportunity to go to Baghdād where Dāwūd also now was Both princes were received by the caliph in public audience and given robes of honour and other tokens of esteem Homage was paid to Mas'ūd as sultān and to Dāwūd as heir apparent Thereafter he fought with varying fortune against his brother Tughril and after the latter's premature death (528—529 = 1134) was generally recognised as sultān Anusharwān b Khālid, the caliph's vizier, now was given the office of vizier to the sultān Soon afterwards however, a number of Turkish emirs became dissatisfied with Mas ūd because they had felt themselves insulted by the advancement of Kara Sonkor, the powerful emir of Ādharbāidjān, and were able to win the caliph over to their party In the hope that Dāwūd would join him, he went with some 7,000 horsemen towards Hamadhān, where Mas'ūd then was, but when the sultān's troops met him at Dāimarg, his own men left him in the lurch or even went over to Mas ūd so that he and his vizier and other high officials were taken prisoners (529 = 1135) The sultān, it is true, treated him with deference, and began to discuss terms of peace, but he did not release him He took him with him to Marāgha, where in the same year (cf the various dates given Weil, *Gesch der Chalifen*, iii 231, note 4) he was murdered by a number of fidā'is The murderers were apparently hired by the sultān, on the advice of Sandjar, who had been stirred up against the Caliph by Dubais [q v] The latter, who was also with Mas'ūd, was soon afterwards treacherously slain by him These deeds of violence naturally made a very bad impression Dāwūd and Saldjūk began again to bestir themselves, the new caliph al Rāshid bi'llāh, a son of al-Mustaishid, adopted a hostile attitude and other Turkish emirs, notably Zangī, the lord of al Mawsil, began to be insub ordinate, in a word, anarchy soon prevailed every where But when Mas'ūd returned to Baghdād with his troops they all retired Mas ūd thereupon had the caliph, who had escaped with Zangī to al-Mawsil, deposed by a fatwā of the kādīs and jurists and approved the appointment of al-Muktafī (530 = 1136) After peace had in this way been to some extent restored, Mas'ūd thought he might now devote himself to his pleasures and remained the whole year of 1137 in Baghdād in comparative inactivity, without allowing his leisure to be disturbed by a demonstration by the mob of the capital, which was intended to remind him that it was his duty to wage war upon the unbelievers Once again several Turkish emirs rebelled and tried to bring Dāwūd to the front again, among them the most dangerous were 'Abd al-Rahmān b Tughanyerek, lord of Khalkhāl, and particularly the prince Mingubars, whom Sandjar after Karadja's death had sent to Fārs and who was vigorously supported by his deputy in Khuzistān, Buzāba Mas'ūd, it is true, sent troops against them under Kara Sonkor but they had to retire, and a battle was only fought when Mas'ūd himself came up, at Kurshanbe near Hamadhān (532 = 1138) The sultān was at first victorious and put Mingubars, whom he had captured, to death, but when his troops were scattered plundering the enemy's camp, Buzāba fell suddenly upon them so that he and Kara Sonkor had narrow escapes and some twelve of the emirs with him were captured and all put to death by Buzāba Fortunately for Mas'ūd, Buzāba did not pursue him, but was content with occupying Fārs, the sultān was also able to make peace with Dāwūd, and the deposed caliph was murdered in Isfahān on Ramadān 25, 532 (June 6, 1138) The sultān's position however was not one whit better, for the different provinces of the empire were in the hands of powerful emīrs, who not only paid no heed to the sultān, but occasionally appeared in open rebellion against him in the name of various Saldjūk princes whose atābegs they were The most powerful of these was still Kara Sonkor who began a war on Buzāba to avenge his son, who had been murdered by the latter When he approached, however, Buzāba withdrew into an inaccessible citadel and when Kara Sonkor retired, he took prisoner the prince Saldjūk whom he had appointed to rule over Fārs and then continued to rule in Fārs as atabeg of two sons of Mahmūd, Malikshāh and Muhammad After the death of Kara Sonkor, who died in 535 of a broken heart after the great losses he suffered in the terrible earthquake in Gandja in 533 (1138), Čawlī al Djāndār took his place and like his predecessor was generally attached to Mas'ūd Buzāba's attempt along with another emir named 'Abbās [q v], who had gained an influential position in al Rayy, to put the sultān's youngest brother Sulaimān on the throne therefore failed Mas'ūd invited this prince to come to him and when he came he was imprisoned in spite of the sultān's promise Čawlī died in 541 (1146) in the same year as Zangī and in the following year 'Abd al Rahmān and 'Abbās were disposed of by assassination so that Buzāba alone remained of the enemies of Mas'ūd Buzāba now set out for Hamadhān to attack the sultān, but not far from this city was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed (542 = 1147) The princes Muhammad and Malikshāh who were with him escaped Mas'ūd afterwards sent for the latter, gave him his daughter in marriage and designated him his successor In these negotiations the sultān followed the advice of his favourite beg Arslān b Balangarī, best known by the title Khāssbeg, who in this way disposed of all his rivals, but at the same time aroused great discontent so that even the aged Sandjar came once more to al Rayy to remonstrate with his nephew (544 = 1149) But all this was in vain, and when in 547 (1152) Mas'ūd died, Khāssbeg put Malikshāh upon the throne, when in a short time the latter showed himself quite incapable, he sent for Muhammad, who had Khāssbeg treacherously murdered

Bibliography in the article SELDJUKS — Ibn Khallikān's article on Mas'ūd (Būlāk edition 1299, ii 531) is of no importance

(M Th HOUTSMA)

MAS'ŪD B SA'D B SALMĀN, a poet in Arabic and Persian, was born in Lāhore His father

remained for a considerable time in the service of the kings of Ghazna and had become the possessor of great wealth and lands in Lāhore and other parts of India After his father's death these lands were confiscated by the Governor of Lāhore and Mas'ūd was compelled to proceed to Ghazna to demand justice, but there also his enemies were able to put him to more troubles and bring against him a false accusation, which caused him to be imprisoned He at last through the recommendation of Mas'ūd b Sultān Ibrāhīm was permitted to return to India and take possession of his estate When Saif al-Dīn Mahmūd b Sultān Ibrāhim came in India as viceroy, Mas'ūd attached himself to this prince as courtier and panegyrist and became one of the special favourites of his court But again, a false charge being brought against him, he once more fell upon evil days and loss of fortune It was maliciously reported in 492 (1098) to Sultān Ibrāhīm b Mahmūd that his son Saif al-Dīn Mahmūd intended to go to 'Irāk to Malikshāh This report so much aroused the indignation of the Sultān that he ordered his son with all his courtiers to be arrested and put to prison Our poet for the next ten years remained a prisoner But on the intercession of Abu 'l-Kāsim Khāss, the Sultān pardoned him and released him from prison He returned to India and was again placed in possession of his father's lands and dignity

He died in 515 (1121) He is the author of two dīwāns, one in Arabic and the other in Persian

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(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL **MAS'ŪDĪ**, ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ B AL-HUSAIN, Arab historian and geographer and one of the most versatile authors of the fourth century A H Information about his life can only be gleaned from occasional references in his works, as his activity lay outside the lines of the regular schools of learning, he gets little mention from their representatives The author of the *Fihrist* regards him as a Maghribī According to his own statement however, he was born in Baghdād and descended from an Arab family which could trace its ancestry to a Companion of the Prophet While still quite young he travelled through Persia where he spent part of 305 (915) in Istakhr Next year he went to India and visited Multān and al Mansūra He went by Kanbaya and Saimūr as far as Ceylon, joined some merchants on a voyage to the China Sea and back to Zanzibar from which he returned to 'Omān We again find him travelling along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and in 314 (926) at Tiberias in Palestine In 332 (943) he visited Antioch and the Syrian frontier towns and after a brief visit to his native province of Basra, he was staying in Damascus in 334 (945) Afterwards he seems to have lived sometimes in Syria and sometimes in Egypt He was in al Fustāt in 336 (947) and 344 (955) and he died there in Dumādā II 345 (956) or 346

His restless life is reflected in his literary activity His travels were certainly stimulated not by thirst for adventure but by a strong desire for knowledge But this was superficial and not deep He never went into original sources, as did al-Bīrūnī later, but contented himself with superficial enquiries and accepted tales and legends without criticism Nevertheless we owe him a good deal of valuable information about the lands on the periphery of Islām His method of presenting his material has the same faults as his scholarship He is never able to finish a subject he has begun but continually diverges from his theme His literary activity, in addition to philology and theology in the narrower sense, touched on almost all the fields of interest of his time, particularly natural philosophy, ethics and politics as well as heresiography His works, a list of which is given by de Goeje in the preface to the *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p vi, are for the most part lost because they were not of general interest Posterity was only interested in him as a historian In the year 332 (943) he began his great history of the world *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa man abādahu 'l-Hidthān min al-Umam al-mādiya wa 'l Ādjyāl al-khāliya wa 'l Mamālik al-dāthira*, which is said to have filled 30 volumes Burckhardt's statement (*Travels in Nubia*, p 527) that twenty volumes of it are preserved in the Aya Sofia in Constantinople has unfortunately not been confirmed Only a single volume, the first of the work, which A v Kremer obtained in Aleppo, is preserved in Vienna (see v Kremer, *S B W A*, 1850, p 207—211, Flugel, *Die arabischen u turkischen Hss der K K Hofbibliothek*, ii, N° 1262, another MS of the same part is in Berlin, see Ahlwardt, N° 9426) The work begins with the creation and after a brief geographical survey discusses the non-Muslim peoples and goes fully into the legendary history of Egypt He reproduced extracts from this work in the *Kitāb al awsat* of which one volume perhaps survives in Oxford (see Uri, *Catalogus codd MSS or*, i 666) The substance of these two works he gave in briefer form in the *Murūdj al Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Djawāhir*, which he finished in Djumādā I, 336 (Nov -Dec 947) but revised in 345 (956) In addition to the manuscripts used for the Paris edition, a number of others are in existence, e g in the Ambrosiana (*R S O*, iv 97), in Fez (*Fihrist Masdjid al-Karawiyin*, N° 1298) and Mōsul (Dāwūd, *Makhtūtāt al-Mawsil*, p 122, N° 22, p 173, N° 32), printed as Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or* (the more correct translation would be "Gold-washings", see Gildemeister, *W Z K M*, v 202), *Texte et Traduction* par C Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols, Paris 1861–1877, Būlāk 1283, Cairo 1313, on the margin of Ibn al-Athir, Būlāk 1303, of Makkari's, *Nafh al-Tīb*, vol 1—3, Cairo 1302 A synopsis of the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* down to the fall of the Omayyads was made by Ibrāhīm al-Abshīhī in 1118 (1706) (MS Vienna, Flugel, N° 807) Another synopsis of which it has still to be ascertained whether the two works on which it is based were not also used in addition to the *Murūdj*, with a continuation down to the year 638 (1248) was composed by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b 'Alī al-Shātibī of Tāza in Morocco under the title *al-Djumān fī Mukhtaṣar Akhbār al-Zamān* (wrongly ascribed by de Sacy, *N E*, ii, 1787 to Makkarī, MS Gyangos, 64, fol 31—195, see Asin Palacios, *Escatologia*, p 374, other MSS in Cairo and

Damascus see M Kurd 'Alī, *R A A D*, iii 239—242) An anonymous synopsis of his *magnum opus* with special reference to travellers' tales from the Indian Ocean with additions from the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* of Rāmhurmuzī, as well as from the legends of Egypt, entitled *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa 'Adjā'ib al Buldān*, or *Mukhtaṣar al-'Adjā'ib wa 'l Ghara'ib* is preserved in several MSS in Paris (see Carra de Vaux, *J A*, ser 9, vol vii, p 133—144) Towards the end of his life, Mas'ūdī composed a survey of his whole literary activity and supplemented it where necessary from new sources in the *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf* (ed de Goeje, in *B G A*, viii, Leyden 1894, additions to these in a Leipzig MS, *Z D M G*, lvi, 223—236, see Carra de Vaux, *Maçoudi, le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, French transl, Paris 1897)

Bibliography Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p 154, Yākūt, *Irshād al Arīb*, v 147—149, al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iya*, ii 307, Quatremère, *J A*, ser iii, vol vii, p 1—31, Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N° 119, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 141—143, Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p 352—354, J Marquart, *Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, xxxiv/xxxv

(C Brockelmann)

MASYĀD, a town in Northern Syria on the eastern side of the Djabal al Nusairiye The pronunciation and orthography of the name varies between the forms *Masyād*, *Masyāf* (in official documents and on the inscriptions mentioned below of the years 646 and 870 A H), *Maṣyāt* and *Maṣyāth* (on the interchange of *f* and *th* see Rescher, *Z D M G*, lxxiv 465, Praetorius, *Z D M G*, lxxv 292, Dussaud, *Topographie hist de la Syrie*, p 143, note 4, 209, 395, note 3) The variants *Maṣyāb* (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 556), *Maṣyāh* (Khalil al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed Ravaisse, p 49) and *Maṣyāt* (al Nābulusī, in v Kremer, *S B Ak Wien*, 1850, ii 331) are no doubt due to mistakes in copying (van Berchem, *J A*, Ser 9, ix [1897], 457, note 2) At a later period, the pronunciation *Miṣyāf*, *Misyād* became usual (al-Dimashkī, ed Mehren, p 208, al Kalkashandī, *Subh al A'shā'*, Cairo, iv 113, Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt, p 265, cf *Mesyāf* on v Oppenheim's map in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, lvii [1911], ii, Taf 11) The name is perhaps a corruption of a Greek Μαρσύα (= Μασσύα) or Μάρσυου κώμη, which presumably lay on the *Marsyas amnis*, the boundary river of the Nazerini (ancestors of the Nusairis? Plinius, *Nat Hist*, v 81) (cf Pauly Wissowa Kroll, *Realencyklopadie*, xiv, Col 1985 *sq*, s *Marsyas*, N° 3)

A number of ancient pillars and capitals built into the gates of the fortress (some reproduced in G L Bell, *Syria The Desert and the Sown*, p 217—220) are its only remains of antiquity An old Roman road (*rasif*) from Hamā to the west passed the town (according to Miss Bell, *loc cit*)

Masyād is not mentioned in the early middle ages, the first mention of the fortress is probably in a Frankish account of the advance of the Crusaders in 1099 *pervenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam Arabum castrum* (*Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed Hagenmeyer, 1890, p 418 with note 29, Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nosairis*, Paris 1900, p 21, note 4) When in 503 (1109—1110), the Franks advanced on Rafanīya, Tughtakīn set out to relieve it, by the terms of the peace concluded between them, the Franks bound themselves to abandon all designs on Masyāth and Hisn al Akrād and in compensation these two places and Hisn Tūfān were to pay them tribute (Sibt b al Djawzī, *Mir'āt al Zamān*, in *Rec Hist Or Crois*, iii 537) Before 521 (1127) the fortress was in possession of a branch of the Mirdāsids, who sold it to the Banī Munkidh After the Nusairī citadels of Kadmūs and al-Kahf had fallen into the hands of the Ismā'īlīs in 527 (1132—1133), the latter also seized the fortress of Masyāf in 535 (1140—1141), by outwitting the commandant Sunkur, a mamlūk in the service of the Banī Munkidh of Shaizar, who was surprised and slain (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, in *Rec Hist Or Crois*, i 25, Ibn al Athīr, *Kāmil*, *ibid*, i 438, al Nuwairī, Cod Leyden 2m, f 222b, in van Berchem, *J A*, 1897, p 464, note 1) Masyād now became the residence of the Syrian 'Master' of the sect (as we may call him, with van Berchem, to distinguish him from the Grand Master in Alamūt), known as *Shaikh al-Djabal* After the Master (*Mukaddam*) Abū Muhammad had gathered round him the members of the sect in the hills of Kadmūsiya, about 557 (1162) Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [q v] appeared in Syria, as envoy from the Persian Grand Master, took over command of the Assassins [q v] there and displayed his unusual organising ability, by raising the sect to be a well equipped and dreaded force, the terror of the Crusaders Saladin, who wanted to punish them for two attempts on his life, invaded the land of the Ismā'īlīs in Muharram 572 (July–Aug 1176), laid it waste and laid siege to Sinān in Kal'at Masyāf Through the mediation of Saladin's uncle Shihāb al-Dīn al-Hārimī, lord of Hamā, Sinān however succeeded in obtaining Saladin's forgiveness, in the beginning of August, he went with his army to Hamā (Abu'l Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr, in *Rec Hist Or Crois*, i 47, 626) Shortly before he raised the siege of Masyād (about the 1st Safar), he received from Usāma b Munkidh, who was in Damascus, a letter containing a panegyric of his great patron (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, Paris 1893, p 400 *sq*) Rāshid al Dīn died in 588 (Sept 1192) The Syrian Masters, as the official epithet *al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn* henceforth regularly borne by them shows, were raised by him to a position with power and privileges equal to those of sovereign rulers (van Berchem, *op cit*, p 470) While Sinān had completely emancipated himself from the suzerainty of the headquarters of the sect in Alamūt, in 608 we find the old conditions completely restored (Abū Shāma, *al-Dhail fi'l-Rawdatain*, in van Berchem, *op cit*, p 475 *sqq*, note 1) According to an inscription in the inner gate of the castle (van Berchem, *J A*, 1897, p 482 = van Berchem–v Oppenheim, *Beitrage z Assyriol*, viii/1, p 17, N° 18), this building was restored by the Syrian Master Kamāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn al-Hasan b Mas'ūd under the suzerainty of the Grand Master of Alamūt 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad III (618—653) The reference is probably to the al Kamāl, who according to al-Nasawī (*Hist du Sultan Djelal al-Dīn Mankobirti*, ed Houdas, p 132) was for a period before 624, governor in Syria for the grand master of the Ismā'īlīs It is uncertain whether the commandant (*mutawallī*)

Madjd al Dīn, who received in 624 the ambassadors of Frederick II (Hamawī in Amari, *Bibl arabico sicula*, App II, p 30) was one of the Masters (van Berchem, *JA*, 1897, p 501, note 1) About 625/6 and still in 635, Sirādj al Dīn Muzaffar b al Husain was Syrian Master (Nasawī, *op cit*, p 168, inscription of al-Kahf, ed van Berchem, *op cit*, p 488) A Persian from Alamūt, Tādj al Dīn, was in 637 *mukaddam* of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs (Ibn Wāsil, *Geschichte der Ayyūbiden*, Paris, MS Ar 1702, f 333b in van Berchem, p 466, note 2) As Tādj al Dīn Abu'l-Futūḥ he appears in an inscription in Masyād of Dhu'l-Kaʿda 646 (Feb–March 1249), according to which he had built the city wall of Masyāf and its south gate The commander of the fortress under him was ʿAbd Allāh b Abi 'l-Fadl b ʿAbd Allāh (inscriptions A and B in van Berchem, *JA*, 1897, p 456 = van Berchem–v Oppenheim, *Beitr z Assyr*, *op cit*, N⁰ 19) Probably it was Tādj al Dīn to whom the Dominican monk Yvo the Breton, a member of an embassy sent by Louis IX to the "Old Man of the Mountains" in May 1250, sent a naive and fruitless appeal for his conversion (Jean de Joinville, *Hist de St Louis*, ed Wailly, p 246 *sqq*, van Berchem, *JA*, 1897, p 478—480) In the time of the Master Ridā' al Dīn Abu'l Maʿālī in 658 (1260) the Tatars seized and held the fortress for a time, but after the victory of the Egyptian Sultān Kutuz at ʿAin Djālūt, they abandoned it About two years later Baibars began to interfere in the affairs of the Ismāʿīlis and to demand tribute from them He very soon deposed the Master Nadjm al-Dīn Ismāʿīl and appointed his son-in law Sārim al Dīn Mubārak in his place and took Masyād from him When the latter returned there, Baibars had him seized and brought to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison Nadjm al Dīn was again recognised as Master for a brief period and then his son Shams al-Dīn, before the Sultān definitely incorporated Masyād in his kingdom in Radjab 668 (1270) (Abu 'l-Fidā', in *Rec hist or crois*, i 153, Mufaddal b Abi 'l-Fadā'il, *Gesch d Mamlūkensultane*, ed Blochet, in *Patrol Orient*, xiv 445, van Berchem, *JA* 1897, p 465, note 2)

Masyād presumably at first belonged to the "royal province of fortunate conquests" the capital of which was Hisn al-Akrād, then to Tarābulus (after its capture in 688) It was later separated from this province and added to the niyāba of Dimashk to which it still belonged in the time of Kalkashandī (*Ṣubh al Aʿshā*, Cairo, iv 113, 202, 235) about 814 (1412) Khalīl al-Zāhiri (*Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, p 49) includes Masyād with Hamā (about 850) Under Egyptian rule the position of the lands of the Ismāʿīlīs with Masyād as capital was to some extent exceptional (Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p 182, N⁰ 3)

Abu 'l Fidā' (about 720 = 1320) described Masyād as an important town, with beautiful gardens through which streams flowed, it had a strong citadel and lay at the eastern base of the Djabal al-Lukkām (more accurately Djabal al Sikkīn) about a farsakh north of Bārin and a day's journey west of Hamā (not Hims, as Le Strange, *Palestine*, p 507 erroneously says, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geogr*, ed Reinaud, p 229 *sq*) As a result of its high situation, it has a more temperate climate than the low ground on the Nahr al-ʿĀsī, the young Usāma in 516 (1122—1123) brought to Masyād the wife and children of the emīr of Shaizar, his uncle ʿIzz al Dīn Abu 'l ʿAsākir Sultān, from the heat of Shaizar which was causing the emīr anxiety about their health (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, p 43)

Ibn Battūta passed through Masyād in 756 (1355) and al-Nābulusī in 1105 (1693—1694) The latter mentions that the governor of the town then was a certain Sulaimān of the tribe of Tanūkh An inscription of Masyād of Ramadān 870 (April–May 1466) contains a decree about taxes of the Sultān al Malik al Zāhir Khushkadam (van Berchem-v Oppenheim, *Beitr z Assyr*, vii, p 20, N⁰ 23 N⁰ 22 is perhaps of the same Malik al Zahir) Of a later date are two inscriptions of an emīr Mustafā b Idrīs, one of the year 1203 (1788–1789) relating to the building of a well (*sabil*) (*op cit*, p 21, N⁰ 24), the other (N⁰ 25) of 1208 (1793—1794) to the building of the house of the Ismāʿīlī emīrs

The Ismāʿīlis lived constantly in open or secret enmity with the Nusairīs, although various tribes of the latter had offered their services to the Ismāʿīlī Masters, for example as early as 724 (1324) to Rāshid al Dīn (Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *JA*, p 1877, p 165, Dussaud, *Histoire et Religion des Noṣairîs*, p 80) A number of Nusairīs of the tribe of Raslān, whom the emīr of Masyād had allowed to settle in the town under their Shaikh Mahmūd, in 1808 murdered the emir, his son and about 300 Ismāʿīlīs and seized the town The other inhabitants, who had sought refuge in flight, applied for protection to Yūsuf Pāshā, the governor of Damascus He sent a punitive expedition of 4–5,000 men against the Nusairīs, Masyād had to be surrendered by the Banī Raslān after three months' stubborn resistance and the fugitive Ismāʿīlis returned to Masyād in 1810 (Dussaud, *op cit*, p 32, Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien*, p 258) In 1812 Burckhardt estimated the population of Masyad at 250 Ismāʿīlī and 30 Christian families The population since then seems to have diminished still further Burckhardt and Lammens found many houses in the town in ruins and large gardens within its walls According to Burckhardt, the land east of the town is a desert moor, while in the north at the foot of the hills the citadel stands on a high steep rock on the west side is a valley, in which the inhabitants grow wheat and oats The town, which lies on the slope of a hill is about half an hour's walk, in circumference Three older gates have been incorporated in the present more modern walls The mosque is in ruins The citadel has an outer wall from which the inner defences are reached by a vaulted passage (G L Bell, *Syria The Desert and the Sown*, p 218) The old citadel is for the most part destroyed, only a few buildings have been roughly restored and in parts are still inhabited

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Taʿrīf, Cairo 1312, p 182 transl by R Hartmann, *Z D M G*, lxx [1916], p 36, with note 11, Kalkashandī, *Subh al-Aʿshā*², Cairo, iv 113 [where in l 13 the words *Hamā wa-* should be deleted, cf l 14¹], al-Nābulusī, transl v Kremer, *S B Ak Wien*, 1850, ii, p 331, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 81, 352, 507, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p 77, 182 *sq*, J L Buickhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p 150 *sqq*, German by Gesenius, p 254 *sq*, Quatremere, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iv 340, note *c*), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii 822, 918, 922, 935, 967 *sq*, 972 *sq*, E G Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans le Nord de la Syrie* (1864—1865), in *Archives des missions scient et litt*, Ser ii, iii, Paris 1866, p 344, R Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, p 191, N⁰ 715 (1193 A D), H Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, Paris 1893, p 8, 43, 281, 399 *sq*, van Berchem, *Epigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*, in *J A*, Ser ix, ix [1897], p 453—501, R Dussaud, *Rev archeol*, 1897, i 349, do, *Histoire et religion des Nosairis* (= *Bibl de l'ecole des hautes etudes*, fasc cxxix), Paris 1900, p 21, note 4, 23, 32, 80, do, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et medievale*, Paris 1927, p 142 *sq*, 153, 187, H Lammens, *Au pays des Nosairis*, in *R O C*, v [1900], p 423—427, G L Bell *Syria The Desert and the Sown*, London 1907, p 218 *sq*, German transl entitled *Durch die Wusten u Kulturstatten Syriens*, Leipzig 1908, ²1910, p 211 *sq*, M v Oppenheim, *Z G Erdk Berl*, xxxvi [1901], p 74, do and van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopot*, *Kleinasien*, 1913 (= *Beitrage z Assyriol*, vii/1), p 17—22, also the literature given under ASSASSINS (E HONIGMANN)

MAṬĀLIʿ [See MATLA]

MATAMMĀ, a town in the Eastern Sūdān (province of Kassala, district of Gallabat) Matammā has a remarkable importance as a market on the Sūdāno-Ethiopic frontier near the route of the caravans between the Abyssinian region of Lake Tānā and Khartūm Its economic value has greatly increased on account of the development of agriculture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān and the new survey of Lake Tānā as a possible reservoir of water to extend irrigation in the Sūdān and Egypt and by this means to increase and intensify the culture of the cotton which is the principal source of prosperity in those countries

Matammā is famous in the recent history of Ethiopia because the Emperor (*Negusa Nagast*) Yohannes IV was defeated and killed in the neighbourhood of this town by the so-called Darāwīsh of the Sūdānese Mahdī, March 10, 1889 A D (1st *maggābit* 1881 of the Abyssinian era) The Emperor was preparing an expedition against Shawā to oblige Menilek, King of that country, to recognise definitely his vassallage to the Ethiopian Crown But, when he was informed that a corps of Darāwīsh had advanced as far as the frontier and that the zone of Lake Tānā with the ancient capital, Gondar, was menaced by the fanatic followers of the Mahdī, he came back to the Northern regions with his army, and met the Darāwīsh at Matammā After a strenuous fight the Emperor Yohannes IV himself was killed and the Abyssinians were defeated The Darāwīsh cut the head of Yohannes and sent it to the Mahdī as a sign of their victory

The battle of Matammā however had no greater value for the Mahdī's followers than a successful razzia they retreated to the Sūdān after pillaging some neighbouring countries and did not occupy any territory of Ethiopia On the contrary, Matammā caused the end of the Northern Abyssinian dynasties, and the southern region — the Shawā kingdom — became the political centre of the Empire, when in the same year, 1889 A D, King Menilek proclaimed himself Emperor (*Negusa Nagast*) as a descendant of the Salomonic dynasty

The death of the Emperor Yohannes as a martyr during the battle against the Muslims, hereditary enemies of the Christian Abyssinians, has been celebrated in many songs and poems The following is a very interesting example of the Abyssinian poetry in recent times

"The Emperor Yohannes was a fool,
and we all despise him!
They said to him "Reign in the middle of the country!"]
He answered "I will be the keeper of the frontier!"]
The Emperor Yohannes was a liar!
He said "I do not like drink"
And we have seen him drinking
a drink which causes the head to turn around!"]

(The last verses allude to the head of the Emperor sent to the Mahdī by the Darāwīsh)

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MATGHARA, the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the great family of the Butr, they were related to the Zanata and brethren of the Matmāta, Kūmya, Lamāya, Saddīna, Madyūna, Maghila etc, with whom they form the racial group of the Banū Fātin Like the other tribes belonging to this group, the Matghara originally came from Tripolitania the most eastern members of the Matghara, however, known to al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn were those who lived in the mountainous regions along the Mediterranean from Milyāna and Tenes to the north of Undja (port of Tāhahrīt), those of the western part of this zone were allied with the Kūmya, their mountain rose not far from Nadrūma and the fortress of Tāwunt was on their territory

Three sections had reached the western Maghrib as early as the eighth century and there formed an important bloc These were

1 The Matghara of Fās and the couloir of Tāzā, al-Bakrī observes that the source of the Wādī Fās was on their territory, in the region where Leo Africanus still mentions the *Sūk al khamis* of the Matghara "fifteen miles west of Fās"

2 The Matghara of the Middle Atlas in the Djabal Matghara which Ibn Khaldūn locates S E (*kiblī*) of Fās and which Leo Africanus says is five miles from Tāzā (to the south?) The reference then is to the mountain region now occupied by the Ait Wārāin, an important section of the latter, the Ait Djellidāsen, represents the Banū Gallidāsan

whom al-Bakrī gives as a section of the Matghara, settled near Tenes in Algeria We still find among the Ait Wārāin several sections of the Imghilen who represent the Maghīla, brethren of the old Matghara

In al-Bakrī's time (v^th = xi^th century) these two sections of the Matghara had as neighbours in the west, the Zawāgha of Fāzāz and of Tādlā

3 The Matghara of the oases of the Sahara settled in the region of Sidjilmāssa and in the town itself, in which they constitute the main element of the population, in the region of Figīg, in Tuwāt, Tāmantīt and as far away as Wāllan (Ouallen)

At the beginning of the Arab conquest, the Matghara are represented by Ibn Khaldūn as settled and living in huts built of branches of trees (*khasās*), those of the Sahara lived in fortified villages (*kuṣūr*) and devoted themselves to growing dates In the time of Leo Africanus, the Matghara of the Central Atlas occupied about fifty large villages

Like other peoples belonging to the group of the Banū Fātin, the Matghara took an active part in the events at the beginning of the Arab conquest and weakened themselves considerably in the fighting As soon as they had become converted to Islām, a number of bodies of Matghara went over to Spain and settled there Later like their brethren, the Matmāta, they adopted the principles of the Sufriya, one of their chiefs, Maisara, provoked the famous schismatic rising of 740, which was the beginning in Morocco of the Baraghwāta heresy In a list of the tribes which adopted this heretical teaching we find the Matmāta and Matghara of the Central Atlas, as well as the Banū Abī Nasr, the modern Ait Bū Nsar, the eastern section of the Ait Wāiāin

With the rise of Idrīs, the chief of the Matghara, Bahlūl, declared himself at first a supporter of the caliph of Baghdād, Hārūn al-Rashīd, then rallied to the new dynasty Later and down to the xvii^th century, the Matghara of the Central Atlas do not seem to have played any part in politics, they retained their independence at least From the xvii^th century, they seem to have been supplanted on their territory by invaders from the south As to the Matghara of the shore, settled in the region of Nadrūma, their alliance with the Kūmya gained them considerable political importance, when the latter became supporters of the Almohads It was at this period that they built the fortress of Tāwunt They then rallied to the Marīnids but this brought upon them the wrath of the ruler of Tlemcen, the celebrated Yaghmurāsan, who finally crushed them

Ibn Khaldūn uses the form *Madghara* instead of *Matghara*, in Moroccan texts of late date we also find Madghara

Bibliography al-Bakrī and al Idrīsī, *indices*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, transl de Slane, i 237—241, Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed Schefer, ii 54 and 342, iii 71 and 225 (G S Colin)

MATHAL (a, pl *amthāl*) is originally by etymology, like the Eth *mesl*, *messālē*, Aram *mathlā* and Hebrew *māshāl* (see O Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im Alten Testamente*, *Beihefte zur Z A T W*, xxiv, Giessen 1913), simile, comparison, as popular sayings commonly appear in this form, the term was applied to them in general and thus obtained the general sense of proverb and popular saying The fondness for similes and allusions, which is common to all primitive cultures, survived among the Semites and especially among the Arabs with great tenacity and therefore plays an important part, even in the higher forms of literature The simplest form of metaphor usually draws parallels between man and beast Of a sleepless man, one says *bāta bi-laylat ankada* (or *ankadha*) "he spent the night like a hedgehog" (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Madjmaʿ al Amthāl*, on the margin of Maidānī, Cairo 1310, i 109, 15, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv 437) and with the downrightness beloved by the Arabs the good example and educative influence of a leader or father is described as *bāla himārun fa 'stabāla ahmiratan* or *bāla fādirun fa-bāla djafruhu* (al-Maidānī, *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*, Cairo 1310, i 64, 65) The comparison to animals is also used to indicate veiled mockery of unpleasant social conditions as *al-bughāthu fi ardinā yastansiru* "here among us the sparrow plays the falcon" (al-ʿAskarī, i 193, 20) Such proverbs are sometimes developed into regular fables (see Brockelmann, *Fabel und Tiermarchen in der ältern arab Litteratur*, *Islamica*, ii 96—128) Among them we find much that is common to all nations, which it is hardly ever possible to trace back to a single source (cf the discussion on the „goat and knife' *Z D M G*, xlvi 737 *sqq*, xlvii 86 *sqq*), unless the origin is as well known as that of the two bulls from the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, which is given by al ʿAskarī, i 47, 16 *sqq* and therefore ʿAlī cannot have applied it to his relationship to ʿOthmān

But the circumstances of everyday life also provide material for similes which usually take the form *afʿalu min*, as in those which al-ʿAskarī and al-Maidānī quote at the end of each chapter of their collections of proverbs arranged in alphabetical order Even quite banal happenings may pass into proverbs (*fa-sārat* or *dhahabat mathalan* or *durība bihi 'l-mathalu*, as so many Arabic stories end), like the story of Kuʿais of whom we know no more than that his aunt once gave him as a suiet, and never redeemed him (al-Mufaddal b Salama, *al Fākhir*, ed Storey, p 24, N° 61), or the story of the poor woman selling butter of whom a rogue took advantage after inducing her to hold two skins of butter firmly together in her hands (*al-Fākhir*, p 70, N° 147) But the memory of important historical events is also perpetuated in proverbial sayings, like that of the fratricidal war between the Bakr and Taghlib provoked by Basūs (*al Fākhir*, p 76, N° 157), al-Mufaddal in his *al-Fākhir*, p 217—231, and al Maidānī, ii 38—47, therefore give the most notable battles of the Arabs in their lists of proverbs and proverbial allusions Many incidents of the Muslim period have attained equal renown, like Muʿāwiya's exclamation of joy on hearing that al Ashtar had been poisoned (see above, i 504, al Maidānī, i 8, 19) or the memory of the fine voice of the two singers of the bon vivant Caliph Yazīd b ʿAbd al Malik (al Maidānī, i 137, 12) It is however not always epoch-making events that are handed down to posterity in this way, like the stormy night in the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, which provoked him and his retinue to do such penance (al-Maidānī, i 176, 12), or the story of the defeat and fall of the Khākān, apparently that chief of the Khuttal, whom Asad b ʿAbd Allāh conquered in the year 119 (737), which, according to Tabarī, ii 1616, made a great sensation at the court of Hishām, while Mufaddal in *al-Fākhir*, p 80, 11 *sqq*, refers it to the fighting

against the Khazars, but the historians record no event of the kind among them, or the story of Muʿāwiya's ambassador to the Emperor of Byzantium (Ibn Kutaiba, *ʿUyūn*, p 238, and the proverb ʿAskarī, i 76, 11 *sqq*, Maidānī, ii 72, 4) Such historical memories are frequently preserved in the form of allusions like the famous *ṣaḥifat al-Mutalammis* and the *ḏjaṣṣ Simmār* Many problems of this kind are of local origin, like the allusion to the two equally poor asses of the man from Hīra (Maidānī, i 72, 16) or to the Meccan dandy (Maidānī, i 127, 11), such proverbial allusions are particularly numerous from Medīna (*ibid*, i 168, 6, 173, 20, 261, 18, 264, 2, 280, 25 298, 1), but we also have them from Basra (*ibid*, i 145, 16 and 30, a parallel from Kūfa in Djāhiz, *K al-Hayawān*, v 153, 13), Kūfa (*ibid*, i 192, 15, as a nest of Shiʿīs), Wāsit (*ibid*, i 97, 9) and Hims (*ibid*, i 190, 21) Men celebrated for particular qualities, as in other lands, are frequently commemorated among the Arabs in proverbial sayings, but the popular imagination very often invents the representative of such virtues, when Hātim has to share the reputation for liberality with the Iyādī Kaʿb b Māmā and Harim b Sinān (ʿAskarī, i 223 *sqq*, Maidānī, i 123 *sqq*), this is due to tribal rivalry There are therefore various typical representatives of fidelity (ʿAskarī, ii 251 *sqq*, Maidānī, ii 231 *sqq*), of perspicacity (Maidānī, i 219 *sqq*), and also of stupidity (Dugha *al-Fākhir*, p 24, N° 58, Maidānī, i 147, Shawla *al-Fākhir*, p 71, N° 148, Gothamites of Arabia, the people of al-Hadjar Maidānī, i 178, 19, Abū Ghabshān and others in Maidānī, i 146 *sqq*, 150 *sqq*), the best known is Djuhā, around whom have crystallised the stories of a wandering rogue in the Adab literature (cf Schwally, *Z D M G*, lvi 237) [1]), but we also have the Omaiyad governor of the ʿIrāk, Yūsuf b ʿOmar al-Thakafī (Maidānī, i 99, 31) Memories of Penelope seem to have found their way to Arabia in completely perverted form ("stupider than the woman who continually undid her weaving", which is found as early as Kurʾān, xvi 94, cf ʿAskarī, i 283, 7, Maidānī, i 172, 5) and of Sisyphus "greedier than he who turned the rock" (Maidānī, i 297, 17), among the typical representatives of stupidity and greed respectively

But among Arabic proverbs there are not a few the meaning and origin of which had already been quite forgotten at the time they were put on record, so that Arab writers invented all kinds of explanation for them from pseudo history, with a particular fondness for the Amalekites, not infrequently a choice is given of several stories, as for the "naked warner" (Maidānī, i 31, 20), "the gatherer of acacia shoots of the tribe of ʿAnaza" (*ibid*, i 49, 21, 288, 17), "the repentance of al Kusaʿī" (*al-Fākhir*, p 74) We also find widely disseminated motives, as in the story of Khuzāfa which the Prophet is said to have told his wives (*al-Fākhir*, p 137, N° 280) In many cases the learned editors have gone so far as to invent stories because they passed over the simplest explanation as too easy Thus the saying *hidʾā, hidʾā, waraʾaki bunduka* probably only means "Hawk, hawk, the ball (which was shot from the bow before the invention of fire-arms) is behind you", which Abū ʿUbaida refers to a children's game, al-Kalbī and al Sharkī however take *Hidʾā* and *Bunduka* as names of South Arabian tribes who had fought with one another (*al Fākhir*, p 38, N° 93) Similarly the same writers invent stories of the time of the Amalekites in which *Himār* is a proper name to explain *tarakuhu ḏjawfa himārin*, which al-Asmaʿī rightly takes literally (*al-Fākhir*, p 12, N° 18)

The number of proverbs is naturally very large in which maxims of life, often very trivial, are laid down, they include some which owe their origin to social conditions in Arabia, like "assist thy brother whether he is right or wrong" (*al-Fākhir*, p 119, N° 259) They also include much that is the common property of all nations, the origin of which can rarely be demonstrated, as in the Arabic pendant to the definitely Roman *Res venit ad triarios* in al-ʿAskarī, ii 32, 16 The subject can only be touched on here To the references given by the writer in *Ostas Zeitschrift*, viii 66 *sqq* we may add a few Arabic parallels to our proverbs "Walls have ears" (Maidānī, i 57, 21), "Speak of an angel and you hear his wings" (*ibid*, p 57), "Hammer and anvil" (*ibid*, p 58 18), "A liar must have a good memory" (*ibid*, i 49, 13), "Festina lente" (*ibid*, i 87, 21), "Out of the frying pan into the fire" (*ibid*, ii 25, 9), "To fall between two stools" (*ibid*, ii 64, 7), "To be on tenter hooks" (ii 74, 18), "Hoist with his own petard" (ii 168, 11), "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" (*ʿuṣfūrun fi 'l kaffi khaiṛun min kurkiyin fi 'l-ḏjawwi* al Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, Bairūt 1890, p 44, 3)

Among sayings which are international in character those disseminated by religious communities occupy a special position It is of course not an accident, but is quite in keeping with the importance, which is becoming more and more evident, of Christianity for the intellectual life of ancient Arabia, that New Testament sayings are common among Arabic proverbs, notably from the Sermon on the Mount, like Mt 7,2 = Maidānī, ii 67, 17, Mt 7,15 = Maidānī, i 192, 23, Mt 7,16 = Maidānī, i 34, 8, 336, 31, ii 182, 4, ʿAskarī, i 68, Mt 9,24 = Maidānī, ii 113, 23, Mt 17,3 = Maidānī, ii 67, 26, Mt 23,24 = Maidānī, ii 259, 16, Gal 6,7 = Maidānī, ii 73, 12 On the other hand, except for a few echoes of Proverbs and Eccles in which the origin is uncertain, the only one from the Old Testament is Maidānī, i 228, 20, which looks like a quotation from Deut 32,15 From Christian legend we have also the proverbial martyrdom of Djurdjus (*al-Fākhir*, p 256, N° 517) and the story of the Seven Sleepers which appears in various forms (*al-Fākhir*, p 109, 239, Maidānī, ii 196, 14, Kālī, *Amālī*, i 61, cf *M S O S*, v 228) On the other hand, of Old Testament figures we find only Noah once in a late proverb, probably native to Mōsul (Maidānī, ii 250, 11) The Mandaean Creator-deity Fitahil must have gone into the proverb Maidānī, ii 62 *sq*, from the verse of Ruʾba quoted there, to whom it was welcome, like other foreign matter, to give an appearance of learning (see Ahlwardt, *Der Diwan des Ruʾba*, xv) Later tradition also associated with Lukmān [q v], the wise hero of Arab antiquity, sayings attributed to Ahikar and common to many nations

Although the proverb is from its nature anonymous, learned tradition often tries to find authors Many proverbial sayings are therefore attributed

1) The *Nawādir Djuhā al-Kubrā*, ed Hikmet Bek Sharif, Cairo 1346 (1928) are for the most part from the Turkish Nasraddīn

to the Prophet and his Companions The *Amṯhāl al-Nabī*, which circulated outside the canonical collections of Tradition were collected by Ibn Khallād al Rāmhurmuzī (*Fihrist*, p 155) and Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, al-Maidānī accuses the latter of being uncritical and quotes in his preface as an example of genuine Hadīth the parable of the good and bad companion in Bukhārī, *Sahīh* (ed Krehl, ii 17) This does not prevent him however from putting in his collection a series of sayings of the Prophet, as his predecessors had done, and at the end of his book compiling a special chapter of them, which also includes sayings of the first Caliphs Special popularity was always enjoyed — not only among Shīʿīs — by sayings attributed to ʿAlī Ibn Kutaiba in his *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, in the fifth book, *K al-ʿIlm wa 'l-Bayān* (cod Kopr, fol 155b), already uses a collection of this kind, such as was current in various recensions (anonymous in *al-Tuhfa al bahīya*, Stambul 1302, p 107—114), e g in alphabetical order by ʿAbd al-Wāhid b Muhammad al-Āmidī, about 510 (1116), entitled *Ghurar al-Hikam wa-Durar al-Kalim*, lith Bombay 1280 and also edited in Persian and Turkish (s i 299, and also W Yule, *Apophthegms of Alee the son of Aboo Talib* [*Matlūb kull Tālib*] *with an early Persian paraphrase and an Engl translation*, Edinburgh 1832, *Sad Kalima'i Mawlā'i Muttakiyān Amir al-Mu'minīn*, Teherān 1304, *Nathr al-La'ālī*, the second coll in Fleischer, with Turk paraphrase by Muʿallim Nādjī entitled *Amthāl ʿAlī*, Stambul 1313, with Turk comm by Nasīb entitled *Rishta'i Diawāhir*, Stambul 1257)

Numerous also are the proverbs which have a metrical form, while it is impossible to say whether the poets, in whose *Dīwāns* they are, originated the idea or only gave it its form Al Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, p 78) and ʿUyaina b al-Minhāl (*ibid*, p 48, 108) collected such *abyāt sā'ira* A fine collection has been made by al-Ibshīhī in the *Kitāb al-Mustatraf*, Cairo 1320, i 27 *sqq* Among such metrical sayings are some by the greatest poets of the pagan period like Tarafa (*al-Fākhir*, p 254, 509, al-Maidānī, i 161), Imraʾalkais (ʿAskarī, i 255 = Maidānī, i 133), Lebīd (ʿAskarī, i 37) and by later poets like al-Farazdak (*al-Fākhir*, p 250, N⁰ 496, al-ʿAskarī, ii 46) and Mutīʿ b Iyās, whose two palms of Hulwān (ʿAskarī, i 297, 452, Maidānī, i 297) are famous From a misunderstanding of a verse of Farazdak's in which the way to ʿUnsulain is mentioned (Maidānī, i 38, quoted by Yākūt, iii 736), this verse became typical of taking the wrong way Al-Mutanabbī's verses that have passed into the language have been collected by Ismāʿīl al-Tālakānī, d 385 = 995 (Yākūt, *Irshād*, vi 501—518, Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p 35), in *al-Amthāl al sā'ira min Shiʿr al-Mutanabbī* (*Fihrist*, Cairo², iii 23)

Proverbs excited the interest of the learned from the very beginning of Arabic literature, historians and philologists emulated one another in collecting and explaining them Thus we find among the sources of the works that have survived to us the old historians and genealogists like al-Sharkī b al-Kutāmī (Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N⁰ 23) and ʿAwāna b al-Hakam (*ibid*, N⁰ 27) and Abu 'l Yakzān (*ibid*, p 36, *al Fākhir*, p 253), the two former very often as authorities for Hishām b al-Kalbī, to whom with the great monographist Muhammad b Habīb (Wüstenfeld, N⁰ 59), Zubair b Bekkār (*ibid*, p 61) and al-Madāʾinī (*ibid*, p 47), we owe most of the legendary and historical material Almost all the philologists of note have devoted special works to the subject To their interest in language is to be ascribed the fact that the limits of the scope of the subject are extended to include phrases and idioms which have really nothing to do with the proverb and, as for example *laʿanahu 'llāhu* (*al-Fākhir*, p 7), do not seem to require explanation, but we owe, for example, to al-Mufaddal the interesting note that it had become a habit with some Syrian Arabs to use the Greek φησιν, "says he" The oldest work of the kind that has survived is the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī († 170 = 786), pr Stambul 1300 The next oldest, that of Abū ʿUbaid al-Kāsim b Sallām al-Harawī (d about 223 = 837), is preserved in a number of Stambul MSS (s Rescher, *Z D M G*, lxiv 517, N⁰ 43, *M S O S As*, xiv 6, *M O*, vii 123), and in the Escurial (Derenbourg, Lévi-Provençal, N⁰ 1757), also the commentary by ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī (d 487 = 1094), *ibid*, N⁰ 526 and I ālelī, N⁰ 1795, printed as N⁰ 1 of the *al-Tuhfa al-bahīya*, Stambul 1302, p 2—16, on the other hand, the work dealt with by E Bertheau in his Diss, Gottingen 1836 (s Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, iii, vii — xi) is much more recent The *Kitāb al-Fākhir* of al-Mufaddal b Salama, a pupil of Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d 231), has been edited by C A Storey for the "De Goeje Foundation", Leyden 1915 The specially numerous proverbs of the form *afaʿlu min* were collected by Hamza al-Isfahānī (d between 450–460 = 960—970) in a work which only survives in a unique MS in Munich (see Mittwoch, in *M S O S As*, 1909, p 33 *sqq*), which was much used by later writers, and copied word for word by al-Maidānī for the corresponding section of his book Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d after 395 = 1005) compiled the *Djamharat al-Amthāl*, extant in several MSS in Stambul (see Rescher, *Z D M G*, lxiv 513, *M F O B*, v 501, *M S O S As*, xiv 36) and printed at Bombay in 1306—1307 as well as on the margin of Maidānī (Cairo 1310), in which an attempt was made for the first time to annotate each proverb from the philological and historical point of view, excluding all post classical material, to which Hamza had allotted considerable space Al-Maidānī [q v] collected the material compiled by his predecessors in his *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl* and expanded each section by an appendix on modern proverbs This has since then been regarded as the standard work on the subject and not even Zamakhsharī's *Kitāb al-Mustakṣā fi 'l-Amthāl*, although also much read (to the MSS mentioned in *G A L*, i 292, xiv may now be added the following in Stambul, *M S O S As*, xiv 15, *R S O*, iv 708, *M O*, vii 97, 102, 123, also Āghā, N⁰ 991, Dāmādzāde, N⁰ 1557, Scutari, *Z D M G*, lxviii 58, Brussa, *ibid*, p 50, Mōsul, Dāwūd, *al-Makhtūtāt al-Mawsiliya*, p 329, 37 Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii 355), could according to Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 11421, permanently affect its popularity Al Māwardī's [q v] book, like the different collections of sentiments made by al-Zamakhsharī, was from the first intended to deal rather with the literature than with the language of the people

It was not till the xixth century that interest in the east was again aroused in proverbs under the influence of European scholarship Almost all works on modern Arabic dialects contain collections of proverbs (cf the lists which could of

course now be very much extended in A Fischer, *MSOS As*, i 198—199 and E Littmann, *Arabic Proverbs collected by Mrs A P Singer*, Cairo 1913, p ix), in addition to the works by modern Orientals there quoted we may mention Ibrāhīm Sarkīs Lubnānī, *al-Durra al-yatīma fi 'l Amthāl al-kadīma*, Beirūt 1871, Mahmūd Ef ʿOmar al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Amthāl al mutakallimīn min ʿAwāmm al-Misrīyīn (alladhi kadidamahu fi 'l-Muʾtamar al-ʿilmī al-thāmin bi-Bilād al-Sudd wa 'l-Norwedj min Mamālik Ūrūbā Sanat 1889 mil)*, Cairo 1311, Tāhir b Sālih al-Djazāʾirī (cf M Kurd ʿAlī, in *RAAD*, viii 576—596, 666—679), *Ashar al Amthāl*, Cairo 1338, cf O Rescher, *Ethnologisches im arabischen Spruchwort*, *Isl*, ii 98–101, iii 178

Bibliography in the article and T A Stephens and W Bonser, *Proverb Literature*, London 1930, p 355—370 and 395—399

(C Brockelmann)

AL-MATHĀNĪ, a term of uncertain meaning which occurs twice in the Kurʾān, namely in Sūra xv 87 "and we have brought thee seven of the *mathānī* and the noble Kurʾān", and Sūra xxxix 24 "Allāh sent down the most beautiful recital, a book which is in harmony with itself, *mathānī*, at which the skin of those who fear their Lord creeps"

The interpretation of the word is made more difficult by the fact that in the latter passage it seems to mean the Kurʾān itself, in the former, on the other hand, something similar to the Kurʾān

In Tabarī (*Tafsīr*, xiv 32 *sqq*, cf xxiii 124 *sq*) we find the following opinions

a Mūsā was given six out of the seven *mathānī*, two were lost when he broke the tablets The seven *mathānī* are like seven long sūras, i e ii–vii and a seventh, on the identity of which there is a difference of opinion, it is either Sūra x or viii and ix combined

b The seven *mathānī* mean the *Fātiha* which contains six verses These with the *basmala* in the beginning make seven It is called the *mathānī*, i e repetitions, because it is repeated in the salāt's at each *raʿka* This explanation is supported by quoting the term *mutashābih* ("in harmony with itself") which immediately precedes the word *mathānī* in Sūra xxxix 24

c The *mathānī* means the Kurʾān in general

Hadīth hesitates among these interpretations *a* (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ix, trad 1, cf Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 106) and *b* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra i, bāb 1, Sūra xv, bāb 3, *Fadāʾil al-Kurʾān*, bāb 9, Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xv, trad 3, 4, Nasāʾī *Iftitāh*, bāb 26)

Nor is there any unanimity in explaining the form *mathānī* Baidāwī on Sūra xxxix 24 gives as the singular *muthannan*, *muthnan* or *muthnin* Zamakhsharī gives *mathnā* The latter form is found in the Kurʾān (Sūra iv 3, xxxiv 45, xxxv 1) and in Hadīth (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 84, *Witr*, bāb 1, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 10, Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad 145—148, Tirmidhī, *Salāt*, bāb 206 etc) as a distributive, meaning "occurring in pairs" This meaning however would not be at all suitable for *mathānī*

Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p 57 *sq*) has already compared the Hebrew *mishnā* (Aram *mathnīthā*) According to him then *mathānī* would mean the Kurʾān itself as a whole His suggestion is approved by Noldeke-Schwally (*Geschichte des Qorāns*, p 114 *sq*) Attention might further be called to the fact that *mishnā* means a single law as well as the whole codex and from this could be derived the double meaning of *mathānī* (separate verses and the whole Kurʾān), a derivation which could be supported by the parallel double meaning of the word Kurʾān (single revelation and all revelation as a whole)

Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin 1861, i 463 *sq*) explains the word from the Hebrew *shānā* "to repeat" and the conception from Sūra xxxix 24, from which it would appear that the *mathānī* are part of the stories of punishment This view has been adopted by D H Muller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprunglichen Form*, i 43, 46, note 2, H Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii 77, N Rhodokanakis, in *W Z K M*, xxv 66 *sq*, J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p 26 *sq* This would imply that, at least when Sūra xv 87 was revealed, there were seven of these legends of punishment

Early evidence of the use of the word outside of the Kurʾān is found in a poem of Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (text and transl by Noldeke, in *Z D M G*, xviii 236 *sq*, cf thereon Bevan, in *J R A S*, 1921, p 584 *sq*, Horovitz, *op cit*) Here the *mathānī* are mentioned along with the *Miʾūna*, "the seven versed" along with the "hundred versed" sūras of the Kurʾān The exact content of these groups is unknown

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Goldziher (*Z D M G*, lxi 866 *sqq*) has called attention to a term *mathnāt*, which occurs in non-canonical tradition and is obviously a new formation modelled on the Hebrew *mishnā*

Bibliography In addition to the references in the article Th Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage z sem Sprachwissenschaft*, p 26, Fakhr al Dīn al Rāzī, *Mafātīh al Ghaib*, iv 110—112, al-Suyūtī, *Itkān*, p 124, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xviii 127 *sqq*, Lane, *Lexicon*, s v *mathnan*

(A J Wensinck)

MATHNAWĪ, a form of poetry in which each *bait* (verse) is normally a self-contained whole, grammatically complete and with the two *misrāʿs* (hemistichs) rhyming with one another and not — except accidentally — with the verses that follow In Persian, Turkish, Turkī and Urdu, poetic compositions of any length dealing with epic, romantic, ethical or didactic themes are of the mathnawī form, which probably originated in Persia Dawlatshāh (ed E G Browne, p 29) relates a tradition that in the time of the Dailamite ʿAdud al-Dawla (d 372 = 982) there was still to be found inscribed on the palace at Kasr-i Shīrīn a *bait* in "Old Persian" having the two hemistichs rhyming There would appear to be no pre Islāmic Pahlawī verse of the kind extant, and the mathnawī form may be merely a development or expansion of the *matlaʿ* of the *kasida* or *ghazal* However that may be, in the oldest fragments of Muslim Persian literature that have come down to us, there are examples of the mathnawī as of the other forms of verse Of these fragments the oldest belong to the work of Abū Shukūr of Balkh, who is said, probably on that account, to have invented the *genre* They appear to be parts of a series of narrative mathnawīs (cf Asadī's *Lughat i Furs*, ed P Horn, p 29 of the Persian, and also p 22 *sq*) Alongside of them are to be found sufficient portions of the work of Rūdagī (a later contemporary of his), to indicate that he also used the same form

for a translation of the *Kalīla u-Dimna* (Asadī, *op cit*, p 19 *sqq* and Dawlatshāh, p 31) There is also a couplet in the *hazadj* metre indicating an erotic mathnawī (Asadī, p 48, cf Ethé, *Rudagī*, in *N G W Gott*, 1873, p 735 *sqq*)

The first complete poem that has survived of the *genre* is the *Shāh-nāma*, begun by Dakīkī and completed by Firdawsī Actually, apart from the arrangement of the rhyme, it is not of the regular mathnawī type More characteristic is Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā*, composed in the same metre (the *mutakārib*) It begins with a number of introductory sections of which the first is in praise of Allāh and the rest are headed respectively, "In praise of the Prophet", "In description of the king of Islām", "On the cause of the revelation of the Sūra of Joseph", "On the reason for setting down this narrative", etc Then comes the story proper, commencing with the description of Jacob's working for Rachel and pursuing its way through the various episodes of Joseph's career until he becomes treasurer to the house of the vizier Poti phar, whose wife Zalīkhā falls in love with the youth When he refuses her advances she denounces him for wizardry to her husband Here is introduced the often illustrated incident of the Egyptian ladies who, at a feast to which they had been invited by Zalīkhā, catch sight of Joseph and are so astounded by his beauty that, without being conscious of what they are doing, they peel the skin from their hands instead of keeping their knives for their oranges Then comes the account of the imprisonment of Joseph, the events that lead to his release and exaltation, the confusion of the wicked brethren, the repentance of Zalīkhā, her rejuvenescence and marriage to Joseph, and the death of Jacob

A contemporary of Firdawsī's, ʿUnsurī, is credited with a mathnawī romance which has not survived *Wāmik u-Adhrā* What purports to be a version of the story is given in a Turkish mathnawī by Lāmiʿī (d 940 = 1533), according to which, Wāmik, a priest in a fire-temple, is described as having fallen in love with Adhrā, a maiden devoted to the cult They are forced to part, Adhrā going to the frozen regions of the North and Wāmik to the torrid lands of Ethiopia They pine away in separation, and dying are turned into stars The maiden becomes *Virgo* holding *Spica* in her hand, while Wāmik becomes *Arcturus* The story bears marks of being of Pahlawī origin, the Arabic names being only translations

Of mathnawīs which have survived there follow chronologically two works of Nāsir-i Khusraw, namely the *Rawshanāʾī-nāma* and the *Saʿādat-nāma*, two ethico-didactic poems written in the *hazadj* metre After them in time is usually put the romance of *Wīs u-Rāmīn*, ascribed by ʿAwfī to Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (d 440 = 1048), who is said to have derived it from the Pahlawī In the version which has come down to us (ed W N Lees, Calcutta 1865), we have a tale of passion unrestrained, which Pizzi (*Poesia Persiana*, II 88) characterizes as a vulgar product of India in Akbar's time In the tale, Wīs or Wīsa, the wife of Mōbad, king of Merw, has for her paramour her husband's brother Rām or Rāmīn, who proves unfaithful to her but in the end marries her after Mōbad has been killed If the work is genuine, it marks a step in the differentiation of the romantic from the epic mathnawī, being composed in the *hazadj* and not the *mutakārib* metre which had hitherto been common to both

The true creator of the romantic mathnawī is Nizāmī of Gandja, who, after beginning with the composition in that form entitled the *Makhzan al Asrār* — a collection of ethical and religious maxims interspersed with anecdotes, — wrote in succession the four other works which form his *Khamsa* or *Pandj Gandj* This quintet provided the model for all subsequent mathnawī writers Strictly speaking, only the second, third and fourth of them are romances, namely (a), the *Khusraw u-Shīrīn*, the story of the love of the Sāsānian prince Khusraw Parwīz for the Christian princess Shīrīn, who is also loved by the mighty builder and engineer Farhād, and of the latter's betrayal and tragic end, (b), the *Laylā u-Madjnūn*, the scene of which is laid in the desert and which shows the two lovers prevented from union by the hatred of their families for one another, and (c), the *Haft Paykar*, which has Bahrām Gūr as its hero and consists of seven tales, each told to the king by one of his seven favourite wives The *Sikandar nāma*, which forms the fifth of the group, treats of the life of Alexander in epic style, but with a mystical touch in the later passages which makes him a prophet as well as a conqueror Each of the five mathnawīs is prefaced by introductory sections similar to those in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*, with the necessary changes for the names of patrons etc and with a further section headed "On the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet" added in the works which follow the *Khusraw u-Shīrīn* Every imitator of Nizāmī's mathnawīs copies him in this respect as in others, so that even the xviiith century Judaeo-Persian *Danīāl nāma* (by Khwādja Bukhārī, British Museum, MS Or 4743) has this introductory matter, though Moses is substituted for Muhammad in the section devoted to the Prophet

The chief imitators of Nizāmī are, in Persian, Djāmī, in Turkish, Shaikhī with his *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and Fudūlī with his *Laylī u Madjnūn*, in Turkī, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī with his *Khamsa*, and in Urdu, Amīn with a *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā*, Tadjallī with a *Laylā u Madjnūn*, etc (cf G de Tassy, *Auteurs Hindoustanis*, Paris 1885, p 30 *sqq*)

The Mathnawī *par excellence*, i e the *Mathnawī-i Maʿnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is in a class by itself, being a long medley of the doctrines of Sūfīism combined with parables, allegories, and pseudo-historical narratives It is without the preliminary sections characteristic of the romantic mathnawī

Arabic contains no poems of the mathnawī *genre*, but poems having the two *miṣrāʿ*s of each *bait* rhyming together independently of the rest are known The arrangement of the rhyme is known as *muzdawidja* Short specimens translated from Persian are quoted in Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (iv 23), and there are longer compositions, metrical grammars, by Harīrī (*Mulhat al-Iʿrāb*) and by Muhammad b Mālik (*Kitāb al-Alfīya*) (for both of which see de Sacy, *Anthologie Arabe*, p 134 *sqq* and 145 *sqq* of the Arabic text and p 325, 356 of the notes)

The metres normally associated with the *mathnawī* form are those used by the masters in their compositions, *viz*, in addition to those mentioned above, the *sarīʿ* and *khafīf* used by Nizāmī for *Makhzan al-Asrār* and the *Haft Paykar* respectively,

and the *ramal*, used by Ḏjalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his *Maṯnawī* and by Farīd al Dīn ʿAṭṭār in the *Manṭik al-Ṭair*

Bibliography in addition to the works quoted above, cf Ethé, in the *Grundriss d iran Philologie*, F Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetic und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed W Pertsch, Gotha 1874, E J W Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, and Aga Ahmad ʿAlī, *Haft Āsmān* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Calcutta 1873

(R Levy)

MATHURĀ, name of a city, situated in 27° 31′ N latitude and 77° 41′ E longitude, and of a district of the same name in Northern India The site of the city was of importance in the Buddhist period, as is proved by the numerous inscriptions and pieces of sculpture that have been found there In later Hindu times it attained sanctity as the reputed birthplace of the god Krishṇa and the temples erected there acquired great wealth and reputation In 1017 Mahmūd of Ghazna [q v] captured the city and levelled all the temples to the ground, there is no further record of the city until the reign of Sikandar Lodī, Sultān of Dihlī (1488–1516), who destroyed all the temples that existed in Mathura in his time The city was practically refounded in the reign of Akbar, who visited the sacred site and gave permission for the erection of four temples, the ruins of which still exist In 1669 Awrangzēb destroyed a vast temple that had been built in the reign of Ḏjahāngīr and changed the name of Mathurā to Islāmābād, but like many other Muhammadan designations of towns in India it failed to displace the original name of the city With the break-up of the Mughal empire after the death of Awrangzēb, Mathurā suffered from the political confusion in which all the country between Dihlī and Āgra was involved, and at one time or an other passed into the hands of the Ḏjāts, the Marathas and finally the British

In the centre of the modern city stands the mosque erected in 1661 by ʿAbd al-Nabī Khān, who was appointed governor of Mathurā by Awrangzēb in 1659 The Muslims number 13,475 out of a total population of 56,666 (in 1921)

Bibliography Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, ii 44, iv 447, Vincent A Smith, *Akbar*, Oxford 1917, Index s v, F S Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir*, 3rd ed, Allāhābād 1883, D L Drake-Brockman, *Muttra* (*District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol vii, Allāhābād 1911), al-ʿUtbī, *Taʾrīḵh-i Yamīnī*, Muh Kāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832, Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Ṭabakāt i Akbarī*, ʿAbd al-Kādir Badāʾunī, *Muntaḵhab al-Tawārīḵh*, ed and transl by Ranking, Mullā ʿAbd al-Hamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādishāh Nāma*, Mustaʿidd Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, all in the *Bibl Indica* series of the As Soc of Bengal, Nawwāb Ibrāhīm Khān, *Taʾrīḵh-i Ibrāhīm Khān*, MSS and transl in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (T W Haig)

al-MATĪN [See Allāh]

MAṬLAʿ, Maṭāliʿ, ascension Two kinds of ascension are distinguished

1 Ascension in the sphaera recta R — Modern astronomers use the expression right ascension for all points of the heavens, the older astronomers only for those of the ecliptic The right ascension R is found by drawing a circle of declination which is perpendicular to the equator through the corresponding points of the ecliptic. With us and as a rule with the Arabs the right ascension of the arc of the equator is between the beginning of Aries, the vernal equinox and the intersection of the circle of declination with the equator Many Arab astronomers calculate the ascension R' from the beginning of Capricorn, then $R' + 90°$ gives the degree of the equator which rises at the time at which the corresponding degree of the ecliptic culminates The ascertainment of this is, according to Suter, of importance for certain astrological purposes If in fig 1, the point A or the star S of the ecliptic rises above the horizon, the point B of the equator, the poles of which are P and P', rises at the same time, γB is therefore the ascension of the arc γA of the ecliptic in the sphaera recta

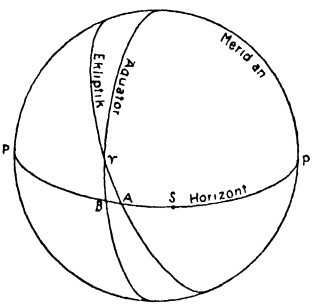

Fig 1

One also talks of the ascension of a sign of the zodiac, it is the arc of the equator which rises contemporaneously with the 30° of this sign The longitude of the ascension generally varies with the different signs, but from time to time is the same for those which are similarly situated at the beginning of Aries or of Libra, and for those which are at the beginning of Capricorn or of Cancer

The *maṭāliʿ* in the sphaera recta are therefore so important (for astronomical purposes also) because in stereographic projection they give the curves corresponding to the degrees of the ecliptic, according to which the ecliptic, which is projected as a circle, is to be divided on the astrolabe

Tables for the right ascensions have been prepared by numerous Muslim scholars, e g by Muhammad b Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī etc

If the point being observed does not lie on the ecliptic, the *maṭāliʿ* are those of the degrees of the equator, which run at the same time as the star through the centre of the heavens i e the upper meridian (*tatawassaṭ*), quite in keeping with the modern definition

The ascension in the sphaera recta is called *maṭāliʿ* (often with the addition of *al-burūḏj* = the sign of the zodiac) *fi ʾl-Falak al-mustakīm* (M in the sphaera recta), *M li ʾl-Burūḏj fī Khaṭṭ al-Istiwāʾ*, *M al-Burūḏj bi-Khaṭṭ al Istiwāʾ*, *M fī Mawḍiʿ Khaṭṭ al-Istiwāʾ*, *M al-Kura al-mustakīma*, *M al-Kura al muntaṣiba* or *fi ʾl-Kura* etc, *M al-istiwāʾīya* and *al-falakiya*

If one calculates from the degree of Capricorn, the right ascension is also called *maṭāliʿ al kubba* (i e *Kubbat al-Ard*, "M of the dome", namely of the dome of the earth)

2 The ascensio obliqua (fig 2) of a point A in the ecliptic at any point is the curve $\gamma\ B$ of the equator the poles of which are P and P', between the beginning of Aries and the horizon

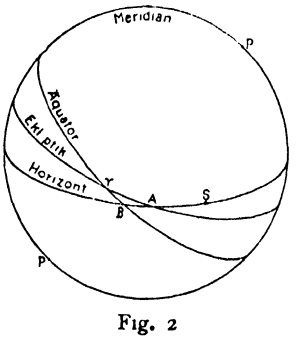

Fig. 2

at the moment in which this point rises (for any particular star S substitute "star" for "point of the ecliptic", it is often also made to begin at Capricorn)

Tables for the ascensio obliqua can only be given for particular places as they differ from place to place The ascensio obliqua however can easily be calculated from the ascensio recta

The ascensio obliqua is called *Matāliʿ al-Balad*, *M al-Buldān*, *M al Iklim* (of the clime), *M fi 'l-Balad*, *M fi 'l-Iklim*, *M al baladiya*, *M al-ufkīya*, *M fi 'l Afluk al mā'ila*, *M al-Burūdj fi 'l-Kura al mā'ila*, *M al-Shuruk* We may also note the terms *M al Nazir* and *M al-Wakt*

Ascensio recta might perhaps be translated direct or spherical ascension and ascensio obliqua by local ascension

Arab astronomers, following Ptolemy, have proposed the following formulae for the ascensio obliqua If ε is the plane of the ecliptic, δ the declination of the point A on the ecliptic, a_1 its right ascension and r the number of parts (usually 60) into which the radius is divided (with the later Arabs and modern astronomers $r = l$) then according to al Khʷārizmī and al-Battānī, we have

$$\sin a_1 = \frac{\sin \delta}{\cos \delta} \frac{\cos \varepsilon}{\sin \varepsilon} r = \text{tg ctg}$$

The ascensio obliqua a_2 is for the latitude ϕ

$a_2 =$ ascensio recta $(a_1) +$ arc $(\sin \frac{\sin \phi}{\cos \phi} \frac{\sin \delta}{\cos \delta}) =$

$a_1 \pm \arcsin (\text{tg } \phi \text{ tg } \delta)$ At the same time it is to be observed that al-Khʷārizmī (d about 850) and al-Battānī, who published his book before 900, give the formula with sine and cosine, while Habash al Hāsib, who made his observations between 825 and 835, uses tangents and cotangents

To ascertain the ascension, the above formulae are used if tables are not available But one can also use one of the many apparatus which are made for the mechanical solution of such problems The simplest of these is the armillary sphere (see Nolte quoted in KURA) and the globe with the arm (see Schnell quoted in KURA) as in both cases the heavens can be used as the largest circles There are also the monographic methods, in which projections of the sphere of heavens are used, as in the astrolabe (s J Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Khʷārizmī*, *Abhandl zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch* etc, Heft III, 1922), the universal plane, the Zarkālī plane (see an article to be published later by Mittelberger), Werner's meteoroscope (*Joannis Verneri de Meteoroscopis*, publ by J Würschmidt, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch d Mathematik*, Heft XXIV/II, 1913) and the *mu kanṭara* quadrants. On the sine quadrants, the system of lines which enable the sine and cosine to be read off, the above formulae can be obtained with the help of the latter (on the quadrants see P Schmalzl, *Zur Geschichte des Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929)

Along with the matāliʿ, the *maghārib* also were ascertained If one is observing, not the rising but the setting points, the corresponding curves are called *maghārib* (a table for the latter is given by al-Bīrūnī in the Masʿūdic Canon)

Addendum Among the Greeks and Arabs and European astronomers of the XIIIth–XVIth century σφαῖρα means 1 the globe or geometrical sphere, 2 the space between two surfaces of two concentric spheres, a shell of a sphere, 3 the circle which corresponds to the assumed path of a heavenly body, i e the ecliptic, the epicyclus, the eccentric circles – The Arabic *kura* has only the first meaning, the word *falak* the second and third, the second in the theory of Ibn al-Haitham (see al-Kharakī) The sphaera recta, *al-falak al mustakīm* is the sphere of the heavens, i e for the inhabitants of the equator, in the Latin translation of the tables of al-Khʷārizmī (table 59) it is said of the ascension in the sphaera recta "horoscopus secundum terram Arin" (Arin is a corruption of Azin-Udjain = Ujjayinī in Sanskrit, which was erroneously taken to be the *kubbat al-ard*, dome of the earth, the centre of the equator and of the inhabited world) At all places which do not lie on the equator, there is a sphaera obliqua so that these are innumerable

Bibliography Ptolemy, *Almagest*, ed Heiberg, *passim*, *al-Battānī Opus astronomicum* etc, ed C A Nallino, H Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed Ibn Mūsā al Khʷārizmī* etc [cf also AL-KHʷĀRIZMĪ] and numerous works on astronomy — (I am much indebted to Prof Nallino for a number of suggestions) (E WIEDEMANN)

MAṬMĀṬA, the name of a Berber tribe, belonging to the large family of the Butr, and brethren of the Matghara, Kūmya, Lamāya, Saddīna, Madyūna, Maghīla, etc They formed with them the ethnic group of the Banū Fātin who, like all the other Butr, seem to have had their original home in Tripolitania

Our chief source of information about the Matmāta are al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn As with the majority of the Butr Berbers, three principal divisions can be distinguished

1 Elements settled in the eastern Maghrib not far from their original home these are the modern Matmāṭa in Southern Tunisia, some 30 miles S W of Gābes

2 Elements which have settled in the Central Maghrib first in the plateaus of the Sersū, in the N E of Mindās, then having been driven out of this territory by the Zanāta Banū Tūdjīn, they sought refuge in the mountainous massif of of Wānsharīs (the modern Ouarsénis)

3 Elements which have migrated as far as Morocco In the fourth (tenth) century we find them in the country of the modern Kabdāna (to the S E of Melilla) and in the upper valley of the Moluya at Amaskūr Ibn Khaldūn also mentions a little isolated group settled on the mountain

which bears their name between Fās and Ṣufrūy, here must also have been some of them in the ouloir of Taza for a place between Fās and Taza till bears their name Finally we owe to al-Idrīsī he record of the most western body the Matmāṭa of Tāmasnā

The Matmāta played a fairly important part in he early centuries of Islām Those of the central Maghrib had adopted Abādī doctrines, being conquered by the Sanhādja and Zanāta, many of them migrated to Spain The most famous member of his people was Sābik b Sulaimān, the famous Berber geneaologist, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldūn

Bibliography al Bakrī and al-Idrīsī, *Indices*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbères*, transl de Slane, I 246—248 (G S COLIN)

MATN (A), a term with different meanings (cf the lexica, s v), of which that of text, especially that of the text of a tradition, deserves to be mentioned here

Matn occurs in the sense of text already in pre-Islāmic poetry and is used in this sense in Arabic literature up to the present day It denotes especially the text of a book as distinguished from its oral explanation or its written or printed commentary

In connection with traditions matn denotes the contents as distinguished from the chain of traditionists who handed it down (*isnād*)

Bibliography Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II 6 *sqq* (A J WENSINCK)

MATRAH, a town on the Gulf of ʿOmān, two miles west of Masḳat on the east coast of Arabia The town, which has about 14,000 inhabitants, is the starting point for caravan traffic into the interior of Arabia and, next to Maskat, the most important commercial centre in ʿOmān The town is beautifully situated in fertile surroundings, has a good harbour, easily entered but little sheltered, from which Maskat can be reached in an hour by boat The sultāns of ʿOmān used to have wharves for shipbuilding here and the textile industry was not unimportant (spinning and weaving) A fort built by the Portuguese still stands as a memorial of their rule in ʿOmān According to Wellsted, the town used to have 20,000 inhabitants

Bibliography C Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p 297, C Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, VIII/1, Berlin 1846, p 518—520, A Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p 106, Th Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p 68 *sq*, *Muscat Report for the year 1912—1913 on the Trade of Muscat Ed at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade*, London 1913, p 3 *sq* (N⁰ 5198 *Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports*) (A GROHMANN)

MĀTURĪDĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B MUḤAMMAD B MAḤMŪD AL ḤANAFĪ AL MUTAKALLIM AL-MĀTURĪDĪ AL-SAMARḲANDĪ is the titular head of the Māturīdite School of theology which, with the Ashʿarite School, form orthodox Sunnite Islām The two Schools are equally orthodox, but there has always been a tendency to suppress al-Māturīdī's name and to put al-Ashʿarī forward as the champion of Islām against all heretics except in Transoxiana (*Mā warāʾ al-Nahr*) where his School has been, and is, the dominant, representing the views of *ahl al-sunna wa ʾl-ǧamāʿa* Next to nothing is known of al Māturīdī's life, but he died at Samarkand in 333 (944), a contemporary of al-Ashʿarī who died a little earlier about 330 (941), while al Ṭaḥāwī [q v], another contemporary, died in Egypt in 331 All three represented the movement, which must have been very widely spread, to defend orthodox Islām by the same weapons of logical argument with which the Muʿtazilites had attacked it Māturīd or Māturīt is a locality (*mahall*, *karya*) in Samarḳand Its geographical reality and the identity of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī are assured by the article Māturītī in the *Ansāb* of al-Samʿānī (fol 498b, l 4, cf also Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, *GMS*, p 90, notes 9 and 10, p 267, note 5, and the Russian references there) The books of Ḥanafite *Ṭabakāt* give the names of his teachers, but to us they are names only (see Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā [ed Flugel, N⁰ 173] and Flugel's *Hanefiten*, p 274, 293, 295, 298, 313) The Saiyid Murtaḍā in his little treatise on Māturīdī, inserted in his commentary on the *Iḥyāʾ* (II 5—14), complains that he has found only two biographies and that both are short (*ʿala ʾl ikhtiṣār*) Even Yāḳūt in his *Muʿǧam* has no mention either of him or of Māturīd Ibn Khaldūn in his sketch of the origin and history of *Kalām* (*Mukaddima*, transl de Slane, III 55 *sqq*, ed Quatremere, III 38 *sqq*) has no place for him and speaks only of Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarites For Ibn Ḥazm (d 456 = 1064, *Fiṣal*, ed Cairo 1320, II 111) the orthodox opponent of al-Ashʿarī is Abū Ḥanīfa and he has no mention of al-Māturīdī Similarly Shahrastānī (d 548 = 1153, *Milal*, transl Haarbrucker, I, p 159, text on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, I 188) gives the views of Abū Ḥanīfa but does not mention Māturīdī Abū Ḥanīfa, he says, inclined to the Murdjiʾites and his followers were even called the Murdjiʾites of the Sunna, meaning, apparently, a form of Murdjiʾism consistent with orthodoxy Similarly the Saiyid Murtaḍā (*loc cit*, p 13 foot) says that the Muʿtazilites claimed Abū Ḥanīfa for themselves and rejected his authorship of one book because it was too flatly against their positions The truth evidently was that Abū Ḥanīfa (d 150 = 767) was the first to adopt the methods of the Muʿtazilites and apply argument to the foundation of the Faith Also, from the beginning, his standing was so high that it was simply impossible to call him a heretic This status continued in the Māturidite School

All this goes back to the time before *kalām* had become a technical term and when *fikh* meant both theology and canon law, with the difference that theology was called "the greater *fikh*" (*al-fikh al-akbar*, see article KALĀM above, vol II, p 672*b*) That was the title of one of Abū Ḥanīfa's books and we have a commentary on it ascribed to Māturīdī (Ḥaidarābād 1321), the only writing assertedly by him apparently in print This does not occur in the two exactly similar lists which we have of his books (Saiyid Murtaḍā, p 5, Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, p 43) 1 *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, 2 *Kitāb al-Makālāt*, 3 *Kitāb Radd Awāʾil al-Adilla li ʾl Kaʿbī*, 4 *Kitāb Bayān Wahm al-Muʿtazila*, 5 *Kitāb Taʾwīlāt al Kurʾān* Of these only the last is given by Brockelmann, I, p 195, 4, the biographers praise it highly The others suggest only anti-Muʿtazilite polemic (for al Kaʿbī see Horten, *Philosophische Systeme*, by index) As a matter of fact it is only in one MS of the com-

mentary on the Fiḳh Akbar that this work is ascribed to al Māturīdī

How the theological school of Abū Ḥanīfa came to be known as that of al Māturīdī we do not know The epithet *al-mutakallim*, applied to al Māturīdī, may mean that he was the theologian of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa as opposed to those who were canon lawyers (*fukahā'*) But the two tendencies to accept him and to suppress him still continue The *ʿAḳā'id* of one of his followers, al-Nasafī, fortified with the commentary of al-Taftāzānī, an Aš̲ʿarite, is the theological text-book of the last two years of the Azhar course and is a final authority in Egypt Yet when Muhammad ʿAbdū, the late Chief Muftī of Egypt, a regenerator and reformer of Islām, put his views of the development of Muslim theology and of its final position into a course of lectures at Beirūt (*Risālat al-tawhīd Expose de la religion musulmane, traduite de l'Arabe* by B Michel and Moustapha ʿAbdel Razik, Paris 1925) he showed himself a Māturīdite with no mention of al-Māturīdī

The differences between the two Schools are commonly reckoned as thirteen in number, six, a difference in idea (*maʿnawī*) and seven in expression (*lafẓī*) (for them in detail see the Saiyid Murtadā, p 8 *sqq* and Abū ʿUd̲hba, *al-Rawda al-bahiya*, Haidarābād 1904) They have been studied by Goldziher in his *Vorlesungen*, p 110 *sqq*, and by Horten in his *Philosophische Systeme*, p 531 *sqq* It is frequently said that these points of difference are slight, but that is not so The moral position of Abū Ḥanīfa is as plain in them as in his canon law Al-Aš̲ʿarī was concerned only to maintain the absoluteness of Allāh's will, that he could do anything, and that a thing was "good" because he willed it Future rewards and punishments, therefore, had no "moral" basis But Abū Ḥanīfa, and after him al-Māturīdī and his School, recognizes that man possesses free will (*iḵẖtiyārī*) actions for which he is rewarded and punished No explanation is attempted of this fundamental antinomy of predestination and free-will, they are stated side by side as equal, if contradictory, facts Similarly, while Abū Ḥanīfa admits that evil deeds are by the will (*irāda*) of Allāh — otherwise they could not happen — he cannot bring himself to say that they are by the "good pleasure" (*riḍwān*) of Allāh Further, the Māturīdite School admits the doctrine of "assurance of salvation" and the Aš̲ʿarite does not A Māturīdite may say, "I am a believer, assuredly" (*ḥaḳḳan*), but an Aš̲ʿarite must say, "I am a believer if Allāh wills" Because, then, of this essential difference in human and moral feeling the School of al-Māturīdī has steadily penetrated the School of al-Aš̲ʿarī and even the professed Aš̲ʿarite at the present time is, to a greater or less extent, a Māturīdite

Bibliography has been given in the article But cf article KALĀM throughout

(D B MACDONALD)

AL-MĀʿŪN, title of Sūra cvii taken from Vs 7 where *māʿūn* denotes the *zakāt*

MAWĀLĪYĀ, MAWWĀL, means a kind of popular song Tradition says that this genre of poetry was invented by the people of Wāsiṭ, but that it was the people of Baghdād who after improving it made it fashionable It is said that when Hārūn al-Rashīd had the most prominent Barmecides massacred, he forbade for lamentations them One of the slaves of D̲jaʿfar, so well-known from the *Arabian Nights*, composed in everyday language an elegy on her old master and at the end of each strophe she said *yā mawālīyā* "O my masters!" Whence the name of this kind of poetry

From the point of view of metre, the mawwāl, a popular form from *mawālīyā* or *mawālīyā*, is a song in the *basīṭ* metre (first *ʿarūd*) of which the last verse of each hemistich is *fāʿilun, fiʿlun* or *fiʿlān*

In its primitive form, the mawwāl consisted of strophes, each of four hemistichs rhyming with one another Later it was somewhat altered the strophe contained five hemistichs in which the first, second, third and fifth, but not the fourth rhymed together or it contained seven hemistichs of which the first, second, third and seventh had the same rhyme and the fourth, fifth and sixth rhymed together

The red mawwāl is used for war-songs while the green mawwāl is used for love-songs In all cases the mawwāl must be in the popular dialect and make use of alliteration

Bibliography Besides the treatises on prosody quoted in the article ʿARŪḌ and by Fleischer, *Z D M G*, VII 365 *sq* and *Description de l'Egypte*[2] (Paris 1822, XIV 306, XVIII, part I, 75 *sqq*) quoted by Dozy, *Suppl aux dict*, II 844, we may mention al-K̲hafād̲jī, *Shifā' al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1320, p 9, Bistānī, *Muḥīṭ al Muḥīṭ*, Beirūt 1870, p 2011 (sub *m-w l*) and 2289 (sub *w-l y*), Ibn K̲haldūn, *Proleg*, III 451 *sqq*, Muhammad Talʿat, *Ghāyat al-Arab fī Sinā'āt Shiʿr al-ʿArab*[2], Cairo 1316, p 101, Muhammad al-Damanhūrī, *Hāshiya ʿala 'l-Kāfī*, Cairo 1316, p 36, al Muḥibbī, *K̲hulāsat al Āṯār*, Cairo 1284, I 109, Saiyid Amīn, *Bulbul al Afrāḥ wa-Muzīl al Atrāḥ fī 'l-Mawāwīl al-k̲hudr wa 'l-humr al-Milāḥ*, Cairo 1316, p 4 *sqq*, D̲jabrān Mīk̲hā'īl Fūtiya, *al-Bast al ṣ̲hāfī*, Beirūt 1890, p 105, al-Abs̲hīhī, *al Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, II 258, 271, L Cheikho, *ʿIlm al-Adab*[6], Beirūt 1908, I 429, ʿAbd al-Hādī Nad̲jā al-Abyārī, *Suʿūd al-Matāliʿ li-Suʿūd al-Mutāliʿ*, Būlāḳ 1283, I 283, Jules David, *Les Maouals*, Caen 1864, Hammer Purgstall, *Notice sur les Mowaschschahat*, etc, *J A*, Aug 1859, p 155 *sqq*, Ahmad al Hās̲himī, *Mīzān al-D̲hahab fī Ṣināʿat Shiʿr al-ʿArab*, Cairo n d, p 140, Muhammad Bey Diyāb, *Taʾrīk̲h Ādāb al-Lug̲hat al-ʿarabīya*, Cairo n d, p 149, al D̲jabartī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Āṯār fi 'l Tarād̲j̲im wa 'l-Aḵẖbār*, Būlāḳ n d, I 293

(MOH BENCHENEB)

MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR (Arab) "that which (lies) beyond the river", the name for the lands conquered by the Arabs and subjected to Islām north of the Amū-Daryā [q v] The frontiers of Mā warā' al-Nahr on north and east were where the power of Islām ceased and depended on political conditions, cf the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warā' al-Nahr in G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 433 *sq*, W Barthold, *Turkestan (G M S*, N S, V, London 1928), p 64 *sqq* The phrase Mā warā' al-Nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian As late as the ninth (XVth) century, Ḥāfiẓ I Abrū [q v] devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warā' al Nahr in his geographical work Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warā' al-Nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (Bābur, *G M S*, I, Index, the Özbeg Muh Sālih, *Srav Knižka Samark Oblasti*, V 240 *et pass*)

although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river (W BARTHOLD)

AL MĀWARDĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN ʿALĪ B MUHAMMAD B HABĪB, a Shāfiʿī fakīh, who on the conclusion of his studies taught in Basra and Baghdād and after holding the office of chief kādi at Ustuwā near Nīsābūr, settled permanently in Baghdād Here he often acted for the caliph al-Kādir (381—422 = 991—1031) in his negotiations with the Būyids, who then ruled al-ʿIrāk, when the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla in 429 (1037—1038) asked the caliph al-Muktadī to grant him the title of shahānshāh (*malik al mulūk*), he expressed his objections in a *fatwā* and thus earned the enmity of the Būyid He died an 30th Rabīʿ I 450 (May 27, 1058) at the age of 86

His works are said to have been collected and edited only after his death by one of his pupils The following have survived 1 *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān* or *Kitāb al-Nukat wa 'l-ʿUyūn*, MSS in Rampur (s *Journ As Soc Bengal*, N S, II, xli), Fez (*Fihrist Masdjid al-Karawīyin*, N⁰ 215) and Stambul (Kilič ʿAlī, N⁰ 90), 2 *K al-Hāwī al kabīr fi 'l-Furūʿ*, MSS in the Brit Museum Or 5828, s Ellis and Edwards, *Descr List*, p 22, Cairo (*Fihrist*, III 215) and Stambul (Sulaimānīya, N⁰ 436), 3 his most celebrated work, dealing with constitutional law in purely theoretical fashion, disregarding the political conditions of the time (s A v Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, I 396, M Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Turkei*, p 242), entitled *K al-Ahkām al-Sultānīya*, *Constitutiones politicae*, ed R Enger, Bonn 1853, pr Cairo 1298, 1324, 1327 Translations *Publiek en administratief regt van den Islam met een in leiding over de toepasselykheid van dat regt in Nederlandsch-Indie* door S Keizer, 's-Gravenhage 1862, *Les constitutions politiques, trad et commentees d'apres les sources orientales* par le compte L Ostorog, Paris 1900—1906, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou regles de droit public et administratif trad et comm* par F Fagnan, Algiers 1915, cf H F Amedroz, *The Mazalim jurisdiction*, *JRAS*, 1911, p 635—674, 4 *K Nasīhat al-Mulūk*, MS in Paris, de Slane, N⁰ 2447, 3, 5 *K Tashīl al Nazar wa Taʿdjīl al-Zafar*, on politics and the art of government, MS in Gotha, s Pertsch, *Verz*, N⁰ 1872, 6 *K Kawānīn al-Wizāra*, Ms in Vienna, Consularakademie, Krafft, p 475, entitled *Kānūn al Wazīr wa-Siyāsat al-Mulk*, MS formerly in Landberg's possession, s Goldziher, *Abh zur Philologie*, II, note p 14 (the *K al Wizāra* in Stambul, Top Kapu 2405, 3 is however, according to Rescher, *ROS*, IV 710 perhaps only a part of N⁰ 4), 7 *K aʿlām al-Nubūwa*, MS in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 2527, Cairo, *Fihrist*, I 270, pr Cairo 1319, 1330 (cf Diez, *Denkwurdigkeiten von Asien*, II 382, Schreiner, in *Kohuts Semitic Studies*, p 502—513), 8 *K Adab al-Kādī*, MS in Stambul, Sulaimānīya, N⁰ 381, 9 *K al-Amthāl wa 'l-Hikam*, a collection of 300 traditions, 300 wise sayings and 300 verses in 10 *fasl* to 30 proverbs in Leyden, s *Catalogus*, I, N⁰ 382, 10 *K* (*al-Bughya al-ʿulyā fī*) *Ādāb* (*Adab*) *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*, a work still much read, pr Stambul 1299, Cairo 1309, 1310, 1315, 1327, 1328, 1339, on the margin of al-Āmulī's *Kashkūl*, Cairo 1316, in India 1315 Uwais Wafāʾ b Dāwūd al-Arzandjānī Khānzāde wrote a commentary entitled *Minhādj al-Yakīn*, pr Stambul 1328 A synopsis was prepared by Ibn Liyūn a teacher of the vizier Lisān al-Dīn b al-Khatīb (d 776 = 1376), Madrid, N⁰ 427 An anonymous synopsis entitled *K Maʿrifat al-Fadāʾil* is in the Escurial, s Derenbourg, II 748

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(C BROCKELMANN)

MAWDŪD, ABU 'L-FATH, SHIHĀB AL DAWLA WA-KUTB AL-MILLA, ruler of Ghazna, was born about 412 (1021—1022) In Muharram 432 (September 1040) he was appointed to the government of Balkh with Khwādja Abū Nasr Ahmad b Muhammad as wazir A few months later, his father Sultān Masʿūd was deposed and Muhammad, son of Sultan Mahmūd, was raised to the throne On learning news of this, Mawdūd left Balkh, took possession of Ghazna, and spent the winter in making preparations for a struggle for the throne with Muhammad At the end of the winter, Muhammad marched from India to take Ghazna and Mawdūd advanced to meet him A fierce battle took place on 3rd Shaʿbān, 432 (April 6, 1041) near Dunpūr or Dīnawar (modern Ḥathābād on the Peshāwar Kābul route) in which Mawdūd was victorious Muhammad, all his sons except ʿAbd al Rahim, Sulaimān b Yūsuf, and Nūshtigīn of Balkh were taken prisoners and executed Mawdūd returned to Ghazna in triumph, but he was not yet the undisputed master of the kingdom His brother Madjdūd, governor of Multan, was advancing on Ghazna by way of Lahore, but three days after his arrival at Lahore, he died mysteriously on the morning of 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 432 (August 11, 1041)

In 435 (1043—1044) Sukhpāl, alias Nawāsa Shāh, son of Djaipāl of the Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waihand, formed a confederacy with some Hindū Rādjās and laid siege to Lahore Sukhpal was killed in action, and after his death the Rādjās quarrelled among themselves, raised the siege and retired to their respective kingdoms The Muslims followed them in pursuit and laid siege to the fort of Sonipat where one of the confederates named Dipāl Haryāna had taken refuge The fort was captured and given up to plunder but Dīpāl managed to escape About 5,000 Muslims who had been imprisoned in the fort were released The victors next attacked another Rādja, called Tābat Bālrī by Ibn al Athīr, took his fort and returned to Lahore with immense booty These victories restored for some time the waning prestige of the Ghaznawids in Upper India

It was the ambition of Mawdūd to restore the greatness of his empire by conquering the provinces which his father had lost to the Saldjuks In Muharram 435 (August 1043) he attacked Khurāsān but was defeated by Alp Arslān b Dāwūd In the following month the Ghaznawid troops retrieved their reputation by inflicting a defeat on the Saldjuks near Bust, but in spite of this reverse they became so powerful that Mawdūd found it difficult to overcome them single-handed After protracted negotiations, he secured the assistance of the ruler of Isfahān and the Khān of Turkistān, and marched towards Balkh to join forces with the Khān of Turkistān, but he had not gone far

when he was taken ill with colic and was forced to return to Ghazna where he died on 20th Radjab, 441 (December 18, 1049), at the age of 29 years

Mawdūd was a good ruler and was famous for his generosity *Paikān-i Mawdūdī* (the Arrow of Mawdūd) is called after him It is stated that in his wars he used golden arrows so that if the victim was killed, the gold in the arrow would pay for his funeral, and if he was only wounded, it would defray the expenses of his treatment He was a skilful general, and his premature death put an end to all hopes of crushing the power of the Saldjuks

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(M Nazim)

MAWDŪD b 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, Kuṭb al-Dīn al A'radj, lord of al-Mawṣil After the death at the end of Djumādā II 544 (Nov 1149) of his elder brother Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī I [q v], Mawdūd was recognised as lord of al Mawṣil through the influence of the powerful vizier al-Djawād [q v] and of the commander in chief of the army Zain al-Dīn 'Alī A number of emirs negotiated with the third brother, Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd, who lived in Halab, and seized the town of Sindjār, and Mawdūd began preparations for war The vizier however, who feared not only Saladin but also the Franks, succeeded in dissuading him, whereupon Nūr al-Dīn handed over Sindjār to his brother and was given Hims and al Rahba instead On other questions also Mawdūd followed his vizier's advice, al-Djawād however fell into disgrace and in 558 (1163) he was thrown into prison and replaced by Zain al-Dīn Kūčik In the next year Mawdūd joined forces with his brother Nūr al-Dīn in a war against the Franks, and in Ramadān (Sept 1164) the latter defeated the Christian forces and stormed Kal at Hārim According to the most usual statement, Mawdūd died on 22nd Dhu 'l Hidjdja 565 (Sept 6, 1170) aged about forty He is described by the Oriental historians as a just and benevolent ruler He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī II

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(K V Zetterstéen)

MAWḲIF (a), *nomen loci* from *w-k f* "to stand" Of the technical meanings of the term two may be mentioned here

a the place where the *wukūf* [q v] is held during the pilgrimage, viz 'Arafāt [q v] and Muzdalifa [q v] or Djam'. In well known traditions Muḥammad declares that all 'Arafāt and that all Muzdalifa is mawḳif (Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, trad 149, Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 56b, 64 etc, cf *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v *'Arafa*) Snouck Hurgronje (*Het mekkaansche feest*, p 150 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, i 99) has conjectured that these traditions were intended to deprive the hills of 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa of their sacred character, which they doubtless possessed in pre-Islāmic times

b the place where on the day of resurrection several scenes of the last judgment will take place, cf al Ghazālī, *al Durra al-Fākhira*, ed Gautier, p 577, 683, 12, 813, cf *Kitāb Ahwāl al-Kiyāma*, ed M Wolff, p 65 *sqq*

(A J Wensinck)

MAWLĀ (a), a term with different meanings (cf *Lisān al-Arab*, xx 289 *sqq*) of which the following may be mentioned

a Tutor, trustee, helper In this sense the word is used in the Kur'ān, Sūra xlvii 12 "God is the mawlā of the faithful, the unbelievers have no mawlā" (cf sūra iii 143, vi 62, viii 41, ix 51, xxii 78, lxvi 2) In the same sense mawlā is used in the Shi'ite tradition, in which Muhammad calls 'Alī the mawlā of those whose mawlā he is himself According to the author of the *Lisān*, mawlā has the sense of *walī* in this tradition, which is connected with Ghadīr al-Khumm [q v, cf C van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat*, p 18, 19] It may be observed that it occurs also in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b Hanbal (i 84, 118, 119, 152, 330 *sq*, iv 281 etc)

b Lord In the Kur'ān it is in this sense (which is synonymous with that of *saiyid*) applied to Allāh (sūra ii 286, cf vi 62, x 31), who is often called *Mawlānā* "our Lord" in Arabic literature Precisely for this reason in Tradition the slave is prohibited from calling his lord mawlā (Bukhārī, *Diihād*, bāb 165, Muslim, *Alfāẓ*, trad 15, 16)

It is not in contradiction to this prohibition that Tradition frequently uses mawlā in the sense of "lord of a slave", e g in the well known *hadīth* "Three categories of people will receive twofold reward and the slave who fulfils his duty in regard to Allāh as well as to his lords" (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 31, Muslim, *Aimān*, trad 45)

Compositions of mawlā and suffixes are frequently used as titles in several parts of the Muslim world, e g *mawlāy(a)* (*moulāy*), "my Lord" (especially in North Africa and in connection with saints), *mawlawī* (*mollā*), "Lordship" (especially in India and in connection with scholars or saints)

The term mawlā is also applied to the former lord (patron) in his relation to his freeman, e g in the tradition "Who clings to a (new) patron without the permission of his (legal) mawlā, on him rests the curse of Allāh" (Bukhārī, *Diizya*, bāb 17, Muslim, *'Itk*, trad 18, 19)

c Freed slave, e g in the tradition "the mawlā counts as the people to whom he belongs" (Bukhārī, *Farā'id*, bāb 24, etc) In this sense mawlā, or rather the plural *mawāli*, is frequently used in Arabic literature The evolution of the idea as well as the position and the aspirations of the *mawālī* have been expounded by von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii 154) and by Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i 104 *sqq*), by the latter especially in connection with the *shu'ūbiya* [q v] On the position of the

mawālī in the law of inheritance law of the art MĪRĀTH

Bibliography in the article, also Doutte in *RHR*, xli 30 *sqq*, Littmann, in *NGW*, 1916, p 102 (A J WENSINCK)

MAWLAWĪ [See MAWLĀ]

MAWLAWĪYA (Turkish pronunciation Mewlewīya), Order of Derwishes called by Europeans Dancing or Whirling Derwishes

1 Origin of the Order Its name is derived from *mawlānā* ("our master"), a title given *par excellence* to Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (e g by the Turkish writers Sa'd al Dīn and Pečewī, cited below), of which the Persian equivalent was according to the *Manākib al-'Ārifīn* (translated by Huart as *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918—1922) bestowed on Djalāl al-Dīn [q v] by his father, with whom this hagiography commences According to the same authority (i 162), his adherents adopted the name *Mewlewī*, and indeed copyists of the *Mathnawī* of the years 687 and 706 A H thus designate themselves (Nicholson's ed, i 7 and iii 11), yet Ibn Battūta, who visited Konia after the latter date, asserts that they were styled Djalālīya, and the word Mawlawī seems to be used occasionally in the *Manākib* in the sense of "scholar", which it ordinarily has in India This work asserts that one Badr al-Dīn Guhartāsh (a historical personage, since he is mentioned in Ibn Bibi's chronicle of the Seldjūks of Asia Minor) built a college at Konia for the children of Djalāl al Dīn's father, which was inherited by Djalāl al-Dīn The *Manākib* (by Shams al-Dīn Ahmad al-Aflākī, 718–754 A H), however, so seems with anachronisms and extravagances that its statements must be used with great caution

The European name is taken from the ritual of the *dhikr*, in which the derwishes revolve, using the right foot as a pivot, to the tune of various instruments Djalāl al-Dīn is said to have claimed that he had elevated the practice, but denied that it was an innovation (*Manākib*, ii 79) Certainly "dancing" (*rakṣ*) is mentioned as a Sūfī practice in works earlier by some centuries than Djalāl al-Dīn's time, often with severe condemnation The historian Sakhāwī (*al Tibr al-Masbūk*, p 220) in recording an edict issued in 852 against the practice in Egypt cites verses by one of "the earliest Sayyids" in which the Sūfīs who perform it are compared to apes and are bitterly reproached

Dancing is indeed a natural accompaniment of music (*Aghānī*, x 121) or poetry (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v 131, ii), but the whirling of the derwishes would seem to have for its purpose the production of vertigo rather than the presentation of an idea in rhythm Of the various reasons which have been assigned for it the most interesting is that recorded in the *Manākib* (i 190) as the excuse of Djalāl al-Dīn, viz that it was a concession to the pleasure-loving inhabitants of Asia Minor, who might thereby be drawn to the true faith The theory that the whirling was a reproduction of the motions of the celestial bodies is found in his *Mathnawī* (ed Nicholson, iv 734), and the same view is offered in the much earlier *Risāla* of Ibn Tufail (Cairo 1922, p 75), where its hypnotic effect is emphasized The saints in the *Manākib* are represented as able to maintain the exercise for many days and nights continuously, but the actual *dhikr* lasts only about an hour, with some intermission

2 Relations with other Orders Although the earlier mystics, such as Djunaid, Bistāmī and Hallādj are mentioned in the *Manākib* with profound reverence, the treatment of founders of orders who came near Djalāl al-Dīn's time is very different 'Abd al Kādir of Djīlān is ignored, Ibn 'Arabī mentioned with contempt, and Rifā'ī with severe condemnation Hādjdjī Bektāsh is represented as having sent a messenger to inquire into the proceedings of Djalāl al-Dīn, and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the latter At a later period the rivalry of the Mawlawī with the Bektāshī Order became acute

It has been shown by F W Hasluck (*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii 370 *sqq*) that the environment wherein the Mawlawī Order originated was favourable to Christians, and that throughout its history it has shown itself tolerant and inclined to regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis He suggests that the veneration of the Muslims of Konia for the supposed burial place of Plato (in a mosque which was once the church of St Amphilochius) may have been intentionally favoured by the Mawlawī derwishes, or possibly their founder, as providing a cult which Muslim and Christian might share on equal terms In three other sanctuaries of Konia, one of them the mausoleum of Djalal al-Dīn himself, he found evidence of a desire to provide an object of veneration to the adherents of both systems It is not, however, easy to accept his inference that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between the Seldjūk Sultān 'Alā' al Dīn, Djalāl al Dīn, and the local Christian clergy It appears from the *Manākib* that the Order was frequently exposed to persecution from the *fukahā'* in consequence of the music and dancing, and they found an analogy in Christian services to the employment of the former They are credited in recent times with having impeded the massacres of Armenians

3 Spread of the Order The *Manākib* attributes its propagation outside Konia to Djalāl al-Dīn's son and second successor, Sultān Bahā' al Dīn Walad who "filled Asia Minor with his lieutenants" (ii 262) It would however appear from Ibn Battūta's narrative (ii 282) that its following was not in his time extensive outside Konia, and was confined to Asia Minor The story told after Sa'd al-Dīn by v Hammer (*GOR*, i 147) and others, that as early as 759 (1357) Sulaimān son of Orkhān received a cap from a Mawlawī derwish at Bulair, has been shown by Hasluck (ii 613) to be a fiction The historians make no allusion to any importance attaching to the Mawlawī chief when Murād I took Konia in 1386, but when the city was taken by Murād II in 1435, peace was negotiated according to Sa'd al-Dīn (i 358) by Mawlānā Hamza, but according to Neshrī (quoted *ibid*) by a descendant of Mawlānā Djalal al-Dīn al-Rūmī, 'Ārif Čelebi "who united all the glories of worth and pedigree, and possessed mystic attainments", the rebellious vassal supposed that a holy man of the family of the Mawlā would inspire more confidence The same person performed a similar service in 1442 (Sa'd al-Dīn, i 371) According to V Cumet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i 829) Selim I when passing through Konia in 922 (1516) in pursuit of the Persians (?) ordered the destruction

of the Mawlawīkhāna, at the instance of the Shaikh al-Islām, and though this command was repealed, the moral and religious authority of the head of the Order was gravely compromised That the saints of Konia were highly reverenced in the Ottoman Empire later in the sixteenth century appears from the list of graves visited by Saiyid ʿAlī Kapūdān in 1554, which commences with those of Djalāl al Dīn, his father and his son (Pečewī's History, 1283, i 371) In 1634 Murād IV assigned the *kharādj* of Konia to the Čelebi Yet the first reference to "dancing derwishes" in Constantinople which Hasluck produces, is from the time of the Sultān Ibrāhīm (1640—1648) Cuinet mentions three Mawlawīkhāna of the first rank and one Tekye of the second in Constantinople and the neighbourhood, he gives the names of the saints whose tombs they contain, without dates He mentions seven other Mawlawikhāna of the first rank, at Konia, Manissa, Karahisār, Baharīya, Egypt (Cairo ?), Gallipoli and Brusa, and as the more celebrated of the second rank that of Shamsī Tabrīzī at Konia, and those in Medina, Damascus and Jerusalem To these Hasluck adds Tekye at Canea (Crete), founded about 1880, Karaman, Ramla, Tatar (in Thessaly), and possibly Tempe (for one in Smyrna see *M W*, 1922, p 161, for one in Salonica see the work of Garnett, and for one in Cyprus that of Lukach cited below) It would seem then that the Order was confined to the limits of the Ottoman Empire, and indeed to its European and Asiatic territories

By a decree of Sept 4, 1925 all the Tekye in Turkey were closed, and the library of the Mawlawīkhāna of Konia was transferred to the Museum of the city (*Oriente Moderno*, 1925, p 455, 1926, p 584)

4 Political importance of the Order Reference may be made to Hasluck's work (ii 604 *sq*) for refutation of the stories uncritically reproduced by Cuinet and some less authoritative writers In these "the Shaikh of the Mawlawī becomes first the legitimate successor by blood of the Seldjūk dynasty, and finally the real Caliph!" Hasluck supposes these tales to be based on the supposed "traditional right" of the Mawlawī Shaikh to gird the new Sultān with a sword This right cannot be traced earlier than 1648, and appears to have obtained recognition in the nineteenth century It would seem that reforming Sultāns used the Mawlawī Order as a make-weight against the Bektāshīs, who supported the Janissaries, and then against the ʿUlamāʾ, who supported the treatment of the Muslim community as a privileged community against the *dhimmīs* In recent times the Sultāns ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Mehmed Reshād were members of the Order

5 The ritual of the Order has been described by numerous travellers, e g J P Brown, *The Dervishes*, 1868, p 198–206, 1927, p 250–258, V Cuinet, *loc cit*, p 832, Garnett and Lukach in the works cited, M Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1910, iii 12, S Anderson, *M W*, 1923 The attire consisted of a cap called *sikke*, a long sleeveless skirt called *tennūre*, a jacket with sleeves called *deste-gul*, a waistband called *elif-lām-end*, and a cloak with sleeves called *khirḳe*, thrown over the shoulders (in Lukach's description [Cyprus] "a violet gown worn over a dark green cassock") The instruments employed according to the last writer (dealing with Konia) are six reed-flute, zither, rebeck, drum, tambourine, and one other Cuinet enumerates four, of which three agree with the above, the last being *halīle*, vulgarly *zil*, a sort of small cymbal Brown enumerates three, flute, violin, and kettle-drum Those mentioned in the *Manākib* are rendered by Huart, *flûte*, *violon* and *tambour de basque* The service in Konia according to Lukach was held twice a month after the Friday prayer, in Constantinople, where there were several *tekye*, they were held more frequently to enable the members of different *tekye* to join in,

6 Administration of the Order The head of the Order, resident at Konia, had the titles *Mullā Khunkār*, *Hadret-i Pīr*, *Čelebi Mullā*, and *ʿAzīz Efendi* A list of persons who have held the office is given by Hartmann (*loc cit*, p 193) after the *Hakāʾik i Adhkār-i Mawlānā*, making 26 in all down to 1910, this list appears to be imperfect, and the *Celebi* whom Lukach found in Konia was uncertain whether he was the 39th or the 40th The head of the establishment at Manissa counted as second in authority Cuinet enumerates seven officials subordinate to the *Čelebi* at Konia, but the names of several seem seriously mutilated Others mention a secretary (*wekil*) An account of the discipline which those who would enter the Order had to endure is given by Huart (*Konia, la Ville des Derviches Tourneurs* Paris 1897) They had to perform menial service for 1001 days, divided into periods of 40, when this was over, they were clothed in the uniform of the *tekye*, assigned cells, and instructed in the exercises of the Order, and they had to remain thus occupied till they believed themselves able to enter into relation with the Deity by means of whirling, meditation, and music

Bibliography see especially the works of Brown, Cuinet, Hartmann, and Hasluck, cited above, Lucy M Garnett, *Mysticism and Magic in Modern Turkey*, London 1912, H C Lukach, *The City of Dancing Derwishes*, London 1914, S Anderson, in *M W*, 1923, p 188—191 (D S Margoliouth)

MAWLID (A) or Mawlūd (pl *mawālid*), time, place and celebration of the birth of any one, particularly of the Prophet Muhammad (*Mawlid al-Nabi*) From the moment when Islām in its attitude to Muhammad abandoned the lines laid down in the Kurʾānic view of him and began to bring his personality within the sphere of the supernatural, the scenes among which his earthly life had been passed naturally began to assume a higher sanctity in the eyes of his followers Among these, the house in which he was born, the *Mawlid al-Nabi*, in the modern Sūk al Lail in Mekka, the history of which is preserved principally in the chronicles of the town (ed Wustenfeld, i 422), does not seem at first to have played a part of any note It was al Khaizurān (d 173), the mother of Hārūn al-Rashid, who first transformed it from a humble dwelling-house to a place of prayer As they did to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the pious now made pilgrimages also to his mawlid to show their reverence for it and to receive a share of its blessings (*li 'l-tabarruk*) In time also the reverence in which the house was held found expression in its development in a fitting architectural fashion (Ibn Djubair, ed Wright, p 114, 163, on the present state of the house Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i 106, ii 27)

Records of the observation of the birthday of

the Prophet as a holy day only begin at a late date, according to the generally accepted view, the day was Monday the 12th Rabīʿ I The story which Wüstenfeld originated, according to which the pious Shāfiʿī Karadjī (d 343) observed this day by breaking his fast upon it, which he only did on one other occasion, the *ʿId al Fitr* (*Abh G W G*, xxxvii, N° 126), does not seem to find any confirmation in the sources and is in contradiction to the general custom of fasting on Monday, as this day plays a special part in the life of Muhammad as the day of his birth, of his Hidjra and of his death (Ghazālī, *Ihyāʾ* [Būlāḳ], i 363 and *pass* On the Jewish origin of fasting on Monday, see Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p 126) But that on this day a special celebration was arranged, as distinct from private observation, one first learns for Mecca, where one would expect it earliest from the local traditions, from Ibn Djubair (d 614, *Travels*, p 113), who however is obviously referring to a custom which has already been a considerable time in existence The essential feature of the celebration is however only a somewhat considerable increase in the number of visitors to the Mawlid house which was exceptionally open the whole day for this purpose This visit and the ceremonies associated with it (*mash* etc) are carried through entirely in forms which are characteristic of the older Muslim cult of saints

But just as the later cult of the Prophet cannot be put on a level with the reverence shown to other holy men, so new and special forms developed for his birthday celebrations, which in spite of minor differences in time and place show the same general features everywhere and are comprised under the name *Laila al Mawlid* or briefly *Mawlid al-Nabī* An anticipation of the Mawlid celebration is found in Egypt as early as the middle and later Fāṭimid period During the period of office of the vizier al-Afdal (487—515), we hear that the "four Mawālid" were abolished but a little later revived in all their old glory (Makrīzī, *al Khiṭaṭ*, i 466, for the description of the festival i 433 *sqq*) The celebration still took place in broad daylight and participation was practically limited to the official and religious circles of the city There were not yet any preliminary celebrations, but we already have a solemn procession of all the dignitaries to the palace of the caliph, in whose presence — he sits, covered with a veil on one of the balconies of the palace — the three *khutabāʾ* of Cairo (cf above, ii, p 928) in succession deliver a religious address, during which a special ceremonial is observed As to the matter of the discourses, we only know that they were like those delivered on the nights of the illumination so that they presumably dealt mainly with the occasion of the celebration It is interesting to note that the mawlid ceremonies here are not confined to that of the Prophet but the mawlids of ʿAlī, Fāṭima and even that of the reigning Caliph, the *Imām al-hādir*, are similarly observed As in the fundamental idea of these celebrations (*Mawlid al-Imām al-hādir*!), Shīʿa influence can also be traced in separate elements of it It had not yet come to be a festival of the common people in the time of the Fāṭimids This no doubt explains why — except in Maḳrīzī and Kalḳashandī, the great historians of Fāṭimid Cairo — there is hardly any reference to these celebrations in the literature emanating from Sunnī circles, not even when writers like ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak are dealing with features peculiar to Cairo and deal very fully with the history of the Mawlid festival

The memory of these Fāṭimid mawālid seems to have almost completely disappeared before the festivals in which Muslim authors unanimously find the origin of the Mawlid, the Mawlid which we find first celebrated in Arbela in 604 by al-Malik Muzaffar al-Dīn Kokburī, a brother-in-law of Saladin The fullest account is given by a somewhat later contemporary, the great historian Ibn Khallikān (d 681) on whom later writers continually base their statements (e g al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Maḳṣid* [Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 157] and others) The personality of this ruler, his period so disturbed by the turmoil of the Crusades, and his milieu to which Ibn Khallikān calls special attention, lead us to suggest marked Christian influence in the development of this celebration, his close relations with the Ṣūfī movement on the other hand suggest the possibility of influence of quite a different nature This is clear from the description of the celebrations Preparations are begun long before and people come in from remote districts The prince takes special care that the visitors are housed in splendid wooden ḳubbas specially built and they are entertained with music, singing and all kinds of amusements (shadow-plays, jugglers etc) The streets of the town were for weeks as busy as on the occasion of an annual fair On the eve of the Mawlid night a torchlight procession took place from the citadel of the town to the khānkah, led by the prince after the maghrib salāt Next morning the whole populace assembled in front of the khānkah, where a wooden tower had been erected for the ruler and a pulpit for the *wāʿiz* From this tower the prince surveyed not only the crowd assembled to hear the address but also the troops summoned to be reviewed on the adjoining maidān We are told nothing of the substance of the address On its conclusion the prince summoned the distinguished guests up to the tower to give them robes of honour The people were then feasted at the prince's expense in the maidān, while the notables were entertained in the khānkah The following night was spent by the prince like so many of the Sūfīs in *samāʿ* (Ibn Khallikān, Būlāk 1299, ii 550 *sqq*)

In contrast to the Fāṭimid celebrations, what is specially striking here is the large share taken in the festival by the Ṣūfīs and the common people, a circumstance which is all the more notable, as it is probably in this association with Ṣūfism that we have the reasons for the later great popularity of the mawlid At the same time the torchlight procession, really foreign to Muslim sentiment, and borrowed from contemporary Christian customs at festivals deserves our attention, it is not found at the celebration in Cairo which was purely a day ceremony, while the lavish entertainment of all present, especially with sweets, and the addresses are found in both cases In this remarkable ceremonial, we seem really to have the foundation of all Mawlid celebrations With the great political and religious movement, which we may call Saldjūk reaction, the Mawlid reached Egypt in Saladin's time, where it is significant that Ṣūfism very quickly took deep roots, thus preparing the way for an observance like the Mawlid, which is essentially kept up by popular religious sentiment

The observance of the festival spread sooner

or later from here to Mecca where its old form was transformed Its further progress was along the coast of North Africa to Ceuta, Tlemcen and Fās to Spain but it also went eastwards to India, so that ultimately the whole Muslim world is united on this day in a ceremonial, frequently of unprecedented splendour, but alike everywhere in its main features We have innumerable descriptions of the festival from all parts of the Muslim world, most fully for Mekka (*Chroniken*, ed Wustenfeld, iii 438 *sq* , Ibn Ḥaḏjar al Haitamī, *Mawlid* [Brockelmann, *G A L* , ii 389], for modern times Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 57 *sqq*), where the celebrations have always been famous, for Egypt (Muh Tawfīk al-Bakrī, *Bait al Ṣiddīk*, Cairo 1323, p 404 *sqq* , Lane, *Manners and Customs*[5] [1871], ii 166 *sqq*) and the Indies (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i 207, do , *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 8 *sqq* , Herklots, *Qanoon e Islam* [1832], p 233 *sq* , Goldziher, *Culte des saints* [1880], p 13, here it is frequently not the birth but the death of the Prophet that is commemorated) The Turkish element in Islām also has not resisted the advance of the celebration of the Mawlid (Turk *Mewlūd*) Since Sultān Murād III introduced it in 996 into the Ottoman empire, it has enjoyed increasing popularity Since 1910 it has been celebrated as a national festival Accurate descriptions of the festival as celebrated in the older period of the court of Constantinople (Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general*, Paris 1787, i 255 *sqq*, *G O R* , viii 441) clearly reveal its relationship with the festivals of a more popular nature in other lands of Islām

One element in particular is very prominent, and that is the most characteristic one of the later celebrations, namely the recital of *mawlid*'s i e panegyrical poems of a very legendary character, which start with the birth of Muhammad and praise his life and virtues in the most extravagant fashion The origin of these addresses is already to be found in the religious addresses in Fātimid Cairo and in Arbela and perhaps in part at least goes back to the sermon usual at Christian festivals The *K al-Tanwīr fi Mawlid al-Sirādj*, which Ibn Dihya composed during his stay in Arbela at the suggestion of Kokbūrī was already famous as a *mawlid* at this period (Brockelmann, *G A L* , ii 310) It was not till later times however that mawlids became a predominant element in the celebration, along with torchlight processions, feasting and the fairs in the street, ever increasing in size In Mecca, for example, at the present day they form the main feature of the celebration in the mosque, among the pious they are the most popular evening entertainment for days before the celebration and teachers interrupt their lectures in order to deliver mawlids to the students and the people on the streets and in the coffee houses find edification and entertainment in listening to them The number of such mawlids is quite considerable Beside the famous but not very popular *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b b Zuhair of the older period, the *Burda* and the *Hamziya* of al-Busirī and their numerous imitations, there are a whole series of regular mawlids, some of which are intended to instruct like that of Ibn Ḥaḏjar al Haitamī, others purely edifying like a shorter version of it, and notably that of Ibn al-Ḏjawzī (*G A L* , i 503) and al-Barzandjī (*G A L* , ii 384) In addition to those in Arabic, there are a great many mawlids in Turkish (Irmg Engelke, *Suleymān Tschelebi's Lobgedicht*, 1926) It is significant of the part played by these poems, that they have passed from the mawlid celebrations to other festivals, so that the word has actually become a name for "festival" and particularly "feast" (*'azīma*, cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 147, 154 and *pass* , Becker, in *Isl*, ii, 1911, p 26 *sqq*) Quite apart from any festivals, the recitation of mawlids is popular, in Palestine for example in fulfilment of a religious vow (T Canaan, in *Journ of the Pal Or Soc*, vi, 1926, p 55 *sqq* , cf also the introductory anecdote in the mawlid alleged to be by Ibn al 'Arabī [*G A L* , i 441]) Like the substance of these mawlids, the form is also very regular Prose and poetry alternate, interrupted frequently by appeals to utter blessings on the Prophet Dhikrs are usually added at the end

The Mawlid as the finest expression of reverence for Muhammad has found almost general recognition in Islām, as fulfilling a religious need of the people and as a result of the strength of the Ṣūfī movement This must not however blind us to the fact that at all times there has also been vigorous opposition to it This is found as early as the festival of Arbela (al-Suyūti, *Husn al Maksid*) The celebration is a *bid'a*, a religious innovation, which is in sharp contradiction to tradition Even ardent advocates of the festival confess this and the strictly orthodox, who adhere to the sunna, reject it most emphatically But, as in so many other things, practice has here proved stronger than dogmatic theory Once the festival had been thoroughly established in the religious life of the people, it was bound in time to find approval as an element of the *idjmā'* Its supporters found it easy to get this *bid'a* legitimated, in theory at least, as a *bid'a hasana* When the festival had been accepted by the consensus of the community, the essential thing had been done and legitimate ground for opposition had been removed While the opposition thus finds itself reduced to combatting the outer forms of the festival and its developments, its supporters are never tired of calling attention to the merit that lies in feeding the poor, in the more frequent reading of the Kur'ān and mawlids, and in expressions of joy over the birth of the Prophet and all that the day brings with it It is significant of the character of the opposition that the opponents object to those very forms which show the influence of Ṣūfīism (dancing, *samā'*, ecstatic phenomena etc) or Christianity (processions with lights etc) The most interesting document of this feud is a *fetwā* by al-Suyūtī (d 911, Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 157 *Husn al-Maḳṣid fi 'Amal al Mawlid*) which gives a brief survey of the history of the festival, then discusses the pros and cons very fully and concludes that the festival deserves approval as a *bid'a hasana*, provided that all abuses are avoided Ibn Ḥaḏjar al-Haitamī in his *Mawlid* and Kutb al-Dīn (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii 439 *sq*) take the same view, while Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d 737) as a more strict Mālikī condemns it most vehemently (*A' al-Madkhal* [1320], i 153 *sqq*)

Although the height of this struggle was apparently reached in the eighth—ninth century, it did not completely die down in later years, indeed it received new life with the coming of the Wahhābīs The cult of the Prophet is in such contradiction in their fundamental principle, the restoration of the ideal purified primitive Islām, that we can understand that they should completely

disapprove of this, the most popular and most splendid expression of it In doing this, they are only putting into action the protests of the extreme Hanbalī Ibn Taimīya (d 728), the famous precursor of their movement, against innovations which are contrary to the sunna (Ibn Taimīya against the holding of *khatmas* in the Mawlid night *Fatāwā* [Cairo 1326], i 312) Similar ideas are still found to-day even where Wahhābism is rejected, notably in the school which Goldziher calls "Kulturwahhābismus", founded by the celebrated Muhammad ʿAbduh (d 1905), who in connection with the worship of saints condemns the Mawlid also, in the periodical *al-Manār* (Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam Koranauslegung*, p 369 *sqq*)

In the reverence shown to other Muslim saints, the Mawlids also play a great part Although the success of an appeal to a saint does not depend on particular days, yet certain days and birthdays in particular are regarded as particularly favourable These celebrations are often connected with places, to which a certain sanctity had been attached from pre-Islāmic times (the Mawlid of Shaikh Hasan al Badawī in Tanta Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 338 *sq*) There are also Mawlids of nameless saints In the derwish orders, next to that of the Prophet, the Mawlid of the founder is held in particular popularity ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (*Khitat Djadida*, i 90, iii 129 *sqq*) mentions a large number of such festivities in modern Cairo, the characteristic features of which, he says, are the brilliant illumination of the town, the ceremonial procession (*Mahfil*, at the *Mawlid al Nabī mawkab*, cf P Kahle, in *Isl*, vi, 1916, p 155 *sq*) and the great feasts One cannot now imagine the popular religion of Egypt without these feasts

Bibliography Besides the works already mentioned Muh Tawfik al-Bakrī, *Bait al Suddik*, Cairo 1323, p 404 *sqq*, al Sakhawī, *al Tibr al masbūk*, Būlāk 1896, p 13 *sq*, numerous Mawlid texts are given in the *Verzeichn der arab Hs der Kgl Bibl zu Berlin* Of special value is the Mawlid of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b ʿAbd Allāh al-Ilakhmi of Ceuta (Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 366), J–J L Bargès, *Complement de l'histoire des Beni-Zeiyān*, 1887, p 47 *sqq*, *Description de l'Egypte*, Paris 1826, xiv 196 *sqq*, A Mez, *Renaissance d Islāms*, 1922, p 403, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*[2], 1925, p 257 (H FUCHS)

AL-**MAWṢIL** [See MOSUL]

MAWSIM (A, from the root *w-s-m* "to stigmatise"), market, festival In this sense the term is used in *hadīth*, especially in connection with the markets of early Arabia, such as those which were held in ʿUkāz, Madjanna, Dhu 'l Madjāz, ʿArafa, etc (Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, b 150, *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, b 34) At these markets the worst elements of Arabia gathered (*al-mawsim yadjmaʿ raʿāʿ al-nās*, Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, b 31) Advantage was also taken of these assemblies to make public proclamations and inquiries, e g in order to regulate the affairs of deceased persons (Bukhārī, *Khums*, b 13, *Manākib al-Anṣār*, b 27) As the pilgrimage was at the same time one of the chief markets of early Arabia, the term *mawāsim* is often combined with it (*mawāsim al-hadjdj*, Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, b 150, *Buyūʿ*, b 1, Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, b 6) Upon this basis the term mawsim has developed chiefly in two directions, it has acquired the general meaning of (religious) festival (Dozy, *Supplement*, *s v*) and that of season In the Lebanon mawsim denotes the season of the preparation of silk (Bistānī, *Muhīt*, s v)

In India and in European terminology referring to these parts of the world, it has acquired the meaning of season in connection with the weather-conditions special to those regions, such as the regularly returning winds and rainperiods *Monsoon*, *mousson*, *moesson* and other corruptions of the term are found in this literature

Bibliography apart from the works mentioned in the art cf *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xvi 123 *sqq*, Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p 84 *sqq*, 246, Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* ed Crooke, London 1903, s v *monsoon* (A J WENSINCK)

MAWWĀL [See MAWĀLIYA]

MAWZŪNA, a small silver coin struck by the Sharīfs of Morocco in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century It was the smallest silver piece and equivalent to 24 copper fulūs or a quarter dirham Another name for the mawzūna was *ūdja* In 1911 (1330) copper coins of the value of 10, 5, 2 mawzūnāt were issued, the mawzūna being now the equivalent of a centime On recent issues the name mawzūna has disappeared and its place is taken by *sentīm*

Bibliography J J Marcel, *Tableau general des Monnaies ayant course en Algerie*, Paris 1844, p 9, 36—40 (J ALLAN)

AL-**MAYURḲĪ**, nisba of three Arabic authors, belonging to Majorca (Mallorca), the largest of the Balearic Islands

I the poet Abu 'l Hasan ʿAlī b Ahmad b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Tunaiz, d in 475 (1082), according to others in 477 at Kāzima near Baghdād, poems by him are preserved in the MS of the Escurial in Derenbourg, N° 467, 2, cf al-Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, S 327, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 722

II the traditionist Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b Abi 'l Nasr Futūh b ʿAbd Allāh b Humaid al Azdī al Humaidī, cf above, ii 3, where to the sources should be added Yākūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, vii 58–60 and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī, *Bustān al Muhaddithīn*, p 81 In addition to the works there given, the following still exist 1 *al-Djamʿ bain al-Sahihain Sahīh al-Bukhārī wa-Sahih al-Muslim*, Mss in Cairo, *Fihrist*, i 325 and Mōsul, s Dāwūd, *Makhtūtāt al Mawṣil*, p 194, 16 (fragment), Yahyā b Muhammad b Hubaira al Wazir (d 560 = 1165) wrote a commentary on it, MSS in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N° 1192, Leipzig, Vollers, N° 313 and in the Brit Museum, N° 1603 2 *Tafsīr gharīb mā fi 'l Ṣahihain murattab ʿala 'l-Masānid*, MS in the possession of A Taimūr Pāshā in Cairo, s *R A A D*, iii 340 3 *Tashīl al Sabīl ilā Taʿallum al-Tarsīl bi Tamthīl al-Mumāthalāt wa-Taṣnīf al-Mukhātabāt*, MS in Stambul, Top Kapu, N° 2351, photograph in Cairo, s *Fihrist*[2], iii 62

III ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd Allāh al Tardjumān, born in Majorca of Christian parents, studied in Lerida and Bologna, then went to Tunis on the advice of Bishop Nicolas Martell, who was himself a Muslim in secret, there adopted Islām and in 823 (1420) wrote a pamphlet against Christianity entitled *Tuhfat al-Arīb* (*Adīb*) *fi 'l-Radd ʿalā Ahl al-Ṣalīb*, Mss in the Brit Museum Or 5942, Ellis and Edwards, *Descriptive List*, p 13, in Stambul, Khālis, N° 5275 (with Turkish translation), Fātih, N° 2909, As'ad, N° 1147—1148, pr Cairo

1895, transl by J Spiro, Paris 1886, cf J Miret y Sina, *La tomba del escriptor Catala Fra Anselmo*, Barcelona 1910 Abu 'l-Ghaith Muhammad al-Kashshāsh wrote an introduction to the book and dedicated it under the new title *Tahīyat al-Asrār Ta'līf al-Akhyār al Anṣār fi 'l-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣāra 'l Kuffār* to the Ottoman Sultān Ahmad I (1012–1026 = 1603—1617), MSS s *GAL*, II 250 (thereon Paris, N⁰ 6051—6052) The author's son ʿAbd al-Halīm wrote a synopsis of the work, MS in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 2211

Bibliography Steinschneider, *Polemische and apologetische Literatur*, p 34, N⁰ 15, *R Afr*, v 266, *R H R*, xii 68—89, 179—201, 278–301, *R T*, xiii (1906), p 89–101, 292–294

(C Brockelmann)

MAZAGAN (old Arabic name *al-Buraidja*, "the little fortress", modern Arabic name *al Djadīda* "the new"), a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, 7 miles S E of the mouth of the Wādī Umm Rabiʿ Its population in 1926 was 19,159, of whom 14,141 were Muslims and 3,385 Jews

Some writers think that Mazagan was built on the site of the Ῥουσιβίς λιμήν of Ptolemy, or *Portus Rutubis* of Pliny The texts however do not say that there was ever a town there, but only a roadstead frequented by ships The situation seems to have remained unchanged throughout the middle ages As to the name Mazagan, it seems to appear for the first time in al Bakrī (eleventh century A D) This geographer, enumerating the ports of Morocco on the Atlantic coast, mentions a Marifen (de Slane's reading), which should undoubtedly be emended to Mazighan, a form attested by Idrīsī (xiith century) The same place-name is found in a manuscript collection of edifying anecdotes relating to the great saint of Azammūr Sīdī Abū Shuʿaib, who also lived in the twelfth century Mazighan appears here as a fishing village between Azammūr and the ribāt of Tīt [q v] The proximity of these two fairly important towns prevented it from developing The roadstead is marked on a whole series of European planispheres and portalans of the xivth and xvth centuries (publ by Ch de La Roncière, *Decouverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age*, 1925) which give the forms Messegan (1339 and 1373), Maseghan (1367), Mazagem, intermediate between Mazighan and the Mazagão of the Portuguese The latter, from the end of the xvth century, used to come to the harbour of Mazagan for cargoes of the grain of Dukkāla to supply the capital In 1502, a squadron commanded by a Portuguese gentleman, Jorge de Mello, caught by a storm in the Straits of Gibraltar was driven to Mazagan and landed there The Portuguese installed themselves in a deserted tower there to defend themselves against a possible attack by the inhabitants Jorge de Mello soon returned to Portugal and obtained the king's permission to build a fortress at Mazagan Although the story of these events is only recorded by writers of the xviiith century, it must be in keeping with the facts, for letters patent of king Dom Manuel dated May 21, 1505, give Jorge de Mello the captaincy of the castle which he is authorised to build at his own expense at Mazagan He did not however make use of his privilege for, when on Aug 27, 1513 the Portuguese army sent to take Azammūr under the command of the Duke of Braganza landed at Mazagan, there was neither town nor fortress there except the old ruined tower (*al-Buraidja*) The difficulty of entering the port of Azammūr led the Portuguese to establish a more accessible base at Mazagan During the summer of 1514 under the direction of the architects Diego and Francisco da Arruda, a square castle flanked by towers at each of the four corners was built One of these bastions was formed by the old tower, al Buraidja, the name of which survived among the natives as that of the Portuguese town This early castle still exists almost in its entirety Particularly striking is a magnificent subterranean hall, the vaulting of which is supported by 25 pillars It was probably, rather than a salle d'armes, a huge granary built to hold the contributions in grain paid by the tribes subjected to the Portuguese protectorate It was at a later date used as a cistern to hold supplies of drinking-water for the garrison, when the place blockaded by rebellious tribes had no longer any taxes in grain to collect, which happened in 1541 For ten years before, the situation of the Portuguese stations on the coast, in view of the religious and anti-foreign movement stirred up by the coming and successes of the Saʿdian Sharifs, had been so bad that the king of Portugal thought of abandoning several of his fortresses The taking of the fort Santa Cruz on the Cape of Guer (Agadīr) by the sharīf (March 12, 1541) was a warning John III decided to evacuate Safi and Azammūr and to concentrate on Mazagan, a more favourable and more easily defended position, all the Portuguese forces he wanted to leave in the south of Morocco The operation was carried through in the autumn (before Nov 6) From the month of April onwards the work of putting the town in a state of defence had been going on The work was actually pushed on during the last months of the year (1541) under the direction of the great architect João da Castilho, who used plans prepared by an Italian engineer, Benito of Ravenna This was when the walls of Magazan were built as they still stand to-day

In retaining Mazagan the Portuguese wanted to keep a base on the coast to secure protection for the route to India They also hoped that the fortress would serve them as a base for the conquest of Morocco, when a favourable conjuncture should arise, which however never happened In fact for the more than two hundred years in which the Portuguese retained it, the possession of Mazagan only served them as a pretext to obtain from the Pope bulls of Crusades, which supplied the Popal Treasury with appreciable revenues The tribes kept the town so closely blockaded that the inhabitants could not go outside its walls without military protection The collection of wood and the cultivation of a few gardens, continually devastated by the natives, gave rise to continual skirmishes The Muslims of the country around had built two little towns, a few miles from Mazagan, Fahs al Zammūrīyīn and Fahs Awlād Duwaiyib, where they entrenched themselves to keep up the blockade and where the devout, desirous of acquiring merit from participation in the holy war, used to come to discharge a few shots at Mazagan

Badly supplied by sea, often a prey to famine and epidemics, the garrison and population however lived in sufficient security under their powerful walls, against which the tribes could do nothing On several occasions however, they had to resist vigorous attacks In April 1562 Muhammad, son

of the Sa'dian Sultān, 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālib bi'llāh, at the head of a vast horde of tribal warriors laid siege to Mazagan Two assaults were repulsed and the besiegers lost heart On Aug 4, 1623, the place, attacked by 3,000 Muslims during the absence of the governor, who was led into an ambuscade, owed its safety to his wife who ordered the gates to be shut, organised the defence, distributed arms to the whole population, women as well as men, and sent them on to the walls During the disorder which accompanied the decline of the Sa'dian dynasty, the governors of Mazagan seem to have succeeded in raising the blockade and resuming relations to some extent with the tribes The *mudjāhid* Sīdī Muhammad al-'Aiyāshī, to put an end to this, attacked the Portuguese in 1639 and inflicted some losses on them Mawlāy Ismā'īl, occupied with the siege of Ceuta, never seriously tried to take Magazan The honour of retaking it belonged to his grandson Sīdī Muhammad b 'Abd Allāh The Sultān came to besiege it in person at the end of Jan 1769 The place held out successfully for five weeks but, the order to abandon it having arrived from Lisbon, the governor surrendered on honourable terms The garrison and civilian population returned to Portugal with their arms and possessions On abandoning Mazagan on March 10, 1769 the Portuguese exploded mines there which did great damage, the sultān entered a ruined town which he repopulated in part but it remained in so miserable a state that it was called *al-Mahdūma* "the ruined", until, in the reign of Sīdī Muhammad b Hishām, in 1240 (1824—25) it was restored by Sīdī Muhammad b al-Taiyib, kā'id of Dukkāla and Tāmasna, who gave it the name of *al-Djadīda* by which it is generally known to Muslims

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MĀZANDARĀN, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea bounded on the west by Gīlān, on the east by the province of Āstarābād (q v, formerly Gurgān)

The name If Gurgān to the Īrānians was the "Land of the Wolves" (*vəhrkāna*), the region to its west was peopled by "Māzainian dēws" (Bartholomae, *Altir Worterbuch*, col 1169 under *māzainya daēva*) Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II 373, note 32, thought that Māzandarān was a "comparative of direction" (**Mazana tara*, cf SHŪSH and Shūshtar) but Nöldeke's hypothesis is the more probable (*Grundr d iran Phil*, II 178) who thinks that Māzan-dar = "the gate of Māzan" was a particular place, distinct from the part of the country known as Tapuristān [A village of Mesderan (?) is marked on Stahl's map 12 km south of Fīrūzkūh!] In any case the name Māzandarān seems to have no connection with τοῦ Μασσωράνου ὄρους which according to Ptolemy, VI, ch V, was situated between Parthia and Areia (Harī-rūd) and was connected by Olshausen (*Mazdoran und Mazandaran*, *Monatsberichte Ak Berlin*, 1877, p 777—783) with Mazdūrān, a station 12 farsakhs west of Sarakhs, cf Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 24, Mukaddasī, p 351 [cf however the late source of 881 (1476) quoted by Dorn, *Melanges asiat*, VII 42]

The Avestan and Pahlavi quotations given by Darmesteter, *loc cit*, show to what degree the people of Māzandarān were regarded by the Persians as a foreign group and little assimilated According to the *Bundahish*, XV 28, transl West, p 58, the "Māzandarān" were descended from a different pair of ancestors to those of the Īrānians and Arabs The *Shāh nāma* reflects similar ideas (cf the episode of Kai-kā'ūs' war in Māzandarān and esp Vullers ed, I, p 332, V 290 the war is waged against Ahriman, p 364, V 792—793 Māzandarān is contrasted with Īrān, p 574, V 925 the bestial appearance of the king of Māzandarān)

Among historical peoples in Māzandarān are the Tapyres (Τάπυροι), who must have occupied the mountains (north of Simnān), and the Amardes (Ἀμαρδοί), who according to Andreas and Marquart have given their name to the town of Āmol (although the change of *rd* to *l* is rather strange in the north of Persia) These two peoples were defeated by Alexander the Great The Parthian king Phradates I (in 176 B C) transplanted the Mardes (Amardes) to the region of Χάραξ (Khwār to the east of Warāmin) and their place was taken by the Tapyres, whose name came to be applied to the whole province

The Arabs only know the region as Tabaristān (< Tapurstān, on the Pahlavi coins) The name Māzandarān only reappears in the Saldjūk period Ibn al-Athīr, X 34, in speaking of the distribution of fiefs by Alp Arslān in 458 (1065) says that Māzandarān was given to the emīr Inandj Baighu Ibn Isfandiyār, p 14, and Yākūt, III, p 502, 9, think that Māzandarān as a name for Tabaristān is only of fairly modern origin (in Arabic ?) but according to Zakarīyā Kazwīnī, p 270, "the Persians call Tabaristān Māzandarān" Hamdallāh Mustawfī distinguishes between Māzandarān and Tabaristān In his time (1340) the 7 *tuman* of the "wilāyat of Māzandarān" were Djurdjān, Mūrūstāk (?), Āstarābād, Āmol and Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad and Siyāh-rustāk (?), on the other hand the *diyār-i Kūmis wa-Tabaristān* included Simnān, Dāmghān, Fīrūzkūh, a town of Damāwand, Firrīm etc We find a similar distinction in Khwāndamīr, ed Dorn, p 83

Geography The actual extent of Māzandarān (Rabino) is 300 miles from east to west and 46 to 70 miles from north to south Except for the strip along the coast — broader in the east than the west — Māzandarān is a very mountainous country The main range of the Elburz forms barriers parallel to the south of the Caspian, while the ridges running down to the sea cut the country up into a multitude of valleys open on the north only The principal of the latter ridges is the Mazār-čūb, which separates Tabaristān from Tunikābun The latter is bordered on the south by the chain of the Elburz in the strict sense, which

separates it from the valley of the Shāhrūd (formed by the waters of the Alamūt and Talaḳān and flowing westward into the Safīd-rūd)

To the east of Mazār-čūb, a number of ranges run out of the central massif of the Elburz 1 to the east the chain of Nūr which cuts through the Harāz-pey and 2 to the S E the southern barrier which forms the watershed between the Caspian and the central plateau Between the two, rises in isolation the great volcanic cone of Damāwand (9,900 feet)

To the east of Damāwand the southern barrier rejoins the continuation of the Nūr and the new line of the watershed of eastern Māzandarān is marked by the ranges of Band-i-pey, Sawād-kūh, Shāh-mīrzād (to the south of Simnān), of Hazār-djarīb (to the south of Dāmghān), of Shāh-kūh (to the south of Shāhrūd) etc

The rivers of Māzandarān are of two kinds A hundred short streams run straight down into the sea from the outer mountains of Māzandarān Much more important are the rivers which rise in the interior and after draining many valleys form a single great river when they break through the last barrier Such are (from west to east) the Sardābrūd, the Čālūs, the Harāz pey, which drains the region of mount Damāwand and then runs past Āmol, the Bābol (the river of Bārfrūsh), the Tālār (river of ʿAlīābād), the Tīdjn (river of Sārī) and the Nīkā (or Aspneyzā) which flows from east to west, its valley forms a corner between the southern chain (cf above) and the mountains which surround the Gulf of Astarābād on the north

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Language. Cf Geiger, *Die Kaspischen Dialecte*, *Grundriss d iran Phil*, i/2, p 344—380, where the literature of the subject is given (esp Dorn's works)

The historical geography of Māzandarān is still full of difficulties although Vasmer's very full study has considerably reduced their number The matter is complicated by the fact that certain well-known names are used in different periods for more or less identical districts

The eastern frontier of Māzandarān (Tabaristān) in the strict sense, with Astarābād (Djurdjān) seems to have always run near Kulbād (on the river Kirrind, cf Ptolemy Χρίνδοι) where there used to be a wall (*djar-i Kulbād*) which barred the narrow strip of lowland between the Gulf of Astarābād and the mountains, cf Ibn Rusta (p 149) who speaks of the brick wall (*ādjurr*) and of the Gate of Tamīs through which travellers had to pass (cf Ibn al-Fakīh, p 303) To the west the town of Shālūs (Čālūs) was situated on the frontier of Dailam (Ibn Rusta, p 150 *fi nahwi 'l-ʿaduw*) but later the valley of the Sard-āb-rūd (Kalārdasht) seems to have been annexed to Tabaristān Farther west the coast of Tunikābun was governed sometimes with Māzandarān and sometimes with Gīlān

The Arab geographers distinguished between the plain (*al-sahliya*) and the mountains (*al djabaliya*) of Tabaristān (Istakhrī, p 211, 271) The important towns of Tabaristān were in the lowlands Āmol, Nātil, Shālūs (Čālūs), Kalā (Kalār), Mīla, Tardjī (Tūdjī, Bardjī?), ʿAin al-Humm, Māmtīr (= Bārfurūsh), Sārī, Tamīsha (cf Istakhrī, p 207, cf Mukaddasī, p 353) The principal town (*madīna*) of Tabaristān in the time of Yaʿkūbī, p 276, still was Sāriya [*q v*], but in the time of Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 179, Istakhrī, p 211, and Ibn Hawkal, p 271, the principal town (*kaṣaba*) and the most flourishing one in Tabaristān was Āmol (larger than Kazwīn)

The mountain area was quite distinct and its connection with the plain is not very clear in the Arabic texts, cf the confused summary in Istakhrī, p 204 Tabarī, iii, 1295 under the year 224 (838) distinguishes three mountains in Tabaristān 1 the mountain of Wandā-Hurmuz in the centre (*wasat*), 2 that of his brother Wandāsandjān (*sic*) b Alandād b Kārin and 3 that of Sharwīn b Surkhāb b Bāb Now according to Ibn Rusta, p 151, (the Kārinid) Wandā Hurmuz lived near Dunbāwand On the other hand, the same writer, p 149, says that during the rule of Tabaristān by Djarīr b Yazīd, Wandā-Hurmuz had bought 1,000 djarīb of domain lands (*ṣawāfī*) outside the town of Sārī These *alf djarīb* seem to correspond to the region round the sources of the rivers Tīdjin and Nikā which in Persian is called Hazār djarīb Later, the lands of Wandā Hurmuz included the greater part of eastern Māzandarān *Wandāspdjān seems to have ruled over the greater part of Māzandarān for his capital Muzn was the rallying point from which expeditions set out against Dailam Finally the mountain of Sharwīn comprised the S E part of Māzandarān, for according to Ibn al Fakīh, p 305, it was close to Kūmis

In the time of Istakhrī, the three divisions of the mountains specified are the mountains of Rūbandj, of Fādūsbān and of Kārin "They are high mountains (*djibāl*) and each of them (*djabal*) has a chief"

Rūbandj, according to Ibn Hawkal, lay between Raiy and Tabaristān Barthold, *Očerk*, p 155 emends the name to *Rūyandj and identifies it with Rūyān Ibn Rusta, p 149 says that Rūyān, near the lands of Raiy, did not form part of Tabaristān but formed a special *kūra* with the capital Kadjdja which was the headquarters of the Wālī (cf Kačarustāk in the *bulūk* of Kudjūr) According to this, *Rūyand = Rūyān is to be located in the S W part of Māzandarān (north of Teherān) In the Mongol period, Hamdallāh Kazwīnī, p 160, is the first to mention Rustamdār (on the Shāh-rūd) As Vasmer, *loc cit*, p 122—125, has shown, Rustamdār later included all western Māzandarān between Sakhtasar (Gīlān) and Āmol

Rustamdār therefore included Rūyān, without the two terms being completely synonymous

Djibāl Karīn had only one town Shahmār, a day's journey from Sārıya The local chiefs of the dynasty of Kārin lived in the stronghold of Firrīm which must have stood on the western branch of the river Tīdjin, which later flows past Sārī The modern *bulūk* of Firrīm is in the Hazār-Djarīb (more accurately in its western half which is called Dudānga) According to Ibn Isfandiyār, p 95, the possessions of the Kārinids included the mountains of Wandā ummid (*ibid*, p 25, the water supply of the mosque of Āmol came from this mountain), Āmol, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the river Bābul which runs to Bārfurūsh) and Firrīm, "which is called Kūh i Kārin" According to Yākūt, iii 283, the lands of the Kārinids included Djibāl Sharwīn (cf above) which l'timād al-Saltana, *Kitāb al-Tadwin*, p 42, identifies with Sawād-kūh i e the sources of the Tālār (river of ʿAlīābād between Āmol and Bāifurūsh), the pass leading to Sawād kūh is still called Shalfīn < Sharwīn

The Djibāl Pādūspān (فادوسپان long wrongly read قادوسپار) lay a day's journey from Sārī The district had no cathedral mosque, the chief lived in the village of Uram (Ibn Hawkal, p 268, 17 Uram-khāst, Ārum) As Vasmer has shown p 127–130, this must be sought on the middle course of the rivers of Bārfurūsh and ʿAlīābād (to the north of Lafūr and near Shīrgāh)

Bibliography B G A, s v Dailam, Tabaristān, Āmol, Sārıya etc Ibn al-Fakīh, p 301—314, in particular gives very detailed information about Tabaristān Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, index, Idrīsī, transl Jaubert, ii 169, 179–180, 333, 337–338 (of little originality), Zakariyā Kazwinī, *Āthār al-Buldān* (clime iv) Āmol, p 190, Bilād al-Dailam, p 221, Rūyān p 250, Tabaristān, Yākūt, cf Dorn, *Auszuge*, 1858, p 2—45, where are collected all the articles relating to Tabaristān [but the text of Wustenfeld's edition is preferable], Hamdallāh Kazwīni, *Nuzhat al Kulūb*, G M S, p 159 and 161, Dorn, *Auszuge aus 14 morgenl Schriftstellern betreffend d Kaspische Meer*, *Melanges Asiatiques*, vi, p 658, vii, p 19—44 and 52—92, cf also the historical bibliography European works Spiegel, *Eran Alterthumskunde*, 1871, i 64—74, Dorn, *Caspia*, 1875 (a mass of rather undigested information), Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882, index, Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, Leipzig 1890, p 73—93 Alburs and Mazanderan (the author seeks to explain Iranian geography from Sanskrit texts), Barthold, *Istor -geogr obzor Irana*, St Petersburg 1903, p 158—161, Pers transl, Teherān 1930, p 289–295, I e Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 368—376, Vasmer, *Die Eroberung* etc

History The local dynasties of Māzandarān fall into three classes 1 local families of pre-Islāmic origin, 2 the ʿAlid saiyids and 3 local families of secondary importance

I At the coming of the Sāsānian dynasty, the king of Tabaristān and of Padashwārgar (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 130 "the district opposite the region of Khwār", Farshuwādgar is a misreading of the name, which is also found in the *Bundahish*, xii 17) was Gushnasp, whose ancestors had reigned since the time of Alexander In 529—536 Tabaristān was ruled by the Sāsānian prince Kayūs, son of Kawāt Anūshirwān put in his place Zarmihr, who traced his descent from the famous smith Kāwa. His dynasty ruled till 645 when Gīl Gaubāra (a descendant of the Sāsānian Djamāsp, son of Pērōz) annexed Tabaristān to Gīlān These families, on whom their coins might throw some light (cf below), had descendants ruling in the Muslim period

The Bāwandids (who claimed descent from Kayūs) provided three lines the first 45—397 (665—1007) was overthrown on the conquest of Tabaristān by the Ziyārid Kābūs b Washmgir, the second reigned from 466 (1073) to 606 (1210) when Māzandarān was conquered by Muhammad Khwārizmshāh, the third ruled from 635 (1237) to 750 (1349) as vassals of the Mongols The last representative of the Bāwandids was slain by Afrāsiyāb Culāwī

The Kārinids (in the Kūh i Kārin) claimed descent from Kārin, brother of Zarmihr (cf above) Their last representative Māzyār [*q v*] was put to death in 224 (839)

The Pādūspānids (Rūyān and Rustamdār) claimed descend from the Dābūyids of Gīlān (their eponym was the son of Gīl Gaubāra, cf above) They came to the front about 40 (660) and during the rule of the ʿAlids were their vassals Later they were vassals of the Būyids and Bāwandids, who deposed them in 586 (1190) The dynasty, restored in 606, survived till the time of Timūr, one of its branches (that of Kāwūs b Kayūmarth) reigned till 975 (1567) and the other (that of Iskandar b Kayūmarth) till 984 (1574)

II Alongside of these native dynasties the ʿAlids were able to establish themselves, principally in Tabaristān In 250 the people of Rūyān, rebelling against the governor, sent to Rayy for the Zaidī Saiyid Hasan b Zaid, a descendant of the Caliph ʿAlī in the sixth generation This (Hasanid) branch ruled in Tabaristān till 316 (928) The Husaimid branch ruled from 304 to 337 (?) Another dynasty of Marʿashī saiyids ruled in Māzandarān between 760 (1358) and 880 (1475) The founder of this dynasty was Kiwām al-Dīn, a descendant of ʿAlī in the twelfth generation A third family of Murtadā'ī saiyids is known in Hazār Djarīb between 760 and 1005 A H

III The noble families who enjoyed considerable influence, mainly in their fiefs, are very numerous Rabino mentions the Kiyā of Čulāw (at Āmol, Talakān and Rustamdār) between 795 A H and 909 A H, the Kiyā Djalālī of Sārī in 750—763, the house of Rūzafzūn of Sawādkūh between 897 and 923, the Dīw in the period of Shāh Tahmāsp in certain parts of Māzandarān, the Banū-Kā'ūs between 857 and 957, the Banū-Iskandar between 857 and 1006 and the different princes of Tamisha, of Miyāndurūd, of Lāridjān, of Māmtīr, of Lafūr etc

Besides this confusion of feudal dynasties, a series of conquerors from outside has ruled in Māzandarān the Arabs (their expeditions began in 22 = 644, the final conquest took place under al-Mansūr in 141—144 [cf the article TABARISTĀN], the dates and facts given are very contradictory as Vasmer has shown), the Tāhirids, the Saffārids, the Sāmānids, the Ziyārids, the Ghaznawids, the Saldjūks, the Khwārizmshāhs, the Mongols, the Sarbadārs, Timūr and his descendants, the Safawids Shāh Ismāʿīl sent an expedition to Māzandarān in 923 (1517) but it was under Shāh ʿAbbās that the land was definitely incorporated in Persia in 1005 (1596) This monarch claimed hereditary

rights there from the connection of his family with the Sayyid Kiwām al Dīn Marʿashī (*Ālam-ārā*, Teherān, p 354) Farahābād was founded in 1020 (1612) and in the next year Ashraf was built with its famous palaces

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The coins of Māzandarān The question whether the Sāsānians struck coins in Māzandarān is still an open one and can only be settled when the groups of letters that mark the mints on Sāsānian coins have been properly explained According to the so far insufficient attempts to explain them, the letters *A M* found from the time of Firūz onwards are an abbreviation for Āmul, but this explanation is quite without proof

The Dābwaihids and the earlier Arab governors of Tabaristān struck in the second (eighth) century coins of the type of the Sāsānian drachms of Khusraw II, on the obverse, with the bust of the ruler, his name is given in Pahlavi characters and on the reverse is the fire-altar with its two guardians and on the right the mint *Tpurstan* and on the left the year in the Tabaristān era (began on June 11, 652) These silver coins average in weight 1 90 grammes = 29 3 grains and are hemidrachms Of the Dābwaihid rulers, Ferkhwān, Dātbūrdjmatūn and Khūrshīt are mentioned upon them The coins of the first bear the years 60—77 (711—728), of the second 86—87 (737—738) and of the third 89—115 (740—766), these dates enable us to correct the chronology given by the historians On some coins with the name Khūrshīt, earlier students read the dates 60—63 but this is to be explained by the similarity of *shast* and *dehsat* in the Pahlavi script and these coins are really of the years 110 sqq The assumption of a Khūrshīd I, who reigned in the sixties of the Tabaristān era (Mordtmann), is thus quite unfounded As Khūrshīd died in 144 A H = 110 Tabaristān era, and there are coins with the names of Arab governors earlier than the year 116 Tab, it must be assumed that the Arabs continued to strike coins in the name of the earlier ruler of the land for a period after the conquest of Māzandarān, just as they did after the conquest of Persia under the Caliph 'Omar

The earlier coins struck by Arab governors of Tabaristān bear the name Khālīt (Khālid b Barmak, 116—119) and Umar ('Omar b al-'Alā, 120—125) in Pahlavi From 122 the name of the governor is given in Kūfic also and afterwards in this exclusively ('Omar, Sa'īd, Yahyā, Djarīr, Sulaimān) In the years 130 and 140, there frequently appear on the coins names which seem to have belonged to some other officials, as the names of governors given for this period by historians are different Anonymous coins were also struck The issue of these coins with Sāsānian types ended in the year 143 Tabaristān era (794, anonymous) but we have a coin of 161 (812) on the obverse of which in place of the king's head — as earlier on the coins of the governor Sulaimān (136—137) — there is a rhombus with the puzzling Arabic letters *bh* and on the margin al-Fadl b Sahl Dhu'l-Riyāsatain (in Arabic) is named, on the reverse, instead of the altar with its guardians are three parallel designs like fir branches, between them an inscription in four lines giving the Muḥammadan creed in Kufic and the date and mint in Pahlavi (Tiesenhausen, *Zap vost otd arch obshč*, ix 224)

We know dirhams of Tabaristān mint of the Caliphs of the years 102 (Lavoix), 147 (Brit Mus with the name of the governor Rawh), 190—192, copper coins of the years 145 and 157 (Zambaur, *Numism Ztschr*, xxvi, the latter with the name of 'Omar b al 'Ala) At a later date, coins were struck there by the dā'īs of the 'Alids ('Āmul, 253 AR, 306 AV and AR), the Būyids and Ziyārids (Āmul, Sāriya and Firrīm), the Bāwandids (Firrīm, 353—367, 401 AR), sometimes by the Sāmānids, (Āmul AV 341, AR 302, 353—357) still later by the Hūlāgūids, Serberdārs, Timūrids (Āmul, Sārī) and Shāhs of Persia (Āmul, Sārī, Tabaristān, Māzandarān) In Āmul anonymous copper coins were struck from the xvith century onwards On several pieces of this period the mint Tabaristān occurs As these are all very rare, the issue must have been an occasional one The dates are not preserved on any specimens More common are copper pieces of the value of 4 kāzbekī (18—22 grammes = 280—340 grains) with the lion and sun and mint Māzandarān, which belong to the xviiith century During the Russian occupation of Gilān in 1723—1732, to meet the shortage of currency provoked by the financial crisis in Russia at this time, Persian copper coins were overstruck with a Russian die (double eagle) and circulated in the occupied provinces in place of Russian money These coins are often called Māzandarān pieces but this is not correct, as only Gilān and not Māzadarān was occupied

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(R Vasmer)

MAZĀR-I SHARĪF, a town in Afghānistān, south of the Āmū-Daryā [q v] In the middle ages it was the site of the village of Khair, later called Khodja Khairān, 14 miles east of Balkh On two different occasions, in the vith (xiith) century after 530 (1135—1136) in the time of Sultān Sandjar [q v], and in 885 (1480—1481) in the reign of the Timūrid Sultān Husain, the tomb of the caliph 'Alī was "discovered" here and its genuineness declared to have been proved A place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) at once arose around the tomb with a considerable market, the second

tomb which is still standing (the first is said to have been destroyed by Čingiz-Khān), was built in 886 (1481—1482) The *mazār* does not seem to have been of any particular importance during the time of the Özbegs and is hardly mentioned although several Özbeg Sultāns were buried there In the first half of the XIXth century, the place is usually simply called *mazār* by travellers, the name *Mazār i Sharīf* seems only to have arisen within the last hundred years ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed Schefer, p 4) does not mention Mazār at all among the towns of Afghānistān, in 1832 when A Burnes passed through it, it was a little town with about eight hundred houses In 1866, the Afghān governor Nāʾib ʿĀlim Khān, a Shiʿī, chose Mazār i Sharīf as his residence, since then Mazār-i Sharīf has been the capital of Afghān Turkistān In 1878 it was described by the Russian general Matweyew as one of the best towns in Northern Afghānistān with about 30,000 inhabitants (Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, II 157)

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AL-**MAZĀTĪ**, a name borne by over twenty Abādī writers or men celebrated for their piety, among whom may be mentioned Abu 'l Rabīʿ Sulaimān b Yakhlaf al-Mazātī, a pupil of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b Bakr Celebrated for his learning and his virtues, he spent all his life in study and teaching and died in 474 (June 11, 1081—May 31, 1082) in a little town of the Banū Wislū (ويسلو), a clan of the tribe of Mazāta, which in those days occupied the lands between Gabes and the south of Tripoli He wrote a book on the principles of law (*uṣūl*) entitled *al Muthaf*

Bibliography Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b Saʿīd al Shammākhī, *Kitāb al Siyar*, Cairo 1301, p 412, 592 (MOH BENCHENEB)

MAZDAK, the apostle of a religion, which was founded two centuries before him by Zarādusht, son of Khurrakhān, but spread in Persia only after his propaganda, it had great political influence in the country in the time of Kawādh (488—531 A D with an interregnum) The latter adopted it and even made arrangements for putting its teaching into practice but after his restoration he put Mazdak and a large number of his followers to death The best known feature of his teaching was the endeavour to remove every cause of covetousness and discord among men, and thus to purify religion, by making women and possessions common property

It is not possible to reconstruct from the sources the Mazdakī doctrine in detail nor to settle its relations with the other religions or sects of Persia The main features will be indicated here

The sources Detailed narratives of the reign of Kawādh and some important references to Mazdak and his teaching will be found in the contemporary Syrian and Byzantine writers (Joshua Stylites, Agathias, Procopius, Malala, Theophanes) In Pahlavī literature there are few references to Mazdak The bulk of our information about Mazdak and his relations with Kawādh come to us from Arab and Persian writers and go back mainly to the *Khwadāīnāmagh* or Royal Sāsānian Chronicle, of which the best known Arabic version was that of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ Baron Rosen has shown that the other Arabic versions were not all dependent on this one, some of them having been prepared directly from the original Some compilers also inserted historical or legendary episodes taken from other Pahlavī works and others attempted to harmonise different narratives and did a certain amount of retouching in their reconstruction of the original The Persian and Arab writers who had these different versions or compilations at their disposal only very rarely mention their sources and endeavour in turn to reconcile the statements made Noldeke has already distinguished two "Hauptquellen" for the various Arabic and Persian narratives (the first followed by Ibn Kutaiba and Eutychius and a part of Tabarī, the second by al-Yaʿkūbī and another part of Tabaīī) Christensen in his fundamental study thinks he can distinguish four lines of the tradition of the *Khwadāīnāmagh* found by the Arab and Persian authors in the different versions or editions of it Noldeke's two "Hauptquellen" correspond to the first two, a third is represented by al-Dinawarī (Noldeke thinks his story is a harmonising of the two "Hauptquellen") and the *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Akhbār al-Furs wa 'l-ʿArab* (*J R A S*, 1900, p 195 *sq*), the fourth presents features of its own, some of which are legendary in character and are found again in the *Siyāsat-Nāma* of Nizām al Mulk, which is independent of the *Khwadāīnāmagh* The common source of all these legendary features would be, according to Christensen, the Book of Mazdak, a Pahlavī work of fiction (like the *Kalila wa-Dimna*), which enjoyed great popularity and was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ and into Arabic verse by Abān b ʿAbd al Hamīd al Lāhikī The elements of this fourth line of tradition are, according to Christensen, found in the *Kitāb al Aghānī*, al Thaʿālibī, Firdawsī, al-Birūnī, Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ Some references in al Masʿūdī and al Khwārizmī can also be traced to the book of Mazdak

Independent traditions would also be preserved elsewhere, for example by the Arabs of al-Hīra Al-Shahrastānī's notes (to which some critics deny any historical value) might go back to books of the sect now lost These are not found elsewhere and their immediate source was Muhammad b Hārūn Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāk, a Zoroastrian converted to Islām The source of the notices in the *Fihrist* is not known (it calls the Mazdakīs Zoroastrians), the Persian work of the XVIIth century called *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, is probably a mere compilation of no value, from sources already mentioned and the pretended Mazdakī book *Dīsnād*, which it quotes, is not genuine

Doctrine The fact that the majority of these sources emphasise the social aspect of the Mazdakī reforms and do not mention special doctrines or beliefs of the sect (some like the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Athīr connect it with Mazdaeism) has convinced the majority of Orientalists who have studied this subject (e g Noldeke, Nicholson, v Wesendonk) that the reforms must be considered as a social movement which aimed at purifying the Mazdaean religion a communist system of which the precepts regarding women and property and those of an ascetic nature (like the prohibition of slaughtering

animals and eating their flesh) had however a religious aim, and were clearly distinguished by this character from modern social communism

Christensen, in his work already quoted, comes to the contrary conclusion that Mazdakism was above all a religious movement and that its social precepts were originally a very secondary feature, it was, he says, a reform of Manichaeism, already preached by Zarādusht, two centuries before Mazdak Christensen supports his argument by two well known passages in Malala, of which the first deals with the doctrines propounded at Rome under Diocletian by the Manichaean Bundos in opposition to official Manichaeism

This Bundos is supposed to have afterwards gone to Persia and spread his doctrine there, which was called τῶν Δαρισθενῶν (from the Pahlavī form *dērist-dēnān* = followers of the orthodox faith) The other passage calls king Kawādh ὁ Δαρδάσθενος (an inaccurate form for ὁ Δαρίσθενος), an epithet which contains an allusion to the Mazdakī faith A popular form دردس دردس is said to be the origin of the very corrupt forms of this surname, which are found in the Arabic texts and are due to the similarity of certain Arabic letters (al Thaʿālibī translates it "may his beard fall" which presupposes a form دردان اس ردس) Christensen thinks these links sufficient to identify Zarādusht with Bundos (Bundos would be an honorific title of the reformer, "the venerable", from the Pahlavī *bundagh*, *bundagh*) and defines Mazdakism as a Manichaean ὀρθοδοξία

This theory is supported by al-Shahrastānī's resumé, which gives us, along with the general character of the religious history of Iran, the best argument for this thesis, and those who hold the other view are forced to deny any force to the evidence of this historian of sects Christensen also concludes that it is with good reason that the Byzantine historians call the Mazdakīs Manichaeans but it must be added that their classification of a doctrine so little known in the west (where on the other hand Manichaeism was well known and was, so to speak, the typical heresy of Persia) is not of much value

According to al Shahrastānī's exposé, Mazdak's system resembled that of Mani, except that he said that the dark spirits did not act of their own will and without restraint (*bi 'l-kaṣd wa 'l-ikhtiyār*), but blindly and by chance (*bi 'l khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāk*), that mixture is produced also *bi 'l-khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāk* and liberation will be produced *bi 'l khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāk* In this connection we must remember that the same author in his survey of the Manichaeans tells us that the views of the Manichaeans on the cause of mixture were divided and that some of them said that it was produced *bi l-khabṭ wa 'l-ittifāk* the opposite of what was laid down in the original cosmogony Other Muslim writers allude to this point in dispute among the dualist sects al Muṭahhar b Tāhir al Maḳdisī says, for example, that mixture *bi 'l-khabt wa 'l-ittifāk* is taught by the Sabians, a name which is sometimes applied to the Manichaeans All this gives the impression that the mention of the Mazdakī teaching in this connection is quite in keeping with the conditions of polemic among dualists Perhaps the practical teachings of Mazdakism should be connected with the doctrine of mixture *bi 'l-khabt wa 'l ittifāk*

Al-Shahrastānī also gives from another source other details on Mazdakī cosmogony (the four forces, which surround the object of worship as court dignitaries surround the king of Persia, the seven viziers, the twelve spiritual beings, the three elements, the director of good and of evil), details which have their parallels in other gnostic and dualist cosmogonies, which should be studied with their names from the point of view of the latest studies on Irānian syncretism

Al-Shahrastānī finally alludes to certain cabalistic speculations on the letters of the supreme name and mentions Mazdakī sects (like the Abū Muslimīya) still in existence in his time in Persia and as far away as Soghdiana

We may conclude that it is at least premature to deny all connection between Manichaeism and Mazdakism, it seems that rather than put the question in the form of a rigid alternative between Mazdaean or Manichaean influence, it would be better to regard Mazdakism as a form of gnosis upon which two powerful religious forces have exerted an equal influence, the official religion and the Manichaean heresy, and some other elements also (just as Manichaean gnosticism owes much to the national religion)

In any case, the feature which appears most clearly from the sources and which struck contemporaries was the general body of Mazdakī precepts with communist and humanitarian tendency and especially those which relate to community of women and property and were actually put into practice for a short time The ascetic prescriptions are quite in keeping with a gnostic character of the sect (the prohibition of slaughtering animals and eating their flesh) which with communist teachings would be the elements forming the path to gnosis and liberation

The presence of an ascetic strain in Mazdakism, as in Manichaeism, is probable The people naturally seized on these principles and eagerly attempted to put them into practice on a large scale Thus excesses resulted which, at least in origin, were very far from the intentions of the reformer and the élite of his adherents This explains also why the religious character of the sect was forgotten and memory of its social teachings retained Whether the founder and his leaders also abandoned themselves to the excesses of which the sources accuse them, one cannot say, we know that very frequently the initial good faith of reformers is disturbed by contact with reality

It was natural to give a more practical value to this body of teaching, if we regard Mazdakism as a Puritan reform remaining within the Mazdaean religion and not becoming an independent religion

Contemporary sources also tell us of a bishop elected by the Mazdakīs, named, according to Malala, Indarazar (which Noldeke connects with the Pahlavī word *andarzgar* = to advise, cf the *ispasagh* or *episkopos* of the Manichaeans) who was slain with the other Mazdakīs on the day of the massacre, according to Christensen, it is possible to identify him with Mazdak

During the persecution which followed the massacre, all the Mazdakī books were destroyed The Persian work of the seventh century, *Dabistān-i Maḏhāhib* quotes a book called *Dīsnād* which is usually regarded as a forgery all the notices of the sect professing to come from this book are

taken from the text of al Shahrastānī and other sources, like the rest of the book The Book of Mazdak which enjoyed a great popularity and was translated in Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' and into Arabic verse by Ābān b 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Lāhiḳī was a work of entertainment and not of religious teaching (cf above)

History of the Mazdakī movement in the reign of Kawādh — The Massacre We know very little about the life of Mazdak (also written Mazdak) His father was called Bāmdādh (a Persian name like Mazdak) and according to Tabarī, they came from a town بلخ which Christensen is inclined to identify with Mādharāyā Istakhr and Tabriz are mentioned as the birthplace of the reformer According to some sources, he had been a Zoroastrian priest (*mōbaḏh*), al-Bīrūnī who sometimes follows a romantic tradition (cf above), calls him *mōbaḏhān mōbaḏh*! The details of his doctrine are not known but it is certain that he developed and spread the teaching of his precursor Zarādusht of Pasā, who lived two centuries before him It is evident that the disturbed condition of Persia after the victories of the Hephtalites facilitated the spread of revolutionary doctrines, but it is difficult to see why the king (whose reign began in 488) became a convert to the new faith (and this is a question which also puzzled the ancients), and how he became connected with Mazdak

The necessity of crushing the power of the nobility and higher clergy which he found annoying may have caused the king to use for his own ends a sect which aimed at destroying the privileges of these classes Noldeke (who thinks Kawādh was a man of strong will) credits him with this plan Christensen (who had accepted this thesis) now sees in the allusions of some of the sources proof of the sincerity of Kawādh (whom, as he says, the contemporary sources do not credit with a "Machiavellian character") Kawādh, he thinks, was moved primarily by religious motives and was attracted by the religious element in the new teaching, while ready to take advantage of any political advantages that the sect might be likely to gain for him In any case it is evident that in his wars he was not restrained by any humanitarian prejudices, although one Arabic source with a hostile bias says that the king as a *zandīḳ* feared to spill blood Christensen likes to compare his attitude with regard to Mazdakī morality with that of Constantine with regard to Christian teaching In any case it is difficult to give a verdict on Kawādh, in view of the varying prejudices of the sources and the tradition of the time of Khusraw which in general tends to elevate the figure of Anūsharwān at the expense of the others There were numerous conversions among the upper classes, proselytising among the common people was facilitated by the wretched conditions in which they lived and of course also by the nature of the teaching which in every age has seduced the masses Mazdakism thus became a remarkable force and permeated all the machinery of government The practical effect of the king's favour was seen in the measures alluded to in contemporary sources, but we do not know to what degree they realised the Mazdakī ideal, either as regards community of women (perhaps this was only an extension of regulations already existing in the Sāsānian code?) or community of property (only taxes on the rich?) But what is certain is that Khusraw at the beginning of his reign had to take important steps to remedy the disastrous results to property and the organisation of the family, such abuses were however not the direct result of the legal measure adopted by Kawādh but rather of the violent application of communism which was a later development

The philo Mazdak policy of the king and the growing power of the sect provoked a revolution in the palace and Kawādh was dethroned and imprisoned Djāmāsp, his brother, was put on the throne in his stead Kawādh succeeded in escaping and took refuge with the Hephtalites and regained his kingdom with their assistance (498 or 499) In the meanwhile, in spite of the dethronement of the king, the sect had grown more and more and its power became disquieting The people, urged on by their leaders and more alive to the practical advantages than to the religious elements of the reform, naturally abandoned themselves to all sorts of excesses and disorder broke out everywhere The estates of the nobles were plundered, the women carried off, which, with a horror of communist principles, explains the violent language used by contemporary and Arabic and Persian sources against the sect All this must have frightened the king on his return Having revenged himself on his principal enemies immediately on his restoration, he now found it necessary to come to an agreement with the majority of the nobility and clergy in order to face the war with Byzantium Prince Khusraw seeing his rights to the succession threatened by the activities of the sect, which, taking advantage of its power, was endeavouring to secure the election of Kawādh's eldest son Padhashkhwār Shāh (Phthasuarsan) It is also said (in the sources of the fourth line, cf above) that Khusraw was eager to avenge himself on Mazdak, who had refused to take as his wife the mother of Khusraw (offered to him by Kawādh in recognition of the principles of the sect) until the prince humbled himself before him Khusraw, who had already begun to display his remarkable political abilities, must have had considerable influence with his father, who was persuaded to have Mazdak and his followers massacred, after inviting them en masse to the court on the pretext that a theological disputation was to be held (or according to another story, for the public proclamation of Padhashkhwār Shāh as heir to the throne) The massacre took place in 528 or at the beginning of 529 Arab writers wrongly put it at the beginning of the reign of Khusraw, this exploit earned him the title of Anūsharwān The number of slain is unknown Kawādh died in 531 and after him Khusraw took special steps to restore order in the ownership of property and in the social organisation which had been upset by the application of communism The surviving Mazdakīs were persecuted in a bloodthirsty fashion and their books burned

Mazdakism after the massacre It is not probable that Mazdakism disappeared with the persecution, perhaps the survivors sought refuge in the mountains, in different parts of Persia where we later find sects (e g the *Khurramīya*) whom Muslim writers do not hesitate to connect with the Mazdakīs Nizām al-Mulk, who in his manual on the art of government attributes great political importance to a knowledge of the various sects, is very clear on this point According to some

orientalists Mazdakī elements can be discovered in Bāṭinism and Ismāʿīlism But the whole question of the relations between these sects (of which very often insufficient is known) and the old Persian religious forms must be examined thoroughly with a knowledge of the progress made in the study of Irānian gnoses and syncretisms It cannot be dealt with here, cf the articles ISMĀʿĪLĪYA, KHURRAMĪYA, MUBAIYIDA, MUHAMMIRA, MUḲANNAʿ, RĀWANDĪYA, SINBĀD etc

Bibliography Th Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und der Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p 455—467 (fundamental), cf the popular sketch of the subject by the same author in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1879, p 284 *sqq*, E G Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge 1900 and 1928, vol I, O G v Wesendonk, *Die Mazdakiten*, in *Der Neue Orient*, VI 35—41, do, *Die Religion der Drusen*, *ibid*, VII 85–88, 127–130, A Christensen, *Le regne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, in *Det Kgl Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Hist-filol Meddelelser, IX 6, Copenhagen 1925 (very important) (MICHELANGELO GUIDI)

MAẔHAR, MIRZĀ DJĀNDJĀNĀN, an Urdū poet and eminent Ṣūfī, of Turkish descent, was born in 1111 (1699) or 1113 (1701) in Kālābāgh, Mālwah His father Mīrzā Djān was an officer of Awrangzēb [q v], who, when the news of his birth was conveyed to him, said his father was Mīrzā Djān and hence his son should be called Djāndjānān, though his father afterwards named him Shams al-Dīn, yet he is known by the name which the emperor had selected for him He was received into the Nakshabandī order by Saiyid Mīr Muhammad Badāʾūnī and into the Kādirī order by Muhammad ʿĀbid Sumāmī He died in Dihlī on the 10th of Muharram 1195 (January 6, 1780) from a pistol shot fired at him by some Shīʿa fanatic His memoirs with some letters, called *Makamāt Mazharī* or *Latāʾif Khamsa* are edited by Muhammad Beg b Rahim Beg, Dihlī A H 1309, A D 1892 His biography, together with notices of his disciples, has been written by Muhammad Naʿīm Allāh Bahāʾidjī in *Bishārāt Mazharīya*

Bibliography Shīfta, *Gulshan Bīkhār*, fol 142b—143a, Āzād, *Āb-i Hayāt*, Lahore 1913, p 137—148, Karīm al-Dīn, *Taʾrikh-i Shuʿarāʾ-i Urdū*, Dihlī 1848, p 105—107, *Hadāʾik al-Hanafiya*, Lucknow 1891, p 453, Sprenger, *Oude Catalogue*, p 488, Garcin de Tassy, *Litt Hind*, II 297, and Rieu, *Cat Persian Mss Br Mus*, I 363a (M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĀZIN, the name of several Arab tribes who are represented in all the great ethnic groupings of the Peninsula, this finds typical expression in the anecdote recorded in *Aghānī*, VIII 141 (= Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, II 382—383), according to which the Caliph al-Wāthiḳ asked the grammarian Abū ʿOthmān al-Māzinī, who had come to his court, to which Māzin he belonged — if to the Māzin of the Tamīm, to those of the Kais, to those of the Rabīʿa or to those of the Yemen

The first are the Māzin b Mālik b ʿAmr b Tamīm (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*, L 12), the second, the Māzin b Mansūr (D 10) or the Mazin b Fazāra (H 13), the third, the Māzin b Shaibān b Dhuhl (C 19), the last, the Māzin b al-Nadjdjār, a clan of the Khazradj Ansār (19, 24) But alongside of these, many other tribes and clans bore this name The *Djamharat al Ansāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī gives no less than seventy, of whom the best known are the Māzin b Saʿd b Dabba (Ibn Kutaiba, *K al-Maʿārif*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 36, more accurately according to the *Djamhara*, MS Br Mus, Add 23, 297, fol 114r Māzin b ʿAbd Manāt b Bakr b Saʿd b Dabba, not given in the *Tabellen*), Māzin b Saʿsaʿa b Muʿāwiya b Bakr b Hawāzin (Ibn Kutaiba, p 42, *Tabellen*, H, 14), Māzin b Raith b Ghatafān (H, 10), Māzin b Rabīʿa b Zubaid or Māzin Madhhidj (7, 18), Māzin b al-Azd (11, 11) The large number of tribes named Māzin and their distribution over the whole of Arabia makes the hypothesis that we have here a single tribe that had been broken up into small sections impossible and we are led to suppose that the name Māzin, is a descriptive rather than a proper name, since the verb *mazana* means to "go away", one might suppose that Mazin originally meant "the emigrants" and was used in a general way of any ethnic group which became separated from its own tribe and was incorporated in a strange tribe This etymology, like almost all those of the names of Arab tribes, is of course only a hypothesis

The sources give a certain number of geographical and historical references to different tribes called Māzin, but they are generally very scanty, none of these tribes having attained sufficient importance to make it independent of the larger body to which it was attached We have a few details about the Māzin b al-Nadjdjār, a fairly important group of Madinese Khazradj (on the part played by them at the beginning of Islām see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Index to Vols I—II), as well as about the Māzin b Fazāra who took part as members of the tribe of the Dhubyān, in the war of Dāhis and al-Ghabrāʾ (cf DHUBYĀN, and *Aghānī*, XVI 27) Ibn Maiyāda, himself a Dhubyānī, directed a violent satire against them at the end of the first century A H (*Aghānī*, II 90, 102) As to the Māzin b Shaibān b Dhuhl, to whom the grammarian Abū ʿOthmān belonged, we know from the anecdote above quoted that in their dialect, *m* (initial ʾ) was pronounced like *b* (*baʾsmuka* for *maʾsmuka*, what is thy name ʾ), a peculiarity which does not seem to be recorded of the dialect of other Rabīʿa Lastly the Māzin b al-Azd, whom tradition makes migrate to the north, changed their name to Ghassān [*q v*] under which they became celebrated

It is only of the Māzin b Mālik b ʿAmr b Tamīm that we have fairly full information Legend, which has developed with unusual detail around the sons of Tamīm [*q v*] gives Māzin a part in the story of his uncle ʿAbd Shams b Saʿd b Zaid Manāt b Tamīm's fight against al-ʿAnbar b ʿAmr b Tamīm (cf al Mufaddal b Salama, *al-Fākhir*, ed Storey, p 233 and the references given in the note) This tribe of Māzin never left the great group of the ʿAmr b Tamīm to which it belonged and dwelled with them in the lands in the extreme N W of Nadjd, their headquarters were around the well of Safārī near Dhū Kār (*Nakāʾid*, ed Bevan, p 48, note to line 17, Yāḳūt, III 95, Bakrī, p 724, l 1, 787—788), their principal subdivisions were the Banū Hurḳūs, Khuzāʿī, Rizām, Anmār, Zabīna, Uthātha and Raʾlān In the Djāhilīya, the Māzin followed their parent tribe and we find them sharing in the

wars of the latter, in rotation with the other Tamīmī tribes they held the office of *ḥākim* at the fair of ʿUkāz (*Nakāʾiḍ*, p 438) At the coming of Islām, their chief was Mukhārik b Shihāb, also known as a poet (cf especially al Djāhiz, *Bayān*, II 171, al-Kālī, *Amālī*, III 50, Ibn Hadjar, *Isāba*, Cairo 1325, VI 156) Without being particularly zealous partisans of the new religion, they did not take part in the *ridda* with the other Tamīmī tribes (11 A H) and they even drove away the messengers sent them by the prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q v*] and made one of them prisoner, the Taghlibī al-Hudhail b ʿImrān, the latter waited for his revenge till the troubled period that followed the murder of the Caliph ʿOthmān (35 = 656), of which he took advantage to ravage the district of Safārī, but the Māzin met him and slew him and threw him into the well (Tabarī, I 1911, 1915, cf *Aghānī*, XIX 145—146, transl in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, X 552—553, in the last passage the expedition against the Safārī appears to be independent of the events of the *ridda*)

At a later date, the Māzin settled in large numbers, like the rest of the Tamim, in Khurāsān and took part in the conquest of Central Asia, among the Māzinīs who distinguished themselves there were Shihāb b Mukhāriḳ, son of the chief already mentioned (Tabarī, I 2569, 2707), Hilāl b al-Ahwaz, who in 102 (720) slew the members of the family of Yazīd b al-Muhallab after the defeat of the latter (Tabarī, II 1912–1913), ʿUmair b Sinān, who killed the Persian chief Rutbīl (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab al-Khail*, p 30, note to lines 3–4) We also find many of the Banū Māzin among the *kuwwād* of the ʿAbbāsid army in the time of the rising against the Umaiyads But a no less number went to swell the ranks of the Khāridjīs, the celebrated chief of the Azrakīs, Katarī b al-Fudjāʾa [*q v*], belonged to the Māzinī clan of Kābiya b Hurḳūs

Very few of the remarkable number of poets produced by the Tamīm belonged to the Māzin We may note however Hilāl b Asʿar of the Omaiyad period (*Aghānī*, II 186), Mālik b al-Raib, poet and brigand, contemporary of al-Hadjdjādj (*Aghānī*, XIX, 162—169, Ibn Kutaiba, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed de Goeje, p 205—207 etc), Zuhair b ʿUrwa al-Sakb (*Aghānī*, XIX 156, the few verses that we have by him, often quoted, are also attributed to his father, ʿUrwa b Djalham, and even to ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Hassān b Thābit cf *Mufaddaliyat*, ed Lyall, p 249, note *y*) Lastly it may be mentioned that the Māzin have given to Arab philology two of its most illustrious masters Abū ʿAmr b al-ʿAlāʾ (*q v*, d 154) and al-Nadr b Shumail whose genealogies are given in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (L)

Bibliography Wustenfeld, *Register z d geneal Tabellen*, p 291, Ibn Kutaiba, *K al-Maʿārif*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 36—42, Ibn Duraid, *K al-Ishtikāḳ*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 124—126, 171, 211, 258, Ibn al Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, ms Brit Mus, Add 23, 297, fol 90 v—92 r, and *passim* (G Levi Della Vida)

MAZYADĪS, a Muḥammadan dynasty in al-Hilla The Banū Mazyad belonged to the tribe of Asad and lived west of the Tigris, from Kūfa to Hīt In the southeast, on the Khūzistān frontier, the Banū Dubais had settled When Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim Muhammad b Mazyad, who was related to the Banū Dubais, slew one of their chiefs with whom he had quarrelled, a war broke out between the two tribes (401 = 1010–1011) Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim fled to his brother Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī, the latter set out against the Banū Dubais with an army, but was defeated and Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim fell in the battle In 403 (1012—1013), ʿAlī was recognized as emīr by the Būyid Sultān al Dawla In Muharram 405 (July 1014), he undertook a campaign against the Banū Dubais, to revenge himself for the defeat he had suffered and slew Hassān and Nabhān, the sons of Dubais, but in Djumādā of the same year (Oct –Nov 1014) he was routed by their brother Mudar After ʿAlī's death in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 408 (March–April 1018), his son Dubais succeeded him The latter's brother al-Mukallad with the help of Turkish mercenaries in Baghdād, endeavoured to seize the power for himself, but order was soon restored and al-Mukallad went to al-Mawsil to the ʿUḳailids In a few years Dubais became involved in war with Karwāsh b al-Mukallad [q v] and he had also troubles within his borders In the war between the two Būyids Abū Kālīdjār and Djalal al-Dawla, the former was supported by Dubais and the latter by al-Mukallad After the defeat of Abū Kālīdjār in 421 (1030), al-Mukallad with the help of the Banū Khafādja and the troops of Djalāl al Dawla invaded his brother's territory Dubais had to take to flight and the land was laid waste Peace however was soon arranged Dubais was allowed to retain his lands but had to pay Djalāl al-Dawla a considerable sum The third brother Thābit allied himself with al-Basāsīrī, the military governor of Baghdād, and in 424 (1032—1033) they advanced against Dubais The latter sent an army to meet them, but his troops were routed and he himself had to take to flight After receiving reinforcements he advanced against Thābit, they met at Djardjarāyā and after a fierce battle, Dubais had to cede a part of his possessions while al-Basāsīrī, who arrived too late to take part in the battle, returned to Baghdād In Radjab 446 (Oct –Nov 1054) the Banū Khafādja invaded the country but were soon driven out with the help of al-Basāsīrī Two or three years later war broke out between al-Basāsīrī who was joined by Dubais, and the Saldjuk Sultān Toghrīl Beg and his follower Kuraish b Badrān [q v] Dubais died in Shawwāl 474 (March–April 1082) at the age of 80 His son Mansūr succeeded him but died in Rabīʿ I, 479 (June–July 1086) In the reign of his son and successor Sadaka [q v] the power of the Mazyadīs spread over almost the whole of the ʿIrāk At first he was a stout supporter of Barkiyārūk [q v], in 494 (1100—1101) however he turned to his brother The towns of Hīt, Wāsit, Basra and Tal rīt fell successively into his hands but, as the commander appointed by Sadaka in Basra did not prove fit for his task, Muhammad seized the suzerainty of the town and installed a new governor In Sadaka's reign the capital al-Djāmiʿān was extended and fortified, and given the name of al-Hilla (495 = 1101—1102) His steadily increasing power however aroused Muhammad's misgivings and in spite of long negotiations, a rupture finally occurred between them At the end of Radjab 501 (Febr –March 1108) Muhammad himself set out from Baghdād against Sadaka A section of the Arabs allied with him fled and Sadaka fell in the battle His son Dubais was taken prisoner but the latter's two brothers escaped and were only able to return home after Muhammad's death

(511 = 1118) In 529 (1135) he was treacherously murdered [cf the article DUBAIS] and succeeded by his son Ṣadaḳa In the war between Sulṭān Masʿūd and his nephew Dāwūd, Sadaka declared for the former After Masʿūd's victory, the troops scattered to seek booty and several emīrs including Ṣadaḳa were surprised and captured by the enemy and at once put to death (532 = 1137—1138) Sadaḳa's brother Muhammad was thereupon recognised as lord of al-Hilla In 540 (1145—1146) however, the third brother ʿAlī went to al-Hilla, because he was afraid of the Sultān and drove out Muhammad After he had taken the town, he drove back the Sultān's troops and it was not till 542 (1147—1148) that Salārkerd, one of Masʿūd's generals, was able to expel ʿAlī but in the same year he was defeated by the latter and had to abandon the town In 544 (1149—1150) ʿAlī endeavoured to induce the caliph al Muktafī to abandon Masʿūd but, as the caliph refused and summoned the Sultān to his help, ʿAlī had to submit and the rebels who had joined him dispersed ʿAlī died in the following year and al Hilla was given as a fief to Salārkerd by Masʿūd On Masʿūd's death in 547 (1152), the town fell into the hands of Masʿūd Bilāl, the commander of Baghdād, the latter however was driven out by the caliph's troops who occupied al-Hilla When in 551 (1157) Sultān Muhammad took the field against al-Muktafī [q v], they had to withdraw and Muhammad put a garrison in the town The Mazyadīs submitted to his deputy but in 558 (1162—1163) the caliph al Mustandjid sent an army against them which put an end to their power 4,000 men were slain and the remainder outlawed so that they were scattered in all directions

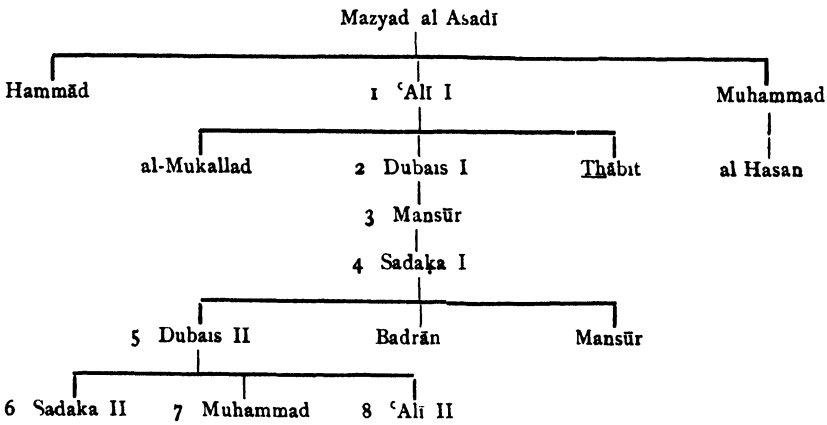
Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), ix 157, 170, 174 *sq*, 215 *sq*, 227, 248—250, 265 *sq*, 297, 358, 381, 411, 430—438, 447 *sq*, x. 5, 78, 98 *sq*, 177, 192, 198, 209 *sq*, 223, 243—248, 251 *sq*, 254, 258, 264, 266 *sq*, 272 *sq*, 276—278, 283 *sq*, 289—291, 302—313, 376—380, 394—399, 422—430, 435, 439—443, 459—461, 470 *sqq*, xi 18 *sqq*, 30, 40, 69, 80 *sq*, 88, 94, 100, 195, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv 276—293, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 67 *sqq*, 78, 80, 87, 97 *sq*, 102 *sq*, 144, 152, 156—160, 214—232, 242, 257, 259, 309 *sq*, Karabacek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p 119 *sq*, de Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et de chronologie*, p 137

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MĀZYĀR, [Balādhurī gives the form Māyaz dıyār <* Māh-yazd-yār], the last of the Kārınıd rulers of Tabarıstān, leader of the rising against the caliph al Muʿtasım

Origins The Kārın-wand dynasty claimed descent from Kārın b Sūkhrā, whom Khusraw Anūshırwān had established in Tabarıstān and who was descended from the legendary smith Kāwa, who saved Faıldūn The hereditary fief of the dynasty was the "mountain of Kārın" [or of Windād Hurmuz], Tabarī, in 1295 The capital of this region was probably Lapūra (cf Lafūr on the eastern source of the river Bābul which later runs through Bārfurūsh) The Kārın-wand were subordinate to the Bāwandid *ispahbads* (capital Fırrım) The genealogy of the Kārınids given by Zahīr al-Dın, p 167 and 321 is fantastic The first Kārınid known is Windād-Hurmuz (138—190 =

Genealogical Table of the Mazyadīs



755—805 ?) who raised a coalition of local chiefs against the Arabs (the Bāwandid Sharwīn, [the] Māsmughān Walāsh of Mıyāndurūd, the Pādūspān Shahrıyār b Pādūspān) and defeated the generals sent by the caliph al-Mahdī (first Sālim Farghānī, then Fırāsha, Ibn Isfandıyār, p 128 Zahır al-Dın, p 155—159) Windād-Hurmuz had to submit to Hādī, the son of the Caliph, and accompany him to Baghdād Soon he returned to his native mountains and resumed an independent attitude (*ibid*, p 160) According to Ibn al Faḳīh, p 304, Windād Hurmuz came to the court of Hārūn al-Rashid, who appointed him *ispahbad* of Khurāsān He died in the reign of al-Maʾmūn His son and successor was Kārın (a contemporary of the Bāwandid Shahrıyār) According to Ibn Isfandıyār, p 145, he accompanied al-Maʾmūn on his campaign against the Byzantines but this does not agree with the dates given for his successor

According to Zahīr al Dın, p 321, Māzyār b Kārın ruled for 30 years (194—224 = 809—839) but on p 167 the same writer says that his (tyrannical!) government lasted 7 years (217—224) Tabarī, in 1015, under the year 201, speaks of the conquests in Tabarıstān of ʿAbd Allāh b Khurdadhbah (sic!) as a result of which the Bāwandid Shahrıyār b Sharwīn had to leave the mountains and Māzyār b Ḳārın was sent to al-Maʾmūn According to late sources,

Shahriyār b Sharwīn had deprived Māzyār of his possessions Māzyār sought refuge with his cousin Windā Ummīd b Windād-aspān, who handed him over to Shahriyār Māzyār however managed to escape, sought refuge with al Ma mūn and became a Muslim, assuming the name Muhammad After the death of Shahriyār (210 = 825, Ṭabarī, iii 1093), Māzyār, returning to Ṭabaristān, slew Shāpūr b Shahriyār and seized the mountain (Ṭabarī, *ibid*) [Ibn al-Fakih's story, p 305—306, about the "son of Sharwīn b Shahriyār", whom Māzyār assassinated treacherously seems to refer to Shāpūr, to allay the suspicions of his victim, Māzyār had built a mosque in Firrīm] Māzyār assisted the Arab governor Mūsā b Hafs b ʿOmar b al-ʿAlā' to subjugate the mountain of Sharwīn and al-Ma'mūn appointed him governor of Tabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbawand with the rank of *ispahbadh* (Balādhurī, p 229, Ibn al-Fakīh, p 309) At this time (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii 582), Māzyār boasted the title of *Dhū l Dhulān*, *ispahbadh ispahbadhān Bishwār-Khurshād* (read *Patishwār-gharshāh*), *Muhammad b Kārin*, *muwālī* (sic) *amir al-mu'minīn* (i e "ally" instead of *mawlā* "client") When Mūsā b Hafs died, Māzyār paid no heed to his son Muhammad b Mūsā Complaints against Māzyār were taken to Baghdād by the Bāwandids and by devout Muslims But as al-Mamūn was setting out against the Byzantines (expedition of 216—218?) Māzyar felt himself free from any control In his turn he charged Muhammad b Mūsā with intriguing with the ʿAlids and on this imaginary pretext besieged Amul The town capitulated at the end of 8 months Māzyār executed his enemies and imprisoned all the notables, including Muhammad b Mūsā, first at Rūd bast and then in his principal stronghold of Hurmuzd-ābād To judge from Tabarī, iii 1289—1292, the place must have been in the valley of the Ṭālār, above Uram (Ārum) at a distance of 8 farsakhs from Āmul and from Sārī [cf the article MĀZANDARĀN]

In the sixth year of the reign of al-Muʿtasim (218—227), Māzyār openly rebelled (Balādhurī, p 229 *kafara wa-ghadara*) The Tāhirid ʿAbd Allāh, governor of Khurāsān, had denounced to the Caliph the "misdeeds, tyranny and apostacy" of Māzyār When al-Muʿtasim's ambassador arrived, Māzyār would not listen to him Ibn Isfandiyār, p 152, even accuses him of having conferred honours "on Bābak, Mazdak and other Magians who had ordered the destruction of the mosques and the obliteration of all traces of Islām"

Māzyār's schemes It is difficult to reconstruct Māzyār's programme from the sources, which are hostile to him, but the narratives of contemporary witnesses which Tabarī, iii 1268—1303, gives under the year 224 contain a number of curious and important details

The extension of Mazyār's power (after the assassination of the Bāwandid Shāpūr and the occupation of the mountain of Sharwīn) had brought him into conflict with the Ṭāhirids to whom he refused to pay *kharādj* It may be noted that Māzyār's very title "ispahbadh of Khurāsān" (this variant is given in Yaʿḳūbī, *B G A*, vii 276) must have been displeasing to the Tāhirids On the other hand the celebrated Afshīn, who after his victory over Bābak was at the height of his glory, coveted Khorāsān He therefore secretly encouraged Māzyār's resistance to his rivals and according to Ṭabarī, iii 1269, played upon his sentiments as a man of noble Iranian blood (*yastamīluhu bi 'l-dahkanati*)

From the national point of view, Māzyār could recall the precedent of his grandfather Windād-Hurmuz to whom late sources attribute the organisation of the massacre of the Arab garrisons Māzyār, who came out of "the mountain" where he had only an almost unknown town (Istakhrī, p 206 al Asahmār?) must have looked askance at the urban elements of the great towns of the "plain" among whom Arabs and their clients (*abnā'*) predominated The landowning class was certainly hostile to him, as in order to weaken and even exterminate them, he had relied on the support of the peasants Māzyār's actions were certainly very violent, for ten centuries later, Zahīr al Dīn, p 167, quotes the proverb "so and so has done an injustice such as not even Māzyār could have done"

Coming out in open rebellion (probably before the year 224 under which Balādhurī and Tabarī relate the dénouement) Mazyar had homage paid to himself, took hostages and levied kharādj at once The doings of his governor Surkhāstān in Sārī are characteristic He transferred all the inhabitants of Sārī to Āmul, where he shut them up in a fort, as to the people of Āmul, he took 20,000 of them away into the mountains of Hurmuzd ābad (cf above) The walls of Sarī, Āmul and Tamīsa were razed to the ground "to the sound of fifes and drums"

Māzyār had given orders to the peasants to attack and plunder their masters (Tabarī, iii 1269) The next passage (iii 1270) seems to indicate that a cadastral survey was ordered (*amara an yumsaha 'l balad*) and the lands were let out, the rental being 30% (of the produce) As to Surkhāstān, he collected 260 nobles (*abna 'l-kuwwād*), the bravest he could find, and on a pretext "that the *abnā'* were favourable to the Arabs and to the ʿAbbāsids", handed them over as dangerous individuals to the peasants, who slew them at his suggestion He even tried to provoke a massacre of all the imprisoned landowners, saying to the peasants "I have already handed over to you the houses of the landowners and their wives", but this time the peasants refrained from following his advice

The later sources retain the usual accusation of apostacy against Māzyār ("he once more assumed the girdle of Zoroastrianism", says Ibn Isfandiyār, p 150 quoting the kādī of Āmul) Baladhurī, p 229 and Ibn al Fakīh, p 309 also say that Māzyār "renounced the faith and committed treason", but this point is more obscure in Tabarī, where it only occurs in the list of charges made against Afshīn, iii 1311 (transl in Browne, *Lit Hist of Persia*, i 334) The tone of the letter which Māzyār had addressed to his representatives, *ibid*, iii 1381, is respectful to the Caliph, in form at least But there is no smoke without fire, if we may believe the authors who mention the existence in Tabaristān of a *Māzyārīya* sect connected with the *Khurramiya* [q v] or *Muhammira* [q v] (i e followers of Bābak) Cf al-Baghdādī (d in 429), *Fark bain al-firak*, p 251—252, Tāhir al-Isfarāʾīnī (d in 451), *Tabṣīr fi 'l dīn* [quoted in Flügel, *Bābek*, *Z D M G*, 1869, p 533] and Samʿānī, *G M S*, fol 501a

Māzyār's end ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir sent against Māzyār his uncle Hasan b Husain to operate from the direction of Djurdjān as well as

Haiyān b Djabala, who went with 4,000 horses via Kūmis towards Djabal al-Sharwīn (= Sawādkūh), cf the article MĀZANDARĀN) At the same time the caliph al Mu'taṣim sent considerable forces under the command of Muhammad b Ibrāhīm who entered Rūyān (western Tabaristān) by Shalamba and Rudhbār (Tabarī, iii 1264) Mansūr b Hasan, "lord of Dunbāwand", attacked from Raiy while Abu 'l-Sādj advanced via Lārīz and Dunbāwand

The Arabs very skilfully exploited the rivalries and enmities in the entourage of Māzyār First of all his nephew Kārin b Shahriyār (his representative in the mountain of Sharwīn = Sawādkūh) went over to Haiyān, who marched on Sārī and began to negotiate with Māzyār's brother Kūhyār In the meanwhile Surkhāstān's army which occupied the Tamīsha front dispersed and allowed Hasan b Husain to advance Kūhyār, who had been promised Māzyār's place, submitted to Hasan Māzyār seems to have lost his courage when he found himself surrounded by the Arabs and betrayed by his follower He trusted Kūhyār, who had promised him the *amān*, and came with him to Hasan (Tabarī, iii 1288—1291, dramatic story by an eye-witness) but Hasan did not even acknowledge his greeting Māzyār was handed over to Muhammad b Ibrāhīm and sent to Sāmarrā Here he was confronted with Afshin and seems to have denounced the latter The caliph ordered him to be given 400 lashes, under which he died and his body was exposed beside that of Bābak in 224 = 839

Kūhyār's treachery served him little He was slain as a traitor by his cousin Shahriyār b Māsmughān who commanded the Dailamīs in the service of Māzyār

Surkhāstān was betrayed by the soldiers after the defeat at Tamīsha and the other of Māzyār's generals, al-Durrī, who was fighting against Muhammad b Ibrāhīm on the Rūyān front, died while attempting to reach Dailam (Tabarī, iii 1300)

Bibliography Ya'kūbī, ed Houtsma, i 514, ii 582, Balādhurī, p 229, Tabarī, iii 1268—1303, — among his authorities were Muhammad b Hafs al-Thakafī al-Tabarī (perhaps related to the Arab wālī Mūsā b Hafs?) and 'Alī b Sahl Rabban "the Christian" [author of the *Firdaws al-hikma*, ed Siddīkī, Berlin 1928], whom Māzyār employed as his scribe, cf the *Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p 299, Tabarī is the source of the later epitomists *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, ed de Jong-de Goeje, p 399—405, Ibn Miskawaih, vi, ed de Goeje, p 502—516, 522—525, Ibn al-Athīr, vi 351—359, 362—364, 366 etc Cf also Ibn Rusta, p 276, Ibn al Fakīh, p 304, 305—306, 309—310, Mas'ūdī, *B G A*, vii 137, Yākūt, ii 608, iii 284, 490, 506, Ibn Isfandiyār, transl Browne, p 14—154, Zahīr al Dīn, index (these two last local sources do not know Tabarī and contain a number of quite legendary stories), Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 321—325, Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, p 201–202 (bibliography), Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 334

(V MINORSKY)

MECCA.

I

On the eve of the Hidjra It is with the birth of Muhammad — between 570–580 AD — that Mecca suddenly emerges from the shadows of the past and thrusts itself upon the attention of the historian The geographer Ptolemy seems to know it under the name Macoraba, but it must have been in existence long before his time Mecca was probably one of the stations on the "incense route", the road by which the produce of the East especially valuable perfumes, came to the Mediterranean world It owes its importance to its position at the

Intersection of great commercial routes The town that had grown up around the well of Zamzam and the sanctuary of the Ka'ba was advantageously placed at the extreme ends of the Asia of the whites and the Africa of the blacks, near a breach in the chain of the Sarāt, close to a junction of roads leading from Babylonia and Syria to the plateaus of the Yemen, to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea By the latter it was in communication with the mysterious African continent What advantages were offered by this situation at the boundary between civilisation and barbarism, at the point of contact of two societies, brought together by necessities more pressing than political ambitions or the quarrels of race and religion! This was the part played by the Palmyrans, situated between the Romans and the Parthians It demanded an adaptability and diplomatic skill beyond the ordinary The two societies were frequently at war, it required wits to deal tactfully with them But if the position had its risks, it had the advantage of being able to fix the price for its services to the belligerents In the delicate role of intermediary and broker between two world, the strength of will of the Ishmaelite and the tenacity that lay beneath his apparent complaisance assured his success from the first Civilisation and barbarism might conclude peace for a time or be at war, he was able to trade on their agreement or exploit their dissensions with equal satisfaction to himself Ambiguous and amphibious, the Meccan was able to have a foot in both camps without it being possible to discern where his sympathies really lay

At an early date we see the Meccans opening negotiations with the states adjoining Arabia They obtained from them safe conducts and capitulations, permitting the free passage of their caravans This is what their chronicles call the "guarantee of Caesar and of Chosroes" They also concluded agreements with the Negus of Abyssinia, with the principal shaikhs of Nadjd the *kail*'s of the Yemen, with the phylarchs of Ghassān and of Hira In the negotiations with the Greeks and Persians the principal of the "open door" was not admitted Commercial transactions were carried through at posts on the frontier or in towns specially designated for the purpose In Palestine these were the ports of Aila and Ghazza and perhaps also Jerusalem In Syria, Bosrā was their principal outlet, their great market

Sūra cvi 2 mentions as a permanent institution "the double caravan of winter and summer" The *nassāba*, genealogists, record the names of the Kuraish chiefs who had succeeded in obtaining by negotiation permits to trade The countries open to commerce in this way were called *wadjh*, direction, *matdjar*, region of trade There were innumerable restrictions, limiting the extension of the privilege Eastern governments did not permit free trade Distrustful of merchants even when her own subjects, Byzantium showed herself still more

suspicious of foreigners, especially Bedouins, a slippery race which filled her with an unconquerable distrust The latter had therefore to make heavy sacrifices, to pay onerous taxes, to pay continual customs-dues and tolls or to hand over hostages before negotiations could be begun Mecca was not inspired by principles any more broad-minded, she took care to recompense herself from foreign traders and to levy various charges upon them, tithes, charges for permits to stay in the country, to travel about and to trade Tithes had to be paid before entering Mecca There was also, as at Palmyra, a "departure" tax or tax on exportation In short, foreign merchants were entangled in a very intricate fiscal system, whether they settled in Mecca or only passed through it, especially those who did not obtain the *ḏjiwār* or guarantee of a local clan or notability

The population About the time of the Hidjra, the people of Mecca claimed descent from a common ancestor They called him Kuraish or Fihr, sometimes also al-Nadr surnamed Kuraish The origins of the Kuraish were humble and little is known of them They formed one of the less wealthy branches of those who went back to the main stock of the Kināna [q v] At first they led a miserable existence in the wild mountains around the sacred territory of Mecca A condottiere from the northern Hidjāz, Kusaiy, is said to have installed them by force of arms in Mecca, which he took from the control of the tribe of Khuzāʿa [q v] Some ten main clans can be distinguished among them Hāshim, Umaiya, Nawfal, Zuhra, Asad, Taim, Makhzūm, ʿAdī, Djomah and Sahm These occupied mainly the centre of the town, the bottom of the valley, al-Bathāʾ, where the water of the well of Zamzam accumulated, the hollow where the Kaʿba stood Their living in this neighbourhood earned them the epithet of *Abṭaḥī*, *Biṭāḥī* or *Kuraish al-Biṭāḥ* This central quarter of the town was regarded as that of the aristocracy and of the oldest Kuraish families Among these ten groups, some owe to Islām a renown hitherto denied them Such were the Taim and the ʿAdī, rendered illustrious by the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Other clans more vaguely connected with the eponymous ancestor were thrust towards the outskirts of Mecca, on the lower slopes or in the gorges (*shiʿb*) of the hills which dominate the town They were called the "Kuraish of the outskirts" (*Kuraish al-Ẓawāhir*) Held in less consideration than their fellow-tribesmen of the Bathāʾ, these suburbans had the advantage of being distinguished from them by their bravery They supplied the Kuraish community with its best soldiers and never failed to cast this up to the Meccans "of the centre"

Government and Administration It is not easy to discover definite indications of this There must however have been a rudimentary system of archives in which to preserve treaties of alliance and commerce, and later the equivalent of an office to take charge of the collection of taxes on foreign traders Nowhere do we find any explicit allusion to the working of such administrative organisations A tradition records the existence of purely honorary offices with no jurisdiction But it does not agree either upon the number (ten or six) nor upon the functions of these offices I imagine it was invented to satisfy the vanity of the great families The only allusion to it is in the verses of a Medinese poet, Hassān b. Thābit· The office of "pavilion and reins" has nothing to do — as has been supposed — with the art of war This dignity, which was an ancient one and no longer understood, was a memory of the ritual processions held in pagan Arabia The *kubba* was simply the pavilion or portable tabernacle, containing the fetish of the tribe and solemnly carried on the back of a camel The chiefs and notables took turns at holding the reins of the animal bearing this precious burden It is taking nothing from the glory of Khālid b al-Walīd to say that he had not a monopoly of this privilege Behind the legend of the Meccan dignities, we perceive the intention of glorifying the cradle of the Prophet In giving it administrative institutions, an attempt was made to conceal the modest beginnings of the Hāshimīs and no less those of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar The onerous office of *iṣ̱ṭnāk*, which had to pay compensation for murder and injury, was far beyond the financial resources of the modest citizen called Abū Bakr The entrusting to ʿUmar of the *safāra* or diplomatic missions cannot be reconciled with his extreme youth and plebeian origin

I have elsewhere, for lack of a better term, called Mecca "a merchant republic" If Abū Sufyān is called "Shaikh and chief of the Kuraish", several of his contemporaries are given equally high sounding titles There is not the slightest reason to think that he was a kind of Kuraish doge The manner in which the events of the first eight years of the Hidjra are recorded produces the fallacious impression that he held the power in Mecca in his hands In reality he was only the ablest and most intelligent of his peers, the chiefs of the Kuraish clans As al-Fāsī pertinently observes, all were equal "no one exercised authority unless delegated or kindly permitted to do so by them" Did their chiefs constitute a regular official body? Yes, says tradition Mecca is even said to have had a kind of Senate or Grand Council, the *dār al nadwa* It met only in extraordinary circumstances Usually however, we find that it is in the *madjlis*, family groups or clubs, the *Nādī Kawm* opening on the square of the Kaʿba — the forum and bourse of the town — that affairs of general interest were dealt with

The Kurʾān cannot conceive of authority without a council of notables, without the *malaʾ* This institution is so frequently mentioned in the Kurʾān that the Prophet must have seen it working before his eyes We think then that Mecca was ruled by the oligarchy of the *malaʾ*, the equivalent in the town of the *madjlis* of the nomad tribe This was an assembly of the chiefs of the wealthiest and most influential families This is why Umaiyads and Makhzūmīs are most usually mentioned as composing the *malaʾ* Neither election nor birth could necessarily open the way to a seat on it, but rather the fame of services rendered, the prestige of ability and wealth Thus it welcomed to its counsels the very wealthy Ibn Djudʿān, a member of the humble clan of Taim An assembly of elders or if you like of senators, in conformity with the principle of seniority among the Arabs its authority, purely moral, was limited to advising, studying, looking ahead and giving to the merchant community the benefit of the experience of its conscript fathers In the absence of any coercive

powers, persuasion was the only force it had to make its wishes obeyed Hence the importance of eloquence in a milieu like this, where every family and every clan claimed autonomy The cause of peace was in continual conflict with their claims Without infringing their prerogatives, the *mala'* was able to exert moral pressure when the general good required it The system recalls, though remotely, the organisation of Palmyra and of Venice

Site and climate In the form of an elongated crescent with its points turned towards the flanks of the Ku'aiki'ān, the town was hemmed in by a double range of bare and steep hills The centre of this ill-ventilated couloir coincided with a depression in the soil The early town occupied the bottom of this, this was the *wādī*, the valley, the *baṭn Makka*, the hollow of Mecca The centre, the lowest part of this depression, was called *al Baṭḥā'* (cf above) Some buildings in this quarter were so close to the Ka'ba that in the morning and in the evening their shadows were merged in that of the sacred edifice Between these houses and the Ka'ba [q v] a narrow esplanade (*finā*) lay below the level of the surrounding soil This open area formed the primitive *masdjid*, a sanctuary open to the heavens The pre-Islāmic *Baṭḥā'* knew no other The ends of the little streets opening on this open space were called the "gates of the haram or of the masdjid" The so-called gates or openings took their names from the clans settled around the Ka'ba Thus one regularly spoke of the "gate of the Banū Djumah" The walls of their houses served to mark the boundaries of the masdjid It was on the ground floor of the buildings facing the sides of the Ka'ba that the *madjlis* or *nādī* of the chief families met, those that formed the *mala'* (cf above)

In the suburbs (*ẓawāhir*), and at a later date in the ravines (*shi'b*) which had been dug by erosion out of the flanks of the hills, was a confusion of poor houses, low and ramshackle hovels The unpleasant features of a town of this kind are obvious The geographer Makdisī has summed these up strikingly "suffocating heat, deadly winds, clouds of flies" The continual difficulty was the dearth of water The population was dependent on the variable output of the Zamzam There were other wells mainly outside the town Those inside had a doubtful reputation The scarcity of drinking-water is evident from the amount of precaution taken, when some thousands of pilgrims had to be supplied In such deplorable conditions one can imagine what suffering the long days brought, *ramdā' Makka* "the burning of Mecca", why the great families preferred to send their children to be brought up in the desert, why the *Sīra* only incidentally mentions the plague of Mekka (*waba' Makka*) Smallpox is mentioned only in connection with the enemies of the Prophet

Rains are few and far between Droughts sometimes last for four years But when the winter season is wet, the rains may sometimes attain an unheard-of degree of violence To the east of Mecca a rocky wall raises its steep barrier, a succession of strata and summits merging into the chain of the Sarāt These jagged hills collect on their flanks the surplus rains of the monsoon which brings fertility to the Yemen All along these slopes, where no shrub interrupts the fall — at the bottom of each a *sail* is formed — the cataracts augmented by all these tributaries fall into the hollow of Mecca, *baṭn Makka*, of which the Ka'ba occupies the bottom The waters rush to this depression they force a passage through the "gates of the masdjid" and flow over the area around the sanctuary They fill it and rise to attack the Ka'ba Before the Hidjra, the Kuraish syndicate seems to have paid no heed to the flooding or said they were powerless to prevent it Efforts made by the caliphs yielded "only mediocre results"

This is why the misdeeds of the *sail* fill the annals of Mecca On several occasions their violence has overthrown the Ka'ba and turned the court of the great mosque into a lake As a result of the floods, epidemics broke out The deposit of filth brought by the waters polluted the wells bodies left unburied formed centres of epidemic infection The annalists avoid dwelling on this, troubled by the tradition which says that the plague never reaches Mecca The absolute sterility of the soil brought another scourge, that of famine The slightest irregularity in the convoys of grain from Syria or the Sarāt was enough to cause it It continues to figure along with the ravages of flood and plague in the monotonous annals of the town

Economic life and finance On examining closely the picturesque literature of the *Sīra* and *Ḥadīth*, one receives the impression of business, of intense activity bursting out of the narrow and sterile valley of Mecca The Kur'ān only strengthens this impression All his life the Prophet retained the impress of his Kuraish education and training This fundamentally mercantile character is revealed at every turn

Writing and arithmetic! One is amazed at their importance in the economic life of the town Relying on the Kur'ānic epithet *ummī*, i e pagan, gentile, and on biassed writers like al-Balādhurī, it has been held that, except for some fifteen individuals mentioned by name, all the pre-Hidjran Kuraish were illiterate Alongside of the "book" of accounts, the scales always figure in the Meccan shops not so much to weigh goods as to verify and check payments of all kinds including cash Now, coins were not plentiful on the Meccan market, they were supplemented by the precious metals, ingots of gold and silver, by *tibr*, gold dust Only the scales could determine the value In the more delicate cases, recourse was had to the services of a *wazzān* or professional weigher

It would be difficult to imagine a society in which capital enjoyed a more active circulation The *tādjir*, business man, was not engaged in hoarding, in gathering wealth into his strong boxes He had a blind faith in the unlimited productivity of capital, in the virtue of credit Brokers and agents, the bulk of the population lived on credit The sleeping partnership was much in favour (*mudāraba*), especially the "partnership for the half", which supposes 50 % participation in the profits by the sleeping partners Thanks to the development of these institutions the humblest sums could be invested, down to a gold dīnār or even a *nashsh* or half dīnār Such a flexible organisation stimulated even the humblest to take his share in commercial enterprises

The coins brought to Mecca were of very different kinds the *denarius aureus* of the Byzantines

and the silver drachm of the Sāsānids and Himyars These pieces often worn, rudely engraved, very unequal in weight and format, came from the most varied mints Only the money-changer had the requisite flair, the eye sufficiently trained to deal with the confusion of currencies, to determine accurately the standards, values, and the kinds in circulation In addition there were the complications caused by the difference of standard and the oscillations of exchange The Byzantine provinces, Syria and Egypt, were among the *ahl al dhahab* or countries with a gold standard Babylonia was *ahl al-warik*, a land with a silver, the Sāsānian, standard On the eve of the departure of the caravans for Syria, there were regular battues in search of dīnārs The Meccan *tādjir* was not distinct from the financier His first article of trade was money When occasion arose, he invested his capital in business, in the organisation of large caravans To the leaders of the caravan, to the traders and to the factors, he advanced the funds necessary for their operations

Primarily a clearing house, a banking town, Mecca had customs and institutions peculiar to this kind of transaction and to finance Sometimes it is *ribā*, usury, in all its ugliness dīnar for dīnār, dirham for dirham, i e 100% interest To the condemnation of *ribā* in the Kur'ān, the Kuraish objected that they saw in it only "a kind of sale" (Kur'ān ii 276), of letting out capital for a rent Speculation too was rampant, on the rates of exchange, the load of a caravan which one tried to buy up, the yield of the harvests and of the flocks and lastly the provisioning of the town Fictitious associations were formed and sales were made on which loans were borrowed "Every Arab", says Strabo, "is either a trader or a broker" In Mecca, says the hadith "he who was not a merchant, counted for nothing" In setting out on a military expedition the citizens always took merchandise along with them This is what they did when going to relieve the Badi caravan The first thing the Meccan *muhādjirūn* did on arriving in Medina was to ask the way to the market-place The women shared these commercial instincts Abū Djahl's mother ran a perfumery business The activities of the *tādjira* Khadidja are celebrated Hind [q v], the wife of Abū Sufyān, sold her merchandise among the Kalbīs of Syria Like their husbands the Meccan women had financial interests in the caravans On the return of the convoys they gathered round Abū Sufyān to know what their money and their contributions had earned and to get their share of the profits

The caravans The organisation of a caravan was the subject of interminable palavers in the *nādī* around the Ka'ba Its departure and return were events of public interest The whole population was associated with it En route it remained in continual communication with the metropolis through Beduins met on the journey or special couriers Abū Sufyān sent one of these messengers to describe the critical position of the Badr caravan It cost him 20 dīnārs, an enormous sum, but one proportionate to the value of the convoy in which Mecca had 50,000 dīnārs invested The Meccan caravans were of considerable size Neither horses nor mules appeared in them The number of camels on occasion rose to 2,500 The men (merchants, guides [*dalīl*] and guards) varied from 100 to 300 The escort was strengthened on approaching areas infested by bandits (*ṣa'lūk*) or when traversing the territory of hostile tribes The Badr caravan may be taken as typical We do not know of another in which the capital invested attained such an amount The greater part was supplied by the important Umaiyad firm of Abū Uhaiha, i e the family of Sa'īd b al-'Ās This firm had formed a company of the family, adding to their own considerable reserves the contributions of its sleeping partners To their 30,000 dīnārs the other Umaiyad houses added 10,000 Four-fifths of the capital of the Badr caravan was therefore of Umaiyad origin We can understand why the direction and supreme control of the convoy was entrusted to Abū Sufyān, who was personally interested in the enterprise

In the first place a caravan from Mecca carried skins and leather, sometimes also the *zabīb* of Ta'if, a kind of currant, then ingots of gold and silver partly from the mines of the Banū Sulaim and *tibr*, gold dust from Africa The texts frequently call it *latīma*, i e a convoy laden with perfume and rare spices Of the perfumes, the most esteemed came not from the Hidjāz, but from southern Arabia, the "land of frankincense", or even from India and Africa To these might be added aromatic gums and medicinal drugs, like the senna of Mecca, all objects of small bulk and purchased at higher prices by the luxury of the civilised countries

From the Yemen the Meccan caravans brought back the products of India, the silks of China, the rich *'adanī* cloths, so called from 'Aden Besides gold dust, the main exports of Africa were slaves and ivory From Africa Mecca recruited her labourers and her mercenary soldiers, the *Ahābīsh* or Abyssinians In Egypt and in Syria, the Kuraish traders bought luxury articles, products of the industry of the Mediterranean, mainly cotton, linen or silk stuffs and cloths dyed in vivid purple From Bosrā and the Sharāt (Syria) came arms, cereals and oil, much appreciated by the Beduins The pace of the caravan was slow but the articles transported, leather, metals, scented woods, feared neither damage nor the delays of long journeys The expenses were confined to the hire of the animals, the payment of the escort, the tolls and presents to the chiefs of the tribes With such an economical organisation, the profits of 100% attested by our authors were quite usual This was the case with the caravan of Badr "each dīnār having brought back a dīnār" Two years after this brilliant affair, the Companions of the Prophet who had sought refuge in Medīna were able to carry out as profitable a transaction in the same field "since each of their dirhams gained a second dirham", that is to say a profit of 100% again

Fortunes in Mecca We can now imagine how money had gradually accumulated in the chests of the Meccan financiers, who were naturally of a saving disposition This explains Pliny the Elder's ill-humour when he recalls "the millions of sesterces which the Arabs take annually from the Roman Empire giving nothing in return, *nihil invicem redimentibus*" (*Hist Natur*, vi 28) This last statement is an exaggeration, but it should be remembered that the Meccan caravan carried only articles of high value, and that with regard to the Empire the Arabs were mainly importers, so that the trade balance was always very much

in their favour The 30,000 dīnārs invested by the one house of Abū Uhaiha in the Badr caravan suggests that H Winckler is quite right when he tells us to think of the Palmyra of Zenobia if we wish to get an idea of the financial capacity of Mecca The fortunes of the Makhzūmīs were no less than those of their Umaiyad rivals The Taimī ʿAbd Allāh b Djudʿān must have been a millionaire if the poet thought of comparing him to Caesar The principal organisers of the Badr caravan were also millionaires The thousands of dīnārs subscribed by them did not even represent all their fortune Other portions of their capital were out at interest or put in other speculations Among other millionaires we may mention the Makhzūmīs Walīd b al-Mughīra and ʿAbd Allāh, father of the poet ʿUmar b Abī Rabīʿa

Next to these representatives of high finance come the well-to-do Meccans, like ʿAbd al Rahmān b ʿAwf who had a capital of 8,000 dīnārs and al-Hārith b ʿĀmir and Umaiya b Khalaf Of the latter two, the first had 1,000 and the second 2,000 dinārs in the Badr caravan Lastly there were the small traders brokers and shopkeepers who formed the petite bourgeoisie of the town To their commerce a number added the supervision of some industry like ironwork or carpentry The most typical representative of this class is given us by the future caliph Abū Bakr, a *bazzāz*, retailer of cloth He belonged like Abū Djudʿān to the plebeian clan of Taim, rich in men and women of initiative, like ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr He seems to have had a capital of 40,000 dirhams ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet, is also mentioned among the rich bankers of Mecca, but we have no details about him The other Hāshimīs lived in circumstances bordering on poverty Those Meccans most certainly must have been wealthy who paid without a murmur the enormous ransoms demanded for their relatives after the defeat of Badr After this sacrifice — it cost them not less than 200,000 dirhams — the Meccan chiefs gave up their share of the profits in the Badr enterprise — some 25,000 dīnārs — to prepare for the revenge They did this *taiyibu 'l-anfus* "with a good heart", with the easy grace of opulent financiers, used to running the risks of speculations on a large scale One touching detail is recorded They refused to touch the modest shares of the small contributors This example shows how at Mecca, "the strong", *ahl al-kuwwa* (Wāḳidī), i e the patricians, were able in critical circumstances to realise a spirit of solidarity and of sound democracy

Mecca before the Hidjra had neither ships nor a port It was only exceptionally that foreign ships cast anchor in the little bay of Shuʿaiba off a desert shore It was here that the Byzantine ship was wrecked, the wood of which went to build the terrace of the Kaʿba It was to Shuʿaiba that the first Muslim emigrants for Abyssinia went, no doubt on hearing that two merchant ships had touched there More rarely sailings took place from the desolate shore of Djidda, which was nearer Mecca From the time of ʿUthmān, Djidda took the place of Shuʿaiba and became the port of the Kuraish metropolis When Muḥammad settled in Medīna and cut their communications with Syria, the Meccan leaders never thought of taking to the sea but resigned themselves to the enormous detour through al-Nadjd The creation of an Arab navy was the work of the caliph Muʿāwiya

2 After the Hidjra We need not rehearse the events of the first eight years of the Hidjra They are summed up in the struggle with the Prophet This struggle and the *ridda*, the surrender of Mecca, were fatal to its economic prosperity One after the other, the great families migrated to Medīna, now the capital of Islām This tendency increased under the first three caliphs, who made their headquarters among the Ansār ʿAlī definitely left Arabia to settle in Kūfa Richly endowed by the state, the leading Koraish, becoming generals and governors of provinces, lost interest in commerce No more is heard about caravans or fairs in the Hidjāz It was only at the period of the pilgrimage that Mecca became alive again and saw the caliphs reappear at the head of the pilgrims The conquest of the ʿIrāḳ dealt the last blow to the economic decline of western Arabia The Indian trade resumed its old route by the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates Direct communication was established by land with the markets of the middle east

Umaiyad period The situation improved with the coming of the Umaiyad dynasty Muʿāwiya took an active interest in his native town He erected buildings there and developed agriculture in the environs, dug wells and built dams to store up the water Under his successors, especially the Marwānids, Mecca became a city of pleasure and ease, the rendezvous of poets and musicians, attracted by the brilliant society formed by the sons of the Companions of the Prophet Many people returned to live in Mecca after making their fortunes in the government of conquered provinces Contact with foreign civilisations had made them refined and fastidious They had become accustomed to baths, a luxury which presupposes an abundant water-supply Water had to be procured from the hills of the Sarāt Khālid al-Kasrī's [q v] name is associated with this undertaking which changed the aspect of the town To meet the scourge of flood, the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthmān had called in the aid of Christian engineers, who built barrages in the high lying quarters They also secured the area round the Kaʿba by making dykes and embankments The Umaiyad caliphs continued and completed these works They dug a new bed along the course of the *sail* and endeavoured to break its violence by barriers built at different levels Their great anxiety was to protect the depression of the Bathāʾ where the Kaʿba stood The skill of the engineers of the period did not succeed in overcoming the topographical difficulties nor in averting the ravages of the winter rains, regular cloudbursts They were frustrated by the steep slope of the ground, still further aggravated by the unusual shape of the Baṭhāʾ, a basin with no outlet The houses on the bank of the *sail* were taken down and the alleys adjoining the Kaʿba removed Each modification of the old plan meant the sacrifice of more buildings These clearances in time changed the traditional aspect of Mecca, where the *sail* continued to sow destruction

Along with these precautions against flooding an endeavour was made to enlarge the exiguous court around the Kaʿba Islām aspired to possess a temple in keeping with its worldwide claims Successive expropriations begun by ʿUmar and finished

by Walīd I prepared an esplanade The plan of the great mosque [cf AL-MASDJID AL-HARĀM] with its galleries, a vast courtyard with the Kaʿba in the centre, is the work of the Umaiyad caliph He had the assistance of Christian architects from Syria and Egypt to carry it out The important governorship of the Hidjāz with its three cities, Medīna, Mecca and Ṭāʾif, could in principle be given only to a member of the ruling family Among the most celebrated of these Umaiyads may be mentioned Saʿīd b al-ʿĀs and the two future caliphs, Marwān b al-Hakam and ʿUmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz When no Umaiyad was available the choice fell upon an official of tried capacity like Hadjdjādj and Khālid al-Kasrī At first they were given Ṭāʾif and then transferred to Mecca It was only after this probation that the three towns were entrusted to them But even then the centre of government remained in Medīna, which under the Umaiyads eclipsed Mecca by its political importance and by the fact that it was the home of the new Muslim aristocracy

Under Yazīd I, the rising of ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair [q v] brought Syrian troops to Mecca The rebel had made his headquarters in the court of the great mosque A scaffold of wood, covered with straw, protected the Kaʿba The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set it on fire Ibn al Zubair rebuilt the edifice and included the Hidjr within it [see KAʿBA] When Hadjdjādj had overthrown the Zubairid anti-caliph, he restored the Kaʿba to its former dimensions which have since remained unaltered In 747 a Khāridjī rebel from the Yemen seized Mecca without meeting opposition He was soon defeated and slain by the troops of the caliph Marwān II In 750, Mecca passed with the rest of the caliphate under the rule of the ʿAbbāsids

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II

1 Mecca under the ʿAbbāsids down to the foundation of the Sharīfate (750–961)

Although the political centre of gravity in Islām now lay in Baghdād, this period at first presents the same picture as under Omaiyad rule The *Haramān* are as a rule governed by ʿAbbāsid princes or individuals closely connected with them (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed Wustenfeld, ii 181 *sqq*) Sometimes Mecca and Ṭāʾif were under one ruler, who was at the same time leader of the Hadjdj, while Medīna had a separate governor of its own

Arabia had however from the first century A H contained a number of ʿAlid groups, who, as was their wont, fished in troubled waters, lay in wait as brigands to plunder the Hadjdj caravans and from time to time hoisted their flags when they were not restrained either by the superior strength or by the bribes of the caliphs We find al-Mansūr (136—156 = 754—774) already having trouble in Western Arabia Towards the end of the reign of al-Mahdī (156—169 = 774—785) a Hasanid, Husain b ʿAlī, led a raid on Medina, which he ravaged, at Fakhkh near Mecca, he was cut down with many of his followers by the ʿAbbāsid leader of the Hadjdj The place where he was buried is now called al-Shuhadāʾ It is significant that he is regarded as the "martyr of Fakhkh" (Tabarī, iii 551 *sqq*, *Chron Mekka*, i 435, 501 *sq*)

Hārūn al-Rashīd on his nine pilgrimages expended vast sums in Mecca He was not the only ʿAbbāsid to scatter wealth in the holy land This had a bad effect on the character of the Meccans There were hardly any descendants left of the old distinguished families and the population grew accustomed to living at the expense of others and were ready to give vent to any dissatisfaction in rioting This attitude was all too frequently stimulated by political conditions

In the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198—218 = 817—833) it was again ʿAlids, Husain al-Aftas and Ibrāhīm b Mūsā, who extended their rule over Medīna, Mecca and the Yemen (Tabarī, iii 981 *sqq*, *Chron Mecca*, ii 238), ravaged Western Arabia and plundered the treasures of the Kaʿba How strong ʿAlid influence already was at this time is evident from the fact that Maʾmūn appointed two ʿAlids as governors of Mecca (Tabarī, iii 1039, *Chron Mecca*, ii 191 *sqq*)

With the decline of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate after the death of Maʾmūn, a period of anarchy began in the holy land of Islām, which was frequently accompanied by scarcity or famine It became the

regular custom for a number of rulers to be represented at the Hadjdj in the plain of ʿArafāt and to have their flags unfurled, the holy city was rarely spared fighting on these occasions The safety of the pilgrim caravans was considerably affected, it was very often ʿAlids who distinguished themselves in plundering the pilgrims

The ʿAlid cause received an important reinforcement at this time by the foundation of a Hasanid dynasty in Tabaristān (Tabarī, iii 1523—1533, 1583 *sq*, 1682—1685, 1693 *sq*, 1840, 1880, 1884 *sq*, 1940) In Mecca the repercussion of this event was felt in the appearance of two Hasanids (*Chron Mekka*, i 343, ii 10, 195, 239 *sq*), Ismāʿīl b Yūsuf and his brother Muhammad, who also ravaged Medīna and Djidda in the way that had now become usual (251 = 865—866)

The appearance of the Karmatians [q v] brought still further misery to the country in the last fifty years before the foundation of the sherīfate (Tabarī, iii 2124—2130) Hard pressed themselves at the heart of the empire, the caliphs were hardly able even to think of giving active support to the holy land, and, besides, their representatives had not the necessary forces at their disposal From 916 onwards the Karmatians barred the way is the pilgrim caravans In 930, 1,500 Karmatian warriors raided Mecca, massacred the inhabitants by the thousand and carried off the Black Stone to Bahrain It was only when they realised that such deeds were bringing them no nearer their goal — the destruction of official Islām — that their zeal began to relax and in 950 they even brought the Stone back again Mecca was relieved of serious danger from the Karmatians The following years bear witness to the increasing influence of the ʿAlids in western Arabia in connection with the advance of Fātimid rule to the east and with Būyid rule in Baghdād From this time the Meccan ʿAlids are called by the title of Sharīf which they have retained ever since

2 From the foundation of the Sharīfate to Katāda (c 350—598 = 960—1200)

a The Mūsāwīs The sources do not agree as to the year in which Djaʿfar took Mecca 966, 967, 968 and the period between 951 and 961 are mentioned (*Chron Mekka*, ii 205 *sqq*) ʿAlids had already ruled before him in the holy land It is with him however that the reign of the Hasanids in Mecca begins, who are known collectively as sharīfs, while in Medīna this title is given to the reigning Husaimids

The rise and continuance of the Sharīfate indicates the relative independence of Western Arabia in face of the rest of the Islāmic world from a political and religious point of view Since the foundation of the Sharīfate, Mecca takes the precedence possessed by Medīna hitherto

How strongly the Meccan sharīfate endeavoured to assert its independence, is evident in this period from two facts In 976 Mecca refused homage to the Fāṭimid caliph Soon afterwards the Caliph began to besiege the town and cut off all imports from Egypt The Meccans were soon forced to give in, for the Hidjāz was dependent on Egypt for its food supplies (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii 491, *Chron Mekka*, ii 246)

The second sign of the Sharīfs' feeling of independence is Abu 'l-Futūh's (384—432 = 994—1039) setting himself up as caliph in 1011 (*Chron Mekka*, ii 207, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 233, 317) He was probably induced to do this by al-Hākim's heretical innovations in Egypt The latter however was soon able to reduce the new caliph's sphere of influence so much that he had hurriedly to return to Mecca where in the meanwhile one of his relatives had usurped the power He was forced to make terms with al-Hākim in order to be able to expel his relative

With his son Shukr (432—453 = 1039—1061) the dynasty of the Mūsāwīs, i e the descendants of Mūsā b ʿAbd Allāh b Mūsā b ʿAbd Allāh b Hasan b Hasan b ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib came to an end He died without leaving male heirs, which caused a struggle within the family of the Hasanids with the usual evil results for Mecca When the family of the Banū Shaiba (q v , the Shēbīs) went so far as to confiscate for their private use all precious metals in the house of Allāh, the ruler of Yemen, al Sulaihī (*Chron Mekka*, ii 208, 210 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix 422, x 19, 38), intervened and restored order and security in the town This intervention by an outsider appeared more intolerable to the Hasanids than fighting among themselves They therefore proposed to al-Sulaihī that he should instal one of their number as ruler and leave the town

He therefore appointed Abū Hāshim Muhammad (455—487 = 1063—1094) as Grand Sharīf With him begins the dynasty of the

b Hawāshim (455–598 = 1063–1200), which takes its name from Abū Hāshim Muhammad, a brother of the first Sharīf Djaʿfar, the two brothers were descendants in the fourth generation from Mūsā II, the ancestor of the Mūsāwīs

During the early years of his reign, Abū Hāshim had to wage a continual struggle with the Sulaimānī branch, who thought themselves humiliated by his appointment These Sulaimānīs were descended from Sulaimān, a brother of the Mūsā II above mentioned

The reign of Abū Hāshim is further noteworthy for the shameless way in which he offered the suzerainty, i e the mention in the *khutba* as well as the change of official rite which is indicated by the wording of the *adhān*, to the highest bidder i e the Fātimid caliph or the Saldjūk sultān (*Chron Mekka*, ii 253, Ibn al-Athīr, x 67) It was very unwelcome to the Meccans that imports from Egypt stopped as soon as the official mention of the Fātimid in the khutba gave way to that of the caliph The change was repeated several times with the result that the Saldjūk, tired of this comedy, sent several bodies of Turkomans to Mecca

The ill feeling between Sultān and Sharīf also inflicted great misery on pilgrims coming from the ʿIrāk As the leadership of the pilgrim caravans from this country had gradually been transferred from the ʿAlids to Turkish officials and soldiers, Abū Hāshim did not hesitate occasionally to fall upon the pilgrims and plunder them (*Chron Mekka*, ii 254, Ibn al-Athīr, x 153)

The reign of his successor is also marked by covetousness and plundering The Spanish pilgrim Ibn Djubair, who visited Mecca in 1183 and 1185, gives hair raising examples of this. Even then however the Hawāshim were no longer absolutely their own masters, as over ten years before, the Ayyūbid dynasty had not only succeeded to the Fāṭimids in Egypt but was trying to get the whole of nearer Asia into their power

Saladın's brother, who passed through Mecca on his way to South Arabia, abandoned his intention of abolishing the sharīfs but the place of honour on the Hadjdj belonged to the Aiyūbuds and their names were mentioned in the khutba after those of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the sharīf (Ibn Djubair, p 75, 95) The same Aiyūbid in 1186 also did away with the Shiʿī (here Zaidī, for the Sharīfs had hitherto been Zaidīs) form of the *adhān* (*Chron Mekka*, II 214), had coins struck in Saladın's name and put the fear of the law into the hearts of the sharīf's bodyguard, who had not shrunk from crimes of robbery and murder, by severely punishing their misdeeds — A further result of Aiyūbid suzerainty was that the Shāfiʿī rite became the predominant one

But even the mighty Saladın could only make improvements in Mecca He could abolish or check the worst abuses but the general state of affairs remained as before

3 The rule of Katāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period (c 1200—1788)

In the meanwhile a revolution was being prepared which was destined to have more far-reaching consequences than any of its predecessors Katāda, a descendant of the same Mūsā (see above) from whom the Mūsāwis and the Hawāshim were descended, had gradually extended his estates as well as his influence from Yanbuʿ to Mecca and had gathered a considerable following in the town According to some sources, his son Hanzala made all preparations for the decisive blow on the holy city, according to others, Katāda seized the town on the 27th Radjab when the whole population was away performing a lesser *ʿumra* in memory of the completion of the building of the Kaʿba by ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair, which was celebrated on this day along with the festival of Muhammad's ascension to heaven However it came about, Katāda's seizure of the town meant the coming of an able and strongwilled ruler, the ancestor of all later sharīfs He steadfastly followed his one ambition to make his territory an independent principality Everything was in his favour, that he did not achieve his aim was a result of the fact that the Hidjāz was once again at the intersection of many rival lines of political interest

Katāda began by ruining his chances with the great powers, he ill-treated the son of the Aiyūbid al-Malik al ʿĀdil (540—615 = 1145—1218) in brutal fashion (*Chron Mekka*, II 263) He roused the ire of the caliph by his attitude to pilgrims from the ʿIrāk He was able however to appease the latter and the embassy he sent to Baghdād returned with gifts from the caliph The caliph also invited him to visit Baghdād According to some historians, however, the sharīf turned home again before he actually reached Baghdād On this occasion, he is said to have expressed his policy of the "splendid isolation" of the Hidjāz in verse, as he did in his will in prose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Qatādah's Policy of Splendid Isolation* etc in *Bijdr*)

On the other hand, Katāda is said to have vigorously supported an Imām of Hasanid descent in founding a kingdom in the Yemen After the reconquest of this region by a grandson of al-ʿĀdil, the Aiyūbids of Egypt, Syria, and South Arabia were mentioned in the khutba in Mecca along with the Caliph and Sharīf

Katāda's life ended in a massacre which his son Hasan carried out in his family to rid himself of possible rivals (*Chron Mekka*, II 215, 263 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XII 262 *sqq*) The Aiyūbid prince Masʿūd however soon put a limit to his ambition and had Mecca governed by his generals On his death however power again passed into the hands of the sharīfs, whose territory was allowed a certain degree of independence by the rulers of the Yemen as a bulwark against Egypt

About the middle of the XIIIth century the world of Islām assumes a new aspect as the result of the advent of persons and happenings of great importance In 1258 the taking of Baghdād by Hūlāgū put an end to the caliphate The pilgrim caravan from the ʿIrāk was no longer of any political significance In Egypt power passed from the Aiyūbids to the Mamlūks, Sultān Baibars (658—676 = 1260—1277) was soon the most powerful ruler in the lands of Islām He was able to leave the government of Mecca in the hands of the sharif, because the latter, Abū Numaiy, was an energetic individual who ruled with firmness during the second half of the XIIIth century (1254—1301) His long reign firmly established the power of the descendants of Katāda

Nevertheless the first half century after his death was almost entirely filled with fighting between different claimants to the throne ʿAdjlān's reign also (1346—1375) was filled with political unrest, so much so that the Mamlūk Sultān is said on one occasion to have sworn to exterminate all the sharifs ʿAdjlān introduced a political innovation by appointing his son and future successor Ahmad co-regent in 1361 by which step he hoped to avoid a fratricidal struggle before or after his death

A second measure of ʿAdjlān's also deserves mention, namely the harsh treatment of the Muʾadhdhin and Imām of the Zaidīs, this shows that the reigning sharifs had gone over to the predominant rite of al Shāfiʿī and forsaken the Zaidī creed of their forefathers

Among the sons and successors of ʿAdjlān special mention may be made of Hasan (1396—1426) because he endeavoured to extend his sway over the whole of the Hidjāz and to guard his own financial interests carefully, at the same time being able to avoid giving his Egyptian suzerain cause to interfere

But from 1425 he and his successors had to submit to a regular system of control as regards the allotment of the customs

From the time of Hasan, in addition to the bodyguard of personal servants and freedmen, we find a regular army of mercenaries mentioned which was passed from one ruler to another But the mode of life of the sharifs, unlike that of other Oriental rulers, remained simple and in harmony with their Arabian surroundings As a vassal of the Egyptian Sultān the sharīf received from him every year his *tawkīʿ* [q v] and a robe of honour On the ceremonies associated with the accession of the sharifs see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I 97 *sq*

Of the three sons of Hasan who disputed the position in their father's lifetime, Barakāt (I) was chosen by the sultān as co-regent, twenty years later, he succeeded his father and was able with slight interruptions to hold sway till his death in 1455 He had to submit to the sultān sending a permanent garrison of 50 Turkish horsemen under an emīr

to Mecca This emīr may be regarded as the precursor of the later governors, who sometimes attained positions of considerable influence under Turkish suzerainty

Mecca enjoyed a period of prosperity under Barakāt's son Muhammad (*Chron Mekka*, II 341 *sqq* , III 230 *sqq*), whose reign (1455—1497) coincided with that of Kā'itbey [q v] in Egypt The latter has left a fine memorial in the many buildings he erected in Mecca

Under Muhammad's son Barakāt II (1497—1525) who displayed great ability and bravery in the usual struggle with his relatives, without getting the support he desired from Egypt (*Chron Mekka*, II 342 *sqq* , III 244 *sqq*), the political situation in Islām was fundamentally altered by the Ottoman Sultān Selīm's conquest of Egypt in 1517

Although henceforth Constantinople had the importance for Mecca that Baghdād once had and there was little real understanding between Turks and Arabs, Mecca at first experienced a period of peace under the sharīfs Muhammad Abū Numaiy (1525—1566) and Hasan (1566—1601) Under Ottoman protection the territory of the sharīfs was extended as far as Khaibar in the north, to Halī in the south and in the east into Nadjd Dependence on Egypt still existed at the same time, when the government in Constantinople was a strong one, it was less perceptible, and vice versa This dependence was not only political but had also a material and religious side The Hidjāz was dependent for its food supply on corn from Egypt The foundations of a religious and educational nature now found powerful patrons in the Sultāns of Turkey

A darker side of the Ottoman suzerainty was its intervention in the administration of justice Since the sharīfs had adopted the Shāfi'ī madhhab, the Shāfi'ī Kādī was the chief judge, this office had also remained for centuries in one family Now the highest bidder for the office was sent every year from Constantinople to Mecca, the Meccans of course had to pay the price with interest

With Hasan's death a new period of confusion and civil war began for Mecca In the language of the historians, this circumstance makes itself apparent in the increasing use of the term *Dhawī* for different groups of the descendants of Abū Numaiy who dispute the supremacy, often having their own territory, sometimes asserting a certain degree of independence from the Grand Sharīf, while preserving a system of reciprocal protection which saved the whole family from disaster (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I 112 *sqq*)

The struggle for supremacy, interspersed with disputes with the officials of the suzerain, centred in the xviiith century mainly around the 'Abādila, the Dhawī Zaid and the Dhawī Barakāt

Zaid (1631—1666) was an energetic individual who would not tolerate everything the Turkish officials did But he was unable to oppose successfully a measure which deserves mention on account of its general importance The ill-feeling between the Sunnī Turks and the Shī'ī Persians had been extended to Mecca as a result of an order by Sultān Murād to expel all Persians from the holy city and not to permit them to make the pilgrimage in future Neither the Sharīfs nor the upper classes in Mecca had any reason to be pleased with this measure, it only served the mob as a pretext to plunder well-to-do Persians As soon as the Turkish governor had ordered them to go, the Sharīfs however gave permission as before to the Shī'īs to take part in the pilgrimage and to remain in the town The Sharīfs likewise favoured the Zaidīs, who had also been frequently forbidden Mecca by the Turks

The further history of Mecca down to the coming of the Wahhābīs is a rather monotonous struggle of the Sharīfan families among themselves (Dhawī Zaid, Dhawī Barakāt, Dhawī Mas'ūd) and with the Ottoman officials in the town itself or in Djidda

4 The Sharīfate from the Wahhābī period to its end The Kingdom

Although the Wahhābīs [q v] had already made their influence perceptible under his predecessors, it was Ghālib (1788—1813) who was the first to see the movement sweeping towards his territory like a flood, but he left no stone unturned to avert the danger He sent his armies north, east and south, his brothers and brothers-in-law all took the field, the leaders of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrim caravans were appealed to at every pilgrimage for help, but without success In 1799 Ghālib made a treaty with the emīr of Dar'īya, by which the boundaries of their territories were laid down, with the stipulation that the Wahhābīs should be allowed access to the holy territory Misunderstandings proved inevitable however and in 1803 the army of the emīr Sa'ūd approached the holy city After Ghālib had withdrawn to Djidda, in April Sa'ūd entered Mecca, the inhabitants of which had announced their conversion All kubbas were destroyed, all tobacco pipes and musical instruments burned, and the *adhān* purged of praises of the Prophet

In July, Ghālib returned to Mecca but gradually he became shut in there by enemies as with a wall In August the actual siege began and with it a period of famine and plague In February of the following year, Ghālib had to submit to acknowledging Wahhābī suzerainty while retaining his own position

The Sublime Porte had during all these happenings displayed no sign of life It was only after the Wahhābīs had in 1807 sent back the pilgrim caravans from Syria and Egypt with their mahmals, that Muhammad 'Alī was given instructions to deal with the Hidjāz as soon as he was finished with Egypt It was not till 1813 that he took Mecca and there met Ghālib who made cautious advanced to him Ghālib however soon fell into the trap set for him by Muhammad 'Alī and his son Tusun He was sent to Salonika, where he lived till his death in 1816

In the meanwhile Muhammad 'Alī had installed Ghālib's nephew Yahyā b Sarūr (1813–1827) as sharīf Thus ended the first period of Wahhābī rule over Mecca, and the Hidjāz once more became dependent on Egypt In Mecca, Muhammad 'Alī was honourably remembered because he restored the pious foundations which had fallen into ruins, revived the consignments of corn, and allotted stipends to those who had distinguished themselves in sacred lore or in other ways

In 1827 Muhammad 'Alī had again to interfere in the domestic affairs of the sharīfs When Yahyā had made his position untenable by the vengeance he took on one of his relatives, the viceroy deposed the Dhawī Zaid and installed one of the 'Abādila,

Muhammad, usually called Muhammad b ʿAwn (1827—1851) He had first of all to go through the traditional struggle with his relatives Trouble between him and Muhammad ʿAlī's deputy resulted in both being removed to Cairo in 1836

Here the sharīf remained till 1840 when by the treaty between Muhammad ʿAlī and the Porte the Ḥiḏjāz was again placed directly under the Porte Muhammad b ʿAwn returned to his home and rank Ottoman suzerainty was now incorporated in the person of the wālī of Djidda Friction was inevitable between him and Muhammad b ʿAwn, the latter's friendship with Muhammad ʿAlī now proved of use to him He earned the gratitude of the Turks for his expeditions against the Wahhābī chief Faisal in al-Riyāḍ and against the ʿAsīr tribes His raids on the territory of Yemen also prepared the way for Ottoman rule over it

In the meanwhile the head of the Dhawī Zaid, ʿAbd al-Muttalib (1851–1856), had made good use of his friendship with the grand vizier and brought about the deposition of the ʿAbādila in favour of the Dhawī Zaid ʿAbd al-Muttalib however did not succeed in keeping on good terms with one of the two pashas with whom he had successively to deal In 1855 it was decided in Constantinople to cancel his appointment and to recall Muhammad b ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Muttalib at first refused to recognise the genuineness of the order, and he was supported by the Turkophobe feeling just provoked by the prohibition of slavery Finally however, he had to give way to Muhammad b ʿAwn, who in 1856 entered upon the Sharifate for the second time, this reign lasted barely two years Between his death in March 1858 and the arrival of his successor ʿAbd Allāh in October of the same year took place the murder of the Christians in Djidda (June 15) and the atonement for it (cf DJIDDA, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Een rector der mekkaansche universiteit*, in *Bydragen t d Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned-Indie*, 5e volgr, deel II, p 381 *sqq*, 399 *sqq*)

The rule of ʿAbd Allāh (1858—1877) who was much liked by his subjects, was marked by peace at home and events of far-reaching importance abroad The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) meant on the one hand the liberation of the Ḥiḏjāz from Egypt, on the other however more direct connection with Constantinople The installation of telegraphic connections between the Ḥiḏjāz and the rest of the world had a similar importance The reconquest of Yemen by the Turks was calculated to strengthen the impression that Arabia was now Turkish territory for ever

The brief reign of his popular elder brother Husain (1877—1880) ended with the assassination of the sharīf by an Afghān The fact that the aged ʿAbd al-Muttalib (see above) was sent by the Dhawī Zaid from Constantinople as his successor (1880—1882) gave rise to an obvious supposition

Although the plebs saw something of a saint in this old man, his rule was soon felt to be so oppressive that the notables petitioned for his deposition (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I 204 *sqq*) As a result in 1881, the energetic ʿOthmān Nūrī Pasha was sent with troops to the Ḥiḏjāz as commander of the garrison with the task of preparing for the restoration of the ʿAbādila ʿAbd al-Muttalib was outwitted and taken prisoner, he was kept under guard in one of his own houses in Mecca till his death in 1886

Othmān Pasha, who was appointed walī in July 1882, hoped to see his friend ʿAbdilāh, one of the ʿAbādila, installed as Grand Sharīf alongside of him ʿAwn al Rafīḳ (1882—1905) was however appointed (portrait in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, p) As the wālī was an individual of great energy, who had ever done much for the public good and ʿAwn, although very retiring, was by no means insignificant, nay even tyrannical, trouble between them was inevitable, especially as they had the same powers on many points, e g the administration of justice and supervision of the safety of the pilgrim routes After a good deal of friction ʿOthmān was dismissed in 1886 His successor was Djamāl Pasha, who only held office for a short period and was succeeded by Safwat Pasha Only Ahmad Rātib could keep his place alongside of ʿAwn and that by shutting his eyes to many things and being satisfied with certain material advantages After ʿAwn's death ʿAbdilāh was chosen as his successor He died however before he could start on the journey from Constantinople to Mecca ʿAwn's actual successor was therefore his nephew ʿAlī (1905—1908) In 1908 he and Ahmad Rātib both lost their positions with the Turkish Revolution

With Husain (1908—1916—1924), also a nephew of ʿAwn's, the last sharīf came to power But for the Great War his sharifate would probably have run the usual course The fact that Turkey was now completely involved in the war induced him to declare himself independent in 1916 He endeavoured to extend his power as far as possible, first as liberator (*munḳidh*) of the Arabs, then (June 22, 1916) as king of the Ḥiḏjāz or king of Arabia and finally as caliph Very soon however, it became apparent that the Sultān of Nadjd, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, like his Wahhābī forefathers, was destined to have a powerful say in the affairs of Arabia In Sept 1924 his troops took Ṭāʾif and in October Mecca King Husain fled first to ʿAkaba and from there in May 1925 to Cyprus His son ʿAlī retired to Djidda Ibn Saʿūd besieged this town and Medina for a year, avoiding bloodshed and complications with European powers Both towns surrendered in December 1925

Since January 1926, Ibn Saʿūd has been king of the Ḥiḏjāz, the official title of his kingdom now is Ḥiḏjāz, Nadjd and dependencies A political unit has thus been formed which covers a larger area than the sharīfs ever ruled and possesses greater internal strength than has been seen in Arabia since the end of ʿAbbāsid power

By the organisation of the Nadjd warriors (*iḵhwān*) as agriculturists also, by the maintenance of a strict discipline among the Beduins, by the creation of a military police, which is held in awe, a security has been created such as Arabia has perhaps never known and secure foundations laid for traffic, especially of the pilgrims

With the representatives of foreign governments in Djidda the king maintains friendly relations Recently several states have raised their consulates there to the rank of an embassy Treaties have been concluded with a number of states

By making use of modern technical skill, the king is endeavouring to counteract the natural poverty of the land The automobile has become of importance for the pilgrim traffic, agricultural machinery is being imported and cisterns built to hold the rain water A project for examining the

ground to prospect for minerals has been drawn up as well as a plan for a quay in the harbour of Djidda

Wahhābism — or as they prefer to call it in Arabia Islām according to the Hanbalī rite — is the state religion But it has advanced cautiously in comparison with its attitude at the beginning of the xixth century The external symbols of veneration for saints and the dead have been removed, Muhammad's tomb in Medīna has however been spared The maḥmal [q v] no longer comes to the ḥadjdj, the new covering for the Kaʿba is made every year in Mecca The pilgrim traffic again shows high figures and even Shiʿīs are admitted again to the pilgrimage

The religious and economic life of the city has from the earliest times centred round the pilgrimage (cf the article ḤĀDJDJ) and the Mosque (cf AL-MASDJID AL-ḤARĀM) The character of Mecca as the metropolis of Islām is reflected in the great variety of its population Besides the original Meccan nucleus we have numerous Arab elements — among which the Ḥadramīs are particularly prominent on account of their energy — and colonies of foreigners from all parts of the Muslim world who have out of worldly or religious motives taken up their abode permanently in the capital Among these, special mention must be made of those from the Malay Archipelago who are known collectively as Djāwa, with them it is exclusively religious motives that have caused them to take up permanent residence in Mecca

Even at the present day, slaves mainly African, form an important element in Meccan society Abyssinian slave girls have always been highly esteemed as concubines The slave market however is no longer of the importance it once was Freed men rise from the slave caste and their dwellings, huts put together of every conceivable material, are on the outskirts of the city

Artisans are, or at least down to the end of the xixth century were, organised in gilds Among these gilds that of the pilgrim guides (*mutawwif*, q v), who have agents in Djidda and outside Arabia, is the most important, it lives entirely on the pilgrim traffic

This is true in a way of the whole population, which has arranged to let houses to the pilgrims for a considerable portion of the year By the eighth month, tens of thousands of these visitors are in the town Their number increases till the twelfth In Muharram, Mecca resumes its usual appearance

During the last few hundred years — except for the first Wahhābī period — the cult of saints in Mecca has steadily increased Numerous places have sacred memories of Muhammad and his family, the most prominent *muḥāḍirūn* and later saints, numerous ḳubbas were built over their graves and hawls and mōlids were celebrated in their honour The Wahhābīs have done away with a great deal of this, how much is not exactly known.

Mecca is the seat of the government, although the king's residence is in Riyād The official gazette *Umm al Ḳurā* appears weekly There are also printing presses, which mainly print Wahhābī or Hanbal literature

List of the Sharīfs of Mecca (ca 961—1916)

a Mūsāwīs (ca 961—1061)

Djaʿfar ca	ca 961—ca 980
ʿĪsā	ca 980—994
Abu 'l-Futūḥ	994—1039
Shukr	1039—1061

b Sulaimānīs or Banū Abi 'l-Ṭayyib, from 1061, at constant feud with the

c Hawāshim (1063—1200)

d Katāda and his descendants (1200—1916)

Katāda	1200—1221
His sons	till 1254
Abū Numayy I	1254—1301
His sons	till 1346
ʿAdjlān	1346—1375
His sons	till 1396
Hasan I	1396—1426
Barakāt I	1426—1455
Muhammad	1455—1497
Barakāt II	1497—1525
Abū Numayy II	1525—1566
Hasan II	1566—1601
His sons	till 1631
Zaid	1631—1666
Saʿd I	1666—1672
Dhawī Barakāt	1672—1684
Saʿd II	1684—1704
Dhawī Barakāt	1704—1711
Dhawī Zaid	1711—1770
Sarūr	1773—1788
Ghālib	1788—1813
Yahyā b Sarūr	1813—1827
Muhammad	1827—1851
ʿAbd al Muttalib	1851—1856
Muhammad	1856—1858
ʿAbd Allāh	1858—1877
Husain I	1877—1880
ʿAbd al-Muttalib	1880—1882
ʿAwn al-Rafīk	1882—1905
ʿAbdilāh	1905
ʿAlī	1906—1908
Husain II	1908—1916 as Sharīf, till 1924 as King

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al-ʿArab, Oriente Moderno, passim (especially v 143 *sqq*, 302 *sqq*, 413 *sqq*, 660 *sqq*, vi 219 *sqq*. etc s v Arabia, treaties vi 14 *sqq*, 42 *sq*, vii 6 *sq*, 474—479, x 105 *sq*, 122, constitution vi 530 *sqq*, assumption of regal title vi 101 *sqq*, cf vii 172 *sq*)

(A J WENSINCK)

MEDEA, a town in Algeria (department of Algiers), 60 miles S of Algiers, in 36° 15′ 50″ N Lat and 2° 45′ E Long (Greenwich) Medea lies at an altitude of 3,070 feet on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateaus from the Mitidja Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Muzaia pass (3,270 feet) The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway now runs, has made access to it easier The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temporate climate, fruit trees grow very well In the neighbourhood a number of European villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine There is also a fairly busy market but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateaus The population (census of 1926) is 13,816 of whom 2,225 are Europeans, almost all French and 11,591 natives

Medea occupies the site of the Roman settlement of Lambdia, on the ruins of which Boluggin b Zīrī in the tenth century built the modern town The district in which it was built was, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, transl de Slane, ii 6), inhabited by the Sanhādja tribe of Lemdia, whence no doubt the name Lemdani taken by natives of Medea Of the history of the town itself we know hardly anything Leo Africanus (Bk iv, ed Schefer, iii 66) and following him Marmol (*Africa*, ii 394) only tell us that after having belonged to the sultāns of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultāns of Tenes, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas established themselves in Algiers Under Hasan Khair al Dīn, Medea became the capital of one of the three provinces (beyliks) of the Regency, the beylik of the south or of Titteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sebau in Kabylia Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province living alternately at Medea and Bordj-Sebau It was not till this date that, the region of Sebau having been incorporated in the Dār al-Sultān governed by the dey, the bey of Titteri settled permanently at Medea where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaus He had however no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *hākim* appointed by the agha of Algiers The population, which did not exceed 4,000—5,000 among whom were many Kulughlis and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves who were sold to the citizens of Algiers

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov 1830—May 1831—April 1836) occupied Medea, without taking permanent possession ʿAbd al-Kādir however placed a bey in it and had his ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafna [cf ʿABD AL-KĀDIR] The outbreak of hostilities again between the Emīr and the French led to the final occupation of Medea by the latter on May 17, 1840

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MEDINA. The Arabic word *madīna* "town" [cf AL-MADĪNA] has survived in Spain in a number of place names The principal are Medina de las Torres in the province of Badajoz, Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco, in the province of Valladolid, Medina de Pomar, in the province of Burgos, Medinaceli, in the province of Soria and Medina-Sidonia, in the province of Cadiz The Arabic place-names Madīnat Walīd and Madīnat al-Faradj correspond to Valladolid [q v] and to Guadalajara respectively (from the second Arabic name of this town *Wādī 'l Ḥidjāra*) [cf above ii 177, and it may be added that the town took its name from a known individual, Mālik b ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Faradj, according to Ibn al-Khatīb, *Ihāta*, MS in the Escorial, i 189]

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MEDINACELI, a little town in the N E of Spain on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, about halfway between these two towns, some 3500 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Jalón In the Muslim period it was called *Madīnat-Sālim*, which is not to be confused with *Madīnat Ibn al Salīm* or Ibn Salīm, in the Seville district (Idrīsī, *Descr de l'Espagne*, 174/208 and note 5, 177/215), the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli According to Idrīsī, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards Abu 'l Fidā' says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-thaghr al-awsat*), Yākūt adds that Tarik [q v] found the town in ruins at the conquest of Spain but it was repopulated under Islām and became a prosperous town

Through its geographical position, Madīnat Sālim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the fourth century onwards It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the N E of the Peninsula and to which they retired Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī, in 335 (946) this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghālib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work This Ghālib remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [q v] It was in Medinaceli that this famous *ḥādjib* died on 27th Ramadān 392 (Aug 10, 1002) on returning from his last expedition against Castille In the following century Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castille

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(E Lévi Provençal)

MEDINA-SIDONIA, a little town in the W of Spain, in the province of Cadiz, almost midistant from Algeciras and Jerez de la Frontera nder the name of Shadhūna it was in the Muslim eriod the capital of the district of this name, its rritory formed part of the province of Seville id adjoined that of Moron

Bibliography Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text 174, transl 208, and note 6, Abu 'l Fidā', ed Reinaud and de Slane, text 166, transl 236, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al buldān*, ed Wüstenfeld, III 267

(E Lévi-Provençal)

MEDJELLE (A *madjalla*) Under this name ie Civil Law Code of Turkey, is enerally known it is an abbreviation of *Medjelle-i hkām-i ʿadlīye* The elaboration of this Civil Code ook place between 1869 and 1876 and was a art of the legislative programme of the Tanzīmāt] v] It had been preceded by a Penal Code 1858) and a Commercial Code (1861), but, while iese two codifications had been based in a large ieasure on the laws of European countries, the Iedjelle was a codification of that part of Hanafite *kh*, which treats of obligations (*muʿāmalāt*) he codification was done by a commission of even members, having as president Ahmad Djewet Pasha [q v] In a preliminary report (*madjalla*), dated 18 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1285 (April 1, 869), this commission explains the reasons why codification of this matter had become necessary he newly instituted secular tribunals (*nizāmiye*) ad often to deal with matters of common civil aw, but the judges did not know much, as a ule, about *fikh*, it had, therefore, been thought ise to appoint the president of the so-called eligious tribunal at the same time president f the secular tribunal This, however, did not rove satisfactory and so it was necessary to put he main points of the law of obligations into a ode that could be more easily consulted than the oluminous fiḳh-books Among the previous endeaours to bring Hanafite law into this form the comission mentions expressly Ibn Nudjaim (q v, he biography of this jurist is to be found at the nd of the first part of the Cairo edition of 1334 f his *al Bahr al-rāʾik* [communication of Dr C an Arendonk]) The editors have followed as rule those opinions of Hanafite doctors, which re most in harmony with the exigencies of modern ife and business It is, however, expressly stated hat the Introduction (*mukaddime*) and the first ook have been approved by the Shaikh al-Islām nd other prominent jurists

Though the different parts were successively anctioned by Imperial *khaṭṭ* (with the formula *rūdjūbindje ʿamel oluna*), the Medjelle cannot be aid to have had an exclusive authority in the natter regulated The judges were perfectly free to orm their own opinion as a result of the study of the Hanafite law books and this liberty was really used

The *mukaddime* of the Medjelle contains in 100 articles a number of principles (*kawāʿid*) as already elaborated by Ibn Nudjaim and his school, then follow sixteen books (*kitāb*), beginning with the *Kitāb al Buyūʿ*, the last four books deal with process matters The whole has 1,801 articles The first part of each book gives definitions of the technical law terms used, and most of the articles are followed by examples taken from the collections of *fetwās* The Introduction and the first book obtained the imperial sanction on the 8th Muharram 1286 (April 20, 1869) and the last two books on the 26th of Shaʿbān 1293 (September 16, 1876)

The text of the Medjelle is to be found in the big code collection *Dustūr* (the introduction and book I–VIII in vol I, book IX–XIV in vol III, and books XV and XVI in vol VI) It has been published several times with a commentary, as the *Medjelle-i Aḥkām-i ʿadliye sharḥi* by H M Diyā' al-Dīn (Der-i Seʿādet 1311) and a work under the same title by the in his time famous jurist ʿĀṭif Bey (Der-i Seʿādet, in different parts from 1328 to 1339, most parts had a second and the first part a third edition), the latter commentary, however, does not go beyond art 1448 A full French translation is found in G Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol VI, Oxford 1906, p 170—446

Since the Great National Assembly has adopted, on February 17, 1926, a new civil code (*Kānūn-i medeni*, cf *Oriente Moderno*, VI 134 *sqq*), which is substantially the Swiss civil code, the authority of the Medjelle has disappeared

(J H Kramers)

MEDJIDIYE In February 1844 (Muharram 1260) in the reign of ʿAbd al-Medjid the Turkish coinage was entirely re-organised on European models and this currency is known as the Medjidiye The name Medjidiye was also given to the largest silver piece in the new coinage the 20 piastre piece of this new issue, it weighed 372 grains (24 08 grammes) (J Allan)

MEHEDIA [See al-Mahdiya]

MEHEMET, MEHEMMED, MEHMED [See Muhammad]

MEHMED PASHA [See Karamānī Mehmed Pasha]

MEHRĪ [1]), the language of the Mahra country in Southern Arabia, which with Shhawrī (spoken in the mountains northeast of Zafār) and the dialect of the island of Sokotra forms a separate branch of South Semitic, the relation of this branch to the now extinct languages found in the inscriptions of the Sabaeans, Minaeans and Hadramawtans has not yet been accurately defined Mehrī itself as a spoken language in South Arabia is seriously threatened by the steady advance of northern Arabic The Mahra people are already almost all bilingual and their native idiom is very much influenced, especially in vocabulary, by northern Arabic, for example, of its old numerals it has preserved only the first ten, all higher numbers have been replaced by the northern Arabic forms It is therefore not always easy to distinguish with certainty old words which are also found in northern Arabic from later borrowings

As regards phonetics, the Mehrī consonants are in general agreement with Arabic and Ethiopic Of the laryngals the loss of *ʿain*, which still sur-

1) In this article the author's system of transliteration is retained for philological reasons

vives in Shhawrī, is characteristic of Mehrī The uvular plosive *k* seems always to be voiced, of the palatals the *g*, which still survives in Shhawrī, is always liquified, as in northern Arabic, to *ǧ* The case of the sibilants is particularly characteristic The original Semitic *s* seems to have been preserved as such, but in many words, as in northern Arabic, the original Semitic *śh* has coalesced with it This sound, which is preserved in Shhawrī as well as in Canaanite and Aramaic, has often been replaced by *h* in genuine Mehrī words, initially for example in *hima* (he) "heard" (compare *mishma* "ear-muscle") and medially in *nehā* "forgotten", in the final position it may be dropped, as in *ṭey* "a little goat", *herē* "head" But when we find alongside of *huda* "to obstruct" *suda* "to carry over, to come to an agreement", which is connected with the Arabic *sadīd* "straight, correct", the latter can only be regarded as borrowed from the Arabic This *s* however is also found in words like *labes* (he) "put on" and in the pronoun of the third pers fem *se, sen*, etc, in which any such borrowing is highly improbable, these must therefore belong to a dialect for which the phonetic law *śh*—*h* did not hold The primitive Semitic *śh* has also survived where a following *t* was assimilated to it, even when the consequent doubling was dropped, as in the prefix to the causative reflexive *śha* A primitive Semitic sound seems also to have survived in the *shin*, to which Jahn has given the name "lateral", and which is transliterated in the Vienna texts by *s*, it corresponds etymologically to the Arabic *shin*, and therefore to the *śin* in Canaanite and old Aramaic Whether the position of articulation was exactly the same cannot of course be decided, but the description of the sound as "lateral" probably means the same as the pronunciation with flattened tongue which is assumed for Canaanite and Aramaic Among the dentals we find alongside of *d* and *t* also the fricatives *dh* and *th* in native as well as loanwords, but in both groups the fricative pronunciation has frequently been dropped, e g in the case of *dh* regularly in the demonstratives, alongside of *thelāthe miye* 300, we have *telatīn* 30 In *ser* "behind" *s* appears instead of the *th* in the Arabic *athar* "track", probably under the influence of *r*, like *śh* in the Eth *ashar* instead the of **asar* which we should expect So also in the case of *z*, the fricative has in many cases become a plosive *t* under conditions still to be explained, as in *tohr* "noon", *ataim* "great" = Arabic *zuhr*, *ʿazīm* The voiced *d* has a lateral articulation differing from the Arabic In the labials, as in Arabic, the voiceless fricative *f* corresponds to the voiced explosive *b* Of the liquids, *n*, when in proximity to velars and palatals, is frequently more nasal than in Arabic *L* and *r* before consonants frequently lose their own sound and merge in the preceding vowel, as *matigh* "slain" from *ltgh* = *ktl*, *yaghdās* "he carries her" from *ghdl* (by dissimilation in *līat* "night", *kallēt* "every night"), *karn* > *kōn* "horn", *karś* > *kōś* "belly"

The vowels are frequently prefaced with the laryngal fricative instead of the laryngal plosive, i e we often have *hā* for *hamza* As in Ethiopic and probably also in primitive Semitic, only two short vowel sounds, *a* and *e*, are distinguished, while of long vowels we have *ā*, *ū* and *ī* The old diphthongs are contracted to *ē* and *ō* These basic vowels are however more strongly affected than in Arabic by the predominant articulation o consonants The distinction between *a* and *e* i thus frequently obliterated Stress brings abou the disappearance of short vowels in unaccente syllables and lengthens them in accented ones whereby *a*, if it is not retained by laryngals o emphatic (i e pharyngalized) consonants, become *ō* (which often passes into *ū*), open sounds ad joining it however become *ē*, *ī* (*imāla*) Assimilatio of vowels in adjacent syllables is frequent Origina long vowels after laryngals and emphatic consonant become *au*, *ou* and *ai*, *ei*

Of the phenomena of sound-shifting an sound-change in combination, a characteristi feature is the tendency, paralleled in the vowe assimilation just described, to bring voiced an unvoiced sounds into agreement (Jahn, *Grammatik* p 8) On this is based the transformation of Arabi *ākharu* "of others", the root of which poeti language retains in *wākhar* "to be delayed", int *ghāher* with metathesis of the initial sound (*hamz* being replaced by *h*) (cf *mghōie* "thereupon' while the *ghair* of the Arabic, which Bittner *Studien*, I 15 compares with this, is to be regarde as distinct) The tendency to the assimilation o *n* is, as in Arabic, usually counteracted by th necessity of maintaining the verbal system Althoug the disappearance of vowels produced by stres sometimes produces double consonants initially, thi is frequently avoided at the end of words by th insertion of an epenthetic vowel, e g *ared* alongsid of *ard* "earth" Such additional syllables are foun medially also before sonants as in the subj *yidele* (*yikteb*), after laryngals as in *yihakēm* and velar as in *yikhabēz*, *yaghazēl*, etc Dissimilation, especiall between sonants (*ṣanēb* "idol" from *sanam*, *zubōn* < *zamān* "time", Hein, p 117, 25), haplology as i **tadīt* > *tit*, *tait* "one" (fem) and strong metathese like *katala* > *katōgh* "he slew", *shamā(t)* > *hemet* > *hētem*, *hitem* "heavens" also contribute to giv the Mehrī vocabulary its special features

The pronoun has preserved very archaic forms The first personal pronoun *ho*, *hu* can probabl not be equated (as Bittner, *Studien*, III 7 suggests to *kū* in Accadian *anāku*, as the change *k* > *h* i not found elsewhere in Mehrī, but must be connecte with the primitive Semitic *ʾā* (with aspiration o the initial vowel — see above) It is also improbabl that the 2nd pers pronoun sg *het*, plur m *ten* f *tin*, should preserve in the singular, with ass milation of the *n*, the initial syllable *ʾan* found i the other Semitic languages, but reject it in th plural It is perhaps more probable that the initi sound of the 2nd pers has been assimilated t that of the 1 and 3 The 1 plur *nhā* reveals corruption of the primitive Semitic *ʾnhnu* Th 3 pers has alone among Semitic languages pre served the original difference in the initial sound m *he*, f *se*, plur m *hem*, f *sen*, on the othe hand, the double distinction through the vowel has been dropped Among the suffixes may b noted the distinction of genders, found also i some North Semitic dialects, in the 2 pers m *k*, f *śh*, with palatalisation from *kt*, as in Shhawi *shibdit* (Muller, in 113, 14) and Sok *shibdeh* (Mulle II 227, N⁰ 2), "liver" In place of the suffixe the independent pronouns may also be used wit the genitive particle as *mōl di-hō*, "my farm' *hārʾawn lehēt*, "thy sheep"

The demonstrative pronouns end in th sg in *d* (in place of *dh*) and distinguish th

genders as in Arabic, m *dă*, f *dĭ*, in plur comm *lă*, they are further combined with (*m*)*e* to m *dōm*(*e*), f *dim*(*e*), pl *lŏm*(*e*), with *k* to m *dāk* f *dik*, pl *lĕk*, or with both elements to m *dākem*(*e*), f *dikem*(*e*), pl *lākem*(*e*), in the basic form both genders when unstressed sometimes coincide in *de*, in the combined form in *dekme* The basic form, reduced to *da*, *de*, *di* without distinction of gender, pl *la*, *le*, *li*, serves also as a relative In the interrogative besides the personal *mōn* "who ?", we have the neuter *hĕ* < *'at* "what ?"

Of the numerals, as already mentioned, only the first ten have survived "One" in the basic form *hād* is only used as an indefinite "any one", otherwise it has been driven out by the relative phrase **dhād* > *tād*, the fem takes the ending of the nomina unitatis (see below), which by analogy has been transferred to 2 and the other numerals except 4 and 5, perhaps under the influence of *themenit* 8, which follows the regular phonetic law, from **tadīt* we get by haplology *tīt*, *tait* The numeral 2 agrees in its stem with the Aram *thrū* (like *bei* > *habi* "son" with *bar*), the ending *ū* from *ā* is the old dual ending of the nominative In 3 the initial letter, as in Sabaean and Ethiopic, is dissimilated (from the final) to *s* and the final has become a plosive *selit*, the feminine form after dropping the *l* (see above) has dissimilated the final *th* of the stem to *f*, becoming *safait* 4 *arba*ᶜ loses in the feminine the unaccented first syllable *ibōt* 5 loses the last radical, weakened to *h*, in the masculine the basic form *'khamish* has through vowel assimilation become *khaime* through *khimih*, the feminine shows the feminine ending *ō*, to which the vowel of the stem is assimilated *khomō* 6 and 7 change the initial *sh* to *h*, while the final *dth* of 6 as in Arabic by mutual synthesis becomes *tt* *hit*, 7 following phonetic laws in *hōbaᶜ*, f *hibeyt* 9 loses its initial sound, which had already lost its vowel in the unaccented syllable *saᶜ* f *sait* 8 and 10 show, following regular phonetic laws, in *themōne*, f *themenīt*, m *ōser*, f *asrit*

Among the nouns, the most noteworthy for their form are those which were originally monosyllabic, they are found throughout with the prefix *ha* (*ha*) as in *habi* alongside of *bei* (see above) "son", a new formation (differently Bittner, i 28, 5), following *habit* alongside of *bort* "daughter", *hamū* "water", *hayūm*, *heyūm*, *hiūm* "day, sun" alongside of *yimō* "to day", *halliu* alongside of *lelet* (*het*, *kallēt* see above) "night" *Heib* "father" and *heid* "hand" are therefore not to be equated directly with *ab* and **'d* with *h* for *h* instead of *hamza*, as it is found in *hām* "mother", but we must recognise in them as well the prefixed syllable which is found also before some nouns which are triliteral in the other Semitic languages, like *heiē* "head" = **raʾsh*, *hanōf* "soul", which Bittner explained by metathesis, *hinē* "vessel" = Ar *inā*, *hanōb*, pl *hanīōb* "great, elders" = Ar *nāb*, pl *'anyāb* "old she-camel, head of a family", *hanid* (Shh *nīd*) "water-skin" = Hebr *nōd*, Accad *nādu* In *bi hu wōdi* "in a valley" (Muller, iii 24, 5) this syllable (here assimilated only to the beginning of the next word) serves as an indefinite article, which has lost its significance in the above words and become a component of the stem, so that it also appears in the plur *habūn* etc, but originally however must have been identical with the numeral *had*, which is still used as an indefinite pronoun *Hadīd* "uncle" and *haddīt* "aunt", *hitheyl* "fox" *thaᶜl* show the *ha* weakened to *ha* A Embeï, in *Zeitschr f ag Spr u Alt*, ii 118, 138, compares these nouns with the as similated stems with prefixed *h* in Egyptian discussed by Sethe, *ibid*, xlvii 80, note 2

Of other nominal forms we need only mention the diminutives, sometimes with internal formation similar to Ar *kuwaitil* (see Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre*, p 5), as, for example, *tawafēl* "little child", sometimes also with the ending *ān*, which here always appears as *ēn* under the influence of the diphthong of the basic form *kutail* (Rhodokanakis, *ibid*), *wukatēn* "short time"

The feminine ending *at* takes the accent in nominatives with short stem vowel and therefore appears as *āt*, *ōt*, or with assimilation to close front vowels as *ēt*, as in *rahmāt* "rain", *saghfōt* "leaf", *hadyiret* "chamber", after long stem vowels however, it is unaccented, as in *alōmet* "flag", *fkhaidet* "tribe", *dyiridet* "palm-wood", especially in loanwords from the Arabic, while in true Mehrī words the vowel in the unaccented syllable usually disappears and the vowel of the now closed root syllable is abbreviated, as in *haft* (= Yemen *hāfe*) "town, village", *sust* "worm", *dayeft* "meal", at the same time showing assimilation of the final consonants *dytt* (from *dyid*) "good" (fem), *kanett* (from *kanūn*) "small" (fem)

Another feminine ending *i*, which still occasionally appears unsupported in Arabic and Aramaic, is here found, as in most Semitic languages, only in combination with the usual ending *t* as a regularly accented *īt*, e g in the participles, and again in simple noun-stems, corresponding to the masc ending *ōne*, e g *tebiōne*, f *tebiīte*, in the derivative stems like *mesafire*, f *mesfiraīte*, *meftekere*, f *meftekiīte* with from the masculine transference of *e* < *i*, and also in the feminines by signification derived from the masc like *kelbit* "bitch", *habrit* "daughter" (see above), *bālīt* "lady" from *bāl*, *shrifit* "noble lady" from *shrīf* The endings of the nomina unitatis likewise end in this way in *bidait* "egg" from *bid*, *limit* "citron" from *lim*, *sefit* "hair" from *sīf* (alongside of the usual ending as in *khabezōt* "bread", *nakhlet* "date palm"), as in Tigrē and Tigiña, these are really feminines of adjectives of relation, which in their original meaning preserve the full form *iyet* (see Rhodokanakis, *op cit*, p 6, 7)

Of the dual only a trace remains in *thiū* 2, perhaps however also in the ending *i* of nouns before this numeral, like *kaishi thiū*, if this is not simply an epenthetic vowel before the double consonant *Ghaseieyen*, borrowed from the Arabic *al-ᶜasrain*, takes the meaning "period after the *ᶜasr*", from this is formed on the model of *fenōwen* "before", *ghasiōwen* "at the time before the *ᶜasr*"

The sound plural of the masculine with the ending *īn* (*ain*, *ein*), before suffixes *i*, is still in use to a greater extent than in Arabic The plural of adjectives of relation in *iyin* is still found alongside of the contracted form *īn*, frequently in names of trades like *hammaliyin*, *seiyafiyin* (Rhodokanakis, *op cit*, p 9) The ending of the fem pl is *ōt*, sometimes *ōten*, which does not, as Bittner thought, maintain the nunation, which survives in Mehrī (as in modern Arabic and in Hebrew and Ethiopic) only in adverbs The suffixed syllable is the plural ending of the masc in unaccented syllables (*Grundr*, i 442), just as the fem sg *it* takes the masc

ending *e* (see above), or it may be, as Rhodokanakis (*op cit*, p 8) suggests, the other plural ending *ān*, as in Accad *kullatān* "all" In the formation and use of the broken plural, Mehrī adopts a mean between Arabic and Ethiopic Characteristic are a number of formations from plurals of the plural, such as are found also in Arabic, e g *sarik* "a piece of wood", plur **sirāk*, then **sarāyik* and and thence *seryak* (Rhodokanakis, p 11 *sqq*) Double plurals also arise through the addition of the masc pl ending *īn* in *rtaheīn* "wind", *dhembīn* "tails", *sehmīn* "bows", to which the original plurals *rtāh*, *dhenōb*, *shūm* are then taken as singulars (Rhodokanakis, p 9), and again with vowel reduction after the accented syllable in *kilebten* "bitches", *habanten* "daughters", in which however Rhodokanakis (p 15) sees the ending *ān*

The case-inflections, except for a few remains of the accusative in some adverbs, have completely disappeared The genitive is expressed by the simple juxtaposition of two nouns, more frequently by the relative, sometimes with a demonstrative suffix, as in *djeldeh de ghodeb hibre di bagrēt* "the skin of the steer, the young of the cow", Hein, p 15, 16, alongside of *hebre tiwīt* "the young of the ewe", *ibid*, p 3, 17

Determination and indetermination are never indicated Nunation only survives in some adverbs, like *fenōwen* "in front", *ghairen* "behind", *mghōren* "later"

The prepositions of Mehrī are for the most part new formations, some of uncertain origin Of the old Semitic prepositions, only *bi* (*ba*, *b-*), *bein*, *bād* "after", *le* < *ʿalā* and *tlā*, and *min* have survived, *ka*, *ke* has come to mean "with" The place of *li* has been taken by *ha*, *he*, which Bittner traces to the first syllable of **tlā*, but this is not very probable The other prepositions have been replaced by words indicating place, like *fenōwen*, *fenē* "before", *ser* (properly "track") "behind", *tewál*, *tuwul* "at" (properly a Ṭ-nomen connected with Arabic *waliya* "to be near", rather than with Syriac *lewāth*, as Bittner considers), *nkhali* "below" (properly "depression"), but Sokotrī, *nhet*, Muller, III 54 *infra*), or parts of the body, like *birek* "in" (lit "in the bosom", Christian) and *tar*, *ṭair* "upon" (properly "back")

The verb distinguishes from the simple form, which is found in the active as *ketōb* "wrote" and stative as *libes* "was clothed", an intensive which has however dropped the doubling and thus coincides with the purposive, and a causative with the prefix *ha*, which in the imperfect also sometimes has the same form as the intensive (e g *hemrōd* "to tend a sick person", impf ind *yihemrōd*, subj *yihamrad*, but *hasalāh* "to remedy", impf ind *yihaṣōlah*, subj *yihaṣalah*) The causative has very often a passive sense, like the simple intransitive verb, with which it often coincides as an inner causative To each of these stems there is a reflexive with inserted *t* to the simple verb in double form as *katteb* or *katateb*, or with assimilation to the vowels of the simple verb *ktetōb*, to the intensive *ktōteb*, to the causative from the simple form *shaghfūr* "to beg pardon", to the purposive stem *shhākem* "to go to law", *shdjēdel* "to quarrel"

In contrast to the perfect (quoted above as the normal form), which expresses a fact as such, there is an imperative in the active *tebēr* "break", in the stative *lebōs* "put on", in the intensive *sōfer* "travel", in the causative *hakteb* "cause to write", in the reflexive *ktīteb*, *ktetōb*, *ktōteb*, in the caus refl *shaghfer* and *shhākem* From these imperatives is formed the affective mood (Bittner's subjunctive), like *yitbēr* "that he crush", *yilbōs* "that he put on", *yisōfer* "that he travel", *yihakteb* "that he write", *yiktīteb*, *yiktetōb*, *yiktōteb*, *yishaghfer*, *yishhākem* Next there is expressed the progressive aspect, which presents the action as in progress, often with limitation to the present and future, a form which doubles the second radical in the simple verb but, as in the intensive, has replaced the reduplication by lengthening the vowel as in *yitōber* "he crushes", so also in the causative *yihakōteb*, but in the intensive and sometimes in the reflexive shows an ending corresponding to the Arabic energicus, as in *yisáferen* "he travels", refl *yiktetīben* and *yiktáteben*, caus refl *yishhākemen* In the intransitive simple verb, the affective mood serves also to indicate that an event is happening at the present time (as a so called indicative), on account of the relations of the intrans to the caus and refl already referred to this formation, but now for the indicative only, is transferred to these forms in *yihaktōb* (alongside of *yihakōteb*), *yishaghfōr* and *yiktetōb* (from *katteb*)

In the so called perfect in active verbs, the stress remains on the second syllable of the stem with the exception of the 3rd fem sg, the ending of which *ōt*, as in the noun, attracts the emphasis to itself (*teberōt*) The 3rd pl has lost the endings and replaces them only in the masc by *em*, which comes from the pronoun The consonantal terminations have lost their vowels, but the double consonant at the end of a word is separated by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel only before the sonant *n* of the 1st pers plur (*tebōren*), before other terminations the vowel of the stem remains short As in Ethiopic the initial of the 2nd pers is assimilated to that of the 1st (*-k*), as in the suffix, the 2nd fem sg appears in the palatalised form *sh* The intransitives with the exception of the 3rd fem sing retain the stress on the first syllable of the stem, the vowel of which is assimilated to that of the second (*tiber*) In the intensive the lengthening of the *a* to *ō* is found only in the forms which do not add a termination

In the imperative in the transitive simple verb as well as in the causative there is no distinction of gender in the singular In the intransitive form however, the vowel of the second accented syllable of the stem was assimilated to the feminine ending *t*, so that even after it was dropped the distinction between m *tebōr* and f *tebīr* was retained, similarly in the reflexive *ftehōm*, *ftehim*

Accordingly, in the intensive and its reflexive and in the causative reflexive the distinction of gender is expressed also by changing the accented vowel m *sōfer*, f *sifer*, m *ntōbeh*, f *ntibeh*, m *shkhālef*, f *shkhaylef* In the plural the genders are distinguished by the endings in *-em*, f *-en* In the intransitive simple form however, the vowel change is transferred from the singular to the plural, m *tebōrem*, f *tebīren* and in the reflexive of the scheme *ktetōb*, with peculiar change of function m *ktetībem* (assimilation to the indic imp *yiktetīben*, pl *yiktetībem*), f *ktetōben* The same change of function is also found in the perf of the causal 3 m pl *haktībem*, f *haktōb*

Out of the imperative arises the so-called subj.

of the impf by means of the same personal prefixes as in all Semitic languages and with the endings *ī* for the 2nd sg f and m *-em*, f *-en* for the plural of the 2nd and 3rd pers In the corresponding indicative the distinction of gender is expressed in the second person by internal vowel change, m *tetōber*, f *tetīber* and on the addition of the plural endings the short vowel (*yiteberem* etc) is restored In the intransitive simple verb the moods are not distinguished, the genders of the 2nd pers sg are distinguished by the same vowel change as in the imperative, this vowel change is also transferred to the plural (m *tetbōrem*, f *tetbɔren*) and with exchange of functions also to the 3rd pers (m *yitbīrem*, f *tetbōren*) In the intensive, distinction of gender in the second person is expressed only in the singular (subj *tesōfer*, f *tesifer*, indic m *tesafɔren*, f *tesifɔren*), before the endings, the vowels are short and the mood endings give way to the plural endings so that the 3rd pers f sg and pl are the same *tesaferen*

The participles are in the simple form active *tebrōne*, f *tebrite* (see above), pass *metbīr*, in the derivative stems as in e g intensive *mekatebe*, f *mekatebite*, caus *mehaktebe*, f *mehaktebīte*, in the passive they follow the model of the simple verb, *makẖazáis* "despatched" (in the intensive only when borrowed from the Arabic like *meqaddem* "chief")

The infinitives are in the simple verb of the form *tiber* (more rarely like *ghādel* "to carry", *mirīd* "to be ill") or *dabyūṭ* "to take" (frequently with med lar), with prefix, like *māmūl* "work", or with ending like *ghafirōn* "to forgive", in the intensive *tebrid* "to cool down", in the causal and the reflexives with the ending *ōt* (*ūt*) as in Eth *haktebōt*, *ktethōt*, *shaghferōt*

In the verbs with laryngal as second radical, the perfect is e g *ḏjehēm* "he went", it is therefore, as in Ethiopic, the intransitive scheme with the type of the transitive making itself felt, the imperfect is therefore inflected as in the intransitives without distinction of mood As a first radical, a laryngal frequently produces intrusive syllables, as in subj *yihakēm* "let him judge" *Hamza*, arising out of *ʿain* as first radical, acts in the same way, e g *yaʾanāf* "let him become hard" (cf Arabic *ʿanafa*, not Hebrew *ʾānaf* as Bittner suggested), while an original *hamza* disappears, as in *yāmer* "let him say" As a second radical *ʿain* disappears, but keeps *a* in the perfect of the simple verb unchanged, as *ṭān* "thrust (past tense) with the lance" In the verbs with third *ʿain*, unlike Ethiopic, trans and intrans formation is distinguished in the simple verb, whereby the perf of the trans coincides with the intensive (*dōfa* "he paid" like *ḏjōma* "he collected"), the intransitives distinguish the moods of the imperf exactly like the transitives

In the verbs with first wāw, the primitive Semitic formation of the biliteral stem is dying out It is true we still find the imperative *zēm* "give" with the subj *yizēm* and *kēb* "come in" with the subj *yikēb*, but *kēb* is already limited to the feminine and the masc *wekōb* formed from it, we have besides the reduplicated imperatives *zem-zēm*, *kebkēb*, as well as *dakadēk* and *shakashēk* "to load", and with vowel lengthening *thākẖ* "to calm" and *ḏjeyb* "to be necessary" In secondary formations the *w* disappears from the root in some forms of the reflexive, like *watkẖaf* "to go in the afternoon", imp ind *yitkẖōf*, subj *yitakẖf*, inf *takẖf* and *watkat* "he awakened", imp ind *yetkōt*, subj *yeteket*, inf *teketen* For the rest the first *wāw* verbs inflect regularly, and the few first *yā* verbs follow them

The third *hamza* verbs very often coincide with the third-*wāw* and third-*yā* In the transitives in the simple form we have *ū* throughout and in the in transitives *ī*, which in the perfect in the forms with consonant endings merges with the stem, e g *ksū* "he found", but 2 m and 1 c *kusk* and *sīm* "he saw", but *sink* In the 3rd plur m besides the original *ksūcm*, we have also *ksīum* with secondary vowel differentiation, and with a new formation on the model of forms like *kuskem* also *kusem* In the imper and subj the form of the third-*yā*, like *ksē*, *yikse* has predominated, in the indic the unaccented final vowels disappear except in the 2 f sg (*tekeysi*) The denominative *bīrū* "to bear" from *bei* "son" follows completely the strong paradigm *tibir*, only the *i* of the 2 sg f is also found in the 3rd, e g *tibiru*, alongside of *tibrou* and *tiberū* (Muller, iv 31, 24) In the derivative stems only the 3rd m sg of the perf in the caus (*haksū*) and its refl (*shaksū*) is formed after the trans simple verb, in all other forms the paradigm of the third-*yā* is followed (*kōsi*, *ktōsi*, *katsi* etc) But the final vowel is lost in the imperative always and in the subj of the reflexive sometimes (*katir* "hide thyself", subj *yikatīr*, but *ghatir* "speak", subj *yighatīr*), and both forms lose it regularly in the causative and its reflexive (*hebd*, *yihebd*, sometimes with lengthening *heyder* "get up", *yiheyder*, *shidh* [Jahn, p 113, 25] "give heed", *yishidah*)

The medial *ū* and *ī* verbs are, as in Ethiopic, to a great extent assimilated to the plan of the strong verbs, *iā* and *wāw* being treated as consonants Only in the simple form of the med *ū* is the old Semitic inflexion retained in principle But the old form *imūt* (frequently *yimōt*) has become indicative, and a new subj has been formed with vowel change, *yimēt*, followed by the imperative *mēt* As in the intransitives, the ending of the 2nd sg f reacts on the stem in the indicative *temit*, whence also the fem plur *temīten* to the m *timōtem*, and the 3rd pers with these reversed *yimitem*, *temōten* In the perf *mōt* < *māta* is retained but abbreviated before consonant suffixes, as *metk*, the participle from it is *metōne* But the pass part is quite strong in formation as *makẖwif* "feared" Some verbs, probably formed from nouns, follow the strong paradigm throughout the simple form, like *tawos* "to be finished", *hawwel* "to be mad" This is always the case in the reflexive of the base, e g *šetwek* "to long for home" and in the causative, as *hadwōi* "turned" and its reflexive, e g *shhowōb* "warmed himself", as well as in the med *yā* verbs e g *seyōi* "travelled" The intensive stem shows a peculiar formation, e g *awīd* "returned", impf 1 ind *yeʾawiden*, subj *yeʾawīd*, imp *awīd*, part *maʾawide*, inf *awōdet* (from the simple verb, elsewhere however like *taʾawīr*) and *ayit* "called aloud" following the formation of the doubled verbs

The biliteral roots with short vowel (the so-called med gem or doubled verbs) have retained the primitive Semitic inflection with doubling of the second radical only in the perfect of the simple form, in addition the consonantal endings take an epenthetic vowel 3rd m *temm* "was at an end"

f *temmōt*, 2nd m *temmek* etc But the vowel of the stem changes without regard for the meaning *hass* "thought of", *ṣiss* "crept" (spider), *hudd* "stopped", *zull* "lost the way", *ghott* "covered", *dobb* "crept" The imper and subj follow the pattern of the strong verb, e g *temēm*, *yitmēm* The indicative however is *yitmōm* (*yifelūl*) This is a new formation on the analogy of the med *ū*, like *yimōt yimēt* The simple form **yitammem* had avoided the threefold repetition of the same sound just as the intensive has done, by forming in the perf *temīm*, and imperf *yit(e)mimen*, subj *yitmīm* (with assimilation to the vowels of the inf *tetmim*[a]) The causative of the simple form follows in the perf *hatmōm* and ind and impf the strong paradigm e g *yihatmōm*, while in the subj the succession of similar consonants is avoided, as in Aramaic, by doubling the first radical *yihátttem*, and in the imper *hattem* and part *mahattame* The causative of the intensive however follows its formation, e g perf *hatmim*, etc The reflexive of the simple form replaces in the perf (after the model of *katteb*) the repetition of the second radical by doubling the *t* *fattak* "was released", but in other respects follows the pattern of the strong verb e g ind *yiftekūk*, subj *yiftakl*, imp *ftakl*, part *meftakke*, inf *ftakkōt* The causative reflexive follows the same pattern but with doubling of the 2nd radical in the subj and part *shemdūd*, "he attained", ind *yishemdūd*, subj *yishemmed*, part *meshemmide*

The suffixes are added to the 3rd pers sg m of the perf with the "binding vowel" *ī*, which as in the similarly constructed forms of the Syr imperf (e g *nekteliw*) may have been an originally independent particle, which in Arabic is expanded to *iyā*, cf e g *ghabris* "he met her" with *ghabōr* Only before the 2nd pers sg m suffix, *ū* appears instead for unknown reasons This *ī* may also appear in association with the element *t* found in North Semitic (Hebrew *ʾōth*, *ʾēth* etc), probably abbreviated from the verb *ʾatā* "to come", which with the 2nd pers sg m *tūk* also shows *tīk* These independent suffixes however may also appear after all the other verbal forms, which otherwise take the suffixes direct or with an epenthetic vowel

The vocabulary shows the closest affinity, apart from later borrowings, to northern Arabic, but possesses, in addition to many characteristic new formations like *khō* "mouth" (cf Arab *khawkhat* "air hole"), many old words which otherwise survive only in outlying regions, like *fām* "foot" as in Punic, instead of the phonetically inconvenient *rigl*, so also *thiwīt*, *tiwīt*, Sok *teten*, *tee*, Müller, IV 170, 22, 1, 2, "sheep" = Fg Aram and Mand *tēthā* (see Lidzbarski, *Eph*, III 256, *Johannesbuch*, II 215 note), *fakhre* "together", cf Accad *pakhāru* "to assemble" The language of the Beduins and that of poetry has in addition many special features, particularly in its vocabulary

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MEKNES (Ar Miknās and Miknāsat al-Zaitūn), a town in Morocco, one of the residences of the Sultān The old French name *Maquinez* or *Miquinez* has not prevailed against the form inspired by the ethnic

Situated in 5° 39′ W Long (Greenw) and 33° 53′ N Lat at an average height of 1,700 feet above sea level, Meknes is 80 miles east of Rabat and 40 west of Fās It occupies the centre of the transitional zone which lies between the Middle Atlas, 30 miles to the south, and the Sebū It commands the exit towards the Gharb of the depression ("south Rifan pass") which separates the massif of the Zarhūn from the plateau of el-Hādjeb At Meknes intersect the roads from Rabat to Fas, from Tāfilalt through the land of the Beni Mgīld and Azrū, from Marrākush through the Tādlā Meknes at the present day is economically connected with Knitra

The temperature rarely exceeds 30° C or falls below 5° The rainfall (491 mm in 1920) is remarkably equal from one year to the other The excellent water supply of the plain of Meknes and the quality of its light soil, resting on a subsoil of permeable limestone, make it one of the best agricultural districts of Morocco

The population at the last census was 30,000, of whom 19,000 were Muslims and 6,000 Jews Canal in 1902 put it at 20,000 of whom 9,000 were Būkheis and 5,000 Jews

Meknes is built on the flank of a mountain spur The ruins of the *Kaṣba* of Mawlāi Ismāʿīl lie to the S E of the native town, and give to the old town, surrounded by walls of clay, a considerable extension, of which the *mdina* itself only covers about a fifth Beyond the ravine dug out by the Wādi Bū Fekran the European town has been laid out and is being built The appearance of the native town, dominating this ravine and placed upon a verdant plateau, is striking The houses of the *mdīna*, often substantial, are always very simple There are only fifteen or so houses of an artistic interest They date for the most part from the reigns of Sultāns Muhammad b ʿAbd al Raḥmān and Mawlāi al Hasan The suburbs of the town look like the streets of a country village The sūks, which lie between the Madrasa

Bū ʿInania and the Djāmiʿ al-Nadjdjārin (sūks of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *kaisariya* [q v] the booths of which were ornamented a few years ago with shutters of painted wood The *mellāh* [q v] of Meknes is to the south of the *mdina*, it seems to have been here since the reign of Mawlāi Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh A new *mellāh*, three times the extent of the old one, has been occupied since 1925 The *mdina* of Meknes is one of those which have retained their native character most unaffected Only one artery, the Rouāmzīn street, is accessible to European trade and traffic The centre of the town's activity is the Hedim square In the evening the story-tellers and buffoons, who usually call themselves shorfā' of Mawlāi ʿAbd al-Kadir al-Gilānī, are surrounded by a crowd, the animation of which is exceeded only by that which fills the Djamaʿ al Fnā at Marrākush To the S E lie the vast ruins of the *kasba* of Mawlāi Ismāʿil They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder The only buildings still kept in repair are the Djenān b Halima, out of which the Direction de l'Agriculture has made a charming garden, and the Dar al Baidā' which is now a school for native officers In the Dār al-Makhzen live the last surviving women of the family of Mawlāi al-Hasan and sometimes it is used as a royal residence Begun at the end of the xviith century this palace was built in several periods The Bāb Dār al Makhzen dates from 1889 In the ruins of the Dār Kbira live the families of the Hasanī shorfā', near the abode of the nakib of the shorfā', Mawlai Kabir b Zidān To the Djamaʿ al Akhdar mosque the kādis, shorfā' and principal officials go every Friday and on the occasion of solemn prayers In the old Agdāl of Mawlāi Ismāʿil, among waste lands, in ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawlāi ʿAbd Allāh, has been laid out, beside an experimental garden Farther on there is a horse breeding establishment The remainder is nothing but ruins The visitor goes along miles of massive walls and finds enormous ruins the Heri el Mansūr used as a stable and storehouse for forage, the stables, the granary and the ornamental water left to go to ruins

There is very little industry in Meknes carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Idrīsi The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroideries of large irregular point lace and painted wood The public services endeavour to keep going these trades, in which purely Berber influence is more and more marked European competition is severely affecting, it Meknes as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing Sūks are held outside the town and are attended by the country people the Sūk of the Bāb Djdīd, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the Sūk al-Khamīs and that of the Lanterns There is no native commercial house of any importance The market of Meknes does not extend beyond the environs of the town it exports nothing except in years of abundant harvest The region was already famed in the tenth century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period Since the French occupation, colonisation has developed considerably The colonists, most of whom have come from Algeria, cultivate mainly wheat, of which they are obtaining increasing yields The cultivation of the vine is increasing each year The region of Mawlāi Idris is one of the principal centres of olive growing in Morocco (400,000 trees), 330 farms are laid out in the district, covering 85,000 hectares Official colonisation which has now disposed of almost all the reserved lands has been out-distanced since 1927 by private colonisation The native farms (130,000 hectares) tend to disappear from the plain and to confine themselves to mixed farming in the mountains Prospecting for minerals has only been done piecemeal, traces of petroleum have been found beside Petitjean and of lead in the Central Atlas

The government of Meknes, which is a *makhzaniya* town, is in the hands of a *bāshā* He is also *bāshā* of the Buākheirs, who have retained a relic of their past greatness in a special statute and down till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to Le Chatelier) The *nakib* of the Hasani shorfā' exercises a jurisdiction independent of that of the bāshā In the administrative organisation of the protectorate, Meknes has been made the capital of a very considerable area It was from it that the military operations in the Central Atlas were directed Although this active part is now over, Meknes is still a military command, and its administrative region, although greatly reduced, still stretches to Midelt Situated in the centre of Morocco at the junction of important roads, Meknes is marked out as one of the strong places of the country in the future a military camp is being laid out at el Hādjeb

The population of Meknes consists of many distinct elements Shorfā', Būākhers, Berbers and Jews The Idrisid shorfā', who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawlāi Idris, only the families residing in Fās and Meknes are allowed to share in the income of the zāwiya of Fās) and the Hasani shorfā', who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally penurious The Būākhers, descendants of the *ʿabid* of Mawlāi Ismāʿil, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble Since that date they have been taking up the trades of mat makers and farriers They live close to the town of old kasbas and gardens which belong to the Makhzen, and in the old kasba of Mawlāi Ismāʿil in the Bāb Mrāh quarter Their houses, roofed with thatch, look like African encampments But it is the Berber (*Brābcr*) element which predominates at Meknes and gives it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fās It is the Berbers of the mountains who give it its tone, when they come down to the town their women give colour to the streets of the *mdina* with their short skirts, their leather gaiters and their wide brimmed hats The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawlāi Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes A considerable part of the population of Meknes consists of floating elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tāfilālt in particular (potters, tanners and porters),

om Sūs (grocers), from Tūāt (oil-makers), from
ıgīg and Darᶜa (masons) The Rīfans and Jbāla
ıpply most of the agricultural labourers A small
ımber of Fāsīs, who have in recent years merged
to the population of the town, are cloth-merchants,
d-clothes-dealers and shoemakers

Jews form a quarter of the native population
oucauld estimated the *mellāḥ* of Meknes to be
alf that of Fās Chénier remarked on its prosperity
has increased since his day as elsewhere and
ıe position of the Jews is greatly improved since
ıe establishment of the French Protectorate

Religious life From the presence of the
lrīsid and Hasanid shorfāᵓ, the proximity of the
nctuary of Mawlāi Idrīs and the religious event
the celebrations of his *mūsem* (class *mawsim*,
v) every year, Meknes is one of the most im
›rtant centres of sharīfism At the same time for
ıe Berber population it is a centre of marabout
tes of the most elementary kind All the brother-
›ods that have zāwiyas in Morocco are represented
ı Meknes The most important are those of the
ādirīya, Tīdjānīya, and especially Hmādsha and
ıe largest, the ᶜIsāwa, to which half the population
e attached Meknes, whose patron saint is Sīdi
Iuhammad b ᶜIsā and which contains his tomb
nder the *kubba* erected by Mawlāi Muhammad
ᶜAbd Allāh, is the capital of the order This
ınt came here at the end of the xvth century
is teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance,
hich he overcame so completely that, when the
›vernor of the town sought to take steps against
ım, the people protected him Before his death
ᵓ acquired an estate, constituted it *ḥubūs* and
t it aside as a cemetery It is still used and many
en of religion are buried there The celebration
his *mūsem* on the first day of the *mūlūd* (*mawlid*)
stival is the great event of the year The pre-
ıarations for it begin forty days before and become
l-absorbing ten days before the festival On the
ıy before or the preceding day delegations flock
ı from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional
›utes The most generous hospitality is given to
ıe pilgrims by the descendants of Shaikh al Kāmil,
ho have the *mkāba* (Brunel) The excesses com-
ıitted on the occasion of this pilgrimage have
een frequently described Many other special cults
re observed in Meknes Bū Zekrī is the patron
f the graziers, and Mawlāi Idrīs of the Zarhūn is the
atron of the tanners, weavers and butchers (Mas
gnon) There is even the cult of a living holy
ıan, Mawlāi Ahmad Wazzānī As it was his
ıstom to sit in the public way in a very simple
›stume, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a
ubba at the request of Mawlāi Yūsuf The *kubba*
at the entrance to a dispensary and the admirers
f the saint come there daily to keep him company

History We know nothing certain about the
ıstory of the region in the Roman period nor in
ıe centuries which followed The most advanced
oman stations were on the slopes of the Zarhūn
ıarding the plain, out of which the warriors of
ıe Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps
ırowing out a screen as far as the plateau of
l-Hādjeb

We do not know at what date the people here
ad their first contact with Islām, nor even if it
ras not till the Hilālī invasion that Islām became
ecurely established here The Berber tribes of
he Sāᵓis and Sebū made the most of the fertility
f their country A tradition records that a fire
destroyed the gardens there in 917 It was at this
period that the country was covered, from Tāzā
to Meknes, by the migration of a Znāta tribe, the
Miknāsa, a section of whom, who received the
name of Miknāsa al-Zaitūn to distinguish them
from the Miknāsa Tāzā, who lived farther to the
east, established themselves securely in the plain
The Idrīsids met with a vigorous resistance from
the Miknāsa They always found in them opponents
whom they could not overcome in spite of several
campaigns, and who were the medium of Umaiyad
intervention

The *Kirtās* records that a governor of the district,
al Mahdī b Yūsuf al-Kezanī, having joined Yūsuf
b Tāshfīn, was assassinated by the tribesmen, but
the terrified citizens hastened to disown the murder
At this date a few villages stood on the site of
Meknes One cannot say at what date, perhaps in
the tenth century, they were grouped together to
form the *Tacadart* mentioned by Idrīsī (*Tagrart*,
according to the *Kitāb al-Istibsār*) The population
seems to have been more numerous in the Almoravid
period than later, and prosperous Enclosed by a
wall, Meknes looked like a pleasure resort, with
its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths
and water channels

The Miknāsa vigorously opposed the Almohad
onslaught When passing through this region in
1120—21, Ibn Tūmart preached here but he was
not well received Twenty years later, ᶜAbd al-
Muᵓmin laid siege to Meknes but it was not he
who took it He left it to enter Fās, leaving the
conduct of siege in the hands of Yahyā b Yaghmur
The *Kirtās* says the siege lasted seven years
The town fell in 1150 It was plundered, the
defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated
and all its garrison put to death, except the governor
Yadder b Ulgūt, who is said to have gone over
to the Almohads before the surrender in order to
save his head On the site, or beside the ruins,
Meknes rapidly rose again under the shelter of
the fortifications built by the Almohads At the
end of the century, it had regained some importance
and the mosque of al-Nadjdjārīn was finished This
is the oldest monument in Meknes in 1756—
1757 Muhammad b ᶜAbd Allāh had it restored
and built the present minaret The Almohads
brought water hither from Tadjenna, five miles
away In 1182 the *khuṭba* was said in five different
places in Meknes and there were six gates in the
wall which surrounded the town

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the Banū Marīn [q v] disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the Almohads was particularly lively In 1231—1232, al-Maᵓmūn had to intervene against the Banū Fāzāz and Meklāta, who were ravaging Meknes In 1236—1237, as a result of the Marīnid success in the battle in which al-Saᶜīd's son was slain, Abū Bakr entered the town This occupation was only temporary but the Almohad restoration was not secure In 1245—1246, the governor left there by al-Saᶜīd was slain in a rising in the town in favour of Abū Zakarīyāᵓ the Hafsid Al Saᶜīd again returned victorious, causing Yahyā b ᶜAbd al-Hakk to fly to Tāzā The Marīnid had only two years to wait, after the death of the Almohad governor, he returned to Meknes to occupy it definitely

The first period of greatness for Meknes dates from the Marīnids They set out to make it beautiful

like Rabat and Fās Abū Yūsuf moved from Fās Djdīd to Meknes, which owed to him a ḳasba and a mosque (1276) Abū 'l-Hasan improved its water supply, built bridges on the road to Fas and began the *Madrasa Djadida* which Abū ʿInān was to finish It bears the latter's name and is still the most notable building in Meknes, in spite of the indiscreet restorations carried out in 1917–1922 Other madrasas, ʿAttārīn and Filāla, were built by the Marinids

During this period the political organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction The Idrīsid shorfā', having assisted the Marīnids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the xvth century into practically independent divisions The shorfā' were numerous in Meknes When the weakening of the Marīnids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, they supplied leaders History has preserved the name of Mawlāi Zaiyān The Wattasids only once intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the xvith century Masʿūd b al Nāsir, having rebelled against Muhammad al-Bortugālī, found an asylum at Meknes The Sultān besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāsir al-Kiddīd there, who however did not prove faithful to him The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknes were not particularly glorious They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant

The rise of the brotherhoods of the xvth century found a favourable soil among the Miknāsa The zāwiya Djazūliya was established there, as in other places in Morocco A few years later, Muhammad b ʿIsā was teaching there

Meknes was thus well prepared to welcome the Saʿdians When Muhammad al Shaikh approached in 1548 he entered the town without much trouble The Marinid al-Nāsir al-Kasrī is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Ahmad Bū Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement Muhammad al Shaikh however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority, when the Khatīb Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b Harzūz began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6—8,000 hearths It was the only town in the region The Saʿdians took little interest in Meknes which never attracted their attention The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrākush by the Tādlā was regularly used It was the practice to make Meknes the residence of one of the sons of the Sultān There was however no important command attached to it Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the viceroyalty of Fās, which is astonishing Under Ahmad al-Mansūr, Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī lived there and then after the second partition, Zīdān and, lastly Mawlāi al Shaikh, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father's life

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Mansūr placed Meknes at the mercy of the Berber risings and marabout intrigues Mawlāi ʿAbd Allāh b al-Shaikh lived by brigandage and often found a refuge in al-Kasr al-Kabir In 1619, his brother Muhammad defeated him near Meknes Al-Ifrānī mentions for the next year the rising of an individual who called himself the Sharīf Amghār In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the zāwiyas, and especially the Zāwiya of Dilā' In 1640—1641, Muhammad al-Hādjdj was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fās and Meknes after his victory over Mawlāi Muhammad al Shaikh b Zidan He gained over the Berber tribes, and Mawlāi al-Rashīd in 1666 found the Banī Mtir against him, allied with the Dilā'ī Abū ʿAbd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1668

Mawlāi al-Rashīd seems to have been interested in Meknes, the Kasba of which he restored In burying him in the mausoleum of al-Madjdhūb, Mawlāi Ismāʿīl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased But the most important event was that al Rashīd sent Mawlāi Ismāʿīl to Meknes The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad kasba, as a landed proprietor managing his estates In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like this He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire For fifty years Meknes was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances

He at once decided to build himself a palace and at once a grandiose scheme was projected He began by clearing a space The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the debris off to a site which has retained the name of Hedim, then to rebuild on a site which the sharif enclosed by a wall to the N W of the *mdina* The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town His palace was built, and one even more splendid for his women This first edifice, Dār Kbira, was finished in 1679 It was a series, without intelligible plan, of riyāds embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble, the apartments opened on to three galleries The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale, one of them had forty rooms The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty kubbas The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall pierced by twenty gates It was triple in the N E with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the kasba The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlāi Ismāʿīl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them Another had been begun in 1672, communicating with the town by the Bāb ʿIsi Lastly the palace with its dependencies contained four mosques, two are still in use, the Djāmiʿ al-Akhdar and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the Djāmiʿ al Ruwā To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *mdina*, an

orchard in which olive trees predominated Farther on were the stables to which the Sultān admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200 two parallel rows of arcades about 100 feet apart In the centre ran running water Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment Opposite was a storehouse, the *ḥerī*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege

The buildings did not stop here To the south west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madīnat al Riyād, where the officials had palaces, where Mawlāy Ismāʿīl himself had his mosque, his madrasa, his hammām, his fondaks and the offices of the umanāʾ of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharīfan tailors In 1732–1733 Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sūs, had the Madīnat al-Riyād destroyed by Christian slaves There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bāb al-Khamīs, dated 1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city

Lastly a site was reserved for the troops To the west of Meknes a large *duwwār* was settled with *ʿabīds* and their families To the east of the Dār al-Makhzen, five *kasbas* for the 130,000 men of the *gīsh* were gradually incorporated in the great kasba

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed It was in 1731—1732 that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bāb Mansūr, the most finished example of the Ismāʿīlian gate, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bāb al Bardaʿīn and the Bāb al Nuār are the two other finest examples at Meknes at the present day This name of a renegade, Mansūr al-ʿEuldj, was no doubt that of a keeper of the gate Mawlāy Ismāʿīl directed all the operations himself During the first twenty four years of his reign he never spent twelve months on end at Meknes But he returned there after each expedition, in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose, the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied

All the country helped in the work Mawlāy Ismāʿīl collected materials wherever he could Volubilis, Chella, Marrākush were plundered If he destroyed al Badiʿ, it was perhaps out of jealousy of Saʿdian work, or perhaps simply to get material Like Ahmad al Mansūr, he procured marble from Pisa One day when a corsair ship had stranded near Tangier he ordered the Ghumāra to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside

Labour was recruited by similar means The Sultān imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen From 1680 the work was pushed on frantically All the Christians in Morocco were collected there The Trinitarians of Fās joined them The slaves were at first housed in sheds near the building yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Makhzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to the interior of a ruined *bordj*, east of the town along the north wall of the Dār al Makhzen They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction', this was the means by which humane relations were established with the natives, even with the dwellers in the palace Their last historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to its real figure they did not as a rule reach a thousand and the Sultān, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Kochler)

The emperor revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his cupidity, he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but only to hide it The consuls and ambassadors who came to negotiate the ransom of captives he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired, he loved to torture his women and cut off heads to show his skill His amusements were of a similar character, he liked to shoot with his kāʾids at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spear thrusts "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder", says Chénier Following his example his household inspired terror in the town He had six hundred children, a nursery of slaves, "who might have had a happier lot if he had loved them as much as his horses" On the approach of any of them, "every one hid all that he might take a fancy to", and the *ʿabīd* in their turn, negroes robed in bright colours, went about bullying, in the name of their master at first and then in their own

All his work was to collapse at his death, but he was able to keep it up in his lifetime From the troubles that broke out when he disappeared from the scene, one can judge of the energy of this man of eighty who maintained order among his horde of negroes and in this country destined by God to anarchy The kasba of Zarhūn, the kasba of Azrū in the middle of the Central Atlas, defended Meknes on North and South He was also able to preserve it from other scourges, when an epidemic of plague broke out, the *ʿabīd* were simply given orders to kill any people who came from Fās

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl was buried like his brother in the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿAbd al Rahmān al-Madjdhūb, a moralist saint of the xvith century His sons, the rebel Mawlāy Muhammad, killed at Tārūdānt in 1706, and Mawlāy Zīdān in 1707, had already joined Mawlāy Rashīd In 1859 the ashes of Mawlāy ʿAbd al Rahmān were also deposited there

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the Būākhers and the soldiers of the *gīsh* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years Mawlay ʿAbd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times But however great this danger was, the other threat was still more disturbing, having got rid of the garrisons of the Ismāʿīlian kasbas, the Berbers, armed, came down from the mountains The problem for the sultāns was to choose the lesser evil, they

declined to disband the *ʿabīd* and in the struggle which naturally arose between these and the Berbers relied more on the former The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fās, especially the Ūdāya, pretenders stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them Gradually the Bukhers sank in misfortune It was in vain that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl for them The worst of it for Meknes was that every one ended or began by plundering it

Muḥammad b ʿAbd Allāh almost re established order and restored to the town its past glory He did a great deal for it, his palace of Dār al Baḍāʾ, the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive grove of al-Hamriya, in the Kasba, he built the Djāmiʿ al-Anwar and in the *madīna*, the minaret of the Djāmiʿ al-Nadjdjārīn, the kubba of Sīdī Muḥammad b ʿĪsā, and several mosques (al-Azhar, al-Baidāʿīn, Bāb Miāh, Berrīma and Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān) It was he who made the 12,000 books of the library of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl *ḥubūs* for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco As regards the tribes his policy was to break them up He transplanted many of them and tried several repressive measures The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers whose attacks had been resumed about 1775

Soon nothing was to be left of the work of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd and did not survive the persecution of this sharīf The earthquake of 1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice The renegades, who had gathered together at Kasba Agurāy, were gradually absorbed

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811 Communication with Fās was continually being cut and it was something to boast of for the sultān to go out of Meknes Mawlāy Slimān (Sulaiman), who had undertaken to restore the Kasba and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fās and who would have liked to get rid of the Būkheir, decided to settle in Fās His walls were his only defence at Meknes, which was blockaded by the tribes Mawlāy ʿAbd al Raḥmān, whom Delacroix saw there and who built a *kubba* in Djenan b Hulima, left the Berbers in semi independence and at last disbanded the *ʿabīd* without even granting those who remained in Meknes the character of Makhzen troops His son carefully avoided all quarrels

Mawlāy al-Ḥasan revived the tradition of the great sultāns and made his authority felt He was able to enter Meknes after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Benī Mtir In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Benī Mgild in his campaign against the Nūn On his death the Berbers regained their independence If they retained their kāʾids it was because the latter cast off their allegiance to the Makhzen After the fall of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Meknes recognised all the competitors in succession It was Meknes that proclaimed ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, who had come via the Berbers of Tādlā in 1908, in 1909 it summoned the sharīf al Kattānī and in 1911 rallied to Mawlāy Zain It was in this year that General Moinier entered Meknes and two years later Colonel Henrys under the direction of General Lyautey pacified the Benī Mtir country

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(C FUNCK-BRENTANO)

MELLĀH, the name given to the quarter in Moroccan towns which the Jews are compelled to inhabit Being *ahl al dhimma*, the Jews have a right to the special protection of the government which allots them a particular quarter to live in, situated very often quite close to the citadel (*kaṣaba*) where the governor of the town resides Moreover, the sovereigns and governors liked to have at hand "their" Jews who were frequently of use, to them as clever diplomatic

agents and often gave them valuable financial support All the towns of Morocco, even the large ones, did not necessarily have a *mellāh* Thus at Tangier there are certain quarters particularly inhabited by Jews but they are not set aside for them and we also find Muslims there As to Rabat, its present *mellāh* was established only in 1808 by Sultān Mawlāy Sulaimān, formerly the Jews lived together in the al-Buhaira quarter (el-Bhēra) where there were also Muslims When he founded Fās in 805, Idrīs II compelled the Jewish refugees who flocked into the capital to reside in the northern part of the ʿAdwat al-Kaiawīyīn (Aghlān quarter as far as the gate called Bāb Hisn Saʿdūn), this was undoubtedly the first Moroccan ghetto, and the present *Fondak el-Ihūdī* ("the Jew's warehouse") apparently preserves its memory But at the end of the xiiith century the Marinid [q v] dynasty, wishing to create a new capital, founded alongside of "Old Fās" (*Fās al-Bālī*) "New Fās" (*Fās al Djadīd*) or "White City" (*al-Madīnat al-Baidāʾ*) In the first half of the xivth century, the town of Hims was built close beside Fās and at first occupied by the Ghuzz archers who formed a part of the regular Marinid army, after the suppression of this force in 1320, Hims became the quarters of the Christian mercenaries, whom we find there in 1361 Later, probably at the beginning of the xvth century, and no doubt as the result of massacres, the Jews of Old Fās were ordered to settle in Hims, this town was built on a site known as *al-Mallāh*, the "salt spring", or "salt marsh", and the new ghetto became known by this name From a proper, this became a common noun, and passed from Fās to the other towns of Morocco as the name for the quarter assigned to the Jews The etymology proposed by Dozy in his *Supplement* (*al-mallāh* < *al-mahalla* "quarter") is therefore to be rejected, as are the explanations as "salted, accursed land", or "quarter of the Jews who were forced to salt the heads of decapitated rebels" In Morocco instead of *el-mellāh*, in speaking, the expression *el messūs* (class *al-masūs*) is often used by anti phrasis, lit the "not-salted"

The *mellāh* of Fās is therefore the oldest in Morocco in every way For a long time it was also the most important, in the middle of the xith century, al Bakrī says that Fās is the town with most Jews in the Maghrib, which has given rise to the proverbial saying *Fās balad bi-lā nās* "Fas, a town where there are no people (worth mentioning)" But the constitution of Marrākush in 1063 resulted in the foundation in southern Morocco of a new Jewish centre which was to attract to it the Jewish and pseudo-Jewish peoples of the Atlas The term *el mellāh* however appears for Marrākush only in the second half of the xvith century (cf E Fagnan, *Extraits inedits relatifs au Maghreb*, p 409) At the present day the *mellāh* of Marrākūsh and the Jewish town of Mogador form the most important Jewish centres of Morocco

The name *el mallāh* is peculiar to Morocco, there, however, it is applied not only to the Jewish quarter in a town but also to little mountain villages exclusively inhabited by Jews At Tlemcen the term *derb el-yhūd* (class *darb al-yahūd*) is used, at Constantine *esh shāraʿ* and in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli *el-hāra*

On the interior organisation of the present day Moroccan *mellāh* see E Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904, p 367—372, J Goulven, *Les mellahs de Rabat Sale*, Paris 1927, p 99—107, the article *Morocco* in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*

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(GEORGES S COLIN)

MELILLA (in modern Arabic *Mlilya*, Berber *Tāmlilt*, "the white", in the Arab geographers *Malila*), a seaport on the east coast of Morocco on a promontory in the peninsula of Gelʿīya at the end of which is the Cape Tres Forcas or the Three Forks (*Rās Hurk* of the Arab geographers, now *Rās Werk*)

Melilla probably corresponds to the *Rusadir* of the ancients (cf *Rhyssadir oppidum et portus* [Pliny, v 18], *Russadir Colonia* of the Antonimian Itinerary) Leo Africanus says that it had belonged for a time to the Goths and that the Arabs took it from them, but in reality we know nothing of the ancient history of the town

It is only at the beginning of the tenth century that Melilla appears in the Muslim history of Morocco In 930, the Umayyad Caliph of Spain, ʿAbd al Rahmān al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh succeeded in detaching from the Fātimids the famous Miknāsa chief Mūsā b Abi 'l-ʿĀfīya, who had established his authority over the basin of the Moluya and the district of Tāzā, having seized Melilla, al-Nāsir built ramparts around it and gave it to his new ally, who thus had at his command a base of defence (*maʿkil*) against the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya and a port which made communication with Spain easy Later on, the descendants of his son, al-Būrī b Mūsā, rebuilt the town, which remained one of the strongholds of the Miknāsa in Morocco down to the time of the decline of the power of the tribe, who were definitely defeated and scattered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b Tāshfīn in 1070

But the Miknāsa must have abandoned it before their dynasty was crushed by the Almoravids, for al Bakrī shows us that by 1067 a descendant of the Hammūdid Idrisids of Spain had been summoned to Melilla and recognised as ruler by the people of the district

At the period when al Bakrī wrote (1068) Melilla was a town surrounded by a wall of stone, inside was a very strong citadel, a great mosque, a *hammām* and markets The inhabitants belonged to the tribe of the Banū Wartadī (or B Wartardā), a branch of the Sanhādja group of the Battūya Melilla had a harbour which was accessible only in summer It was the terminus of a trade route which connected Sidjilmāsa with the Mediterranean through the valley of the Moluya and Agaisif (French *Guercif*) The trade must have been considerable, the principal exports were no doubt those mentioned by Leo Africanus iron from the mines of the mountains of the Banū Saʿīd and honey from the Kabdāna country, we may also add pearls which were taken from oysters found in the harbour itself Al-Bakrī notes that the inhabitants made money by granting protection to merchants The environs of the town were occupied by the Banū Wartadī (who also occupied the stronghold called Kulūʿ Gāret), the Matmāta, the Ahl Kabdān, the Marnīsa of the "White Hill" (*al Kudyat al-baidāʾ*) and the Ghassāsa of the massif which ends in Cape Tres Forcas (*Djabal Hurk*) All this region was then independent and had no political

link with the kingdom of Fās or that of Nakūr

But in 1080 the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b Tāshfīn took Melilla and added its territory to the Almoravid empire In 1141—1142, in the course of the Almoravid pursuit of the Almohads, a body of the latter set out from Tāmsāmān to lay siege to Melilla, which was taken and plundered In 1272, the Marinid Sultān Yaʿḳūb took Melilla from the Almohads and Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions it as a fortified place It seems in fact that these three captures of the town had destroyed its commercial importance to the advantage of another town on the west coast of the peninsula of the Gelʿīya Ghassāsa also called al-Kudyat al-baidāʾ, the *Alcudia* of the Portolans, in the xiiith century it is this latter town that appears as the Mediterranean port of Fās and Tāzā, and it was through it that political and commercial relations with eastern Spain and Italy (Genoa and Venice) were carried on

Læo Africanus says that in 1490, hearing that an attack on it was planned by the Spaniards, the inhabitants abandoned the town and fled to the mountains of the Battūya, to punish them for this the Wattāsid Sultān had the town burned down, when in Sept 1497 the Spaniards arrived they were thus able to disembark without resistance and occupied the town, abandoned and half destroyed The occupation of Melilla enabled the Spaniards to attack the port of Ghassāsa by land and it was taken in April 1506 The Moroccans recaptured it in 1533 but the dangerous proximity of Melilla henceforth deprived it of importance The commercial activity of this region was moved further west to the port of al Mazimma (Spanish Alhucemas, Fr Albouzème), and the centre of Muslim resistance in this part of Morocco was henceforth the strong hold of Tāzūtā, which after having been the capital of the Marinid fief of the Banū Wattās became that of a practically independent leader of a holy war After passing into the hands of the Spaniards, Melilla was continuously besieged by the Muslims, mainly by the forces of the leaders of holy war established at Tāzūtā and at Mdjāu (the *Meggeo* of Leo Africanus) Occupied by the Christians, the town naturally became one of the places in Morocco in which Muslim pretenders and rebels found asylum and support against the central power, especially at the beginning of the Saʿdian dynasty In 1549, it sheltered the dispossessed Wattāsid Abū Hassūn, "king" of Bādis, in 1550 it welcomed with his family the Mawlāy ʿAmar, "king" of Debdū It was from Melilla that in 1595, the pretender al-Nāsir b al Ghālib bi'llāh set out against his uncle Sultan Ahmad al-Mansūr

Later Melilla only appears in history in connection with sieges which it had to suffer sieges by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in 1687 and 1695, siege in 1774 by Mawlāy Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, Spanish-Moroccan war of 1893 (Sidī Waryāsh affair) From 1903 to 1908 the region of Melilla was the scene of struggles between the pretender al Djīlālī al-Rūgī, established in the *kaṣba* of Selwān, and the troops of the Sultān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, defeated and receiving no support, the latter had to take refuge in Spanish territory and be repatriated Still more recently in 1921, the same district witnessed the sanguinary battles between the Spaniards and the Rifans under ʿAbd al-Karīm (Anwāl disaster) Melilla is for Spain a "place of sovereignty" like Alhucemas, Peñon de Velez and Ceuta Before the establishment of the French protectorate, Melilla, constituted a free port, was the landingplace for all the European merchandise (cotton, sugar, tea) intended not only for eastern Morocco but also for the Saharan regions of Morocco and Oranie It has now lost much of its commercial importance

Bibliography al Bakrī, index, Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed Schefer, vol 2, p 309, H de Castries, *Sources inédits de l'histoire du Maroc, Espagne*, vol 1, pp 1—xxviii *Melilla au XVeme siecle*

(Georges S Colin)

MENDEREZ, the name of two rivers in western Anatolia

1 Buyuk Menderez (called by al-ʿUmarī Menderos, by Pīrī Reʾīs, Mendiraz or Mendiroz), the ancient Maeander, the Mandra of the Crusaders It rises in the district of Germiyān in a little lake, the Huweiran Golu (Sāmi) above Diner (according to Abū Bakr b Bahrām in a spring called Buñar bashī, a day's journey from Homa), flows past Homa at some distance off, then through the plain of Ishḳlī and the kazās of Baklan and Čal In the kazā of Čarshamba (capital Bulladan) it is joined by the Banaz Čai (called Murād Dagh Suyu in Abū Bakr b Bahrām whose statement that it flows past Ishḳlī is wrong), which rises in the Murād Dagh and flowspast Banaz Farther down its course, in the plain of Denizli, it receives the Čürük Su, the ancient Lycus Fl Farther on a ruined bridge called Demirtash Kopriisü marked the frontier between the two old liwās of Germiyān and Aidīn, according to Abū Bakr a warm spring rising in its foundations had contributed to the destruction of this bridge

In the territory of Aidīn the Buyük Menderez flows past at a distance the villages of Ortakčī, Nazilli, Sultānhisār, Koshk and Guzelhisār Aidīn, breaks up into several arms in the plain of Balat (Palatia, the ancient Miletus) and feeds a lake full of fish (al-ʿUmarī) there, which is now called Bafa Deñizi (Lake of Palatia, the ancient *κόλπος Λατμικός*) A little below Balat, it enters the sea

Al-ʿUmarī who, generally speaking, is inaccurately informed about its course (he puts Deñizli and Birgi on it, i e brings the Cayster into its basin and makes it flow into the Black Sea) compares the Maeander for its size at low level with the Nile, in flood however with a sea According to him, it is navigable and the people on its banks sail from its mouth on military or commercial enterprises Western writers also speak of the trade borne on the Maeander in the late middle ages The main centre of trade on the Maeander and also on the land routes through the valley was Palatia (Balat, the ancient Miletus), in later times, however, the caravan route down the Maeander valley ended in Scalanuova (Kush Adasi)

2 Kücük Menderez, the ancient Caystrus The central part of its course runs in a wide plain on the northern edge of which is Birgi, on the southern edge Tire, the old capital of the *liwā* of Aidīn A little below Ayasolugh, the ancient Ephesus, it enters the sea

In the middle ages the centre of trade with the hinterland reached by the Cayster was Altoluogo (from *Ἅγιος Θεόλογος*), the ancient Ephesus (Turk Ayasolugh, now called Seldjuk), later Scalanuova (Kush Adasi) In the Ottoman period Smyrna attracted all the trade of the Aegean Sea with the Anatolian hinterland The caravan routes which

came down the river valleys opening on the Aegean thus ended in Smyrna, just as at the present day the railways which utilize these valleys start from Smyrna

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MENF [See Manūf]

MENGŪČEK (Mangūdjak), a Turkish emir, who after the capture of Romanus Diogenes in 1071 A D seized various places in the north-east of Asia Minor and transmitted his power to his descendants We find them in Erzindjān, Koghonia (Colonia, Kara-Hisār Sharkī) and Diwrigi (cf the genealogical table in von Zambaur, *Manuel de Genealogie* etc, p 146) Little is known of their history It is incidentally mentioned in Michael Syrus (ed Chabot, iii 205) that Ibn Mangūdjak, being threatened by the Ortukid Balag, made an alliance with Theodore Gabras, the Byzantine commander of Trebizond, but was taken prisoner in battle along with the latter (1118) He was, however again released by the Danishmandid Emīr Ghāzī, whose daughter he had married, while the Greek had to pay a heavy ransom His name is not mentioned but, from the genealogical statements in the inscriptions of his descendants, he was called Ishāk The same story is given elsewhere but not so fully Better known is his grandson Fakhr al-Dīn Bahramshāh, who ruled for many years in Erzindjān and died in 622 (1225) To him the celebrated poet Nizāmī dedicated his poem, *Makhzan al Asrār*, which was composed in 1198 or 1199 He was on the best of terms with the Saldjūks of Konya, with whom he was connected by marriage, but when these relations were altered under his son ʿAlā al Dīn Dāwūd shāh, the rule of the Mandjukids was ended At the end of 625 (1128) he was forced to cede Erzindjān to Kaikobād, and his brother Muzaffar al-Dīn Muhammad who ruled in Koghonia met a similar fate A collateral line established in Diwrigi and ruling there in the name of the Saldjūks held out for a few more years, perhaps till the coming of the Mongols into these regions in 675, only a few scraps of information about this line have been gleaned from inscriptions and coins

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(M Th Houtsma)

MENTEŠHE-ELI, a little principality in Anatolia The boundaries of the territory of the Menteshe oghlu's [q v] are given by Munedjdjim-bashī (cf Fr Babinger, *G O W*, p 234 *sq*) in his *Ṣahāʾif al-Akhbār* (Stambul 1285) as marked by Mughla, Balāt, Boz Üyuk, Milās, Bardjin, Marin, Čine, Tawās, Boināz Makri, Godjaïz, Foča and Meimene They thus correspond approximately to those of the ancient Caria The origin of the name is uncertain, but it can confidently be asserted that the opinion, presumably first put forward by F Meninski (*Lexicon*, iv 737) and till quite recently upheld, that the district takes its name from the Myndus (Μύνδος in Strabo) of the ancients is not worthy of credence Several of the places above mentioned play a not unimportant part as centres of scholarship and literature in the earlier period of Ottoman intellectual life Thus in the time of the Menteshe-oghlu Mehemmed (775—777) a certain Mahmūd b Mehemmed of Bardjin composed a *Bāz nama* which was published by J v Hammer Purgstall under the title "*Falkneiklee*" (Pest 1840) from the Milan MS and rightly described as one of the earliest documents of the Ottoman language In many of these places there were academies where an active intellectual life flourished, so that the share of the district of Menteshe in Ottoman literature is strikingly large

(Fr Babinger)

MENTEŠHE-OGHLULARĪ, a petty dynasty in Anatolia The princes of Menteshe first appear in history after the break up of the Seldjūk empire The founder of the family is said to have been a certain Menteshe Beg b Behāʾ al-Dīn Kurdī He had his court at Milās (Mylasa) in the ancient Caria, and not far from it his stronghold Païčīn (Petsona) His descendants also lived in Milās until they moved their court to Miletus The son of Menteshe was Urkhān Beg, who is known from an inscription on a building in Milās and from Ibn Battūta who visited him in 1334 in Milās (cf Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, ed Defremery, Paris 1854, II, 278 *sqq*) Urkhān's successor was his son Ibrāhim, who built a mosque in Mughla in 745 (1344) and left two sons, Ahmed Ghāzī and Mehemmed The second succeeded him in 755 (1354), but succumbed in the struggle for the throne to his brother Ahmed, who took Eski Hisār in 755 (1354), in 777 (1375) founded an academy at Bardjin and at the end of Djumādā II, 780 (Oct 1378) completed the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Milās Ahmed Ghāzī died in Shaʿbān 793 (July 1391) and was succeeded by his nephew Ilyās The Ottomans had in his reign already taken possession of several principalities in the neighbourhood of Menteshe eli, such as that of the Germian-eli [q v] and of the Hamid eli [q v], and now seriously threatened the existence of the Menteshes Immediately after the accession of Ilyās Beg, Bāyazīd I, who had just become Sultān, deprived the lords of Menteshe of the last vestige of independence They sought refuge with the ruler of Sinope, Bāyazīd Koturum, and later with the conqueror of the Ottomans, Timūr I enk Ilyās Beg, who built a mosque in Miletus, regained possession of Menteshe-eli in 1402 On 24 July 1403, he concluded a treaty with the Count of Crete, Marco Falieri (publ by Mas Latrie, at the end of his essay, *Commerce d'Ephese et de Milet moyen âge* in the *Bibl de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Ser v Vol vi Paris 1864, p 226 *sqq*) and with

the admiral Sei Pietro Civrano on 17th Oct 1414 (cf *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, II 305, 293 and W Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II 353 *sq*) The reign of Ilyas Beg, filled with fighting and difficulties of all kinds, ended in 824 (1421) when his lands passed to the Ottomans Mehemmed I had struck coins as early as 818 (1415) on which he calls himself lord of Menteshe Among the children of Ilyās Beg, mention is made of Lāth Beg, but the shadowy part he played is quite uncertain The year 829 (1426) saw the end of the princes of Menteshe A certain Balaban was appointed as Ottoman governor of Menteshe-eli and henceforward the district forms a part of the Ottoman empire The chronology of the dynasts of Menteshe is still uncertain and essential points have still to be cleared up, which will require a systematic study of the many monuments in Menteshe eli with their important inscriptions, especially in Milās, Miletus, Bardjin, Mughla, etc

The following genealogical table shows the relationship of the various princes and is based on coins and inscriptions

Hīdjdj Behā' al-Dīn Kurdī,
Governor of Sīwās under the Seldjuks

Menteshe

Shudjā' al Dīn Dirkhān
(c 730 = 1330)

Ibrāhīm
(c 745 = 1344)

Tādj al Dīn Ahmed Ghazi — Mehemmed
777 (1375), d 793 (1391) — 755 (1354)

Muzaffar al-Dīn Ilyās
I 793 (1391)
II 805—24 (1402—21)

Lāth — Uwais — Ahmed — Fātima
824 (1421) — d 823 (1420)

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MERDAWIDJ [See Mardāwidj]

MERIDA, Ar Mārida, from the Latin *Emerita*, a town in the southwest of Spain, in the modern province of Badajoz, where it is the capital of a *partido*, on the right bank of the Guadiana Now somewhat decayed, it has only 11,150 inhabitants It is on the Madrid-Badajoz railway and is also connected by rail with Cáceres in the north and Seville in the south

The ancient capital of Lusitania, *Augusta Emerita*, was founded in 23 B C and under the Roman empire attained remarkable importance and prosperity Numerous remains of Roman buildings still testify to the position it held in the Iberian peninsula in those days a bridge of 64 arches, a circus, a theatre, and the famous aqueduct of *los Milagros*, of which there are still standing ten arches of brick and granite Merida under the Visigoths became the metropolis of Lusitania and according to Rodrigo of Toledo was fortified and strongly defended, which explains why the Muslim conquerors led by Mūsa b Nusair [q v] had some difficulty in taking it The Arab leader on landing in Spain in Ramadān 93 (June 712) first took Medina-Sidonia and Carmona, then Seville He next laid siege to Merida, before which he stayed for several months, but the inhabitants in the end capitulated and the town surrendered on 1st Shawwāl 94 (June 30, 713) From Merida, Mūsā b Nusair continued his advance to Toledo

Under the Arab governors, Merida seems to have very soon become a rallying point for a large number of rebels of Berber and Spanish origin It was there that Yūsuf al Fihrī endeavoured to organise a movement against that organised for his own benefit by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil in 141 (758) At a later date, a Berber named Asbagh b 'Abd Allāh b Wānsūs rebelled there against al-Hakam I in 190 (805) and the emir of Cordova had for the next seven years to undertake summer campaigns against him before bringing him to reason Another rebellion broke out in Merida in 213 (828) and the town had to be besieged in 217 and again in 254 (868) In the reign of Emīr 'Abd Allāh it was the headquarters of 'Abd al-Rahmān b Marwān al Djillikī (the Galician), an Arabic name which concealed that of a Christian nationalist leader Merida definitely returned to its allegiance in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir when it submitted in 316 (928) to the *kā'id* Ahmad b Alyas

From the XIth century, Merida began to decline in favour of Badajoz, especially when the latter town became the capital of the independent little kingdom of the Aftasids [q v] It remained in the hands of the Muslims till the beginning of the XIIIth century In 1228 it was retaken by Alfonso IX of Leon but never recovered its former importance

The Arab geographers who mention Merida, describe its Roman ruins in detail, they also mention the Muslim citadel, the foundation inscription of which has been preserved It was built in 220 (835) by the governor 'Abd Allāh b Kulaib b Tha'laba by order of the Umaiyad Emīr 'Abd al Rahmān II

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(E LÉVI PROVENÇAL)

MERĪNIDS (BANŪ MARĪN), a Berber dynasty, which ruled over the extreme Maghrib (Morocco) from the middle of the xiiith to the middle of the xvth century

The first references we have to the Banū Marīn show them living a nomadic life in the Sahara between Figuig [q v] and Tāfilālt [q v] Like the other groups who claimed to be Zenāta, they must have been driven to the west by the nomad Arab Banū Hilāl in the second half of the xith century Like their brethren, the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, whose lands adjoined theirs, they had attempted in 1145 to resist the conquest of the Central Maghrib by the Almohads and had been defeated While the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād entered the service of the conquerors, the Banū Marīn took refuge in the desert The weakening of the Almohad empire gave them a chance to take their revenge In the course of their periodic movements in the valley of the Muluya, they learned of the weakness of the defences of the extreme Maghrib, the best forces of which were engaged in Spain, and the Banū Marīn therefore made a formidable razzia northwards in 613 (1216) This was the first stage of the conquest which was to proceed step by step for 53 years It was continued next year by the crushing of the Banū Riyāh Arabs, who lived in the plains of the west, and by a first fiscal exploitation of the country The Almohads, paralysed by dynastic feuds, made no serious thrust in return until 27 years later, when the Banū Marin were defeated by the troops of the caliph al Saʿīd (642 = 1244) After a forced check, the conquest was resumed with more method by the *amīr* Abū Yahyā b ʿAbd al-Hakk He endeavoured to increase his military forces by granting lands to groups of his kinsmen and taking into his service foreign mercenaries, and he made every effort to capture towns To achieve this end and to gain a moral support which he lacked, the *amīr* claimed to be the mandatory of the Hafsids [q v], the Almohads of Ifrīḳiya He further declared himself the protector of the holy men, who were venerated by the people It was thus that he took possession of Meknes, Fās, Tāzā, Rabat and Sale Finally the help he gave the Almohad pretender Abū Dabbūs enabled the *amīr* Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb, Abu Yahyā's successor, to annex Marrākesh, which marked the completion of the Marīnid conquest (669 = 1269)

Inheriting this area of the western Muslim world, which had been the very heart of the great Almohad empire, the Merīnids also inherited the traditions of those they had dispossessed and their dreams of hegemony in Spain and Barbary

As in the time of the Almoravids and Almohads, Spain was for the Maghribis the sacred land of martyrs for the faith Not only did the dynasty send there its troublesome sons, princes whose presence in the Maghrib might be inconvenient and who formed the corps of volunteers of the faith, but several sultāns fought there in person Abū Yūsuf, whose resumption of the holy war was his one great scheme, his successor Abū Yaʿkūb, and Abu 'l Hasan, who saw the failure of these oversea expeditions

In crossing the Strait, Abū Yūsuf fulfilled his dearest vow but he was also answering the reiterated appeals of the Banu 'l Ahmar of Granada, who were tired of enduring the exactions and insults of the King of Castille He was received there as a saviour and at once undertook a plundering expedition Don Nuño de Lara, endeavouring to capture the loot taken from the Christians, sustained a heavy defeat near Ecija and was himself slain (674 = 1275) Very few other pitched battles are mentioned in these wars of the Merīnids in Spain, but almost daily razzias into Christian territory The Muslims destroyed or carried off the crops and stocks and they took prisoners who were sold as slaves in the Maghrib The relations between the Sultāns of Fās and of Granada, by no means warm at the time of the landing in Spain, became decidedly hostile when Abū Yūsuf claimed the ownership of the town of Tarifa [q v] as a base for his future operations in the Peninsula Ibn al-Ahmar appealed to the King of Castille for help against the encroachments of his rescuer An alliance was formed between Christians and Muslims of Spain which Yaghmorāsan, sultān of Tlemsen, soon joined The latter undertook to prevent or impede any further crossings of the Moroccan ruler into Andalusia

The entente with the Christians did not however prevent the latter from continuing the task of the Reconquista In 709 (1309) they took Gibraltar and the Sultān of Granada appealed again to the Maghribī Sultān Abu 'l-Hasan sent his son ʿAbd al-Malik who recaptured Gibraltar (733 = 1333) ʿAbd al Malik having been killed, Abu 'l Hasan sent a large army on ships supplied by the ports of Ifrikiya and himself landed near Tarifa This town was in the hands of the Christians He tried to take it but was routed by the combined forces of Alfonso XI of Castille and Alfonso IV of Portugal This disaster of 1340 and the taking of Algeciras by the King of Castille finally discouraged the Merīnid sultān Neither he nor his successors again made attempts in Spain

If circumstances prevented the Merīnids from reviving against Christianity the glories of the wars of the Almohads, they were able to devote themselves to regaining the great African empire of their predecessors and they succeeded in doing so for a comparatively short time That empire, as is well known, covered in addition to the kingdom of the Merīnids, that of the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemsen and that of the Hafsids of Tunis [q v] The kingdom of Tlemsen was that most directly threatened by the ambitions of the sultāns of Fās Causes of quarrel were numerous between these neighbouring and related dynasties To old rivalries, dating from the days when the two clans were nomads, had been added the competition of two adjoining states each seeking to extend their frontiers

The ʿAbd al-Wādids very soon lost hope of annexing territory in the west If, as we have seen, they were a thorn in the side of the Merīnids who desired to cross into Spain, this policy was of brief duration Very soon they had to confine themselves strictly to the defensive On many occasions, the kingdom of Tlemsen was invaded and the Tlemsenians shut up within their walls For example for eight years and three months, from 698 (1299), they were blockaded, during which period the Merīnids established a permanent camp which became the town of al-Mansūra [q v] in addition to numerous other works of circumvallation, Tlemsen however did not fall till later In 737 (1337) Abu 'l-Hasan took it, he and his son Abū ʿInān were to hold it for 22 years For these two princes, whose reigns mark the apogee of the dynasty, Tlemsen was only a first stage towards Ifrīḳiya The dream of recreating the empire of the Almohads was to be realised by annexing the Hafsid kingdom

Constant relations, in which each hoped to gain some advantage, united the two states of east and west, Banū Hafs and Banū Marīn To a contemporary observer like the Egyptian al ʿUmarī, the Banū Marīn alone counted as a military power, but the Banū Hafs, descendants of the Almohad caliphs, had a prestige which the Banū Marīn could not claim in spite of the title of *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* which Abū ʿInān arrogantly assumed This explains why, from the very first, the Banū Marīn in annexing the towns of the Maghrib declared themselves mandatories of the sovereigns of Tunis and why they married Hafsid princesses On their side, the Banū Hafs did not think it wise to refuse their daughters, they dealt tactfully with the Moroccan sultāns, who might be useful in protecting them against the sultāns of Tlemsen In a word, they hoped to see the Merīnids attack central Maghrib but not to become complete masters of it, which would directly expose Ifrikiya to the attacks of the conquerors

This is what actually happened in 1347 Taking advantage of the usurpation of the throne of Tunis and of the troubles which followed it, Abu 'l Hasan invaded Ifrīkiya and sought to impose his authority there as in his own kingdom The situation here however was very different from what he was familiar with in the Maghrib In Ifrīkiya, the Arabs were still very strong Abu 'l-Hasan came to grief against the Arab tribes united against a foreign master and near Kairawān they inflicted a disastrous defeat on him in Muharram 749 (April 1348) This disaster even endangered the position of the Marīnids in the Maghrib itself An attempt by Abū ʿInān, son of Abu 'l Hasan, to reconquer Ifrīḳiya proved fruitless

In spite of the collapse of Marīnid aims, the period of these two last sultāns was nevertheless one of the greatest in the history of Muslim Barbary, one of those which has left us most memorials of its magnificence

The Merīnids were vigorous builders In 1276, Abū Yūsuf had founded New Fās, west of the old town, to make it his official capital, but it was during the first half of the XIVth century that the greatest building activity was displayed The majority of those that have come down to us date from this period Works of considerable artistic value, they are at the same time evidence of the military activity and religious ardour of the Banū Marīn, like the ramparts and the mosque of al-Mansūra, the walls and necropolis of Chella, the medersas of Fās and Sale, the different buildings erected near Tlemsen around the tomb of the great ascetic Sīdī Bū Madyan Piety in the form of mysticism was the dominating note in the intellectual life of the Maghrib We must however not forget that the court of Fās was frequented by men like ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Khaldūn, Ibn al Khatīb and Ibn Battūta, who have left a name in the field of literature and profane learning

The failure of the attempts upon Ifrīḳiya and the disaster at Kairawān may be taken as the beginning of the decline of the Merīnids As a result of these military failures, the troops stationed in some parts of the Maghrib had to be withdrawn The passes of the Atlas being no longer guarded, the Arabs of Sūs and Tāfilālt, excited by the rumours from Ifrīḳiya, began to display their turbulent spirit The tribes who paid taxes now paid only at longer and longer intervals under the threat of expeditionary forces sent against them There was still a graver cause of decline the power of the viziers vastly increased An aristocracy of high officials related to the royal family handed down offices from father to son, backed by powerful clans, and ended by acquiring the power to nominate the new sovereigns To keep them in tutelage, they used to choose for the throne a minor or a weakling. When the Sultān displayed some desire to rule in person, they did not hesitate to dethrone or asssassinate him Thus in 762 (1361) Abū Sālim was decapitated by a soldier of the Christian militia, his successor Tāshfīn, an idiot, was deposed and replaced by Abū Zaiyān, who was found strangled and drowned in a reservoir

In the midst of these palace revolutions the unity of the kingdom was destroyed We find the prince who governs Sidjilmāsa fighting with the sultān reigning at Fās The vizier who has control of the legitimate sovereign has pretenders against him, who end by dividing up the country among them Marrākesh fights against Fās At one time, the traditional enemies of the dynasty, the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemsen, endeavour to profit by the occasion to resume the aggressive policy of Yaghmorāsan But Tlemsen was itself too weakened to attain success Besides, it was attacked in the rear by the Arabs of the Central Maghrib, instigated from Fās One of the shaikhs of the Suwaid Arabs is called the "friend and patron of the Marīnid dynasty" The Banū Marīn had another means of neutralizing Tlemsen, this was to support pretenders of the ʿAbd al-Wādid family To sum up, in spite of the weakness of the Banū Marīn, the Banū ʿAbd al Wad, whose lands had for the most part passed into the hands of the Arabs, cut a still sadder figure and could not resist when attacks from the west were resumed From 1389 all the sultāns of Tlemsen ruled under the suzerainty of Fās

But grave events were to turn the attention of the Merīnids from the affairs of the Central Maghrib In 1401, King Henry III of Castille landed in Barbary to take vengeance for outrages of the Muslim corsairs and destroyed Tetwān This attack, which produced considerable commotion in the Maghrib, and the taking of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 818 (1415), provoked a vigorous campaign by the religious element The threat from abroad, combined with its weakness in meeting this critical

situation, brought about a series of troubles under which the dynasty succumbed In 823 (1420) after the assassination of the Sultān Abū Sa'īd, the Merīnids gave place to the Banū Wattās

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(Georges Marçais)

MERKEZ, Muslih al Dīn Mūsā, an Ottoman Shaikh of an Order and Saint

Merkez Muslih al-Dīn Mūsā b Mustafā b Kilidj b Hadjdar belonged to the village of Saif Mahmūdlu in the Anatolian district of Lādhikīya He was at first a pupil of the Mollā Ahmad Pasha, son of Khidr Beg [q v], and later of the famous Khalwetī Shaikh Sunbūl Sinān Efendi, founder of the Sunbulīya, a branch of the Khalwetīya, head of the monastery of Kodja Mustafā Pasha in Stambul (cf on him Brūsalī Mehemmed Tāhir, *'Othmānlī Mu'ellifleri*, i 78 *sq*) When the latter died in 936 (1529), Merkez Efendi succeeded him in the dignity of Pīr He held the office of head of a monastery for 23 years and died in the odour of sanctity in 959 (1552), aged nearly 90 He was buried in Stambul in the mosque which bears his name (cf *Hadikat al-Djawāmi'*, i 230 *sq*, J v Hammer, *G O R*, ix 95, N° 495) before the Yeñi Kapu At the tomb of Merkez Efendi there is a much visited holy well, an *ayazma*, to which one descends by steps Its reddish water is said to have the miraculous power of healing those sick of a fever (cf Ewliya Čelebi, i 372, J v Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, i 503, do, *G O R*, ix 95, N° 495, following the *Hadikat al-Djawāmi'*, *loc cit*) Beside it is the cell (*sāwiya*) of Merkez Efendi, of which wonderful stories still circulate among the people He had many pupils, including his son Ahmad, famous as the translator of the *Kāmūs*, his son-in-law Muslih al Dīn (cf Ewliyā, i 372), the poet Ramadān Efendi, called Bihishtī and many others

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(Fr Babinger)

MERSĪNA, an Anatolian sea-port on the south coast of Asia Minor

Mersīna, the port and capital of the former sandjak of the same name (with an area of 1,780 sq m) in the wilāyet of Adana [q v] on the south coast of Anatolia, is 40 miles from Adana, to which a railway runs The name Mersīna comes from the Greek *myrsini* (μυρσίνη), myrtle, because this tree grows in large numbers in this region The regularly built town, founded only in 1832, with about 21,171 inhabitants (1927) is only of importance as a port for the export of silk, corn and cotton The climate is very unhealthy in summer The old name of Mersīna was Zephirium, in the vicinity (8 miles S W) lie the ruins of Soloi or Pompeiopolis The town which is quite modern is of no Muslim historical interest

Bibliography V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii 50 *sq* (Fr Babinger)

MERTOLA, Ar *Martūla* and *Mirtūla*, a little town in the south of Portugal on the Guadiana, 35 miles above and north of the mouth of this river, at its junction with the Oeira This place, the *Myrtilis* of the Romans, was of some importance in the Muslim period It was in the district of Beja and according to Yākūt was the best defended stronghold in the whole of the west of the Peninsula At the end of the ninth century it was the headquarters of an independent chief, 'Abd al-Malik b Abi 'l-Djawād, who was in alliance with the lords of Badajoz and Ocsonoba and held his own against the Cordovan emīr 'Abd Allāh

Bibliography Idrīsī *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text p 175, 179, transl p 211, 217, Yākūt, *Mu'djam al Buldān*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 714, Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii, text p 140, transl p 223 (E Lévi-Provençal)

MĒRWĀRA, a British district in Rādjputāna, lying between 25° 24′ and 26° 11′ N and 73° 45′ and 74° 29′ E, has an area of 641 sq miles and a population (1901) of 109,459 The local name of the district is Magra, or "hills" Beyond the fact that between 1138 and 1232 (1725 and 1816), several unsuccessful attempts were made by Rādjpūts and Marāthas to subdue the country, the history of Mērwāra is a blank up to 1234 (1818), when the British appeared on the scene The District was at one time an impenetrable jungle, inhabited by outlaws and fugitives from surrounding states The population known under the name of Mērs originally comprised a mixture of castes, Čandēla Gudjars, Bhātī, Rādjpūts, Brahmans and Minas It is said that Nisāldēw, the

Čauhān King of Adjmīr, subdued the inhabitants and made them drawers of water in the streets of Adjmīr The country has made much progress under the British rule

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(M Hidayet Hosain)

MERZIFŪN, also called Mārsiwān, a town in the Anatolian wilāyet of Siwas [q v] and in the sandjak of Amasia [q v] at the beginning of the fertile plain of Sulu Owa, with 11,334 inhabitants (in 1927), of whom the Armenians have had to migrate, which produces a good deal of wine and makes some cotton Merzifūn before the World War was the centre of activity of the Protestant missions in this region and contained the Anatolia College The town most probably occupies the site of the ancient Phazemon (Φαζημών) in the district of Phazemonitis, the name is probably a development of Φαζημών Ibn Bibī (cf *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed M Th Houtsma, iv, Leyden 1902, p 292, 12) also gives the form مارزمون. Little is known of the early history of the town in the Muslim period It belonged to the kingdom of the Dānishmandids [q v] and when in 1393 Bāyazīd I drove the ruler of Siwas, Mīr Ahmad, out of the country, the land of "Marsvani", as the Bavarian traveller Hans Schiltberger (cf *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, ed V Langmantel, Tubingen 1885, p 12) called it, passed to the Ottoman empire Merzifūn plays a notable part in the history of Ottoman culture as the birth-place and scene of the activities of learned men and authors (cf A D Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed F Babinger, Hanover 1925, p 88) In Merzifūn there used to be a number of dervish monasteries (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāma*, ii 396 infra, where several are mentioned) Of special interest are the mosques, mainly converted from Byzantine churches, including the so called Eski Djāmi', on the walls of which Christian paintings could until recently be seen (cf V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 761) and the mosque of Murād II, both on the market-place The saint locally reverenced was Pir Dede Sultān, said to be a pupil of Hādjdjī Bektash (Ewliyā, *op cit*, ii 396) In A D Mordtmann's time (1852) the "whole Turkish population" consisted of shaiīfs, i e descendants of the Prophet

Bibliography Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, ii 396 *sqq*, Engl transl by J v Hammer, ii 212 *sqq*, *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, escript par J Chesneau*, ed Ch Schefer, Paris 1887, p 68, J Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1812, p 350, *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1859, Heft 12, C Ritter, *Erdkunde von Kleinasien*, i 179 *sqq*, Wm Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i 33, Wm Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 329, A D Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed by F Babinger, Hanover 1925, p 87 *sqq*, Henry J van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, i 82, F Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii 140, iii 162, V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 758 *sqq* — [As regards the derivation of the name Merzifūn from Phazemon, it must be pointed out that the ancient name no longer came easily to the mouths of the later Greeks, Stephen of Byzantium (fifth century A D) already writes Φαμιζών (var lect Φαμειζών, Φαμαζών)] (Fr Babinger)

MESḤHED (al-Mashhad), capital of the Persian province of Khurāsān (q v, ii, p 966), the greatest place of pilgrimage for the Shī'īs in Persia It lies 3,000 feet above sea level in 59° 35′ E Long (Greenw) and 16° 17′ N Lat in the valley from 10 to 25 miles broad of the Keshef-Rūd, which runs from N W to S E This river, also called Āb i Meshhed (the "river of Meshhed"), rises about 12 miles N W of the ruins of Tus [q v] in the little lake of Česhme i Gīlās (cf Fraser, *op cit*, p 350, Khanikoff, *op cit*, p 110, Yate, *op cit*, p 315) and joins the Herī (Harī)-Rūd (q v, and cf I e Strange, *op cit*, p 407 *sq*) about 100 miles S E of Meshhed on the Russo Persian frontier Meshhed lies about 4 miles south of the bank of the Keshef Rūd The hills which run along the valley rise to 8,000 or 9,000 feet at Meshhed

In consequence of its high situation and proximity to the mountains, the climate of Meshhed is in the winter rather severe, in the summer, however, often tropically hot, it is regarded as healthy

Meshhed may in a way be regarded as the successor of the older pre Muhammadan Tūs [q v], and it has not infrequently been erroneously confounded with it

The fact that Tūs is the name of both a town and a district, together with the fact that two places are always mentioned as the principal towns of this district, has given rise among the later Arab geographers to the erroneous opinion that the capital Tūs is a double town consisting of Tābarān and Nūkān, e g Yākūt, iii 560, 5 (correct at iv 824, 23) and in the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-Athīr [q v] quoted by Abu 'l-Fidā' (*op cit*, p 453) Kazwīnī (*Āthār al-Bilād*, ed Wustenfeld, p 275, 21) next made the two towns thought to be joined together into two quarters (*mahalla*) This quite erroneous idea of a double town Tūs found its way into European literature generally Sykes (*J R A S*, 1910, p 1115—1116) and following him Diez (*Churasanische Baudenkmaler*, Berlin 1918, i 53 *sq*) have rightly challenged this untenable idea The older Arab geographers quite correctly distinguish between Tābarān and Nūkān as two quite separate towns Nūkān, according to the express testimony of the Arabic sources, was only 1/4 parasang (*farsakh*) or one Arabic mile from the tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd and 'Alī al-Ridā (see below) and must therefore have been very close to the modern Meshhed The ruins of Tābarān-Tūs and Meshhed are about 15 miles apart

As to Nūkān (often wrongly vocalised Nawkān) it is sometimes called more precisely (e g Yākūt, iii 153, 21) Nūkān Tūs, and occasionally (e g Istakhrī = *B G A*, i 257, 3, Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *op cit*, p 151, 2—3) included with Sanābādh The distance between these two towns is put at an Arabic mile (Yākūt, iii 153, 21) or what is practically the same, 1/4 *farsakh* (e g Istakhrī, *op cit*, Ibn Hawkal in Abu 'l-Fidā', *op cit*, p 451) Nūkān must have lain to the east and northeast of the modern Meshhed and a small part of it is the northeastern quarter of the latter town

In Nūkān or in the village of Sanābādh belonging to it two distinguished figures in Muslim history

were buried within one decade the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Ridā b Mūsā

When Hārūn al-Rashīd was preparing to take the field in Khurāsān, he was stricken mortally ill in a country house at Sanābādh where he had stopped, and died in a few days (193 = 809) The caliph, we are told (Tabarī, *op cit*, III 737, 13—17), realising he was about to die, had his grave dug in the garden of this country mansion and consecrated by Kurʾān-readers

The three available accounts differ at first sight as to the house in which Hārūn spent his last hours Two of them are given by Tabarī according to the first (III 736, 17—18; 737, 4) it was on the estate of Djunaid b ʿAbd al-Rahmān that the caliph stopped, the second story (III 735, 15—16, 738, 14—15) says that Hārūn lived in the mansion of Humaid b Abī Ghanm A third story in Yākūt (III 560) says that the tombs of Hāiūn and of ʿAlī al-Ridā were in one of the gardens of the house of Humaid b Kahtaba Now there is not the slightest doubt that the references to the house (*dār*) of Humaid b Kahtaba and to that of Humaid b Abi Ghanm are to the same place Humaid b Kahtaba must be the same person as Humaid b Abī Ghanm, they are both described as of the tribe of Taiy

As to Tabarī's second story, which substitutes a *dār* b ʿAbd al-Rahmān for a *dār* Humaid, it may be observed that Djunaid b ʿAbd al-Rahmān held the office of governor of Khurāsān under the Omaiyads (caliphate of Hishām) from 111 to 116 (729–734) (on him cf above I 1109 *sq*, II 357b, Weil, *op cit*, I 629—631, E v Zambaur, *op cit*, p 47) Djunaid probably resided as a rule not in Nīshāpūr or Tūs but in the palace at Sanābādh which he had probably built One of his successors, Humaid, also chose to live here and seems to have enlarged the place This would explain how our sources call the same house the house of Djunaid and of Humaid Perhaps the estate became the property of the ʿAbbāsids on the death of Humaid

About 10 years after the death of Hāiūn, the caliph al-Maʾmūn on his way from Merw spent a few days in this palace Along with him was his son-in-law ʿAlī al-Ridā b Mūsā, the caliph designate, the eighth imām of the Twelvers The latter died suddenly here in 203 (818), the actual day is uncertain (cf Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Shīʿa*, Leipzig 1926, p 171) On ʿAlī al-Ridā and his death cf above I 296, 298b, III 222a, Weil, *op cit*, p II 225b, Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* (London 1825), p 449—451 (gives the story current in Meshhed of the imām's death), Yate, *op cit*, p 340—342, Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, London 1910, p 235—238, W Jackson, *op cit*, p 265—266

It was not the tomb of the caliph but that of a highly venerated imām which made Sanābādh (Nūḳān) celebrated throughout the Shīʿa world, and the great town which grew up in course of time out of the little village actually became called *al-Mashhad* (Meshhed) which means "sepulchral chapel" (primarily of a martyr belonging to the family of the Prophet) Cf on the conception of Mashhad, III 323 and v Berchem in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i (Berlin 1918), p 89—90 Ibn Ḥawḳal (p 313) calls our sanctuary simply Mashhad, Yāḳūt (III. 153) more accurately al-Mashhad al-Riḍawī = the tomb-chapel of al-Ridā, we also find the Persian name *Meshhed-i mukaddas* = "the sanctified chapel" (e g in Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, p 157) As a place-name Mashhad first appears in al-Muḳaddasī (p 352), i e in the last third of the tenth century About the middle of the XIVth century the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta (III 77) uses the expression "town of Mashhad al-Ridā" Towards the end of the middle ages the name Nūḳān, which is still found on coins in the first half of the XIVth century under the Ilkhāns (cf Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p 189), seems to have been gradually ousted by al-Mashhad or Meshhed At the present day Meshhed is often more precisely known as Meshhed-i Ridā, Meshhed-i mukaddas, Meshhed-i Tūs (so already in Ibn Battūta, III 66) Not infrequently in literature, especially in poetry, we find only Tūs mentioned, i e New Tūs in contrast to Old Tūs or the proper town of this name, cf e g Muhammad Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *Taʾrīkh Tūs aw al Mashhad al-Ridāwī*, Baghdād 1927, p 3

The history of Meshhed is very fully dealt with in the work of Muḥammad Hasan Khān Sanīʿ al-Dawla entitled *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams* (3 vols, Teheran 1301—1303) The second volume is exclusively devoted to the history and topography of Meshhed, for the period from 428 (1036) to 1302 (1885) he gives valuable historical material On this work cf Yate, *op cit*, p 313—314 and E G Browne, *A History of Pers Lit*, Cambridge 1924, IV, p 455—456 The *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams* forms the chief source for the sketch of the history of the town in Yate, p 314—326 Cf also the chronological notes in Muhammad Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *op cit*, p 13—16

The importance of Sanābadh–Meshhed continually increased with the growing fame of its sanctuary and the decline of Tūs Tūs received its death blow in 791 (1389) from Mīrānshāh, a son of Timūr When the Mongol noble who governed the place rebelled and attempted to make himself independent, Mīrānshāh was sent against him by his father Tūs was stormed after a siege of several months, sacked and left a heap of ruins, 10,000 inhabitants were massacred (see Yate, *op cit*, p 316, Sykes, in *J R A S*, 1910, p 1118 and Browne, *op cit*, III, p 190) Those who escaped the holocaust settled in the shelter of the ʿAlid sanctuary Tūs was henceforth abandoned and Meshhed took its place as the capital of the district

As to the political history of Meshhed it coincides in its main lines with that of the province of Khurāsān [q v] Here we shall only briefly mention a few of the more important events in the past of the town Like all the larger towns of Persia, Meshhed frequently saw risings and the horrors of war within its walls To protect the mausoleum of ʿAlī al-Ridā in the reign of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd [q v], the then governor of Khurāsān erected defences in 1037 In 1121 a wall was built round the whole town which afforded protection from attack for some time In 1161 however, the Ghuzz [q v] succeeded in taking the place, but they spared the sacred area in their pillaging We hear of a further visitation by Mongol hordes in 1296 in the time of Sultān Ghāzān [q v] Probably the greatest benefactors of the town and especially of its sanctuary were the first Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh (809—850 = 1406—1446, see vol IV. 265 *sq*) and his pious wife Djawhar-Shādh

With the rise of the national Ṣafawid dynasty v], a new era of prosperity began for Meshhed he very first Shāh of this family, Ismāʿīl I (907–30 = 1501—1524, q v), established Shiʿism as e state religion and, in keeping with this, care r the sacred cities within the Persian frontier, pecially Meshhed and Kumm, became an important ature in his programme as in those of his suc- ssors Pilgrimage to the holy tombs at these aces experienced a considerable revival In Mesh- d the royal court displayed a great deal of ilding activity In this respect Ṭahmāsp I, Ismāʿīl I's ccessor (930—984 = 1524—1576, q v), and the eat Shāh ʿAbbās I (995—1037 = 1587—1627, v) were especially distinguished

In the xvɪth century the town suffered consider- ly from the repeated raids of the Ózbegs Jzbek) In 1507 it was taken by the troops the Shaibānī Khān [cf SHAIBĀNIDS], it was not l 1528 that Shāh Tahmāsp I succeeded in re- lling the enemy from the town again Stronger alls and bastions were then built and another attack the same Ózbeg chief was foiled by them in 1535 ut in 1544 the Ózbegs again succeeded in entering e town and plundering and murdering there he year 1589 was a disastrous one for Meshhed he Shaibānid ʿAbd al-Muʾmin after a four months' ege forced the town to surrender The streets of the wn ran with blood and the thoroughness of the llaging did not stop at the gates of the sacred ea Shāh ʿAbbās I who lived in Meshhed from ,85 till his official ascent of the throne in Kazwīn 1587 was not able to retake Meshhed from the zbegs till 1598

At the beginning of the reign of Tahmāsp II v] in 1722 the Afghān tribe of Abdālī [q v] vaded Khurāsān Meshhed fell before them, but 1726 the Persians succeeded in retaking it after two months' siege Nādir Shāh [q v] (1736— 47) had a mausoleum built for himself in Meshhed After the death of Nādir Shāh civil war broke it among the claimants to the throne, in the urse of which the unity of the Persian empire as broken The whole eastern part of the king- om of Nādir Shāh, particularly Khurāsān (except e district of Nīshāpūr), passed in this period of rsian impotence under the rule of the vigorous fghān Shāh Ahmad Durrānī An attempt by arīm Khān Zand to reunite Khurāsān to the st of Persia failed Ahmad defeated the Persians id took Meshhed after an eight months' siege in 67 (1753), cf above 1, p 169b, 202b, 203b hmad Shāh and his successor Tīmūr Shāh left āh Rukh in possession of Khurāsān as their ssal, making Khurāsān a kind of buffer state tween them and Persia As the real rulers how er, both these Afghān rulers struck coins in eshhed (cf above 1, p 202b)

Otherwise the reign of the blind Shāh Rukh, hich with repeated short interruptions lasted for arly half a century, passed without any events special note It was only after the death of mūr-Shāh (1207 = 1792) that Agha Muhammad hān, the founder of the Kādjār dynasty, succeeded taking Shāh Rukh's domains and putting him death in 1210 (1795) and thus ending the paration of Khurāsān from the rest of Persia f above, 1, p 204a) The death soon after- ards of Agha Muhammad (1211 = 1796) enabled ādir, who had escaped to Herāt, to return to eshhed and take up the reigns of government again A siege of his capital by a Kādjār army remained without success, but in 1803 Fath ʿAlī Shāh was able to take it after a siege of several months when Nādir's funds were exhausted

From 1825 Khurāsān suffered greatly from the raids of Turkoman hordes and the continual feuds of the tribal leaders (cf Conolly, *op cit*, 1 288 and Yate, *op cit*, p 53) To restore order the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā entered Khurāsān with an army and made Meshhed his headquarters He died there in 1249 (1833)

The most important political event of the xixth century for Meshhed was the rebellion of Hasan Khān Sālār, the prince governor of Khurāsān, a cousin of the reigning Shāh Muhammad-i ʿAbbās For two years (1847—1849) he held out against the government troops sent against him At the time of the accession of Nāsir al-Dīn (1848) Khu- rāsān was actually independent It was only when the people of Meshhed, under pressure of famine, rebelled against Sālār that Husām al-Saltana's army succeeded in taking the town

In 1911 a certain Yūsuf Khān of Herāt declared himself independent in Meshhed under the name of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh and for a period disturbed Khurāsān considerably with the help of a body of reactionaries who gathered round him This gave the Russians a pretext for armed intervention, and on March 29, 1912, they bombarded Meshhed in gross violation of Persia's suzerain rights and many innocent people, citizens and pilgrims, were slain This bombardment of the national sanctuary of Persia made a most painful impression in the whole Muslim world Yūsuf Khān was later captured by the Persians and put to death (cf F G Browne, *The Press and Poets of Modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914, p 124, 127, 136, Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1927, ii 426—427)

Meshhed is now the centre of eastern Persia, the capital of the province of Khurāsān which, since its eastern part was taken by the Afghāns in the xviiith century, is barely half its former size (cf Le Strange, *op cit*, p 383 *sq*, *Isl*, xi, 108 *sq* and above, ii 966) In the middle ages it was not Tūs, Meshhed's predecessor, but Naisābūr (modern Persian Nīshāpūr) that was the capital of this extensive and important province A royal prince has usually been governor since the fall of the Nādirids Since 1845 the lucrative and influential post of Mutawallī-Bāshī, the controller or treasurer of the sanctuary of the Imām, has usually been combined with the governorship (cf Yate, *op cit*, p 322)

The only plan — not very accurate — of Mesh- hed known to me is that of Colonel Dolmage (cf Curzon, *op cit*, 1 151, note 2, 160) and was made about 1870 It is published in MacGregor, *op cit*, 1 284 The plan of the town is an ir- regular oblong with its longer axis running from N W to S E Its circumference is according to the most reliable calculations about 6 miles, the greatest breadth about a mile, and the length not quite two miles measured along the main street Khiyābān which runs right through the town

Like most Persian towns Meshhed is enclosed by a great girdle of walls, which gives it a very picturesque appearance The lines built to stiffen the defences, namely a small moat with escarpment before the main wall and a broad ditch around outside, are now in ruins and in places have completely disappeared

The citadel (*ark*) in the southwest part of the town is directly connected with the system of defences It is in the form of a rectangle with four great towers at the corners and smaller bastions The palace begun by ʿAbbās Mīrzā but finished only in 1876, with its extensive gardens, is connected with the fortress proper, now fallen into disrepair (cf Yate, *op cit*, p 327) It is used as the governor's residence The whole quarter of government buildings which, according to MacGregor, occupies an area of 1,200 yards, is separated from the town by an open space, the Maidān-i Tōp (Cannon Place) which is used for military parades

There are six gates in the city walls

The town is divided into six great and ten smaller quarters (*mahalla*) (see Yate, *op cit*, p 328) The six larger bear the names of their gates, see al Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *op cit*

The principal street which divides the whole town into two roughly equal halves, the Khiyābān, is a creation of Shāh ʿAbbās I who did a great deal for Meshhed (1587—1627, see Yate, *op cit*, p 319, cf the pictures in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p 231) This street, a fine promenade, is, being the main thoroughfare, filled all day with a throng of all classes and nationalities, including numerous pilgrims, and caravans of camels and asses, the bustle is tremendous, especially in the middle of the day

The canal, which flows through the Khiyābān in a bed about 9 feet broad and 5 feet deep is fed, not from the Kesheh Rūd (see above) which runs quite close to Meshhed, as it has too little water, but from the Česhme i Gīlās already mentioned, which used to provide Tūs with water When this town had been almost completely abandoned, Shīr ʿAlī, the vizier of Sultān Husain b Mansūr b Bāikarā (1468—1506, on him see above, ii 343, i 594[a]), at the beginning of the xvi[th] century had the water brought from this source to Meshhed by a canal 45 miles long, thus sealing the ruin of Tūs, cf Yate, *op cit*, p 315, al-Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *op cit*, p 13

The making of this canal (see Yate, *op cit*, p 315, Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 13) contributed essentially to the rise of Meshhed, for the greater part of its inhabitants rely on it for water, although after entering the town, the canal becomes muddy and marshy (which was often a subject of satire, cf ʿAbd al-Kaīm, *op cit*, p 74), and use it for drinking, washing and religious ablutions without hesitation There are also large and deep reservoirs before the main gates The water is saline and sulphurous and therefore has an unpleasant taste (cf Conolly, i 333—334, Khanikoff, p 105, Curzon, i 153)

The sacred area divides the principal street into two parts the Bālā (= Upper) Khiyābān in the N W and the Pāʾīn (= Lower) Khiyābān in the S E, of which the former is about 3 times as as long as the latter The sacred area covered by the sanctuary of the Imām al-Ridā is usually called Bāst (cf above, i 709) The name Haram-i Sharif or Haram-i Mukaddas or Haram-i al Ridāwī (al-Ridā's Haram) is often also applied to it, frequently it is called simply, "Imām" as in Persia as in the ʿIrāk this title is applied also to a building or piece of ground sacred to an Imām The Bāst, a rectangle 900 feet × 700 feet in area, is in the lower half of the Khiyābān With its courts, mosques, sanctuaries, madrasas, caravanserais, bazaars, dwellinghouses etc it forms a town by itself, a wall around it cuts it off completely from the rest of Meshhed The main entrances from the Khiyābān are two great doors on north and south, but they are barred by chains so that no vehicle or riding-beast can enter, for the ground of the Bast is holy and may only be trodden on foot Animals which get in by accident become the property of the administration of the Imām The Bāst also has the right of asylum (whence the name *Bast*) Debtors who take refuge in it are safe from their creditors, criminals can only be handed over by order of the Mutawallī-Bāshī, which is now usually done after three days In the whole of the sacred area strict discipline is maintained by its own police, there is a special prison for thieves (see the plan in Yate, p 332, N[o] 75, cf also Conolly, i 263, Khanikoff, p 98, Bassett, *op cit*, p 224, Curzon, i 153—154, Massy, *op cit*, p 1006, Yate, p 334)

Entrance to the Bast is strictly forbidden to all non-Muslims In earlier times the rule does not seem to have been so strict, for Clavijo (see *Bibl*) in 1404 was able to visit the sepulchral chapel of the Imām al-Ridā In the xix[th] century Fraser (1822, 1833), Conolly (1830), Burnes (1832), Ferrier (1845), Eastwick (1862), Vámbéry (1863), Colonel Dolmage (in the sixties) and Massy (1893) visited the sacred area Only Fraser, Conolly, Dolmage and Massy actually entered the sepulchral chapel itself Vámbéry and Massy were dressed as Muslims while the others retained their European dress Except Dolmage, all these travellers have given more or less full descriptions of the sacred area The full and accurate description given by Sykes in the *J R A S*, 1910, p 1130—1148 and in the *Glory of the Shia World* is based on information supplied by the attaché to the British Consulate, Khān Bahādur Ahmad Dīn-Khān (cf *J R A S*, 1910, p 1113 and *The Shia World*, p 111, see also Curzon, i 154 *sq* and Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 17—22)

The most detailed plan of the Bāst is in the already mentioned *Matlaʿ al Shams* of Sanīʿ al-Dawla (1885), also given in Yate, *op cit*, p 332 A plan on a somewhat smaller scale was prepared by the Persian architect Muʿāwin-i Sanāʿya (cf Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p 240) and was published by Sykes in the *J R A S*, 1910, p 1128 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p 100 The latter differs in details not inconsiderably from Sanī al-Dawla's plan, which is right we have not the means of telling

The history of the sanctuary of ʿAlī al-Ridā is pretty well known from inscriptions and literary sources (cf especially the references in Yate, *op cit*, p 317 *sq*, Sykes, *J R A S*, 1910, p 1130 *sq* and Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 14 *sq*) According to local legend, Alexander the Great built a wall around the site as he foresaw in a dream that it was destined to be the tomb of a saint (cf Fraser, *Narrative*, p 449, Sykes, *op cit*, p 1130) As early as the second half of the tenth century, as Ibn Hawkal tells us (*B G A*, ii 313), the ʿAlid sanctuary had a strong wall built around it, within which devout men who wished to lead an ascetic life (*iʿtikāf*, q v) took up their abode The almost contemporary account of al-Muhallabī in Abu 'l-Fidā', p 452 is similar A few decades later, Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna (998—1030) as a result of a dream enlarged the

buildings of the tomb and provided a new wall around them (see Sykes, p 1130) The sanctuary at a later date seems to have fallen somewhat into decay for about a century later it was restored by the Saldjūk Sultān Sandjār [q v] out of gratitude, local tradition says, for the miraculous cure effected on his sick son there (see Fraser, *op cit*, p 451, Napier, *JRGS*, xlvi [1876], p 80 *sq*, Sykes, *op cit*, p 1141—1142 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p 238 *sq*) It is to this event that an inscription of 512 (1118) inside the chamber of the tomb refers (see it in Sykes, p 1140—1141 and cf Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 18) There is also a second inscription (in Sykes, p 1142—1143) which records a restoration undertaken in 612 (1215) The existence of these two inscriptions, the oldest in Meshhed, shows that the Mongols of Čingiz-Khān when they swept over Khurāsān in 1220, if they may have plundered the sanctuary, spared the buildings We hear of another restoration of the buildings in the reign of Sultān Ūldjāitū Khudābanda (1304—1316, cf Sykes, *JRAS*, 1910, p 1132, Mahdi al ʿAlawī, p 18) From the middle of the xivth century we have the somewhat fuller description of the sanctuary of ʿAlī al-Ridā by Ibn Battūta (ii 77—79) Timūr's son Shāh Rukh (1406—1446) and his wife Djawhar Shādh did a great deal for the Haram The latter built the splendid mosque to the south of the tomb which still bears her name The Dār al-Siyāda, the fine hall west of the tomb, and the adjoining chamber, the Dār al-Huffāz, are also due to this queen Under Timūr's grandson Sultān Husain Bāikarā (1469—1506) [q v], the vizier Shir ʿAlī erected the southern part of the Sahn i Kuhna, "the old court", with the imposing portico, see the inscription reproduced in Sykes, p 1133

With the coming to power of the Safawids a new and brilliant era dawned on Meshhed The rulers of this dynasty vied with one another in the development and adornment of the sanctuary of ʿAlī al-Ridā, which they raised to be the religious centre of their kingdom In this respect Tahmāsp I, ʿAbbās I, ʿAbbās II and Sulaimān I deserve special mention Tahmāsp I (1524—1576) erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the Sahn-i Kuhna, adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on the top of it The Özbegs carried off this rich adornment on their raid in 1589 ʿAbbās I the Great did most of all the Safawids (1587—1627) for Meshhed ʿAbbās II (1641—1666) devoted his attention mainly to the further decoration of the Sahn-i Kuhna The inscription published in part by Sykes, p 1133 (cf also Khanikoff, p 103) was written by the master hand of Muhammad Ridā ʿAbbāsī (on him cf Sarre and Mittwoch, *Zeichungen den Riza Abbassi*, Munich 1914, p 15—16) Sulaimān I (1666—1694) devoted special attention to the restoration of the dome of the Imām's tomb, see Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 19 (cf also Yate, p 343, Sykes, p 1137)

Foreign potentates also gave great gifts to the ʿAlid sanctuary in the Safawid period, such as the Emperor Akbar of India who made the pilgrimage to Meshhed in 1695 (cf Yate, p 319) and in 1512 the Kutb Shāh of the Dekkan

It was Nādir Shāh (1736–1747) who did most for the town of Meshhed in the xviiith century Although a very strict Sunnī, he devoted a considerable part of the enormous wealth which he had brought back from his Indian campaign to the embellishment of the great Shiʿa place of pilgrimage He restored thoroughly the southern half of the Sahn-i Kuhna built in the reign of Sultān Husain Bāikarā He decorated the portico richly and covered it with sheets of gold so that it is still called "Nādir's Golden Gate" after him In 1730, before his accession to the throne, Nādir erected a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the Sahn, as a counterpart to that erected by Tahmāsp I on the north side of the "old court" Cf on Nādir Shāh's activities at the sanctuary of al-Ridā Muhammad ʿAlī Hazīn *Taʾrīkh Ahwāl Shaikh Hazīn* (*Memoirs*, ed Balfour, London 1831, p 272)

The rulers of the Kādjār dynasty of the xixth century, Fath ʿAlī (1797—1834), Muhammad Shāh (1834–1848) and Nāsir al-Dīn (1848–1896), faithfully followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, as regards attention to the Imām's sanctuary

In spite of the number of times which the ʿAlid sanctuary has been plundered in course of time, it still has countless treasures within its buildings and puts in the shade, as regards this wealth and the extent of its buildings and courts, all the other great Muhammadan sanctuaries, except perhaps Mecca, but including the much admired Nadjaf and Kerbelā'

A detailed and accurate description of the Haram and an account of its architectural history based on its present state cannot be given because the strict prohibition of admission to members of other faiths has prevented non-Muslim scholars from examining thoroughly and reproducing the buildings Relying on descriptions of the sacred area prepared by Europeans and Orientals and on the valuable data contained in inscriptions (the latter were first noted by Khanikoff, p 103—104, the more important were published by Sykes assisted by Khān Bahādur Ahmad Dīn, in *JRAS*, 1910, p 1131 *sq*), we can assume with considerable probability that, except the tomb proper, which in its present form (excluding the later dome) according to the inscription (512 = 1118), dates from the beginning of the xiith century, only insignificant remains of the earlier mediaeval period have survived The Haram in its present form is in the main a creation of the last 500 years, as is briefly outlined in the above short historical sketch of the sanctuary

The dome of the tomb with its various annexes rises in the centre of the sacred area and is bounded on the north and east by two great rectangular courts, the Sahn-i Kuhna and the Sahn i Naw, while in the south it is adjoined by the extensive buildings of the Djawhar Shādh mosque

The most popular entrance to the East and the one preferred by pilgrims is the gateway in the Bālā-Khiyābān barred by a chain The road runs for 250 yards through this street filled with shops and ends at a great gateway through which the Sahn-i Kuhna, the "old court" is entered Its northern part dates from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I, while the southern is as old as the second half of the xvth century (reign of Sultān Husain Bāikarā) but was completely restored by Nādir Shāh Four great towers with niche like halls (hence called *aiwān*) admit to the court The simplest are the west and east towers built by ʿAbbās I, the former has the clock tower, while the platform of the latter is used as *nakkāra-khāne* i e "music-

house", where, according to an old Persian custom, found in other royal cities, sunrise and sunset are greeted with music From the east gate one reaches the eastern exit of the Bast through the Bazar of the Pā'īn-Khiyābān Much more impressive from the architectural point of view are the northern gateway built by ʿAbbās II and especially the southern gateway of the court, "Nādir's Golden Gate", Nādir Shāh's most splendid achievement and the most imposing building of the whole Haram At each of the two great gates stands a minaret 100 feet high, the upper part of which is covered with gold, the builder of the northern gate was Tahmāsp I and of the southern Nādir Shāh Nādir built in the centre the famous octagon of "Nādir's Well" covered by a gilt baldachin (*Sakkā-Khāne i Nādiri* = "Nadir's water carrier-house"), it was hewn out of a huge block of white marble which the Shāh had brought at great expense from Herāt The walls of the court are pierced by two rows of alcoves, the lower of which is occupied by artisans, schools and dwellings of the servants of the mosque, while the higher officials of the Imām occupy the upper storey The whole courtyard which has a length of about 100 yards and a breadth of 70, is paved with dark Meshhed stones (cf below) which are also to some extent tombstones For pictures of the Sahn-i Kuhna with clock tower and Nādir's Well see above, iii 384, pl 15, Yate, p 340, 346, Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p 241, picture of Nādir's Golden Gate in Yate, p 328 and Sykes, *op cit*, p 245

Nādir's golden gateway leads southwards into the area of the holy tomb, the sepulchral chamber with the halls and rooms surrounding it Strictly speaking, it is only this nucleus of the whole sacred area that should be called *Haram* or *Haram-i Mukaddas* or *Haram-i Mubārak*, terms often extended to the whole Bast The names *al-Rawda al-Mutahhara* and *Āstāne* = the (holy) threshold, are also used After passing through the Golden Gate one enters the *Dār al-Siyāda*, built by Djawhar Shādh, the finest hall in the sacred quarter Hung on a wall here is a round dish said to be that on which the poisoned grapes were offered to ʿAlī al-Ridā The pilgrim can see into the sepulchral chamber through a silver grille from the Dār al-Siyāda Turning to the southeast one enters a smaller, more simply decorated chamber, the *Dār al-Huffāz*

Adjoining the Dār al-Huffāz in the north is the dome of the Mausoleum of the Imām The interior of the sepulchral chamber (see the picture in Sykes, *op cit*, p 251), an almost square area, 30 × 27 feet, is, as there are no proper windows, lit by the dim light from golden lamps and chandeliers and furnished with the greatest splendour The tomb itself is in the N E corner and surrounded by three beautiful grilles, one of which, dated 1747, is said to come from the mausoleum of Nādir Shāh now destroyed ʿAbbās I gave the top of the tomb with its gold covering In a projection at the foot of the tomb, Fath ʿAlī Shāh placed a false door of gold inlaid with jewels (picture in Sykes, *op cit*, p 255) In niches in the wall behind glass are kept very valuable votive offerings (jewelled arms, etc, mainly gifts of the ruling house) On the wall are the two inscriptions already mentioned of 512 (1118) and 612 (1215) of which the first is the earliest known example of the so-called round hand (*thuluth*) in Arabic epigraphy (cf v Berchem in Diez, *Churasan Baudenkmäler*, i 97, note 8) These enable us to place the building of the present chamber in the beginning of the xiiᵗʰ century, while the dome 65 feet high covered with sheets of gilt copper was built only in 1607 by ʿAbbās I and renovated in 1675 by Sulaimān I, according to inscriptions on its outside As the thread of tradition regarding the site of the Imām's grave can hardly have been broken, it may be assumed practically with certainty that the present dome is built on the true site There is no longer any trace of Hārūn's grave, it probably was in the centre of the mausoleum, whence the tomb of the ʿAlid who died later was put in a corner of the same place

Of the other chambers and isolated buildings belonging to the system of the Haram proper, we shall only mention here the *Gumbad* (domed tomb) of Allāh Wardī Khān, which lies to the N E and takes its name from its builder, a famous general of ʿAbbās I (cf Conolly, i 271, Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p 266, see also the picture in Diez, *Persien Islam Baukunst in Churasan*, p 54)

Leaving the sacred chamber by the eastern door one reaches, after traversing two adjoining rooms, the "Golden Gate" of Nāsir al-Dīn, which leads into the New Court (*Ṣahn i Naw*), its northside is bounded by the Pā'īn Khiyābān Fath ʿAlī Shāh began this court in 1818 His two successors continued the building, which was completed in 1855

If one turns southwards from the Dār al-Siyāda already mentioned, one soon enters the area of the charming mosque endowed by Sultāna Djawhar Shādh and bearing her name Like the Sahn-i Kuhna this older court, an oblong running N to S about 100 yards long and 90 broad, is broken in the middle of each of its four sides by an arched hall (*aiwān*), while the unbroken parts of the walls have rows of alcoves fitted up as dwellings The largest and finest of these four aiwāns of the mosque, the Aiwan-i Maksūra in the south (for *Maksūra* = stall, cf iii, p 336), is used for prayers, in it is a wooden pulpit in which the Mahdī will one day show himself to the faithful The entrance hall is covered by a blue dome which surpasses that on the tomb of the Imām in height and width, and is flanked by two high minarets covered with blue glass tiles The centre of the court is occupied by the *Masdjid-i Pīr-i Zan* = "Mosque of the Old Woman", a square unroofed area surrounded by a wooden balustrade around which runs water in a deep stone channel

The Djawhar Shādh mosque is the noblest and finest building in the sacred area, cf the opinions of Fraser, *Narrative*, p 447, Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen* etc, p 322 and Sykes, *JRAS*, 1910, p 1145 — Pictures of the mosque in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p 263, Yate, p 344 (*Aiwān i Maksūra* and *Masdjid-i Pīr-i Zan*), Diez, *Persien Islam. Baukunst*, p 45–48

Of the various small sanctuaries which the pilgrim visit in the Haram, only two need be mentioned here, the Ziyārat Kadam-i Mubārak or Sharīf = "the place of pilgrimage of the blessed or excellent foot" also called *Djā-i Sang i Čahār pā* = "place of the foot-stone" (see the plan in Yate, p 332, N⁰ 16), a circular space covered by a dome (east of the north aiwān of the Djaw-

har Shādh mosque), in which reverence is paid to a dark grey oval-shaped stone said to contain an impression of ʿAlī al-Ridā's foot (cf Massy, *op cit*, p 1003—1004) The second noteworthy feature of the Bāst is a tall stone pillar, out of which a water basin has been roughly hewn It is said to have fallen into the Bāst as a shapeless block from heaven (see Massy, *op cit*, p 1002)

Inside of the sacred area are the richest and busiest bazars of the town, the most richly endowed madrasas, the most profitable caravanserais and the most popular baths These are all, like the dwelling houses there, the absolute property of the Imām, the ʿAlid buried here, i e of the ecclesiastical authorities who administer the sanctuary on his behalf The whole Bast belongs exclusively to them This dead hand however has still more possessions in land, buildings, canals (*kanāt*, q v), in all the provinces of Persia, especially in the immediate and more distant vicinity of Meshhed To the vast sums which these properties yield in produce and rents, are to be added the considerable payments for funerals and tombs, the gifts of pilgrims etc There is also considerable expenditure, the payment of a considerable number of higher officials and of a large number of lower officials and servants, the maintenance of many pilgrims, the cost of repairs, lighting, decoration of the sanctuaries etc The income of the Haram in course of time has naturally varied Towards the end of the Safawid period it is said to have been about £ 15,000 while at the time of Fraser's first visit (1822), as a result of the troubled times, it had sunk to £ 2,000—2,500 (Fraser, *Narrative*, p 456) Later travellers, like Basset (1878) and Curzon (1889), estimated the annual revenues of the Imām at £ 16,000 to £ 17,000 (without revenues in kind), for the last decade of the xixth century Massy (p 1106) and Yate (p 344) give £ 20,000 Ibrāhīm Beg's estimate (*op cit*, p 43) of £ 40,000 is certainly much too high

At the head of the administration of the Haram there has been from early times a Mutawallī-Bāshī, who must be a layman In view of the very influential position which this official occupies in his capacity as head of the greatest Persian sanctuary and treasurer of a very considerable estate, it is only natural that an appointment to such a position of trust is regarded as a very special honour As it was not uncommon for disputes about the limits of their respective spheres of authority or other matters to arise between the holder of this office, the representative of ecclesiastical power, and the governor of Khurāsān, the clerical element has since the middle of the xixth century been subordinated to the civil power by giving the office of Mutawallī-Bāshī to the governor of the time (see Yate, p 322, 344) This very lucrative double office — the Mutawallī-Bāshī gets 10 % of the revenues of the Haram — is as a rule only held for a few years by the same individual

The Mutawallī-Bāshī is assisted by a staff of higher officials (*mutawallīs*) He has further at his command the varied hierarchy of the sacred area, among whom the *mudjtahids* [q v], who have a thorough knowledge of religious law and are men of great prestige and influence, occupy the first place Next comes a regular army of lower clerics (*mullās*) who conduct the services, teach in the schools and guide the rites of the pilgrims, not a few of them make a living by supplying official documents sealed with the seal of the Imām (see the picture in Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p 278) which deal among other matters with the answering of petitions made by the pilgrims at the sacred tomb (cf Khanikoff, p 99) On the administration of the sanctuary of Meshhed cf Fraser, *op cit*, p 455—456, Curzon, i 162–164, Massy, p 1006 and especially Yate, p 344–346

As we know from mediaeval Arabic sources, pilgrimage to the tomb of ʿAlī al-Ridā began at an early date We occasionally hear also of royal visits from the xith century onwards

As to the number of pilgrims who visit Meshhed annually we have different estimates for the xixth century but as exact figures can hardly be kept and the numbers vary greatly, they can only claim reliability to a very limited extent While Yate (p 334) gives the annual number for the last decade of the xixth century at 30,000, earlier travellers, except Marsh (1872 20—30,000) give much higher figures, e g Bellew (1872) 40–50,000, Ferrier (1845) 50,000, Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862) over 50,000, Curzon 1889 even gives 100,000, but this is certainly too high The numbers go up considerably when special religious ceremonials are going on, e g at the anniversary of ʿAlī al-Ridā's death (cf the pictures in Diez, *Persien* etc, p 46) and during the first third of the month of Muharram at the *Taʿziya* [q v] in memory of the tragedy of Kerbelā We have a full description of the Muharram festival of the year 1830 from Conolly (see his *Journey* etc, i 267—284, 335—336) and a shorter one of 1894 by Yate (*op cit*, p 144—148), cf also the illustrations in Yate, p 146 and the drawing by the painter ʿAlī Ridā ʿAbbāsī of a Meshhed pilgrim at the time of the Muharram festival in Sarre and Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen des Riza Abbasi* (Munich 1914), Plate i (thereon p 23, 49 and *Isl*, ii 216 *sq*)

Every pilgrim who arrives has a right to free maintenance for three (according to Vámbéry six) days In the sacred quarter, south of the Bālā Khiyābān (see the plan in Yate, p 332), there is a special kitchen used exclusively for pilgrims, which gives out 5—600 free meals every day (cf Vámbéry, *op cit*, p 323, Goldsmith, *Eastern Persia*, i 364 and Curzon, i 162)

On the ceremonies which the pilgrims have to perform at their visit to the tomb of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, we have accounts by Massy, *op cit*, and the notes supplied by Khān Bahādur Ahmed al-Din Khān in Sykes, *JRAS*, 1910, p 144–45 and in the *Glory of the Shia World*, p 240 *sq* Special mention may be made of the three circumambulations (*tawāf* [q v]) of the tomb and the cursing of all enemies of the imām three times, especially the Caliphs Hārūn and Maʾmūn

Every pilgrim who has performed the pilgrimage to ʿAlī al Ridā's grave in the prescribed fashion is entitled to call himself *Meshhedī*

Meshhed occupies first place among all the places of pilgrimage in Persia Among the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, Meshhed stands seventh in the view of Shīʿa theologians, coming after, not only Mecca and Medīna, but also the four specifically Shīʿa sanctuaries of the ʿIrāḳ, Nedjef, Kerbelā, Sāmarrā and Kāẓimain, in this order (cf Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p xiii) According to a version current in Shīʿa

circles which Curzon (i 150) gives, Meshhed is entitled to the sixth place, coming between Kāzimain as fifth and Sāmarrā which is put seventh

The longing of every Shī'ī to find a last resting place in the shadow of one of the beloved Imāms caused extensive cemeteries to be laid out at an early date at the great centres of pilgrimage Thousands of corpses are brought every year to Meshhed, mainly of course from Persia, but also from all the Shī'a lands, particularly India, also Afghānistān and Turkestān Nowhere in the whole of Persia are there so many tombs as at Meshhed As the ground of the cemeteries must be used over and over again, the graves change their occupants every few years Fine solid tombstones are not used, but simply rough blocks of granite or soapstone from the quarries of the neighbourhood (cf also Conolly, i 343—4 and Khanikoff, p 105) Graves within the sacred quarter itself are naturally most desired Every available space there is used for the purpose, the pavingstones in the courtyards are often tombstones for the dead below The fees for graves within the Bast, which vary with the distance from the Mausoleum of 'Alī al Ridā, bring a not inconsiderable revenue to the authorities

Of the large cemeteries (*makbaras*) outside the Bāst the most important is the Makbara Katl i Gāh ("place of the killing") lying north of the sacred area East of it is that of Saiyid Ahmad in which three children of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzim, are buried (cf Mahdi al-'Alawi, p 8) In the Pā'īn Khiyābān quarter is the Makbara Pir-i Pālāndūz S E of the citadel is the cemetery of Gumbad i Sābz ("green dome") which takes its name from a half ruined mausoleum there, now inhabited by dervishes (cf Yate, p 328, Mahdī al-'Alawī, p 9)

In the Nūkān quarter is the Makbara Shāh-zāde Muhammad (see Mahdī al 'Alawī, p 8) We may also mention that outside the Nūkān gate on the site of the old town of Nūkān (see above), are visible the remains of a gigantic cemetery on which, according to Sykes (*J R A S*, 1910, p 1116), there may be found stone sarcophagi with inscriptions carved upon them dating from 760 to 1099 (1359—1688)

Outside of Meshhed a good half hour's journey to the south, on rocky ground is the cemetery of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm al-Ridawi (see Mahdī, *op cit*, p 8) and still further from the town, 3 miles north of it, that of Khwādja Rabī' (cf Sykes, *op cit*, p 1124 and Ibn Sa'd, vi 127 *sq*) According to the popular view, he was a Sunnī in spite of his relations with 'Alī and is therefore in a way regarded as the patron of the Sunnīs in Khurāsān, of whom those who live in Meshhed are usually buried near his tomb Rabī''s mausoleum is one of the most interesting in the whole of Khurāsān it is a large octagonal building crowned by a dome but now it is in a half ruined condition

Meshhed is the centre of Muslim theological and legal studies in Persia A number of colleges (*madrasas*) there are devoted to teaching these subjects Lists of them with dates are given by Fraser (p 456—460) who mentions 14 of the present 16 madrasas, also by Khanikoff (p 107) who gives 13, and by Mahdī al-'Alawī (p 9—12) The latter observes that there were 20 older colleges, of which he gives 15, and a number of more modern ones, Fraser also gives brief notes on the possessions of the various madrasas and the clerics (*mullās*) attached to them Yate (p 329—330) simply mentions six of the best known From these lists, which supplement one another in welcome fashion, we get the names of 20 colleges From the dates of foundation we find that the oldest of the madrasas still standing in Meshhed is the Madrasa Dūdar, which was built in 823 (1420) by the Timūrid Sultān Shāh Rukh and restored by Sulaimān I Under the same ruler was built the Parīzād Madrasa which was completely remodelled by Sulaimān I From the time of 'Abbās II date the two almost contemporary colleges Khairāt Khān (1058 = 1649) and Mirzā Dja'far (1059 = 1650) The majority of the older colleges, no fewer than nine in number, date from the time of Sulaimān I, who also restored some buildings (1666—1694) As to the Kādjārs, one was founded in the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh and two in that of Nāsir al Dīn, who also restored two that had fallen into ruins

From the artistic point of view, the finest is the Madrasa of Mīrzā Dja'far which was built and richly endowed in 1059 (1650) by a Persian of this name who had made a fortune in India It is generally regarded as the third finest building in Meshhed, next to the Mausoleum of 'Alī al-Ridā and the Djawhar Shādh Mosque In its plan, with vaulted halls and courtyard with niches, and its rich decoration, it follows the style of the courts and mosques of the sacred area above described, typical of the ecclesiastical architecture of Persia (cf above, iii 439, 447 *sq* and also Fraser, p 466—467) Not only the Madrasa of Mīrzā Dja'far but also other richly endowed colleges, like that of Pā'īn-Pā (both of the time of Sulaimān I) owe their origin to Persians who had made fortunes in India (cf on the foundation of the two last named colleges Fraser, p 457–459, Sykes, *The Glory* etc, p 267—269) The most esteemed colleges are in the Bast, namely the three already mentioned as the oldest, Dūdar, Parīzād and Khairāt-Khān, also Bālāsar and 'Alī Nakī Mīrzā Others, like the above mentioned Mirzā Dja'far Madrasa and the Mustashār Madrasa have doors communicating with the Sahn i Kūhna of the Haram quarter

Students also live in the madrasas, their maintenance being provided for by pious endowments While in Khanikoff's time (1858) there were no outstanding teachers there and the number of students was small, the reputation of the Meshhed colleges went up again in the second half of the xixth century so that Sykes (*The Glory* etc p 267 *sq*) in 1910 puts the attendance at 1,200 students, who came from Persia, India and other Shī'a regions The student who wishes to take a higher theological training after the nine years' course at Meshhed must go to Meshhed 'Alī (Nedjef, q v) and attend the lectures of the teachers there, who are the first authorities on Shī'a theology

We have no details of the libraries of the Meshhed colleges Of the rich Fādil-Khān Madrasa, Fraser only says (p 457) that it has a valuable library The administration of the Haram also has a large and valuable collection of books (on its location see the plan in Yate, p 332, N° 65 and cf N° 29), founded in the first half of the xvth century by Sultān Shāh Rukh The treasures accumulated under him and his successors were for the most part lost when Meshhed was sacked by

the Özbegs under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Khān (1589, cf Yate, p 318, Sykes, *The Glory* etc, p 239, cf also Herzfeld, in *Ephemeris des Orientales*, 1926, N° 28, p 7—8) A thorough examination of the manuscripts here might give valuable results

In this connection we may mention the activity of the Meshhed printing presses (newspapers etc), which began with the last decade of the xixth century, see thereon Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), p 348 (Index, s v Meshed), Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, iv, Cambridge 1928, p 223, 489, Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p 12

Meshhed is remarkably rich in mosques which are built in the sacred area, at cemeteries and at separate tombs, and are connected with madrasas and other buildings of a religious character

Here we may also mention the Musallā which stands outside the town, 1/2 mile from the Pāʾīn Khiyābān gate on the Herāt road It is a hall (*aiwān*) about 30 feet high which opens into a gigantic arch about 60 feet high

However picturesque Meshhed may look from outside, the impression one gets on entering it is far from pleasing, excepting the Bāst which forms a separate enclave Except for the already described broad main street (Khiyābān), there are only narrow dark alleys the level of which is almost always considerably above that of the inner courts of the houses of brick, so that they can only be entered by long gloomy passages (cf Khanikoff, p 304, Yate, p 328)

As to the population of Meshhed, — the permanent residents, excluding the many pilgrims, — it was at its highest in the reign of Nādir Shāh, who frequently held his court here and in every way contributed to the prosperity of the town At that date Meshhed had not less than 60,000 inhabitants But the half century of turmoil which followed the reign of Nādir Shāh brought about a great decline in the town so that only 3,000 houses were reckoned there in 1796 (cf Yate, p 330) In the xixth century began a slow but steady rise Truilhier in 1807 estimated the number of houses at 4,000, Fraser in 1822 at 7,700 with 25–30,000 inhabitants Conolly (1830) and Burnes (1832) estimate 40,000 inhabitants, Ferrier (1845) and Khanikoff (1858) at 60,000 In 1874 Khurāsān suffered a terrible famine and 24,000 in Meshhed alone died of starvation (see Goldsmid, i 361) Baker is too high in putting the figure at 80,000 in 1873 and Curzon too low at 45,000 for 1889 Meshhed at the present day is said to have 100,000 inhabitants (see Mahdī al ʿAlawī, p 4), it is in any case the third largest town in Persia

The permanent population of Meshhed is a rather mixed one, in consequence of the great influx of pilgrims and the commerce which was very great at least in an earlier period, many foreigners (Turkomans, Afghāns, Indians etc) settled in Meshhed Except for a very small section, all the Muslims of the town are Shīʿīs The small number of Sunnīs are mainly Afghāns and Turkomans We have already mentioned that the Masdjid-i Shāh and the Maḳbara Khwādja Rabīʿ are used by the Sunnīs The number of Christians is infinitesimal and is confined to a few Armenian traders and the personnel of English and Russian consulates established in 1889.

Nādir Shāh settled 100 Jewish families in Meshhed whom he had transplanted from Kazwīn After his death their position became a miserable one, especially after the catastrophe which overwhelmed them in 1839 When in this year, during the celebration of the Muslim Kurbān festival, a Jewess on medical advice placed her hand, which was suffering from an eruption, in the bowels of a freshly slain street dog, the Muhammadans took this for an insult to their religious observances The excited mob, seizing the excuse, fell upon the Jewish quarter, plundering and murdering as they pleased and destroyed the synagogue The surviving Jews had to adopt Islām These Jewish converts are called Djadīd, more fully Djadīd al-Islām = "new comers to Islām", because their forced conversion is of recent date The change of faith was only an external one, it is true that these Djadīd to avert suspicion regularly attend the mosque, but not a few of them are said to observe their old rites in secret The number of Judeo-Muslims in Meshhed at the present day who are small traders, physicians, etc, was put by Bassett (1878) at 300 families, by Yate at 200 On the Jews of Meshhed and their persecution in 1839 cf Truilhier, p 273, Conolly, i, p 304—308, J Wolff, *Narrative*, p 177, 394—396, Ferrier, p 122—123, J J Benjamin (see *Bibl*), p 189–190, Vámbery, *Wanderungen*, p 324–325; Bassett, p 230—233, Yate, p 322

The clerical element is strong in the Muslim population, everywhere one sees mullās, tolbas (students) and dervishes The town swarms with sayyids (alleged descendants of ʿAlī) among whom the Ridawīs, who claim descent from ʿAlī al-Ridā, enjoy special privileges Meshhed is not only one of the most fanatical cities in the whole Muslim world but also one of the most immoral in Asia Prostitution, the so-called pilgrim marriage (Pers *ṣīghe*, cf MUTʿA and iv, p 353ᵃ, 355ᵃ), sanctioned by the Imāmī group of the Shīʿa, flourishes here Most pilgrims take advantage of this institute of temporary marriage (cf Khanikoff, p 98, Curzon, i 164—165, Ibrāhīm Beg, p 45, Yate, p 419, Allemagne, iii 86—87)

The people of Meshhed are described as very superstitious, see especially Bassett, p 228 *sq* and the *Meshhed Stories* in Conolly, i 316—318 Many stories are told of miracles wrought in the ʿAlid sanctuaries see Fraser, p 451—452, Bassett, p 426—427, Massy, p 992—993, 1002, Yate, p 325, 337

The population of the town lives partly by catering for pilgrims and partly on local industries and commerce

The industries, once very flourishing, have now declined The famous manufacture of sword blades, introduced by a colony of workers transplanted by Tīmūr from Damascus, has now almost entirely disappeared (cf Truilhier, p 275, Fraser, p 124, Ferrier, p 468, Curzon, i 166)

A speciality of Meshhed is the manufacture of decorated vessels (household utensils, like jugs, pots, dishes etc) out of serpentine and dark grey soapstone (Meshhed stone), from the quarries 1 1/2 hours south of Meshhed This stone industry is old and the Arabic sources of the middle ages mention it as native to the district of Tūs and especially to the town of Nūkān (the predecessor of Meshhed), cf *B G A*, i 258, ii 313, iii 324, 326, al Muhallabī in Abu 'l Fidāʾ, p 452, Abū Hamīd al-Ghanātī, in *J A*, 1925, p 203, Yākūt, iv 824 and cf G Le Strange, *op cit*,

p 389 For the xixth century cf Truilhier, p 274–275, Fraser, p 469, Ferrier, p 124, Bellew, p 366—367, Baker, p 184, MacGregor, i 291–292, Bassett, p 234, Curzon, i 167

The celebrated turquoise mines east of Nīshāpūr (about $1^1/_2$ days' journey distant, cf FIRŪZEH and Le Strange, *op cit*, p 368, Fraser, p 409–420, Ferrier, p 106—107, Khanikoff, p 90–92, Bassett, p 216—217, Yate, p 399—408) at one time were of special significance in Meshhed's trade and industry Meshhed was the centre of the turquoise trade, for the whole output of these mines came to it and they were controlled by Meshhed merchants The turquoises were sorted in Meshhed and put into commerce there Now however, the finest specimens are usually sent directly abroad from the mines and only pieces of inferior quality come to Meshhed, to be worked there by the still very stilled stone cutters into ornaments and souvenirs for pilgrims On the turquoise industry of Meshhed cf Truilhier, p 274, Bellew, p 367, Goldsmid, i 365, Baker, p 184

Weaving is another important industry in Meshhed The carpets produced here were at one time of immensely greater value than those of the present day, which are produced in factory fashion The modern shawls of Kashmīr style are especially prized and known as Meshhedī, as are the velvets, which in Fraser's time were regarded as the best in Persia On weaving in Meshhed cf Fraser, p 468, Ferrier, p 124, Goldsmid, i 365, Baker, p 184–185, Curzon, i 167, Ibrāhīm Beg, p 47, Schweinitz, p 27—28, Allemagne, iii 110

Until the second half of the xixth century, Meshhed was one of the first emporia of Eastern Irān At the intersection of important caravan routes, it was the entrepôt for the trade of Central Asia and especially of Afghānistān Since however Russia has become established in Turkistān and built the Transcaspian railway, Meshhed's through trade has much declined Nevertheless the town must still be described as an important centre of traffic and trade, not least on account of the numerous pilgrim routes that lead to it Meshhed is 150 miles from the Russian railway station of Ashkābād [q v], the capital of the Transcaspian area, there is a good road between the two towns

For the housing of the numerous pilgrims and other strangers who come to Meshhed, a considerable number of caravanserais are available In Fraser's time (1822), there were at least 25—30 such places in use, apart from some that had been abandoned and allowed to fall into ruins (see Fraser, *Narrative*, p 460) Khanikoff (p 107–108) gives 16, four of which, intended for pilgrims only, were inside the Bāst, of these latter the oldest is the Sultān Caravanserai, built by Tahmāsp I, others date from Sulaimān I

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As to descriptions of Meshhed by Europeans we owe the first full description to Fraser (1822), Conolly (i 260) and Burnes (ii 78) both say it is thoroughly reliable Valuable notes on the town are given by Conolly, Ferrier, Khanikoff, Eastwick, MacGregor, Bassett, O'Donovan, Curzon, Massy, E Diez, and especially by C E Yate and Sykes, each of whom spent several years (1893–1897 and 1905–1912 resp) in Meshhed as British Consul General for Khurāsān — Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1404), *Embassy to the Court of Timur*, ed C R Markham (Hakluyt Society, vol xxvi, London 1859), p 109—110, Truilhier (1807), in *Bulletin de la Societe de Geogr*, vol ix, Paris 1838, p 272–282, J B Fraser (1822), *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821—1822*, London 1825, p 436—548, A Conolly (1830), *Journey to the North of India*, London 1834, i 255—289, 296—368, A Burnes (1832), *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii 76—87, J B Fraser (1833), *A Winter's Journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, London 1838, i 213—255, J Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara in the years 1843—1845* [3], London 1846, p 177—196, 386—408, J P Ferrier (1845), *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia* [2], London 1857, p 111—133, J J Benjamin, *8 Jahre in Asien und Europa* [2], Hanover 1858, p 189—190, N de Khanikoff (1858), *Memoire sur la partie meridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, p 95—111, N de Khanikoff, *Meched, la ville sainte et son territoire*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris 1861, N⁰ 95—96, Eastwick (1862), *Journal of a diplomat's three years residence in Persia*, London 1864, ii 190—194, H Vámbéry (1863), *Reise in Mittelasien* [2], Leipzig 1865 (1873), p 248—258, identical with H Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pesth 1867, p 313—327, H W Bellew (1872), *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London 1874, p 358—368, Fr John Goldsmid (and Evan Smith, 1872), *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, i 356—366, H C Marsh (1872), *A ride through Islam* etc, London 1877, p 96—112, V Baker (1873), *Clouds in the East*, London 1876, p 177—194, C M MacGregor (1875), *Narrative of a Journey through the province of Khorasan*, London 1879, i 277—309, ii 4, J Bassett (1878), *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p 219—247, E O'Donovan (1880), *The Merw Oasis*, London 1882, i 478—502, ii. 1—14, A C Yate, (1885, brother

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MESHHED ʿALĪ [See Nedjaf]

MESHHED ḤUSAIN (Kerbelā'), a place of pilgrimage west of the Euphrates about 60 miles S S W of Baghdād on the edge of the desert (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iv 249) It lay opposite Kasr Ibn Hubaira (al-Istakhrī, *B G A*, i 85, cf al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, ed de Goeje, p 287, al-Maḳdisī, *B G A*, iii 121)

The name Kerbelā' is probably connected with Aram Karbelā (Daniel, 3, 21) and Assyr Karballatu (a kind of headdress) (G Jacob, *Turkische Bibliothek*, xi 35, note 2) It is not mentioned in the pre-Arab period

After the taking of al-Hīra, Khālid b al-Walīd is said to have encamped in Kerbelā' (Yākūt, iv 250) On the Āshūrā' day (10th Muharram) 61 (Oct 10, 680) the Imām Husain b ʿAlī (cf ii, p 339) on the march from Mecca to the Irāḳ, where he intended to enforce his claims to the caliphate, fell in the plain of Kerbelā' in the district of Nīnawā (al-Ṭabarī, iii 2190, Yākūt, iv 870, now according to Massignon Khaimat Kāʿa, according to Musil Ishān Nainwa) in a battle with the troops of the governor of al-Kūfa and was buried in al-Hā'ir (Yākūt, ii 188 *sq*, al-Tabarī, iii 752, E Herzfeld, cf above, ii, p 221)

The place where the decapitated body of the Prophet's grandson was interred (on the fate of the head which was cut off and sent to Damascus to Yazīd I, cf van Berchem, *Festschrift, Ed Sachau gewidm*, Berlin 1915, p 298—310), called Kabr al-Husain, soon became a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Shīʿis (cf art Shīʿa)

As early as 65 (684—685) we find Sulaimān b Surad going with his followers to Husain's grave where he spent a day and a night (al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, ii 545 *sq*) Ibn al-Athīr (*Taʾrīkh*, ed Tornberg, v 184, ix 358) mentions further pilgrimages in the years 122 (739—740) and 436 (1044—1045) The priests of Meshhed Husain at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī (al-Tabarī, iii 752)

The Caliph al Mutawakkil in 236 (850—851) destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown, he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii 1407, Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 32) Ibn Hawḳal (ed de Goeje, p 166), however, mentions about 977 A D a large *meshhed* with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of Husain, which in his time was already much visited by pilgrims Dabba b Muhammad al Asadī of ʿAin al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Meshhed al-Hā'ir (Kerbelā') along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against ʿAin al-Tamr in 369 (979—980) before which he fled into the desert (Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḏjārib al-Umam*, ed Amedroz in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii 338, 414) In the same year, the Shīʿī Būyid ʿAdud al-Dawla (cf above, i 143) took the two sanctuaries of Meshhed ʿAlī (= al-Nadjaf) and Meshhed al-Husain (M Hairi) under his special protection (Ibn al-Athīr, viii 518, Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *loc cit*)

Hasan b al-Fadl, who died in 414 (1023—1024), built a wall round the holy tomb at Meshhed al-Husain (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed Popper, ii 123, 141), as he also did at Meshhed ʿAlī (Ibn al Athīr, ix 154)

In Rabīʿ al awwal 407 (Aug/Sept 1016), a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (al-Kubba) and the open halls (al Arwika) to ashes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix 209)

When the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh came to Baghdād in 479 (1086—1087) he did not neglect to visit the two Meshheds of ʿAlī and al-Husain (Ibn al-Athīr, x 103) The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mashhadān (al-Bundarī al-Isfahānī, *Tawārikh al-Saldjūk*, ed Houtsma, in *Recueil des textes* , ii 77) on the analogy of the duals al-ʿIrāḳān, al-Basratān, al-Hīratān, al-Misrān etc

The Ilkhān Ghāzān in 1303 visited Kerbelā' and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary He or his father Arghūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Husainīya) (A Noldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā'*, Berlin 1909, p 40)

Ibn Battūta (ed Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii 99) visited Kerbelā' in 727 (1326—1327) from al-Hilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt In the centre is the sacred tomb, beside it is a large madrasa and the famous hostel

(*al-ʿawwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps The doors are hung with silken curtains The inhabitants are divided into the Awlād Rakhīk and Awlād Fāyiz, whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all Shīʿīs

About the same date, Hamd Allāh al Mustawfī (*op cit*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces, he mentions there also the tomb of Hurr Riyā (b Yazīd), who was the first to fall fighting for Husain at Kerbelā'

The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I (d 930 = 1524) made a pilgrimage to al Nadjaf and Meshhed Husain

Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941 (1534—1535), repaired the canal at Meshhed al-Husain (al Husainīya) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again The Manārat al-ʿAbd (see below), formerly called Engusht-i Yār, was built in 982 (1574—1575) Murād III in 991 (1583) ordered the Wālī of Baghdād, ʿAlī Pasha b Alwand, to build or more correctly restore a sanctuary over the grave of Husain Soon after the capture of Baghdād in 1623, ʿAbbās the Great won the Meshheds for the Persian empire Nādir Shāh visited Kerbelā' in 1743, while he is credited with gilding the dome in Meshhed ʿAlī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of Kerbelā'

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of ʿAbd al-Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh Radīya Sultān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Husain (1694—1722), presented 20,000 nādirīs for improvements at the mosque of Husain

The founder of the Kādjār dynasty, Agha Muhammad Khān, towards the end of the xviiith century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the manāra of the sanctuary of Husain (Jacob in A Noldeke, *op cit* p 65, note 4)

In April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al Nadjaf, 12,000 Wahhābīs under Shaikh Saʿūd entered Kerbelā', slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole Shīʿī world

After a temporary occupation of Kerbelā' by the Persians, Nedjīb Pasha in 1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town, the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed The governor Midhat Pasha in 1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (references for the history of Meshhed Husain are given in A Noldeke, *op cit*, p 35–50)

At the present day with over 50,000 inhabitants, Kerbelā' is the second largest and perhaps the richest town of the ʿIrāk It owes its prosperity not only to the great number of pilgrims who visit the tomb of Husain, but also to the fact that it is the most important starting point for the Persian pilgrim caravans to al-Nadjaf and Mecca, and through its situation on the edge of the alluvial plain it is an important "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia

The old town with its tortuous streets is surrounded by modern suburbs About half to three quarters of the citizens are Persians, the remainder Shīʿī Arabs The most important tribes among them are the Banī Saʿad, Salālme, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmze and al-Nāsirīye The Dede family is the richest for constructing the Nahr al-Husainīya it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sultān Selīm

The name Kerbelā' strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p 41) The town itself is called al-Meshhed or Meshhed al-Husain

The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣahn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *liwāns* and cells Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole Kurʾān written in white on a blue ground The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in Grothe, *Geogr Charakterbilder*, pl lxxviii, fig 136) is surrounded by a vaulted corridor (now called *ḏjāmiʿ*, A Noldeke, *op cit*, p 20, 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*tawāf*) (Wellhausen, *Reste arab Heidentums*², p 109—112) In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūka*) of Husain about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *mashrabīya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms ʿAlī Akbar (Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al Tanbih*, ed de Goeje, *B G A*, viii 303)

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy like, when in the dusk — even in the daytime it is dim inside — the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength, only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (A Noldeke, *op cit*, p 25 *sq*)

The sanctuary is adorned on the Kibla face with magnificent and costly ornamentation Two manāras flank the entrance A third, the Manārat al-ʿAbd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *Sahn*, south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet, on this spot is a Sunnī mosque Adjoining the *Sahn* on the north side is a large medrese the courtyard of which measures about 85 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *miḥrābs* (on the present condition of the sanctuary cf A Noldeke, *op cit*, p 5—26, on its history p 35–50 and on its architectural history, p 51—66)

Abut 600 yards N E of the sanctuary of Husain is the mausoleum of his half brother ʿAbbās On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of Husain (*Khaimagāh*) The building erected there (plan in Noldeke, pl vii, photograph in Grothe, pl lxxxviv, fig 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles

On the desert plateau (*hammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout Shīʿīs North of the gardens of Kerbelā' lie the suburbs, gardens

and fields of al-Bkēre, N W those of Kurra, S those of al-Ghādhirīya (Yākūt, III 768) Among places in the vicinity, Yākūt mentions al-ʿAkr (III 695) and al Nawāyih (IV 816)

A branch line diverging north of al-Hilla connects Kerbelā' with the Baghdād–al-Basra railway Caravan roads lead to al-Hilla and Nadjaf The sanctuary of Husain still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, wherefore many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot

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(E Honigmann)

MESHHED-I MIṢRIYĀN, a ruined site in Transcaspiana (Turkmenistān), N W of the confluence of the Atrak and its right bank tributary the Sumbar, or more exactly, on the road which runs from Čat at right angles to the road connecting Čikishlar with the railway station of Aydīn

The ruins are surrounded by a wall of brick and a ditch and have an area of 320 acres The old town, situated in the steppes which are now peopled by Turkomans, received its water from a canal led from the Atrak about 40 miles above Čat Near the latter place the canal diverged northwards from the river, crossed the Sumbar by a bridge and finally followed an embankment 6 feet high on which the bed of the canal was 12 feet broad

The ruins of a fine mosque can still be seen, the gateway of which, decorated with faience, has an inscription according to which this *īwān* was built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ghiyāth al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn Zill Allāh fi 'l-ʿĀlamīn Sulṭān Muḥammad b Sultān Takish Burhān Amīr al-Muʾminīn The Khwārizmshāh Muhammad in question reigned 1200—1220 On one of the two towers (minarets ?) is written *bismillāh barakatun min Allāh mimmā amara bihi Abū Djaʿfar Ahmad b Abi 'l-Agharr ṣāhib al-ribāt, aʿazzahu 'llāhu ʿAmal ʿAlī R* (?) The identity of this Ahmad is unknown but the title "lord of the ribāt" which he gives himself, confirms the fact that M -Misriyān was a frontier fortress (*ribāt*) Near the east gate stood another white mosque

Tradition (Conolly) ascribes the destruction of Misriyān to the "Kalmuk Tatars" The appearance of the Kalmuks in these regions may be dated about 1600

The name Meshhed i Misriyān (variants Mestorian, Mest-Debran, Mest-Dovran, Mastan) is obscure, unless Mestorian is to be explained as *Nestoriyān "Nestorian Christians", it may be recalled that during his campaign in the Čōl (*صول), to the east of the Caspian, Yazdagird II persecuted the Christians (Hoffmann, p 50, Labourt, *Le christianisme aans l'Empire Perse*, 1904, p 126)

The site of the ruins (to the north of Djurdjān) is given the name Dihistān in Muslim sources, which recalls the name of the old Scythian people Daha who led a nomadic life on the Atrak (Greek Δάαι and Δάσαι, cf Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl* ², IV , col 1945) From the Dahian clan of the Parnoi was descended the Arshakid dynasty which imposed its authority on the Parthians (cf Minorsky, *Transcaucasia, J A* , 1930, July–Sept , p 56)

The basin of the Atrak (the ancient Σάριος) is at the extreme limit of the lands described in the classical and Muhammadan geographers The sources mention several settlements in Dihistān but in a somewhat confusing fashion As the analysis by Hoffmann and by Barthold has shown, a distinction must be made between 1 the settlement on the sea-shore, 2 the town of Dihistān and 3 the ribāt Dihistān

1 The first of these was built on a promontory (*dakhla*) behind which ships could shelter Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 130, reads the name concealed in the variants in Istakhrī, p 219, note *b*, as "Dihistān Bayāsīn" which he connects with the district of Bayāsān mentioned (in Djurdjān !) by Tabarī, II 1330, Balādhurī, p 337 and Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 35 The *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* mentions a peninsula of Dihistān-Sur on the coast of Dihistān This سر may be an echo of the name of the Turkish (?) princes صل or صول (Hoffmann, p 281) who attacked Djurdjān from the north (Ibn al-Athir, III 22) Lastly Tabarī, II 1325, locates an island of Buhaira 5 farsakhs from Dihistān Barthold identifies all these names with the cape of Hasan-Kuli which shelters the bay into which the Atrak flows [Cf also the article TŪRĀN, on the Diz i Alānān mentioned in the *Shāh nāma*].

A difficulty is raised by Istakhrī (p 219) who puts at 50 farsakhs and p 226 at 6 *marhala* (each of $8^2/_3$ farsakhs) the distance between Abaskūn (at the mouth of the river Djurdjān, now Gümüsh-täpä [1]) and the cape of Dihistān in question If we follow this double indication literally, we ought (with Hoffmann, p 279, who reads the name "Dihistān-*Tabāshīr") to move the cape of Dihistān considerably to the north, in the bay of Krasnowodsk, which is certainly a very important place In this case the cape would be a different one from Buhaira = Hasan Kuli (Hoffmann, p 278)

2 The town of Dihistān, according to the middle Persian list of the towns of Erān, was founded by a certain Narsahē the Arshakid (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 73) and according to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 166, by the Sāsānid Kubād b Fīrūz According to Mukaddasī, the town of Dihistān was called Akhūr Tabarī locates (the river of) Djurdjān and, as we have seen, 5 farsakhs from Buhaira This latter distance is by the way less than the actual distance between Hasan-Kuli and Meshhed-i Misriyān

3 The ruins of Meshhed-i Misriyān (as the inscription on the mosque suggests [1]) must correspond to the ribāt of Dihistān which Mukaddasī, p 358 (cf also p 312, 367, 372) mentions distinct from Akhūr This ribāt situated on the borders of the steppes had fine mosques and rich markets Relying on Yāḳūt, i 39, Barthold thinks that in the xiith century the ribāt (and not Akhūr to the east of the Djurdjān-ribāt road) was the capital of the district of Dihistān

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MESĪḤĪ (originally ʿĪsā), an important Ottoman poet of the time of Bāyazīd II Born in Prishtina (northern Albania), he came as a youth to Constantinople where he became a *softa* (theological student) and distinguished himself as a calligrapher In the end he won the favour of the grand vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha [q v] and became his diwān-secretary But his irregular life and carelessness in the performance of his duties frequently irritated his patron (ʿAlī Pasha called him *Shehr oghlanī*) He held his post, however, till the death of ʿAlī Pasha in 917 (1511) in battle against the Shīʿī rebels under Shāh Kūlī Mesīḥī wrote an elegy on his death, full of the deepest emotion

His attempts to find a new patron failed He had to be content with a miserable fief in Bosnia where he soon died in 918 (1512), poor and forgotten and still quite young

According to Ahmad Pasha [q v] and Nedjātī (d 914 = 1509), Mesīḥī was regarded as the third great Ottoman poet and the greatest lyric poet before Bāḳī He is a most artistic and original figure His output was not extensive, but of lasting influence His *Dīwān* has not yet been printed, a fate common to nearly all important Turkish poets In his lyric poems he is above the average of contemporary poets In addition to the grace and delicacy of his diction, there is a certain novelty in his style New images and pictures are introduced with great boldness, perhaps a result of his Albanian blood The best known of his poems, in Europe is his Ode to Spring (*murebbeʿa*) which Sir William Jones published with a Latin translation *Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1774 and has been repeatedly reprinted (by Toderini, by Wieland in the *Deutsche Merkur*, by J von Hammer etc) His *Dīwān* is also of importance linguistically, for it bears the stamp of the Rumelian dialect

Mesīḥī's most original work is his *Methnewī*, *Shehr-engīz* (the "Thriller of the Town"), which is also the most original work in Turkish literature down to Mesīḥī's time It is original in subject also, as it did not have a Persian model It introduced quite a new style of poem, which was frequently imitated *Shehr-engīz* represents the first attempt at humorous verse in Turkey, and its language is very close to the spoken speech Here Mesīḥī could write Turkish to his heart's content, while in other forms he had to use the learned jargon He laments in one passage that without Persian and Arabic there would be no room for him as a poet, even if he had come down from heaven

Shehr engīz is a burlesque catalogue of the beautiful "boys" of Adrianople — it is interesting to note that they are all Muhammadan — and became popular on account of its unaffected language

As a product of his activity as a secretary, we have also a collection of *inshāʾ*, elegant specimens of epistolary style, not without historical interest, entitled *Gul-i Ṣad Berg* (the hundred-leaved rose) I have a manuscript of this work, which seems to be rather rare, of 991 (1583) entitled *Inshāʾ-i Mesīḥī*

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METĀWILA [See MUTAWĀLĪ]

MEWLĀNĀ HUNKʿĀR, a title of the head of the Mawlawī Order [see MAWLAWĪYA] The second word is the Turkish form of the Persian *khudāwandgʿār*, the equivalent of *mawlā*, which according to Aflākī (*Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, i 59) was bestowed on Djalāl al-Dīn by his father Sāmī in his Turkish Lexicon states that the word, besides being used for "Sultān", "King", is applied to certain saintly personages, in such combinations as *pīr hunkʿār* or *mullā hunkʿār* The underlying idea of such a title is probably that the saint has had committed to him the government of the world, if he choose to undertake it, an idea elaborated by Ibn ʿArabī (*Futūhāt Makkīya*, i 262, ii 407), who regards such a saint as the true *khalīfa* The title *celebi* is more generally recognized as that belonging to the head of the Mawlawī Order (Sāmī, *loc cit*, p 510*a*)

(D S MARGOLIOUTH)

MEZZOMORTO, an Ottoman Grand Admiral whose real name was HĀDJDJĪ HUSEIN PASHA

Hādjdjī Husein Pasha, known as Mezzomorto, i e "half dead" because he was severely wounded in a naval battle, came from the Balearic Islands, if A de la Motraye's statement (*Voyages*, The Hague 1727, i 206) that he was born in Mallorca is right He probably spent his youth sailing with corsairs on the seas off the North African coast He first appears as a desperate pirate in the summer of 1682 in the Barbary States When France was preparing to deal a decisive blow at the pirates of Algiers, whose arrogance had passed all bounds, he was handed over as a hostage to the French after the bombardment of Algiers, but managed to return there, to strike down with his own hand, in a mutiny of the mercenaries which he had stirred up, the Dey of Algiers Baba Hasan, who was ready to make peace and to fight his way to the head of the state (summer of 1683, cf Zinkeisen, *G O R*, v 51 *sq*) Husein Reʾīs in the following year concluded with Louis XIV of France a truce for a hundred years, which however was only of brief duration His own rule over Algiers was not long either (till 1688, cf A Bernard, *L'Algerie*, Paris 1929, p 159) About ten years later, in Muharram 1107 (Aug 1695), Husein Reʾīs, who had already distinguished himself as commander of a galleon (*kālʿūn kapudānī*), was appointed Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*kapudān-ı deryā*) in succession to ʿAmūdjazāde Husein Pasha, who was appointed governor of Adana after the taking of Chios He owed his promotion to his skilful seamanship at the capture of Chios where he distinguished himself in the battle with the Venetian fleet (spring of 1695) In 1697 Husein Pasha inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Venetian Captain General Alessandro Molino off the island of Lemnos, and in the following year in a naval fight on July 6 with Molino's successor, Giacomo Cornaro, near Mytilene it was very doubtful whether the Crescent on the Lion of St Mark gained the victory (cf Zinkeisen, *G O R*, v 183, from the account by the *inquisitore* Garzoni in his *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice 1705, p 644 *sqq*, 691 *sqq*, 748 *sqq* and 775 *sqq*) Ottoman authorities and the historian Rashīd (fol 231, cf J v Hammer, *G O R*, vi 635) credit the victory to the Ottomans In 1113, Mezzomorto was dismissed from his rank and replaced by ʿAbd al-Fattāh Pasha He retired to Chios, where his adventurous life came to an end in the same year on the 13th Safar 1113 (July 20, 1701, according to Safwet, *op cit*), on the 14th Safar 1114 (1 e July 9, 1702) according to others J v Hammer, *G O R*, vi 766 and vii 624, gives the date as 15th Rabiʿ 1113 (Aug 20, 1701) One of these dates is probably that of his dismissal

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MIʾDHANA [See MANĀRA]

MIDHAT PASHA, Ottoman statesman, twice grand vizier

Midhat Pasha was born in Stambul in Safar 1238 (beg Oct 18, 1822), the son of Hādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi-Zāde Hādjdjī Hāfiz Mehemmed Eshref Efendi, a native of Rushčuk The family seem to have been professed Bektashīs and Midhat Pasha also had a leaning towards them His earliest youth was spent in his parents' home at Widdin, Lofča (Bulgaria) and later in Stambul, where his father held judicial offices In 1836 he was working in the secretariat of the grand vizier and later he filled confidential posts in various governorships (including two years in Damascus), in 1844 he came to Konya and in 1849 became second, in 1851 first secretary to the Council (*medjlis-ı wālā*) In 1854 the grand vizier Kıbrızlī Mehemmed Pasha gave him the difficult task of pacifying the provinces of Adrianople and the Balkans and clearing them of robber bands Here he displayed for the first time his special talents for administration, which were not unnoticed by the Porte and soon afterwards brought him the appointment of governor of the Danube districts (Widdin, Silistria) In 1858 he spent six months travelling for study in western Europe, including Vienna, Paris, Brussels and London In 1861 he was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Nish and Prizren with the rank of vizier, where he earned distinction by his pacification of the country, so that, when the new organisation of wilāyets was carried out in 1864, he was given the model province, Danube-Bulgaria (*Tūna Wilāyetī*) During his four years' governorship, he raised the province to a level rare in Turkey, although it was only under his successor that the people learned to thank him for it He built schools and educational institutes everywhere, created funds to make advances to and support useful undertakings, built hospitals, granaries, roads (2,000 miles) and bridges (1,400) and improved communications in every way As he required money for all these progressive undertakings, which the government could not give him and he would not raise by abuse of taxation, he raised the necessary funds by "voluntary contributions" from the people The Bulgars, with whom for nationalist reasons he had no sympathy, suffered not a little from the enterprising spirit and unrestrained love of work of the young governor who, of unbending will and inexorable severity, was of a nature not attractive, but rather arrogant and conceited At the same time he was quite modern in his views and had no scruples about

introducing absolute equality between Christians and Muslims in his province He proceeded ruthlessly against agitators and rebels, dismissed incompetent officials and brought extortionists to book His most rigorous steps were directed against the Russian Pan Slav intrigues, the leaders of which he ruthlessly hanged Although in a few years he made the Danube province the richest in Turkey without it costing the state a piastre, in 1869 Midhat Pasha, who had incurred the hostility of the Russians, was deprived of his office and sent to remote Baghdād as governor and commander of the vith Army Corps Midhat Pasha was not dismayed, but went to work with renewed energy to develop his new governorship He laid roads, started horse tramways, built a technical school, founded a savings bank, instituted regular steamship traffic on the Tigris between Baghdād and several harbours on the Persian Gulf and urged the building of a "Euphrates railway" Under the pretext that he had taken part in a conspiracy against the Sultān, Midhat Pasha, who had already earned the gratitude of the Baghdād province and also won Nedjd for the Ottoman empire, was summoned to Stambul where his enemy, the grand vizier Mahmūd Nedīm Pasha, had chosen him for the office of wālī of Adrianople Instead of this, on the fall of his rival, Midhat Pasha was appointed grand vizier on Aug 1, 1872, only to be dismissed on October 19 It was clearly shown that his real strength lay in provincial administration All possible elements combined to bring about his fall Sultān ʿAbd al ʿAzīz could not endure him because he opposed his mad whims, the Old Turks regarded him as an infidel because he planned his measures regardless of dogmatic objections, he was most unpopular with the Russians because he had taken sharp measures to deal with the Slav Bulgar intrigues Midhat Pasha retired into private life as *persona ingrata* In the grand vizierate of Esʿad Pasha, he became minister of justice on March 15, 1873 and held this office still under his successor Shīrwānī-zāde Mehemmed Rushdī Pasha till Sept 29, 1873 In the following October, the governorship of Salonika was given to him which he only accepted with reluctance and held for barely three months On Feb 17, 1874 he was again dismissed and retired once more to private life He used the leisure thus forced upon him to work out the schemes which he later unfolded and which meant a decisive change in the orientation of the Ottoman empire In August 1875 his old enemy Mahmūd Nedīm Pasha, who had again received the imperial seals, appointed him minister of justice but by November he had handed in his resignation, which was accepted The empire was then in a state of complete confusion risings, famine, an empty treasury and a half mad sultān Midhat Pasha then composed his famous memorandum of March 9, 1876, which was to have such momentous results On May 20, 1876 he entered the cabinet of the grand vizier Müterdjim Mehemmed Rüshdī Pasha as minister without portfolio In the night of May 30, Sultān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was deposed and Murad V raised to the throne of his fathers On July 15, a proclamation issued in the name of the new sovereign used for the first time the word "constitution" Midhat Pasha was the soul of the new movement and he worked ardently with a few kindred spirits to give Turkey a constitution Sultān Murād V became insane and was replaced by his brother ʿAbd al-Hamīd, on December 18, 1876 Midhat Pasha became grand vizier for the second time, and five days later, the constitution was solemnly proclaimed The reactionary party and a powerful camarilla never ceased its endeavours to bring about the fall of Midhat Pasha and to bring his progressive schemes to nought Under the pretext of high treason he was dismissed on Feb 5, 1877 and banished to Europe He was put upon a steamer and went via Rome and Paris to England He was only permitted to return in 1878 and then only to Crete In November 1878 under pressure from England, he was appointed governor-general of Syria In 1880 he was transferred to Smyrna as governor Here ʿAbd al-Hamīd's wrath overwhelmed him In May 1881 he was arrested and brought to Stambul The ludicrous charge of having caused the assassination of Sultān ʿAbd al ʿAzīz was brought against him Midhat Pasha was condemned to death but the sentence was not carried out He was banished for life to Tāʾif in Arabia After repeated attempts to poison him, he was strangled on April 10, 1883 (Radjab 29 1301) in prison In this tragic fashion ended the life of one of the most notable and best statesmen of Turkey, perhaps the most important administrator that the Ottoman empire has produced in modern times Midhat Pasha had a son, ʿAlī Haidar Midhat Bey, who after his death conducted a campaign to clear his memory and wrote a very full life of his father

Bibliography The main source for the life of Midhat Pasha is the work of his son ʿAlī Haidar Midhat Bey, which appeared in 2 vols entitled *Midhat Pasha, Hayāt i siyāsiyesī, khidmātī, menfā hayātī* at Stambul in 1325 (1909) (vol 1 *Tabṣire-i ʿIbret*, vol 2 *Mirʾāt-i Hairet*, Hilāl press) — He had previously published *The Life of Midhat Pasha By his son Ali Haydar Midhat*, London 1903, xii and *Midhat-Pacha, sa vie — son œuvre Par son fils Ali Haydar Midhat Bey*, Paris 1908, xxiii A kind of translation of these works is Yūsuf Kamāl Bey Hatāta, *Mudhakkirāt Midhat Bāshā* Cairo 1331 (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 395 note) Of the wealth of literature on Midhat Pasha we may mention Leouzon-le-Duc, *Midhat Pacha*, Paris 1877, Benoît Brunswick, *La verite sur Midhat Pacha*, Paris 1877, A Clician Vassif Effendi, *Son Altesse Midhat Pacha, Grand Vizir*, Paris 1909, vii , *Un horrible assassinat commis sur l'ordre special du Sultan Abdul Hamid II Assassinat de Midhat Pacha d'après les documents officiels de la Jeune Turquie, publ par le Comite Ottoman d'Union et de Progres* Geneva 1898, also *Midhat Pasha we-Dāmād Mahmūd Pasha Hadretinin Sulṭān ʿAbd ul-Hamīdin Emrile Kaifiyet Shehādetlerī*, Geneva 1314 (1896), Thurayyā Rifʿat, *Midhat Pashanin Kātilleri*, Stambul 1324, of importance for the political ideas of Midhat Pasha are his own publications *Feryād we-Fighānlar*, Stambul 1326 political apologia, *Ahwāl al-Dawla al-ʿothmānīya al siyāsiya bi 'l-Nazar ila 'l-Mādi wa 'l-Hāl wa 'l-Istikbāl La Turquie, son passe, son avenir Taʾlif Midhat Bāshā wa kad tardjamahā* Khalīl Efendi al Khūrī, Bairūt 1879, thereon Mehemmed Rüshdī, *Midhat Pashanin Wasiyet-Nāmesī we Shehādetī*, Stambul 1325 — Of European works on the life and work of Midhat Pasha may be mentioned [A D Mordtmann sen], *Stambul und das moderne Turkenthum*, New Series

Leipzig 1878, p 82 *sqq* , [Gg Dempwolff], *Serail und Hohe Pforte*, Vienna 1879, p 237 *sqq* , Carl v Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Turkei*, Vienna 1908, p 375 *sqq* But the western sources have mainly to be used with caution, as the very varying statements about his origin, date and place of birth show

(Fr Babinger)

MIDILLÜ, Turkish form for Mytilene, name of the island of Lesbos, which in the middle ages had already taken the name of its capital The island is about 650 sq m in area and has two large gulfs, the Gulf of Kalloni (Kalānia) and that of Jeros (Kelemia)

When the Muslims first became acquainted with the island, it belonged to the Byzantine empire Its conquest in the reign of the emperor Alexios Comnenos in 484 (1091) by the Emīr of Smyrna, Tzachas, father-in-law of the Seldjūk Kïlïdj Arslān I b Sulaimān, was only temporary After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins (1204), the island passed for a time to the Venetians In 1355, the emperor John Palaeologos, on the marriage of his sister with the Genoese Francesco Gattilusio, granted the island to the latter as a fief It belonged to this family when Mehmed II the Conqueror took Constantinople in 1454 The islands of the Aegean had to pay tribute to the Turks, to which the Gattilusio in the hope of retaining their position readily agreed, and when the grand vizier Hamza Pasha in 1456 anchored off Lesbos on the voyage to Rhodes, the prince Dorino Gattilusio sent rich gifts to the Turkish commander through the historian Ducas After the death of Dorino, his son and successor Domenico sent an embassy under the same Ducas to try to gain the good graces of the Sultān, but the Turks imposed rather harsh conditions In 1458 Domenico was slain by his brother Nicolas who had escaped from Lemnos and the latter seized the island On the pretext that he had given shelter to the pirates who harassed the Asia Minor coast and had committed other acts hostile to the Sultān, Mehmed in 1462 set out against Lesbos The grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha conducted the siege of the capital It was taken after 27 days' bombardment and the Sultān received the surrender of the island in person (ʿĀshik Pasha Zāde, ed Giese, Leipzig 1929, p 156 *sq* , Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār fi Esfār al Bihār*, Constantinople 1141 [1728–1729], fol 6b, Hammer, ii 15, 67, Zinkeisen, ii 226, 239 *sqq*) A mosque in the citadel of Midillü was built by Fātih, cf Newton, i 117, Koldewey, p 11

Attempts of the Venetians under Orsato Giustiniani (1464) to take the island from the Turks failed (v Hammer, ii 83 *sq*) An expedition against the island in 1500 of the allied French and Venetian fleets was thwarted by the Turkish forces (v Hammer, ii 327, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *op cit*, fol 10a) Since that date the island had been in undisturbed possession of the Turks until during the Balkan War it was handed over to the Greeks on Nov 24, 1912 and finally conceded to them by the Peace of London of May 30, 1913, although with certain reservations by Turkey

The island, the largest in the Archipelago, belonged to the "wilāyet of the Archipelago" (*Djezā'ir-i Bahr-i sefid*) and formed in it the sandjak of Midillü with 5 ḳazā's Midillü (with the capital, in the east of the island), Pilemar (= Plomary, in the south), Molowa (= Molivo, the ancient Methymna, in the north), Sighri in the west of the island, and lastly the Junda Islands (Moskonisi) east of Midillü, cf Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, col 1894, 4243, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 449–472, cf also Suleimān Fa'ik, *Rehba i Deryā*, i (Stambul 1299), p 55—59 — According to Baedeker 1914, the island had 140,500 inhabitants of whom $^{6}/_{7}^{th}$ were Greeks and $^{1}/_{7}^{th}$ Muhammadans

Bibliography On the island in ancient times and most of the questions connected with it, see the very full article by Bürchner on *Lesbos* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xii (1925), col 2107—2133

A full description for the earlier Turkish period is given by the Turk Pīrī Re'īs in his *Bahriye* written in 1521 this section has been translated by Maximilian Bittner in Paul Kretschmer, *Der heutige Lesbische Dialekt* (= *Schriften der Balkankommission*, iii/1), Vienna 1905, col 579—584 and in my ed of the *Bahrīye* of Pīrī Re'īs (Berlin and Leipzig 1926), chap ix *Midillu*, text p 21—26, transl p 32—42 — The most important later descriptions are those by Pococke, *Description of the East*, ii/ii , London 1745, Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, London 1865, i 37 *sqq* , A Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, Hanover 1865 and R Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos Im Auftrage des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts untersucht und aufgenommen*, Berlin 1890 This book gives details of early explorations of the island and accurate maps on a larger scale of sections of it

(P Kahle)

MIḎJMARA, the censer, from *ḏjamra*, "glowing coal", the Arabic name for the constellation of the Altar which lies south of the Scorpion (θυτήριον in Aratus, *ara* in Cicero, Manilius etc) or censer (θυμιατήριον in Ptolemy, *turibulum* in Geminus)

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MIḎRĀR Banū [See Sidjilmāsa]

MIHNA (a), noun derived from the root *m-h n*, appearing in the Arabic verb *mahana*, "to smooth", and in some Aethiopic derivations, trial (e g the trials to which the prophets and especially the family of Muhammad, the ʿAlids, are exposed in this world, cf Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p 212 *sq* , 261), inquisition In the latter sense it is usually applied to the Muʿtazilite inquisition and persecution extending from 218—234 (833—848) On the viiith form of the verb, *imtahana*, "to torture", cf especially Quatremere, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, i/ii , p 81, note 101

The first Muʿtazilite inquisition was instituted towards the end of his reign by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al Maʾmūn (q v , 198—218 = 813—833), who was a Muʿtazilite by conviction, especially with regard to the creation of the Kurʾān [cf the articles al kurʾān and muʿtazilites] He sent a letter to the governor of Baghdād, Ishāk b Ibrāhīm, ordering him to cite before him the ḳādī's under his jurisdiction in order to test them with regard to their opinion on the Kurʾān (Tabaī, iii 1112 *sqq* , transl by Patton, *op cit* , p 57—61 , *Kitāb Baghdād*, p 338 *sqq* , cf Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i 636

sqq, *Fragmenta Hist Arab*, p 465) Those who declared their opinion in conformity with that of the caliph, should cite the legal witnesses under their jurisdiction and institute a similar inquisition

This letter was sent to the provinces In Egypt little was done At Kūfa the general feeling was against yielding to the order of the caliph In Damascus, the latter, probably on his way to Asia Minor, personally conducted the testing of the doctors of the town

In a second letter he ordered Ishāk b Ibrāhīm to send to him seven of the leading theological authorities of Baghdād, that he might test them himself The name of the chief champion of the orthodox view, Ahmad b Muhammad b Hanbal [q v], which was at first in the list, was cancelled at the instance of the chief kādī Ahmad b Abī Du'ād [q v], the most vigorous advocate of the miḥna under al-Ma'mūn and his successors Among the seven who were summoned to the court was Muhammad b Sa'd [q v], the secretary of al Wāḳidī [q v], and author of the *Kitāb al-Tabakāt* All of them gave way to the pressure, assented to the view forced upon them and were sent back to Baghdād, where Ishāk b Ibrāhim had them repeat their confession before the theologians (Tabarī, iii 1116 *sq*, *Kitāb Baghdād*, p 343 *sqq*) The success of the caliph moved him to cling to the method inaugurated by him In a third letter which is interwoven with theological arguments (Tabarī, iii 1117 *sqq*, Patton, *op cit*, p 65 *sqq*) he enjoined Ishāk b Ibrāhīm to test all the kādis under his jurisdiction, who in their turn should test all witnesses and assistants in matters of law Ishāk b Ibrāhīm cited before him a number of the most notable doctors of Baghdād (Tabarī, iii 1121 *sqq*, Patton, *op cit*, p 69 *sqq*), among them Ahmad b Hanbal The result of the test was that some of them yielded and others remained steadfast, Ahmad b Hanbal belonged to the group of the latter

In a fourth letter to Ishāk b Ibrāhīm (Tabarī, iii 1125 *sqq*, Patton, *op cit*, p 74 *sqq*), the caliph discussed the attitude of each of the doctors in connection with his character and way of life, and ordered those who had given unsatisfactory answers to be sent to his camp in Tarsūs After a further examination by Ishāḳ b Ibrāhīm two of them only remained steadfast, Ahmad b Hanbal and Muhammad b Nūh They were sent to Tarsūs as prisoners On the way thither the report of the caliph's death reached them They were sent back to Baghdād, Muhammad b Nūh died before he had reached the capital

Ahmad b Hanbal remained in prison Although he was urged to make use of *takīya* [q v] as others had done, he stuck to his attitude Cited before al-Ma'mūn's brother and successor al-Mu'tasim (218—227 = 833—842), there originated lively debates on the nature of the Kur'ān and other theological subjects between him, the caliph, Ahmad b Abī Du'ād and others, which lasted three days No change, however, being brought about in Ahmad's attitude, he was scourged at the order of the caliph, and afterwards, from fear of an insurrection (for Ahmad was very popular), set free Little more is heard of the miḥna under al-Mu'tasim (Abu 'l-Mahāsin, i 649, Patton, p 113), who had neither the interest nor the training of his predecessor in theological matters

His son al-Wāthiḳ bi'llāh (227—232 = 842—847) who succeeded him, returned to the methods of al-Ma'mūn (Abu 'l Mahāsin, i 683, Patton, p 115 *sqq*), although it is said that he had restrained his father from prosecuting the miḥna any farther He ordered the governors of the provinces to test the notables under their jurisdiction Little is known of the consequences of this order Ahmad b Hanbal in the meanwhile had become a favourite teacher, when, however, he heard of the renewed activity of Ahmad b Abī Du'ād he refrained of his own will from teaching, and was henceforth left alone

Al-Wāthiḳ personally intervened in the trial of one person of note, the theologian Ahmad b Nasr b Mālik al-Khuzā'ī who had moreover taken part in a conspiracy (Weil, ii 341, Patton, p 116 *sq*, cf Tabarī, iii 1343 *sqq*, de Goeje, *Fragmenta hist arab*, p 529 *sqq*) Questioned about the Kur'ān, al-Khuzā'ī replied that he believed it to be the word of God The trial had not proceeded much farther, when the caliph put an end to it and personally made an attempt to behead his victim, in which he did not succeed without the assistance of some one more skilled than himself (Sha'bān 231 = 846)

Other persons of note who remained steadfast under al-Wāthiḳ were Nu'aim b Hammād and the well known Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf b Yahya 'l-Buwaitī, the pupil of al-Shāfi'ī and editor of some of his works (Patton, p 119) Both died in prison As an instance of the fanaticism of Ahmad b Abī Du'ād it is related that, when in 231 (846) it was proposed to ransom 4,600 Muslim prisoners from the Byzantines, he proposed to abandon those who would not admit the creation of the Kur'ān, this was actually done (Tabarī, iii 1351 *sqq*, *Fragm hist arab*, ii 532, Abu 'l-Mahāsin, i 684, Patton, p 120) It is said that al-Wāthiḳ gave up his Mu'tazilite views before his death The miḥna continued to exist during the first years of the reign of his successor al Mutawakkil (232—247 = 847—861), but in 234 this caliph stopped its application and forbade the profession of the creation of the Kur'ān on pain of death

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MIHR, the seventh month of the Persian solar year which runs from Sept 17 to Oct 16 and therefore begins the autumn Mihr is also the name of the 16th day of each month To distinguish between the month Mihr and the day, the former is called *Mihr Māh* and the latter *Mihr Rūz* On the 16th Mihr, the day when Mihr Māh and Mihr Rūz coincide, called *Mihr-gān*, one of the great feasts begins, which is also called Mihrgān and lasts till the 21st of the month The first day of the feast is called *Mihr-i ʿāmma*, the general Mihr, the last *Mihr-i khāṣṣa*, the special, proper Mihr The associations of this feast partly relate to the beginning of autumn, partly to the sun, whose name the month indeed bears, and partly to heroic legend Mihrgān is the feast of Feridūn's accession after his victory over Dahhāk On the rites observed at the feast see the sources mentioned below

Bibliography Ginzel, *Handbuch d math u techn Chronologie*, i, § 67 *sqq*, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed Sachau, p 42, 43, 70, 222 *sqq*, Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, s v مهرگان, al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed Wüsten feld, p 81 *sq* (M Plessner)

MIHR-I MĀH SULṬĀN, daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent Mihr-i Māh (sometimes also written Mihr u māh cf Karačelebi-zāde, *Rawdat ul-Ebrār*, p 458) was the only daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent [q v, as well as F Babinger, in *Meister der Politik*, ii², Berlin 1923, p 39—63] While still quite young she was married to the grand vizier Rustem Pasha (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 81 *sq*) in the beginning of December 1539 (cf J H Mordtmann, in *M S O S*, Year xxxii, Part 2, p 37), but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one She used her enormous wealth — St Gerlach in 1576 estimated her daily income at not less than 2,000 ducats (cf *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt 1674, p 266) — for many pious endowments Among these the most important were the two mosques built by her, one in Stambul at the Adrianople gate (*Edirne Kapusu Djāmiʿi*, cf Ewliyā, *Seyāhet nāme*, i 165, Hāfiz Husein, *Hadikat al Djawāmiʿ*, i 24 and J v Hammer, *G O R*, ix 50, N° 1) and the other (*Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān Djāmiʿi*, cf Ewliyā, *op cit*, i 472 *sq*, Hāfiz Husein, *op cit*, ii 186 and J v Hammer, *G O R*, ix 128, N° 741) near the landing-stage in Scutari The second was the work of the great architect Sinān [q v] who built it in 954 (1547) and also erected a palace for Mihr-i Māh in Scutari near this mosque After her husband's death (July 8, 1561) Mihr-i Māh Sultān intervened in political matters on several occasions, for example she continually urged upon her father that the conquest of Malta should be one of the main undertakings of the Holy War and offered to equip 400 galleys for this campaign at her own expense She was still alive at the reconciliation with her brother Selīm and his accession The correct date of her death, Jan 25, 1578 is given only by Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, p 449, the date in Karačelebi-zāde, *op cit*, p 458, namely Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 984 (Jan 20—Feb 18, 1577), is a whole year out She was buried beside her father in his *turbe* (tomb mosque) in Stambul From her marriage with Rustem Pasha two sons and a daughter ʿĀ'isha Khanum were born, the latter married the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha

Bibliography In addition to the references in the text, cf Mehemmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i 83, J v Hammer, *G O R*, iii 393, 425 and pass, a description of the circumcision festivals of her sons Djihāngīr and Bāyazīd is given in the Turkish MS, N° 34, fol 43a *sqq* in the Pruss State Library (cf W Pertsch, *Verzeichnis*, 66) (Fr Babinger)

MIHRĀB (see also MASDJID I, D, c) Derivation of the niche The mihrāb niche has been given a twofold origin by Orientalists and historians of art from the Christian apsis and the Buddhist niche "Tout ce qui reste de la basilique dans le sanctuaire de la mosquée c'est la qibla, sorte d'abside atrophie" says M v Berchem in his *Notes d'archeologie arabe* (*J A*, vol xvii, 1891, p 427) The introduction of the niche mihrāb into the mosque is no doubt rightly ascribed to the Omaiyads, who were the first to build mosques of any size, under the influence of the Christian architecture of their lands The simple Arabian and Persian village mosques have no niches even at the present day According to tradition, Walīd I, when he visited the mosque built for him with the help of Byzantine masons in Medīna, was reproached with having built the mosque in the style of Christian churches (Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, *Abh G W Gott*, ix, 1861) When ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his Syrian buildings had the kibla made in the form of a niche, he provoked the opposition and anger of the zealots on account of the similarity which was thus produced between the mosques and churches H Lammens has collected a number of references, in which the mihrāb is roundly asserted to be copied from the Christians and to have become naturalised only with difficulty and not till the second century (*Ziyād*, p 94, note 1 quoted by C H Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, *Islamstudien*, p 493) Perhaps the custom of placing several niches in the kibla wall of large mosques was also a gesture against the appearance of imitating the Christian custom On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the semicircular niche was one of the most widely disseminated forms of ornament in Mediterranean architecture and its adoption was much more natural than an imitation of the much larger Christian apsis The derivation of the mihrāb from the Buddhist or Hindu niche for idols has as much or as little in its favour as the other For it was only exceptionally that the Indian idol stood in a niche, but regularly it was in a separate quadrangular cell The separate phenomenon of the eastern polygonal mihrāb developed by the Turkish peoples, which was brought by the Seldjūks and other Turkish peoples to Asia Minor and is found in Mesopotamia from the end of the xiiith century can only be explained satisfactorily as a deliberate creation of its makers As the heart of the house of worship, the mihrāb forms the culminating point in the equipment of the mosque, and as the carrier of the varied forms of decoration and continually changing systems of Muslim decorative art through the centuries is of considerable importance in the history of art As a barometer of culture and art the mihrāb, if properly read, shows the prevailing tendency of art and its changes as a result of social changes The writing of its history is a task for the future and it can only be outlined here

History The kibla was originally indicated not by a niche but by some mark such as a strip of paint or a flat stone marked in some way. Ac-

cording to Abū Huraira, it was introduced into the first mosque of the Prophet in Medina "Instead of a miḥrâb or prayer niche a block of stone directed the congregation, at first it was placed against the northern wall of the mosque and it was removed to the southern when Mecca became the Kiblah" (R F Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, 1874, II 72) The oldest mosque of ʿAmr in Fustāt of 21 (642) had no niche, but the kibla, accurately calculated, was marked (Corbett, *JRAS*, 1890, p 757–800) The Arabian use of slabs to indicate the kibla instead of a niche survived, alongside of the miḥrāb and in spite of it, for several centuries within and without Arabia The mosques in Arabia proper are still unknown and only a few buildings on the borders enable us to draw some conclusions The ruins of the xith—xiith century on Bahrain (Diez, *Eine shiitische Moscheeruine auf der Insel Bahrein*, *Jahrb d asiat Kunst*, 1925, II Halbband) and the mosque of Kisimkazi on Zanzibar (*JRAS*, 1922, pl III) show examples of a type later well known Such slabs of stone or stucco were frequently built into the front pillars of the harām down to the xiiith century to indicate the kibla They are to be found in Mōsul (Herzfeld, *Arch Reise*, II 277, 280) and they would certainly have been found in Baghdād for example had the old mosques survived there They gave the caliph and his representatives the opportunity, so limited in Islām, of perpetuating their names and boasting themselves helpers of Islām by presenting such flat miḥrābs Examples are the richly ornamented stucco slab presented by the vizier al-Afdal in the name of the Caliph al Mustansir (485 = 1092) to the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn and its counterpart ordered by Sultān Lādjin (696—698 = 1296—1298) (illustr in F Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar Moschee*, 1912, pl XVI) When Muslim architecture is deliberately developed on a grand scale however we find the miḥrāb in the viiith century as a semicircular shell shaped niche flanked by pillars, and this is the form that has survived essentially with local variations to the present day

Mesopotamia The oldest example here is the miḥrāb of the Djāmiʿ al-Khāssakī in Baghdād It consists of a single marble block 5′ 4″ inches high and 3′ 1″ broad with a semi-circular niche in it 12′ deep The columns have spiral grooves in them and Corinthian-like capitals upon which the horseshoe shaped shell is directly placed without an abacus The niche, otherwise smooth, has in the central axis a perpendicular strip of ornament as its sole decoration, which is quite devoid of any structural function and is quite in the textile-like style of later Islamic decoration Herzfeld supposes that this miḥrāb was brought by water about 145 A H for the newly founded Baghdād from North Syria or Diyār Bakr and suggests for this and similar miḥrābs of Northern Mesopotamia, the similar niches in Christian churches as models (*Isl*, I 35 *sqq*) The Khāssakī type of miḥrāb is found again in the walls of Āmid, which were built in 297 (910) by al-Muḳtadir (M v Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien* etc, coll by Frh von Oppenheim, De Beylie, *Prome et Samarra*, fig 42, v Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida*, fig 12, 292, pl III *sq*) The change to the pointed arch however took place here probably by the tenth century, certainly in the xiith A D Instead of the semicircular we find also flat niches cut out in the form of a rectangle e g in the tomb of a holy man in Abū Huraira (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch Reise*, I 133 *sq*) The use of stucco, which is so easily worked, hastened the development of the form of the niche in the xiiith century In the mausoleum of the Forty Faithful (al-Arbaʿīn) in Takrīt there is a stucco miḥrab of 660 (1261—62) with a stepped arch in profile The tomb of Zainab in Sindjār of about 657 (1288) contains a richly decorated stucco miḥrāb completely covered with ornaments and scrolls (*Arch Reise*, p 308 *sq*, pl IV) This wealth of decoration may in turn have reacted on the niches of stone, as the rich miḥrāb of the great mosque of 543 (1148) and other niches in Mōsul show (*Arch R*, pl V XCI XCIII) In contrast to Persia, stone remained the usual material here We now find twisted little pillars with vase bases and vase capitals, zigzag arches and richly fluted bands with plumed fulcations (miḥrāb of Badr al-Dīn in Mōsul) The Hellenistic mussel-shell, so far as it still survives, lost its naturalism by turning the sphincteral structure into ornament The rectangular frame of the arch of the niche completed the adaptation of an originally Hellenistic type to the oriental spirit of architecture In the vacant field below the conch we here frequently have a mussel shell carved in relief We find variations like the flat rectangular niches with the base of the couch protruding as in the Djāmiʿ al ʿOmarīya (*Arch R*, pl CXXXV) When however we find in Pandjah ʿAlī in Mōsul in 686 (1287) i e under the Ilkhān Arghūn, a polygonal miḥrāb with stalactite canopy, we have apparently eastern, Seldjūk influence, which produced the abstract stereometric crystallisation of the details and general form Their seeming structural function is taken from the flanking pillars by direct continuation around the arch Finally we may mention the occurrence of corner miḥrābs in Mesopotamia when the kibla demanded it and it was not possible to orient the whole building properly Such exceptions were confined to sepulchral domes (Mashhad Imām ʿAwn al-Dīn in Mōsul cf Herzfeld, *Arch R*, pl CXXXV)

Syria The Mosque of the Omaiyads in Damascus has twelve miḥrābs in all (cf the plan by A Dickie, supplemented by C Watzinger and K Wulzinger, *Damaskus, Die islamische Stadt*) If systematically studied, they would probably give a conspectus of the development of the miḥrāb in Syria Only the principal miḥrāb appears, at least in its architectonic development, if not in its embellishment to go back to the time of the foundation of the mosque The other niches were put up mainly in the xivth century and later (*J A*, 1890, ser VII, p 185) The two favourite styles of decorating the walls in use among Byzantine workmen under Walid were *opus sectile* and glass mosaic They must have been used almost exclusively for the early mosques along with carved mouldings The description by Ibn Djubair, who visited the mosque in 580 (1184) i e not till after the first great fire of 461 (1069), gives us an idea of the miḥrāb as it then was, probably still predominantly Omaiyad The miḥrāb wall was covered with marble slabs, the arch of the niche had inscriptions in gilt letters on a blue ground, probably in mosaic, and had a quadrangular frame The wedges between arch and frame were decorated with the famous "vineyard of Walid", as we may safely assume, in mosaic The vaulting of the niche was probably adorned in the same way The frame

of the mihrāb was crowned by a miniature arcading, a motive which with others was taken to Spain (see below) and above this the wall was adorned with views of celebrated towns and trees in mosaic, the Kaʿba in the centre Remains of these mosaics still survive and the mosaics discovered a few years ago in the mosque by the French give us an idea of the splendour of their colouring The mihrāb destroyed in the fire of 1893 had a miniature arcading (illustr in Saladin, *Manuel*, fig 35), it had also an arch encircling it above, which also suggests an Omaiyad origin (According to Marçais, *La mosquee d'el Walîd à Damas et son influence sur l'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, *R A*, I., where the dependence of the mosque of Cordova on that of Damascus is discussed, in Damascus all arches were originally horseshoe-shaped — and as in the rebuilding — arranged in two stories as we see from old descriptions) Of the mihrāb of the Djamiʿ al-Aksā we know that it was covered with marble in 583 (1187) by order of Saladin It has a wide niche formed of segments, with a pointed arch The two sets of pillars with acanthus capitals are earlier than Saladin (Saladin, *op cit*, fig 28) Le Bon mentions two peculiar mihrāb niches in the transept of the mosque (*La civilisation arabe*, p 148 and fig 68) Under the Aiyūbids the use of interlacing patterns in stone was popular in Northern Syrian architecture They are sometimes rectilinear, sometimes rounded interlacings of textile origin which were used on the fronts of doors and prayer niches either in profile or as bands of stone in alternating colours The decoration of the mihrāb thus received a remarkable stimulus, as the prayer niches of the Madrasa al-Sultānīya and the Djāmiʿ and Madrasa al Firdaws of 633 (1235), both in Aleppo, and the mihrāb restored by Baibars of the Kubbat al-Silsile in Jerusalem, shew (picture in Creswell, *The Works of Sultan Baibars*, *B I F A O*, pl xxvi, pl 28, 29) Another peculiarity of the Syrian mihrāb is the occasionally found adornment of the vaulting of the niche with — it is true very rounded — views of buildings and trees in opus sectile, as an example of which we may take the mihrāb of the great mosque of Tripoli founded in 693 (1294) (pict in *M I F A O*, vol xxv 1909, pl 5) The later Syrian mihrābs continued the traditional encrusting with different coloured marbles to which Turkish influence added the stalactitic conch

Egypt The principal mihrāb of the oldest mosque that has survived in Cairo, the mosque of Ahmad b Tulūn, is thought to be the original one in its general structure The mosaic frieze with inscription at the level of the capitals and the marble covering below belong either to the restoration by Kalāʾūn or more probably to that of Lādjīn Thus a type was created in Cairo in the middle of the third century which is characterised by the double stepping of the niche with two pillars on each side, in this case taken from old Christian buildings and by the stilted pointed arch and rectangular frame, this form became the Egyptian model In place of the Mesopotamian conch, the top of the niche was smooth and probably, as in Kairawān, painted The narrow top continued through the Fāṭimid period while the double recess of the niche with pillars gives all later Cairene miḥrābs their character A stucco mihrāb of the fourth (tenth) century, only the upper third of which has survived in its original form, of which there is a copy in the Arab Museum, had the same structure with two pairs of pillars The conch was imposed later (Flury, *Ein Stuckmihrâb des IV (X) Jahrhunderts*, *Sarre-Festschrift*, 1925, *Jhb d as K*) The stucco mihrāb of the sepulchral mosque of Diiyūshī on the Mukattam in Cairo, a century later (478 = 1085) and particularly richly decorated, has a similar niche with a high pointed top (pict in Flury, *Ornamente loc cit*, pl. xvii, Springer, *Hdbch d Kg*, vi, fig 400) It is to be assumed that the original mihrābs of the Fātimid mosques of Hākim and al Azhar also belonged to this group The al-Akmar mosque, completed in 519 (1125) introduced a new motif in its façade, which was much imitated in Cairo, the placing of a row of ribs like the corrugation of a shell along the top of the niche The stucco mihrāb already mentioned, a copy of which is in the Arab Museum, must have been embellished about this time by a mussel shell The mihrāb in the sepulchral chapel of Shadjarat al-Durr [q v] the widow of Sultān Sālih Nadjm al Dīn Aiyūb of c 648 = 1250 (fig in R L Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques*, London 1921, p 32) shows this fashion in a much more decided and more advanced mugharnasised stage Such variations were however the exception On the other hand the stucco mihrāb survived down to the Mamlūk period Creswell, for example, ascribes the stucco mihrāb on the outside of the north wall of the mosque of ʿAmr, rebuilt by Sultān Baibars, to the time of Baibars on grounds of style (658—676 = 1260—1277) (*The Works of Sultan Baibars*, *B I F A O*, xxvi 1926) The splendour of the exceedingly thick stucco ornamentation in relief is here increased by the *mugharnat* in the miniature arcading of the upper part of the niche Stucco decoration thus reached its last effective possibilities With the Mongol invasion of Syria, Syrian influence on Egyptian art was renewed (Cairo also benefited by the taking of Mōsul by the Mongols in 653 = 1255 and the resultant migration of the celebrated coppersmiths of Mōsul to Cairo, where from this time on the art of the metal-worker flourished, cf Creswell, *op cit*, p 182) Syrian influence also brought the Syrian mihrāb overlaid with marble slabs and stone mosaic to Egypt, where it drove out the other types and became predominant The oldest prayer niches of this new kind appear in the buildings of Kalāʾūn at the end of the viith (xiiith) century The flanking double pillars give them their Gothic grace and elevation The arches are usually composed of alternating coloured wedge shaped stones serrated in various ways The walls of the niches are decorated with mosaic in geometric patterns between miniature arcading and the conch vaulting overlaid with light and dark strips of colour alternating (often zigzag) Exceptionally we also find glass mosaic, as in the masdjid of the Mūristān of Kalāʾūn Under the late rulers of the Circassian Mamlūks the decoration of the niche reached its height The inlaying was done with all kinds of costly materials such as mother-of-pearl, turquoise, agates, ivory (Madrasa of Abū Bakr b Muzhir and al Ghūrī cf Briggs, *Muh Arch*, fig 119 and 127)

A small group by itself is formed by the three portable mihrābs of the vith (xiith) century from al-Azhar, Saiyida Rukaiya and Saiyida Nafīsa which are now preserved in the Arab Museum

Maghrib The history of the miḥrāb in the

western lands of Islām begins with the prayer niche in the great mosque of Ḳairawān It was not the direct model for the later miḥrābs — this was reserved for the portal of the library of this mosque — but with its wide semi-circular niche and the slightly rounded but still pointed arch it forms the transition to the western form of miḥrāb The pillars of mottled red and yellow stone rest on late antique bases and support pseudo-Byzantine porphyry capitals the abacuses of which are decorated with Kūfic inscriptions The wall of the niche is covered with marble slabs, some perforated, some carved in relief, the frames of which also bear inscriptions Behind is a recess The vaulting of the niche still shows traces of having been painted with vine tendrils arranged in circular patterns, which remind one of Mshattā (pictures in G Marçais, *Coupole et plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, 1925, pl viii) The frieze separating the recess and the vaulting of the niche, and the surrounding walls are covered with the famous lustre tiles made, some in Baghdād and some by a Baghdād artist in Tunis, and presented in 281 (844) by Ibrāhīm b Aghlab This remarkable miḥrāb of the early period, when Islām was still in search of a style, thus combines all that the empire could produce in decoration, sculpture, painting, both richly brightened by gold and shining tiles The fully developed western style is found a century later in the miḥrāb of the Mezquita in Cordoba This miḥrāb, built by Ḥākim II about 970, consists of an isolated heptagonal space 12 feet broad and 23 to 26 feet high One side is formed by the wall containing the door The floor and walls are covered with rectangular pieces of white marble, above are a frieze of inscriptions and the cornice, on which a richly carved niche wall with clover leaf arch on marble pillars with gilt capitals forms the upper part, which again terminates in an inscribed frieze and is covered by a single piece of marble in the shape of a mussel shell In the inscription on the outer wall the artist is mentioned "the work of Badr b. al-Khaiyān" The historically important part here is the entrance wall to this chamber, which consists of a horseshoe-arch gateway with rectangular frames and miniature arcading at the top This form of wall, which now becomes typical for miḥrābs and portal walls in most lands of the Maghrib and shows its own course of development, has been traced to the portal wall of the library of the great mosque in Kairawān as the earliest model, or both go back to a common Syrian original (cf Marçais, *Manuel*, i 264 *sq*) In Cordoba we meet with a special shape of the miḥrāb recess, the origin of which is doubtless different from that of the niche and goes back to an original with special functions connected with the cult of relics and of the dead According to tradition, a relic of the Prophet was actually preserved in this space and the believers used to pay reverence to it in a sevenfold circumambulation A quite singular, similar, isolated miḥrāb is found in the madrasa in Khargird, Khurāsān (cf MASDJID and below PERSIA) (Whether here we have the influence of the *pradakshina* of the Indian cult of relics cannot be settled The circumambulation of altars, tombs of saints, and other sacred objects was of course a widespread custom in northern lands also) Horseshoe-arches, multiple rectangular border and miniature arcade are the typical elements of the henceforth canonical miḥrāb wall The wedge-shaped stones of the horse-shoe arch are not serrated in complicated fashion, as in Egypt and Syria, but usually alternate in colour and are all smooth, as in Cordoba, or alternately smooth and carved in relief In Cordoba the spandrils are still filled with palm-branches and acanthus-like tendrils in relief and the two borders decorated with Kūfic inscriptions (cf R Amador de los Rios, *Inscriptiones arabes de Cordoba*, Madrid 1892) The niches of the miniature arcading with clover-leaf arches are covered with mosaic (pict in E Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst K d O*, pl 13, 14) The wall of the pentagonal miḥrāb niche in the great mosque of Tlemsen of about 1135 A D is similarly formed (pict in Kühnel, *op cit*, pl 24) But we already find here in the spandrils the isolated rosettes which first appear on the miḥrāb of the Aljaferia in Saragossa of the second half of the eleventh century (pict in Marçais, *Manuel*, fig 215) The miḥrāb wall of the Almohad mosque in Tinmāl in the Atlas (1153 A D shows, instead of the tendrils, a woven pattern such as is often found on carpets (pict in Marçais, *op cit*, fig 216), and in place of the miniature arcading we have round arched windows alternating with flat niches A divergence from the canonical type is found in the miḥrāb of the mosque in Tozeur built in 590 (1194) in the oasis of Djerid (pict in Marçais, *op cit*, fig 218) It has a double arch and profuse ornamentation, on the wall of the niche also Marçais explains the divergence by saying that the mosque was built by a conqueror of Almoravid descent in the Almohad period by workmen from Andalus The niche bears the stamp of hurried improvisation The miḥrāb here reproduced, in the Sīdī Okba mosque in the Siban oasis at Biskra which is considered the oldest mosque in Algeria, may be regarded as an example more in the popular tradition, therefore particularly interesting The date is unknown The decoration belongs to the field of *Kleinkunst* Under the dynasties which succeeded the Almohads from the xiii—xvi th century the Cordoba type remains the model in principle Only the proportions are more slender, the horseshoe arches more elegant and, instead of the miniature arcading, windows with coloured glass in a stucco framework have become naturalised The isolated miḥrāb chambers have given place to semicircular or polygonal niches Examples are the *mahārib* of the mosques in Taza, Sīdī bel Hasan and al-ʿUbād in and near Tlemsen, in Fās and the Hamrā of Granada, the latter covered with mosaic (pict. in Marçais, *op cit*, fig 336—338 and P Ricard, pl x, xi) In Tunis of the xv—xviii th century also the miḥrāb with flat round niche and horseshoe arch of alternately coloured and ornamented stones and rectangular frame continued to predominate The plinths are regularly covered with marble or tiles, while the niche vaultings are fluted like a mussel shell

Persia, Turkestan, Afghānistān The two earliest prayer niches in Persia, so far as is kown, are in the mosque at Nāyin, east of Isfahān, of the ix—x th century A D (Viollet and Flury in *Syria*, 1921, pl xxx and S Flury, in *Syria*, 1930) and in the *Iwān* at Khargird, Khurāsān, of the xi—xii th century (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, pl 30)

In spite of their different ornamentation, these

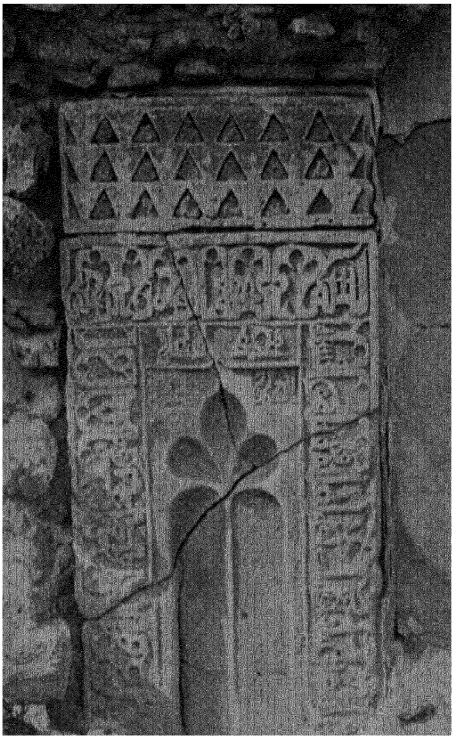


Fig. 1 Miḥrāb of a Mosque in Baḥrain.

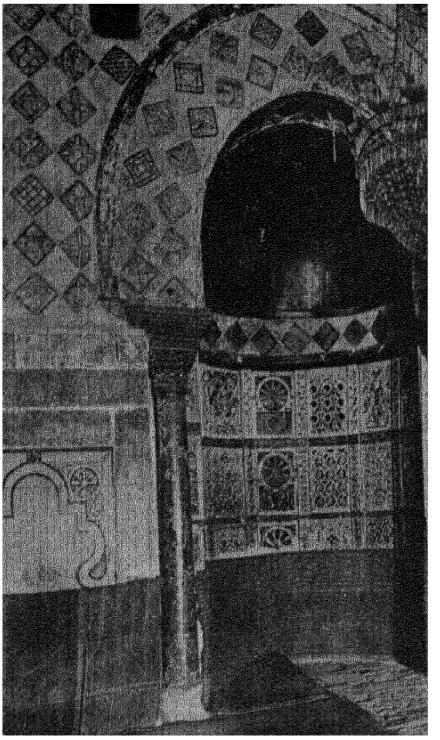


Fig. 2. Miḥrāb of the Sīdī-ʿUḳba Mosque in Ḳairav

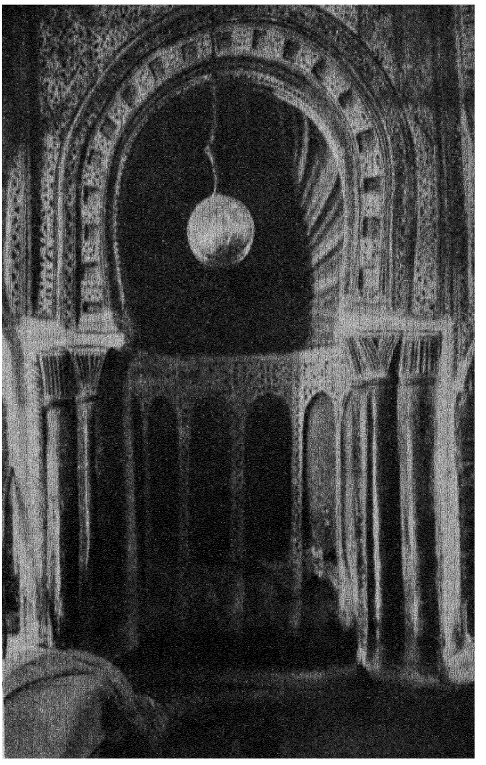
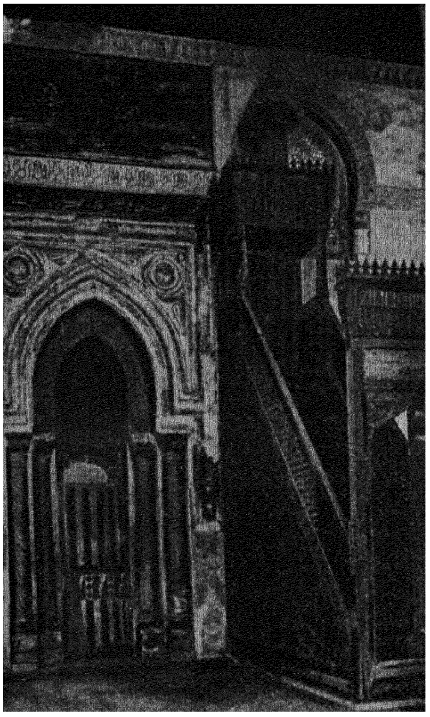


Fig. 3. Miḥrāb of the Mosque in Sīdī ʿUḳba
(Ziban oasis, Algeria).



g. 4. Miḥrab of the Aḥmed b. Ṭūlūn Mosque in Cairo.

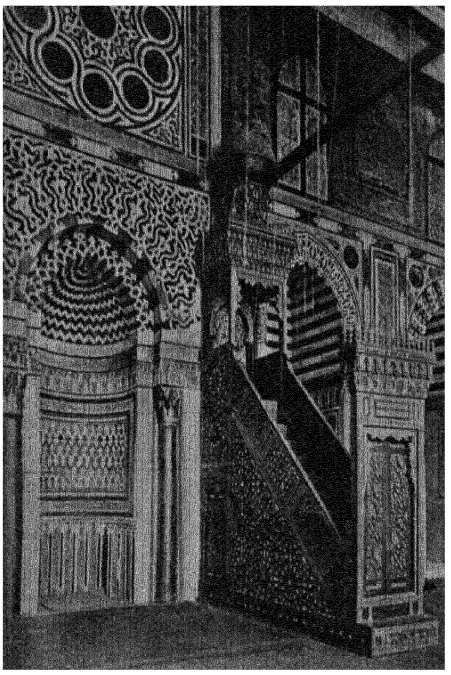


Fig. 5. Miḥrāb of the Mu'aiyad Mosque in Cairo.

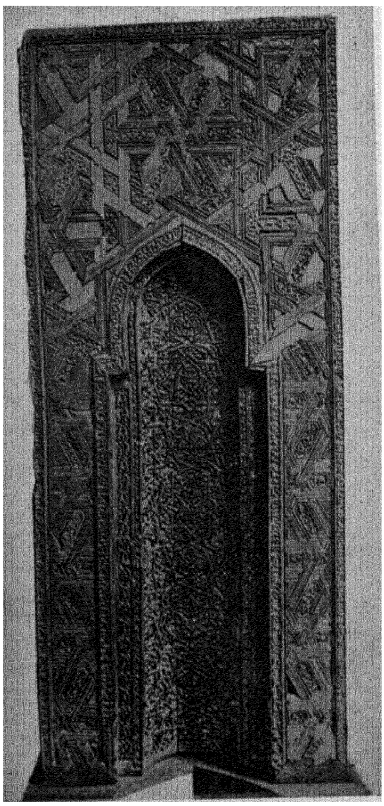


Fig. 6. Wooden miḥrāb from the Saiyida Nafîsa Mosque in Cairo (Arab Museum).

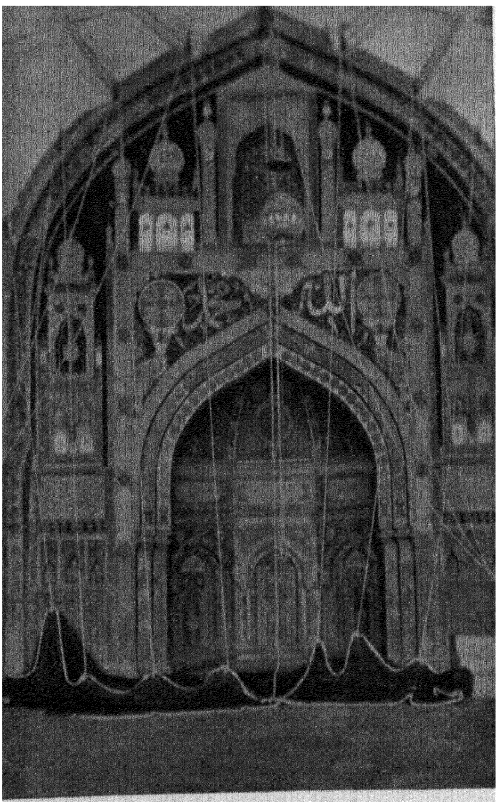


Fig. 7. Miḥrāb from Bîḍjāpūr (1636 A. D.).

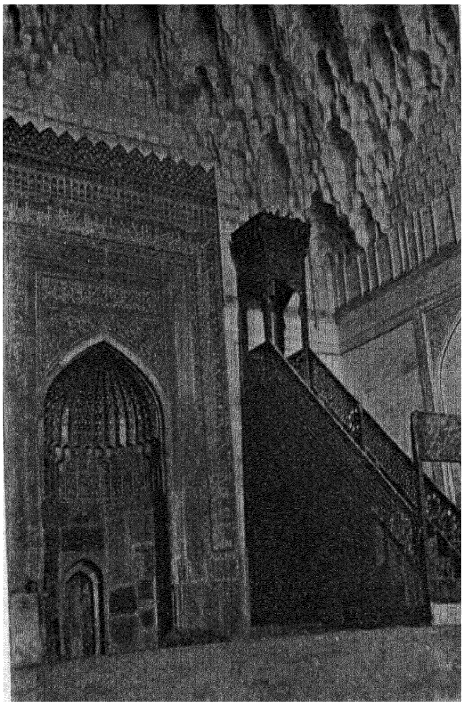


Fig. 8. Miḥrāb of the Djawhār Shād Mosque in Meshhed.

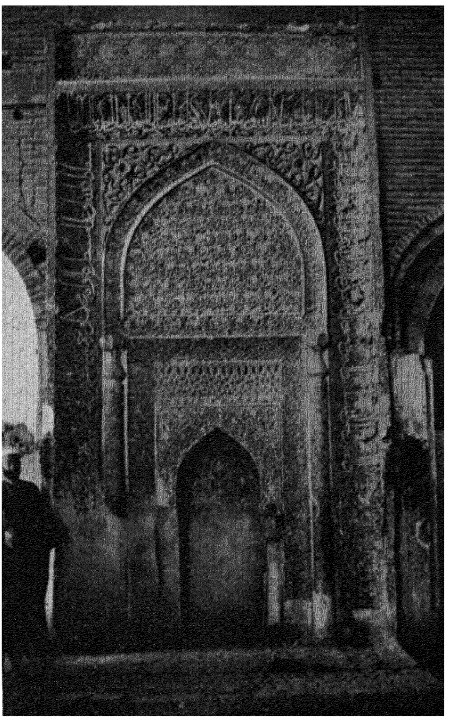


Fig. 9. Miḥrāb of the Uldjaitu Khudābanda Mosque in Iṣfahān (1310 A. D.).

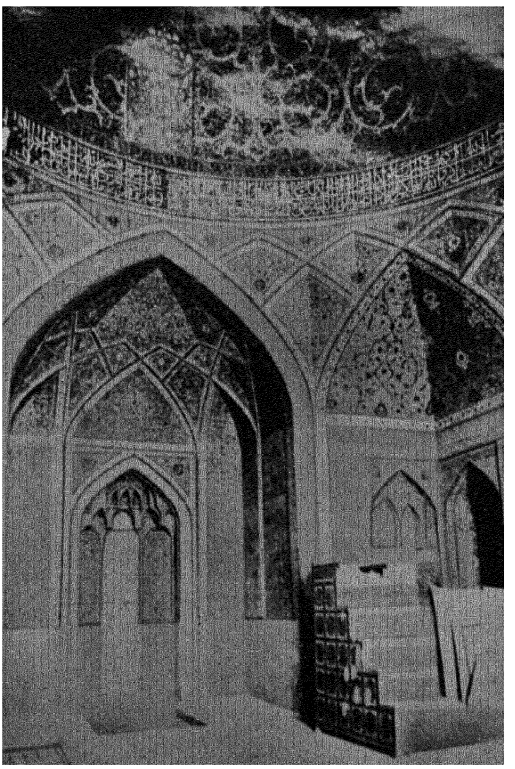


Fig. 11. Miḥrāb of a Mosque in Iṣfahān (xviiith century A. D.).

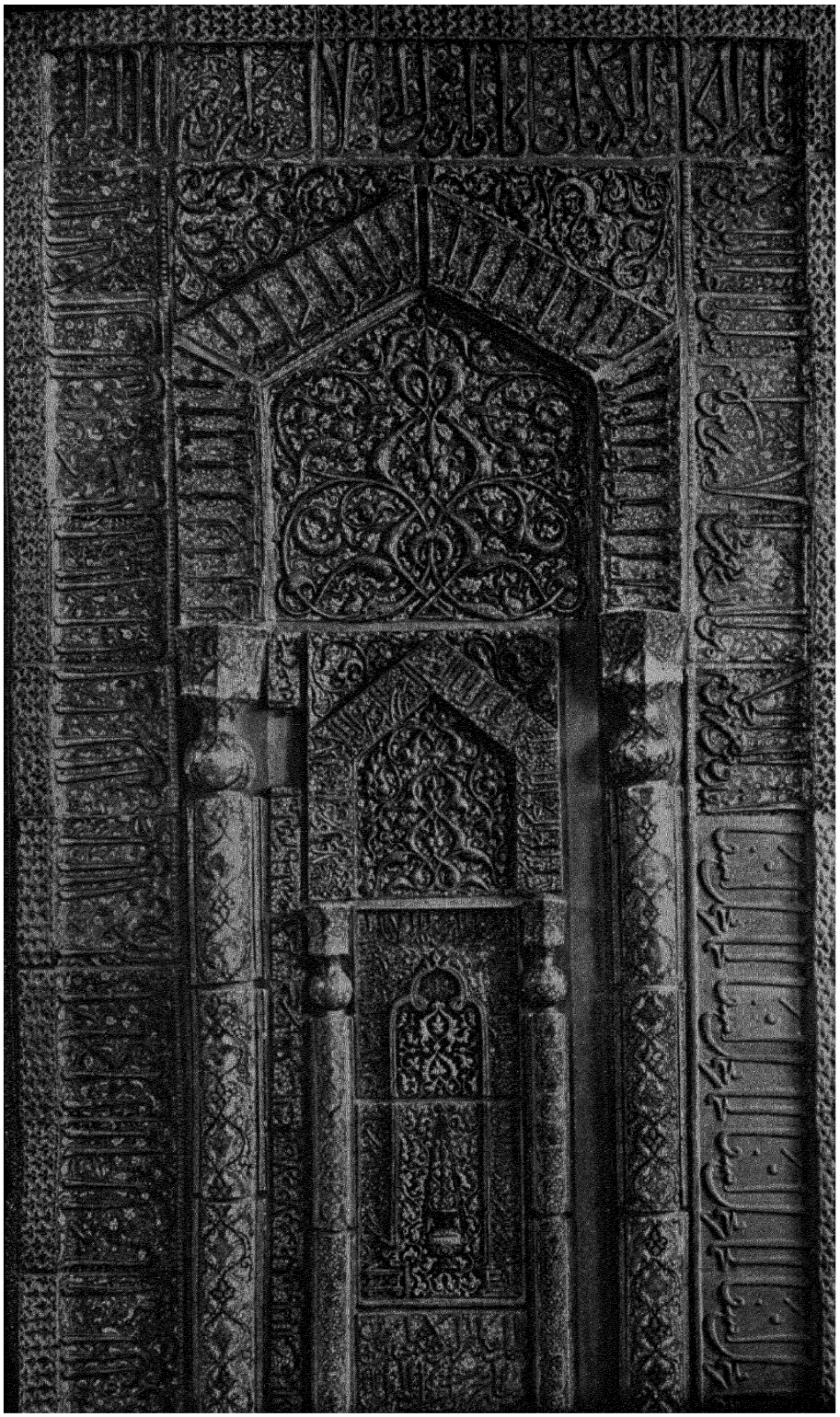


Fig. 10. Persian frieze with lustre decoration.

two stucco miḥrābs are very similar Both are rectangular niches flanked by inset $^3/_4$ pillars with leaf capitals, with pointed conches diagonally set and thickly decorated with tendrils in a rectangular frame The back wall under the conch presents a repetition of the architecture of the niche so that we have a niche in a niche In Persia therefore, if Flury is right in his early dating, perhaps as early as the third (ninth) century, a rich double framed style of miḥrāb had been developed, which lasted down to the xivth century, as is shown by the next surviving monument of this group, the stucco miḥrāb in the Masdjid-i Djum^{c}a in Isfahān of 710 (1310) (Diez, *K d Isl Volker*, p 109, 2nd ed , p 85) In the interval however the decoration, at first purely floral, had become mainly epigraphic, a transition that can be followed step by step from the xith century The stucco miḥrāb of the mosque of Djuyūshi on the Mukattam in Cairo of 478 (1085) is also of importance for this sequence of development (pict in Flury, *Ornamente* etc , pl xvii)

But in Persia a second type developed alongside of the stucco miḥrāb, the miḥrāb decorated with lustre faience, with which this part of the decoration of the mosque and with it Persian faience reached its zenith The lustre miḥrāb of Kāshān of 624 (1226) in Berlin (pict in Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi 438) and a similar niche from Warāmīn in the possession of the firm of Kelekian (*Cat of the Exhib of Persian Art*, London 1931) may be quoted as examples These miḥrabs show the same double niches as their stucco counterparts but are flatter, more framework than niche In place of the curved arch, the canopy is a rectilinear gable, a change in shape probably mainly due to the material The colours are predominantly a light blue ground with letters in dark blue relief and decorations in brown lustre By the combined effect of the colours and the profuse ornamentation, these miḥrābs have a truly fairylike suggestion and reach the highest ideal of Islāmic decorative art The miḥrāb assumed a new form in the Timūrid period Instead of the semi-circular or flat rectangular niche we now find under Turkish influence the polygonal — pentagon constructed out of an octagon — of larger dimensions than previously, broader and deeper The ornamentation proceeds parallel with the usual Timūrid wall decoration In the same way the plinth is covered breast high with polygonal tiles and the walls above usually with flat miniature arcading, which pass into vaulted mugharnat painted or covered with tiles Finally the frames and the scrolls of inscription filling them are frequently inlaid with that finely executed tile-mosaic which forms the glory of Timūrid architectural ornament As examples may be mentioned the miḥrābs in the praying chambers of the madrasa in Khargird (Diez, *Chur Baudenkmäler*, pl 33, 1), the miḥrāb of Ziyāret Abī Walīd near Herāt (Niedermayer Diez, *Afghanistan*, fig 174), the splendid prayer niche in the mosque of Djawhar-Zāde in Mashhad (Diez, *K d isl Volker*, v fig 146 and 108) all of the ixth (xvth) century The miḥrāb in the splendid medrese in Herāt, now destroyed, must have been similar to that in Meshhed, here reproduced, having been founded by the same princess and probably built by the same architect (cf above iii p 387^{b}) In the Ṣafawid period, we find alongside of miḥrābs with mosaic and mugharnat also painted niches, which show intertwining tendrils standing out in white from a brick red ground Miḥrābs like this are to be seen in the ruins of the Musallā outside Isfahān and in Reshhār, Khurāsān (fig Diez, *Chur Baudenkmaler*, pl 22, 3) They seem to have been very widely disseminated. It may be mentioned in conclusion that in place of a prayer niche in the *Kibla-iwān* of the Timūrid madrasa in Khargird, there is a rectangular windowless chamber, accessible by a doorway through the *iwān* The similarity with the miḥrāb chambers frequently found in the Maghrib is remarkable and is discussed under Spain

India No mosques earlier than the xiiith century have survived in India In the mosques of the xiiith—xvith centuries the prayer niches are built in Indian fashion, that is to say flanked by decorated Indian pillars and adorned with Indian ornamentation The gable-shaped panels over the niches are particularly ornamental The wall of the niches is usually adorned in relief with a lotus rosette and a pendant vase out of which grow tendrils Numerous niches of this kind are to be found in mosques of Gudjarat and Ahmadābād of the xivth—xvith centuries An Indian peculiarity is the placing of three to five, sometimes even seven miḥrābs in the kibla wall in keeping with the architectonic units of the main building, each marked by a dome (Djāmi^{c} Masdjid in Bharoch, and Champanir, Gudjarat etc) There are also mosques with miḥrāb chambers, which we can assume with Havell to be adaptations of the former cells for idols (Dholka, Gudjarat, Khans Masdjid and Ahmadābād) It is therefore not impossible that isolated miḥrāb chambers outside of India, as in Khargird, Persia, or even in the Maghrib, should be traced to Indian influence, although this feature is not found in the earliest mosques in Adjmīr and Dehli In Gudjarat however these chambers might have been used as miḥrābs in the oldest mosques and provinces with a sea coast and international trade may have had influence abroad (cf *Arch Survey of India, Western India*, vol vi , vii , Gudjarat, Ahmadābād) When Persian influence began to be felt under the Moghul emperors, the Indian elements gradually disappeared from the miḥrābs and their place was taken by the polygonal niche in the wall incrusted with coloured marble Under Akbar Indian detail still survived The arches of the miḥrāb of the great mosque in Fathpur Sikrī, for example, are edged with a lacework of carved palmette friezes, the material is stone but the inlay work imitates the Persian tiled miḥrābs (pict in V A Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India* and Diez, *K d isl Volker* p 229 and p 141) In the court mosques of Agra and Dehli we find dazzling white marble miḥrābs with coloured intarsia of flowers The most splendid miḥrāb in India and indeed in all the lands of Islām is the niche of the Friday mosque in Bidjāpūr, the former capital of the ^{c}Ādil Shāhs in the Dekhan The only rival that it can ever have had is Walīd's miḥrāb in Damascus Framed by a gigantic arch resting on double pillars, the pentagonal niche recess constructed out of an octagon goes deep into the wall on whose surfaces the motif of the niche is three times repeated The central of the three niche areas is mystically marked by a gilt eight-pointed star as the real ḳibla In gigantic letters of gold the two sacred names Allāh and Muhammad in the spandrils of the arch impress themselves on the hearts of the worshipper, and chime in

afresh in the drumshaped flanking pillars, which in Bīdjāpūr decoration are frequently used as conventional ornament but are here of structural importance Manāras and sepulchral domes crown the structure and their principal motive is again a niche in the centre This imposing decoration is carried out in shallow relief and is painted with red, blue and black colours heightened with gold In the rectangular fields on both sides and in the arches are inscriptions on bands and in medallions of which we give Cousens translation of one because it sums up Muslim philosophy in a nutshell

"Place no trust in life it is but brief"
"There is no rest in this transitory world"
"The world is very pleasing to the senses"
"Life is the best of all gifts but it is not lasting"
"Malik Ya'kūb, a servant of the mosque and the slave of Sultān Muhammad, completed the mosque"
"This gilding and ornamental work was done by order of the Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, 1045" (1636 A D)

Asia Minor, Armenia and Turkey The mihrāb took a development quite of its own among the Seldjūks of Rūm Instead of the descendant of the high, Hellenistic round niche, we find here a prayer niche which rather resembles a hearth and is probably to be explained as an adaptation of the prayer carpet to this form of building The appearance of these niches, which are thus of no structural significance, is however made up for by their stereometrically crystallised cone-shaped vaulting formed of cells The Turkish art of the Seldjūks brought as its dowry to the art of the Muslim world the Mugharnat, the suggestion of which, it in turn owed to Buddhist art, for the Seldjūks came from Central Asia where Buddhist art had long prevailed During the short period of Seldjūk architecture in Asia Minor, the xiiith century, the form of the niches remained unaltered They are low rectangular shallow niches with pillars built in without bases, which bear rhombohedral crystal bodies as capitals and come to a point with the conical cells of the vaulting The spandrils and frames are inlaid with the usual Seldjūk white, blue and black tile mosaic (pict in Loytved, Sarre, Springer-Kuhnel and Diez, *op cit*)

The most important change undergone by this early Turkish mihrāb in Ottoman architecture was the raising of the supporting niche to its full height The niche assumed polygonal form, i e it has three or five surfaces constructed out of the octagon, such as we find in India and Persia from the xvith century, it was however raised higher and looks more slender and regularly ends in a mugharnat cone The decoration consists mainly of marble and Turkish tiles A moulded trinfoil frieze formed the usual framework for the whole The combination of Byzantine and early Turkish elements, the hard forms and a certain rationalism in execution give these mihrābs that cold appearance which is peculiar to Ottoman art

Worthy of mention is the splendid miḥrāb of the Ulū Djāmi' in Wān in the Persian style with mosaics of glazed brick terracotta reliefs and inscriptions, a niche with a mugharnat (xiith—xiiith centuries, pict in Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien*, pl 62)

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MIHRĀN, the name given by Muslim writers to the Indus (Sanskrit *Sindhu*), called by the Greeks Σίνδος and Ἴνδος, by the Romans *Sindus* and *Indus*, and by early Muslim writers *Āb i Sind* (the Water of Sind) The name is more particularly applied to the lower reaches of the river, after it enters Sind Pliny writes of "Indus, incolis Sindus appellatus"

The Indus rises in 32° N and 81° E, receives the Kābul river almost opposite to Ātak, and the Pandjnad, the accumulated waters of the five rivers of the Pandjāb, just above Mithankot Near Kashmor, in 28° 26′ N and 69° 47′ E, the river enters Sind, and below Bakkar is locally known as *Daryā*, "the Sea" It falls into the Arabian Sea in 23° 58′ N and 67° 30′ E Its drainage basin is estimated at 372,700 square miles and its length at a little over 1,800 miles

The courses of the Indus and its tributaries have undergone, even in historical times, extensive changes of which it is impossible to give details in this article, and which have misled historians who have disregarded them They have been minutely and elaborately described in *J A S B*, vol lxi (1892) by the late Major H G Raverty, who has illustrated his scholarly monograph by a series of admirable maps (T W HAIG)

MIHRGĀN [See MIHR]

MIHRĪ KHATUN (originally Mihr-i Māh), an important Turkish poetess of the end of the xvth and beginning of the xvith centuries She belonged to Amasia, which produced a number of poets, and spent her whole life there She was one of the family of Pīr Ilyās Her father was a kāḍī and wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* of Belāī She inherited from him her poetic gifts and also

received from him the poetic and theological training ascribed to her by Ewliyā

Not much is known of her life This is in part to be explained by the reticence of the East regarding women That in the East boys rather than girls are sung of in love songs is due not so much to a preponderancy of paederasty as to a disinclination to talk of women at all She died in 912 (1506) Her tomb in Amasia is a place of pilgrimage She belonged to the literary circle of prince Ahmad, the second son of Sultān Bāyazīd, who was governor of Amasia in 886–918 (1481–1512) Of a circumcision festival in the konak of the prince in 911 (1505), it is recorded that Mihrī was the chief of the poets present

In spite of the love affairs credited to her and sung by her (with Iskender, son of Sinān Pasha, with Mu'aiyad-zāde [born 860 = 1456] and others), the Turkish biographers emphasize besides her beauty her virgin life, in spite of the glowing fervour with which she described her nights of love Her nature was evidently not quite clearly understood by the *tezkeredjī* Contrary to the Oriental custom, Mihrī remained unmarried in spite of many wooers It is not improbable that the experiences described by her are not quite inventions but evidence of her passionate nature which drove her to unfettered love Mihrī's great merit is that she did not suppress her femininity, so that in her poems she reveals a truly womanly soul In this respect, she is the most personal among Turkish poetesses

As a woman she found it doubly difficult, in view of the restrictions on her sex at the time, to win a place as a poet, as the study of the Persian poets was absolutely necessary for this The energy with which she managed to achieve her aim is remarkable Her chief model was Nedjātī (d 914 = 1509), the most important poet of the period, with whom she tried to compete Most of her pieces are written in Nedjātī's manner She is not very original, but very few Turkish poets are In language and in images she is conventional But her freshness, directness and passionate feeling, in which no other poetess equals her, are remarkable Her eloquence and brilliant style were proverbial

She left a *Dīwān* (edition in preparation by Martinovitch) and several treatises in rhyme A number of her poems have been made accessible to us by Smirnow According to Ewliyā's statement (in MSS, not in the printed text), she also composed *risāla*'s on *fikh* and *farā'id*

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MĪKĀL, the archangel Michael [cf MAIKĀ'IKA], whose name occurs once in the Kur'ān, viz in sūra ii 92 "Whosoever is an enemy to Allāh, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel or to Michael, verily Allāh is an enemy to the unbelievers" In explanation of this verse two stories are told According to the first, the Jews, wishing to test the veracity of the mission of Muhammad, asked him several questions, on all of which he gave the true answer Finally they asked him who transmitted the revelations to him When he answered, Gabriel, the Jews declared that this angel was their enemy and the angel of destruction and penury, in opposition to Michael whom they said to be their protector and the angel of fertility and salvation (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, i 324 *sqq*) — According to the second story, °Umar once entered the synagogue (*midrās*) of Madīna and asked the Jews questions concerning Gabriel They gave of that angel as well as of Michael an account similar to the one mentioned above, whereupon °Umar asked What is the position of those two angels with Allāh? They replied Gabriel is to His right and Michael to His left hand, and there is enmity between the two Whereupon °Umar answered If they have that position with Allāh, there can be no enmity between them But you are unbelievers more than asses are, and whosoever is an enemy to one of the two, is an enemy to Allāh Thereupon °Umar went to meet Muhammad, who received him with the words Gabriel has anticipated you by the revelation of "Whosoever is an enemy" etc (sūra ii 92, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, i 327, Zamakhsharī, p 92, Baidāwī *ad* sūra ii 91)

We do not know of any Jewish traditions which ascribe to Gabriel a hostile attitude towards the Jews For the statements regarding Michael as communicated above, there is sufficient literary evidence In Daniel xii 1 Michael is called the great prince, the protector of the people of Israel, cf *Targum Canticum*, viii 9 "Michael, the lord of Israel", Daniel x 13, 21 where Michael is said to have protected the Jews against the kings of Persia and Greece, further 1 Enoch xx 5 where he is called the protector of the best part of mankind, *Testamentum Levi*, xv 6, *Test Dan*, vi 2

In *Vita Adae et Evae*, chap xii *sqq*, it is Michael who orders Satan and the other angels to worship Adam Although the story is mentioned several times in the Kur'ān [cf IBLĪS], there is no trace in Muslim literature of the role ascribed to Michael in *Vita Adae et Evae*, the only mention of Michael in the Muslim legend is that he and Gabriel were the first to worship Adam, in opposition to Iblīs who refused to do so (al Kisā'ī, p 27)

Neither does Muslim literature seem to have preserved other features ascribed to Michael in Jewish Apocrypha (mediator between God and mankind, 1 Enoch xl 9, *Test Dan*, vi 2, 3 Baruch, xl 2), or in the New Testament (Ep Jude, vs 9 Michael disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, Revelation xii 7 *sqq* Michael and his angels

fighting against the dragon and the final discomfiture of the latter) Perhaps a faint recollection of Michael as the protector of mankind (the Jews, the Christians) may be found in the tradition according to which Michael has never laughed since the creation of Hell (Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 224) Further, however, Michael is rarely mentioned in *hadīth* (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalk*, b 7, where he, together with Mālik, the guardian of Hell, and Gabriel, appears to Muhammad in a dream, Nasā'ī, *Iftitāh*, b 37 where Michael incites Gabriel to urge Muhammad to recite the Kur'ān according to seven *ahruf*)

al Ya'kūbī mentions a story of which we have no counterpart in Jewish or Christian literature either, which is not amazing, the story bearing an outspoken Shī'ite tendency One day Allāh announced to Gabriel and Michael that one of them must die Neither however was willing to sacrifice himself in behalf of his partner, whereupon Allāh said to them Take 'Alī as an example, who was willing to give his life on behalf of Muhammad (the night before the *hidjra*, Ya'kūbī, ii 39)

Michael is further mentioned by name as one of the angels who opened the breast of Muhammad before his night journey (Tabarī, ed de Goeje, I, 1157—59, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, ii 36 *sq*), and as one of those who came to the aid of the Muslims in the battle of Badr (Ibn Sa'd, II/1 9, 18)

In the text of the Kur'ān as well as in a verse cited by Tabarī (ed de Goeje, I, 329), the form of the name is Mīkāl as if it were a *mif'āl* form from *wakala* (Horovitz) A direct reminiscence of the Greek, probably also of the Hebrew and Aramaic, forms of the name is to be found in the tradition preserved by al-Kisā'ī (p 12), which calls Mīkhā'īl the attendant of the second heaven, in contradistinction to Mīkā'īl, who is the guardian of the sea in the seventh heaven (p 15) Other forms of the name are Mīka'īl, Mīkā'īl, Mīka'īl, Mīkā'īn and Mikā'īll It is hardly necessary to say that in the magical use of the names of the archangels that of Mīkā'īl is on the same level as that of his companions (e g Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, p 193, 197)

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(A J Wensinck)

MĪḲĀT (A, *mif'āl-form* from *w-k-t*, plural *mawākīt*) appointed or exact time In this sense the term occurs several times in the Kur'ān (sūra ii 185, vii 138, 139, 154, xxvi 37, xliv 40, lvi 50, lxxviii 17)

In *hadīth* and *fikh* the term is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the *haram* are bound to put on the *ihrām* For the latter meaning of the term cf IHRĀM, i

Although some general indications for the times at which some *salāts* are to be performed occur in the Kur'ān (cf sūra ii 239, xi 116, xvii 80, xxiv 29) it may be considered above doubt that during Muhammad's lifetime neither the number of the daily *salāts* nor their exact times had been fixed and that this happened in the first decades after his death

A reminiscence of that period of uncertainty may be preserved in those traditions which apply a deviating nomenclature to some of the *salāts* The *salāt al-zuhr* e g is called *al-hadjīr al-ūlā*, the *salāt al-maghrib*, *'ishā'*, the *salāt al 'isha'*, *'atama*, the *salāt al fadjr*, *ghadāt* (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt al Salāt*, bāb 13, 19) In other traditions the term *al-'atama* as applied to the *salāt al 'isha'* is ascribed to the Beduins and prohibited (Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 228, 229, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 78, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii 10 etc), cf on the other hand Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, bāb 20, Muslim, *Salāt*, trad 129 etc, where the term *'atama* is used without censure

From some traditions so much may be gathered, that the — or at least some of the — Umaiyads showed a predilection for postponing the times of the *salāt* (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 7, Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 166, 167, al-Nasā'ī, *Imāma*, b 18, 55, Zaid b 'Alī, *Madjmū' al-Fikh*, N° 113).

In opposition to this a *salāt* in due time is declared the best of works (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, b 1, *Mawākīt*, b 5, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 138, 139, Tirmidhī, *Salāt*, b 13, *Birr*, b 2) In other traditions this is said of a *salāt* at its earliest time (Tirmidhī, *Salāt*, b 13)

This early state of things is reflected in several respects in a tradition according to which 'Umar b 'Abd al-'Azīz once postponed one of the *salāts* and was rebuked for this by 'Urwa b al Zubair, who related to him that al-Mughīra b Shu'ba had once been rebuked for the same reason by Abū Mas'ūd al-Ansārī, on account of the fact that Gabriel himself had descended five times in order to perform the five *salāts* at their exact times in the presence of Muhammad Thereupon 'Umar admonished 'Urwa to be careful in his statements (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 1, Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 166, 167, al-Nasā'ī, *Mawākīt*, b 10)

Some early groups of traditions affect to reproduce reminiscences of the practice in Madina in Muhammad's time

a The *salāt al-zuhr* was performed at noon, when the sun was beginning to decline (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 11),

b the *salāt al 'asr* when the sun was shining into 'Ā'isha's room, no shadows being yet cast there (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 13, Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 168) After this *salāt* people had still time to visit the remotest parts of the town, while the sun was still "alive" or "pure" (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 1, 13, 14, 18, 21),

c the *salāt al maghrib* was finished at a time when people could still perceive the places where their arrows fell down (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 21),

d the *salāt al-'ishā'* was sometimes postponed till a late hour, sometimes till the first third of the night had passed (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 11, 20, 21, 24),

e the *salāt al-fadjr* was performed by Muhammad at a time when a man could discern his neighbour (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 13), but the women on their way home could not yet be recognised (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 27)

In a second layer of traditions these general indications are specified by the mention of the first and the last limits allowed for the different

prayers (cf e g Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 176, 177) On one day Muhammad performed

a the *ṣalāt al ẓuhr* when the sun began to decline,

b the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was still high, white and pure,

c the *ṣalāt al maghrib* immediately after sunset,

d the *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'* when the twilight had disappeared,

e the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* at daybreak

On the following day Muhammad performed

a the *zuhr* later than the day before,

b the *ʿaṣr* later than the day before, the sun being still high up,

c the *maghrib* before the twilight had disappeared,

d the *ʿishā* when the first third of the night had passed,

e the *fadjr* when sunrise was near (*asfara bihā*)

In a tradition communicated by al-Shāfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, 1 62) the fixing of the mawākīt just mentioned is ascribed to the example of Gabriel (cf Zaid b ʿAlī, *Madjmūʿ al Fikh*, N° 109) These mawākit have for the most part passed into the books of *fikh* We cannot reproduce all details here The following scheme may suffice

a zuhr from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon The Hanafites alone deviate in one of their branches in so far as they replace the ultimate term by the time when the shadows are twice as large as their objects In times of great heat it is recommended to postpone the *zuhr* as late as possible,

b *ʿaṣr* from the last time allowed for *zuhr* till before sunset According to Mālik the first term begins somewhat later,

c *maghrib* from the time after sunset till the time when the red twilight has disappeared Small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term,

d *ʿishā'* from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or till daybreak,

e *fadjr* from daybreak till before sunrise

Side by side with these mawākīt we find in the books of Tradition and of Law the times on which it is not allowed to perform prayer, viz sunrise, noon, and sunset (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b 30—32, Muslim, *Salāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad 285—294, cf al-Nawawī's commentary for controversies regarding this point, and further Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh Trad*, p 192a) According to ʿĀ'isha it is only forbidden to await sunrise and sunset for prayer (Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad 296) In Makka prayer is allowed at all times (Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, b 73, Tirmidhī, *Hadjdj*, b 42)

Bibliography Apart from the works cited Zaid b ʿAlī, *Madjmūʿ al-Fikh*, ed Griffini, Milano 1919, p 23–26, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Muhakkik, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p 26, A Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, p 50 *sqq*, Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, ch *Wukūt al Ṣalāt*, 1 12 *sqq*, Khalīl b Ishāk, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-Fikh*, Paris 1318 (1900), p 13 *sq*, Guidi and D Santillana, *Il Muḫtaṣar o Sommario dell' diritto malechita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, Milano 1919, 1 45 *sqq*, al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321—25, 1 61 *sqq*, Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh Wet*, Leyden 1925, p 53 *sq*, Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l Hasan ʿAlī b Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-Kifāya*, Bombay 1280, 1 83—89, al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Mizān al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1279, 1 158—160

(A J WENSINCK)

MĪKHĀʾĪL ṢABBĀGH, an Arabic author born of Catholic parents in Akko in 1784, was educated in Damascus and then came to Egypt Here he joined the French army of Napoleon's expedition, had to leave the country with them and came to Paris The State printing works employed him as a proof-reader and the Bibliotheque Nationale as a copyist of Oriental manuscripts, his irregular habits prevented him leading a comfortable or settled existence, although de Sacy and his pupils appreciated his thorough knowledge of his mother tongue He himself only used it to compose kasidas in the old style in praise of great men of the period and to make some money thereby For example in 1805 he addressed a poem to the Grand Juge when he visited the printing works, in 1805 to Pope Pius VII, in 1810 to Napoleon on his marriage in 1811 to the King of Rome, in 1814 to Louis XVIII These poems were printed at the government press, that to Pius VII with a Latin translation by de Sacy, that to Louis XVIII with a French one by Grangeret de Lagrange He also published a work on carrier pigeons entitled *Kitāb Musābakat al Bark wa 'l Ghamām fī Sucāt al-Hamām La colombe messagère, plus rapide que l'eclair, plus prompte que la nue*, par M S traduit de l'Arabe en Français par Silv de Sacy, Paris 1805, based on the preceding *Die blitzgeschwinde Briefpost, oder sinnreiche Kunst des Orients, Tauben zum Bestellen der Briefe abzurichten*, nach dem Arab des M S Herborn 1806, *Beschreibung der Kunst der Taubenpost, welche seit der Zeit der Erlosung gebraucht wird*, aus dem Arab von Dr Th J K Arnold, Frankfurt 1817, *La colomba messagiere ratta piu del lampo*, trad di S A Cataneo, Mailand 1822, *Die Brieftaube schneller als der Blitz*, aus dem Arab von C Loper, Strassburg 1879 — He left in manuscript a history of the Arab desert tribes of Syria, a history of Syria and Egypt and, important for its lexicographical information *al-Risāla al tāmma fī Kalām al ʿĀmma wa 'l-Manāhidj fī Ahwāl al Kalām al dāridj*, M S 's Grammatik der arab Umgangssprache in Syrien und Agypten, nach der Münchener Hs herausg von H Thorbecke, Strassburg 1886

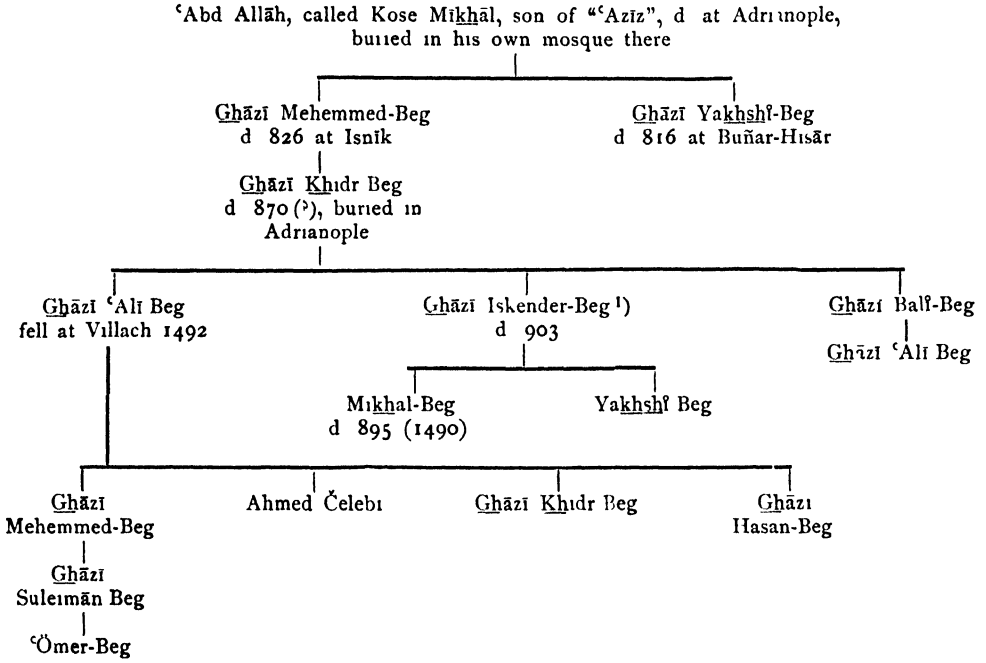
Bibliography Humbert, *Anthologie Arabe*, p 291 *sqq*, *Biographie Universelle*, XXXIX 427

(C BROCKELMANN)

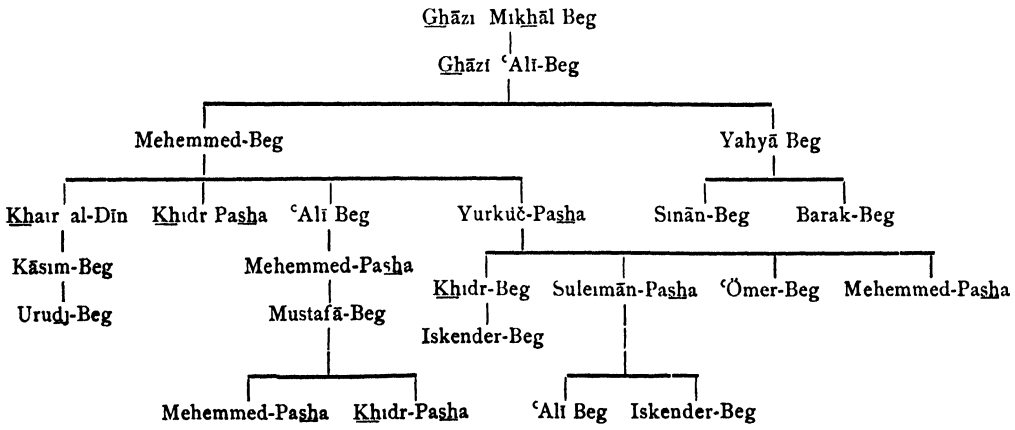
MĪKHĀL-OGHLU, an old Ottoman noble family This family traces its descent to the feudal lord Kose Mīkhāl ʿAbd Allāh, originally a Greek (cf F-A Geuffroy in Ch Schefer, *Petit traicte de l origine des Turcqz par Th Spandouyn Cantacasin*, Paris 1696, p 267 *L'ung desdictz Grecz estoit nomme Michali Dudict Michali sont descenduz les Michalogli*), who appears in the reign of ʿOthmān I as lord of Chirmenkia (Khirmendjik) at the foot of Olympus near Edrenos, and later as an ally of the first Ottoman ruler earned great merit for his share in aiding the latter's expansion (cf J v Hammer, in *G O R*, 1 48, 57, following Idrīs Bitlīsī and Neshrī) Converted to Islām, Kose Mīkhāl appears again in the reign of ʿOthmān's son Urkhan The rank of commander of the *akindjī*'s [q v] became hereditary in the family of Kose Mīkhāl,

which is even said to have been related to the royal house of Savoy and of France (cf Paolo Giovio *Michalogli di sangue Turchesco e per via di donna si fa parente del Duca di Savoia e del Re di Francia*, in this case Mīkhāl [Μιχαήλ] alias Kose Mīkhāl must have been descended from the Palaeologi, cf J v Hammer, *G O R* i 582), and along with the Malkoč-oghlu (properly Malkovic, i e Markovic), the Ewrenos-oghlu [q v], Timūrtash-oghlu [q v] and Turakhan oghlu [q v] was among the most celebrated of the noble families of the early Ottoman empire Kose Mikhāl, called ʿAbd Allāh, died in Adrianople and was buried in the mosque founded there by him in the western Yildirim quarter As Adrianople was certainly not conquered till 1361 (see F Babinger, in *M O G*, ii 311) he must therefore have lived into the reign of Murād I What J H Mordtmann has said in the article GHĀZĪ EWRENOS [q v] would therefore be true about his remarkably long life Kose Mikhāl had two sons, namely Mehemmed Beg and Yakhshī (Bakhshī ?) of whom only the former acquired some renown He was vizier under Mūsā Čelebi and a close friend of Sheikh Bedr al Dīn of Simaw [q v] Under Mūsā he was Beglerbeg of Rūmelī, and died in 825 (1422) at Isnik at the hand of the judge Tādj al Dīn-oghlu and is said to have been buried at Plevna in Bulgaria (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhet-*

The following genealogical table shows the order of succession of the Mīkhāl oghlus



According to the genealogy published by Ismāʿīl Hakkī, *Kitābeler* (Stambul 1345 = 1927), p 25 which is based on a *Silsilenāme* in the Ewkāf-office, *Wakfiye Defterī*, N° 247, in Sīwās, the genealogy of the Mikhāl-oghlus is as follows



If we compare the article Yurkūč Pasha in Mehemmed Suraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿosmānī*, iv 652, where the descendants of this general are given, we get a different picture of the genealogy

1) According to Mehemmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv 101, Iskender-Beg had four sons, ʿAlī, Mehemmed, Khidr and Suleimān This must be wrong and the genealogy is as above

nāme, iii 305), after being previously (816 = 1413) detained as a state prisoner in the prison of Bedewī Čardak near Tokat His son was Khidr-Beg who distinguished himself in the wars of Murād II's reign He died in 870 (1465) and was buried at Adrianople beside his ancestor Kose Mīkhāl Khidr Beg seems to have had three sons, namely Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, Ghāzī Iskender Beg and Ghāzī Balī Beg, of whom only the first two are of any historical importance Ghāzi ʿAlī Beg in 1461 distinguished himself in the battle against Vlad see J v Hammer, ii 64), in 1473 ravaged the lands of Uzun Hasan (*ibid*, ii 118), invaded Hungary in 1475 (*ibid*, ii 144) with his brother Iskender Beg, in 1476 (*ibid*, ii 156) was in command of the *akindjī*'s before Scutari in Albania and appears once again in Transylvania (*ibid*, ii 172), in the next 13 years nothing is heard of him In 1492 he seems to have met his death at Villach in Carinthia, defeated by Count Khevenhüller, although other sources mention him at a still later date According to them, he died in Plevna His brother Iskender Beg in 1476 commanded the light cavalry at the siege of Scutari, as *sandjakbeg* of Bosnia 880, 885 and 890) (J v Hammer, *G O R*, ii 156), in 895 (1490) in the Karamānian campaign, in which he lost his son, the governor of Kaisarīya Mikhāl Beg (see J v Hammer, *G O R*, i 300), who was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt He seems to have lived till 903 (1498) The military exploits of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg were celebrated by Sūzī Čelebi (d 930 = 1530 at Prizren, cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 34 *sq*) in a long epic, said to have been 15,000 couplets) fragments of which have recently been discovered (one in Berlin, MS Or N° 1468 containing 1,700 *bait* and the other in Agram, South Slav Academy of Sciences, Coll Babinger, N° 535, 1, with 212 *bait*) In some sources a Mehemmed Beg, who was distinguishing himself at that time is described as a fourth son of Ghāzī Khidr Beg, in others however, he appears as the son of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, which is not at all probable, if he really was twice governor of Bosnia, namely as early as 897 1492) and again in 949 (1542) and did not die till 950 (1543) The family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu now begins to fall into the background About the middle of the xvii^th^ century an Ahmed Beg is again mentioned, perhaps as the last of the Mikhāl-oghlu holding the hereditary office in the family of leader of a body of *akindjī*'s (see J v Hammer, *G O R*, iii 293), and lastly a Khidr Pāshā is mentioned in history as a descendant of Kose Mikhāl (see J v Hammer, *G O R*, iv 512) The family at a later date had estates in Bulgaria (around Ihtiman, cf Ewliyā Čelebi, iii 390 and C Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, p 138 and Philippopolis, *ibid*, p 379 *sq*) and survived down to modern times As we learn, however, from the *Sālnāme* of Adrianople for 1309, p 82 *sqq*, the Mikhāl-oghlus had already at an early date large states around Adrianople They had the country round Buñar-Hişār, Tirnovo, Kīrk Kilise and Wize as a hereditary fief The Anatolian district of Mikhālidj (Μιχαηλίτζη, Μιχαλικίου in Chalkondyles, i 225, cf Ewliyā Čelebi, v 293 *sq*, W Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *S W A W*, *Phil-hist Kl*, vol cxxiv, Vienna 1891, p 95 and J H Mordtmann, in *Z D M G*, vol lxv, 1911, p 101) seems to be connected with the family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu

Bibliography The well-known histories of J v Hammer, Zinkeisen, Jorga Under the title *Ahwāl-i Ghāzī Mikhāl* (pr Stambul 1315, cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 35, note 1) Nuzhet Mehemmed Pasha published a work glorifying a Kose Mīkhāl and his descendants — Al A Olesnickij in Agram is preparing an edition of the work of Sūzī Čelebi and at the same time a history of the Mikhāl-oghlus (Fr Babinger)

MIKNĀS [See Meknes]

MIḲYĀS, any simple instrument for measuring, e g the pointer on a sundial, in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i e the gauge on which the regular rise and fall of the river can be read To get an undisturbed surface, the water was led into a basin, in the centre of this stood the water gauge, a column on which ells and fingers were carefully measured off The level of the water was ascertained by an official daily and proclaimed by criers

Originally the rising of the Nile was measured by the gauge (*al-raṣāṣa*) According to Ibn ʿAbd al Hakam, al-Kudāʿī, and others, Joseph, the son of Jacob, built the first Nilometer at Memphis, at a later date, the "aged Dalūka" built Nilometers in Ahmīm and Ansinā (Antinoe) These were the Nilometers in use throughout the Greek period till the conquest of Egypt by ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs The latter erected a Nilometer at Assuan and a second at Dendera Others were built in the reigns of Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Finally the Caliph al-Mutawakkil had a large Nilometer built and instead of the Christian officials appointed Abu 'l-Raddād to look after it, and the office remained hereditary in his family down to the time of al-Makrīzī (d 1442)

The ancient Egyptians are said to have drowned a virgin in the Nile at the beginning of its rise as a sacrifice ʿAmr compelled the Nile to rise and fall at God's command by means of a writing which he threw into the water

Bibliography al-Mukaddasī, *B G A*, iii 206, al-Kazwīnī, ed Wustenfeld, i 186, H Ethé, *el Kazwini's Kosmographie*, 1868, p 379, al-Dimishkī, *Cosmographie*, ed M A F Mehren, p 90, al Makrīzī, *K al-Khitat*, Bulak 1270, i 57 *sqq*, U Bouriant, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte*, in *Mem de la mission archeol française du Caire*, vol i, 1925 [3], p 162 *sqq*, A Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 1922, p 427, Ali Bey, *Travels*, London 1816, ii 23 *sq* (J Ruska)

MĪLĀD (A) According to some Arabic lexicographers the meaning of this term is time of birth in contra-distinction to *mawlid* which may denote also "place of birth" The latter is the usual term for birthday, especially in connection with the birthday of Muhammad and Muslim saints [cf the art Mawlid], milād denotes also Christmas For other special meanings cf Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, *s v*

Bibliography the Arabic lexicons (A J Wensinck)

MILAS, the ancient Mylasa, capital of Caria and famous in antiquity for its sanctuaries of the Carian Zeus (in mediaeval and modern western sources Milaso, Milaxo, Melaso, Melaxo), a town in S W Anatolia, 15 miles from its seaport, Kulluk (on the Gulf of Mendelia) It is the capital of the ḳazā of the same name in the wilāyet of Mughla (formerly the sandjak of Men-

teshe) and has 7,346 inhabitants (census of 1928) compared with 7,261 (of whom 3,200 were Greeks who were removed by the exchange of 1922, 739 Jews, who still flourish, and 71 foreigners) in 1908 (*Sālnāme Aidın*, of 1326 A H)

Milas lies on a low eastern spur of the Sodra Dagh (Gr St Elias) in the centre of a very fertile plain surrounded on all sides by hills, and watered by the Sarī Čay which flows round the Sodra Dagh on north and west The road to the sea however does not follow this marshy water course but crosses the hills south of the Sodra Dagh, here commanded by the once powerful mediaeval fortress of Pečin (three miles S of Milas) The bay itself was in the middle ages defended by the island citadel of Asīn Kal'esi (Judeich, Iasos, *Athen Mitteil*, xv 139) and later by a castle at the harbour built by Mehemmed II (Pirī Re'īs, *Bahrīye*, ed P Kahle, chap 21) At Milas met the old, and although difficult, only roads to the west to the important mediaeval port of Balāt (Miletus), to the north into the fertile plain of Karpuzlu Ovvasī and Čine and into the Maeander valley, and eastward to Mughla, the other important town of the district This and its protected situation near the sea within a broad fertile plain destined the town to be once more a capital when the region again attained political independence under the Turkish dynasty of the Menteshe [q v]

The region first passed temporarily under Turkish rule when, after the victory of the Seldjūks at Mantzikert in 1071 the western Anatolian coast with Nicaea, Smyrna and Ephesus and even islands like Samos and Rhodes were occupied by the Turks Although we have no definite information about Milas itself we know that the monks of the neighbouring Latmos had to leave their monasteries on account of the Turks (in 1079, cf Th Wiegand, *Milet*, III/1 185) But Byzantine rule was soon restored It was only when the centre of the imperial government was withdrawn to Constantinople after the victory over the Latins in 1261 that this region finally passed into Turkish hands When and how the final conquest took place we do not exactly know Melanudion, which with Milas formed a theme from the period of the Comnenoi (W Tomaschek, *Zur hist Topographie Kleinasiens im MA*, Vienna 1891, *Abh d Ak d W*, p 38), and is therefore to be located in the neighbourhood of Milas and was Byzantine till 1273 at least, was again taken for a time from the Turks of Menteshe in 1296, so that it must have been occupied by them a few years before (Wiegand, *op cit*) That Menteshe is called Σαλπάκις (= Sāhil Bāgi, Emīr al-Sawāhil) in Pachymeres (i 472, ii 211, Bonn ed), in Sanudo (Hopf, *Chron gréco-romaines*, p 145) Turquenodomar (read Turqmenodomar = "Turkoman of the sea") suggests a conquest from the sea There is no longer any record at this period of the bishopric of Milas, which as a church of the eparchy of Caria (see G Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatuum*, p 32, 112 etc) was under the metropolis of Stavrupolis which still existed in the xivth century (A Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV Jahrh*, p 34 *sqq*) (Stavrupolis, the ancient Aphrodisias, at the village of Gere, twenty miles west of Denizli)

Milas appears as the capital of the principality of Menteshe about 1330 in al-'Umarī (ed Taeschner, p 21, ملاس, corrupted from ملاس, while Fōkeh = Phocaea which appears as a capital in the Genoese report, *ibid*, p 47 is probably an error of the writer and is not to be corrected to Mughla) and in Ibn Battūta (ed Defremery and Sanguinetti, ii 278 *sqq*) also, who here enjoyed the hospitality of the Akhī gild (on a *Futūwetnāme* written in Milas at the end of the xivth century see Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv 40) and admires the wealth of the town in gardens and orchards and gives the name of the lord of the country as Shudjā' al-Dīn Urkhan b Menteshe, whom he visited in his capital Pečin, not far away The Menteshe built very little in Milas as they were engaged in embellishing their residence It is noteworthy that the two mosques of this period lie outside the old town, still largely enclosed in its old walls, one to the south, in the Hādjdjī Ilyās quarter, the little Salāh al Dīn Djāmi' with outer court and stepped minaret, built under Urkhan Bey in 1330, the other just outside the walls to the east, the mosque of Ahmed Ghāzī built in 1378, which with its entrance in the narrow side (without an outer court) and the stepped minaret built above it (Ismā'il Hakkī, *Kütabeler*, Istanbul 1929, fig 47) looks as if it had once been a church (cf Wulzinger, *Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas*, in *Festschr d Techn Hochschule in Karlsruhe*, 1925, p 10 of the reprint) The minbar of this mosque also dated 780 (1378) is now in the Činili Kiosk in Constantinople From the position of these mosques, it may be deduced that the old town remained in the occupation of the Christians, who still held the most of it in quite recent times The only mosque in the old town, just in its centre, and in the highest part of it, the Bulend Djami', seems also to have been a church and was probably used by the garrison, if it is old The medrese of Khodja Bedr al Dīn, which dates from the period of the Menteshe, unfortunately cannot be exactly dated (*Rev Hist*, v 58)

Milas received its first important building from the first Ottoman governor Fīrūz, whom Bāyazīd I appointed over Menteshe ili (*Dusturnāme-i Enweri*, ed Mükrimin Hilal, Istanbul 1928, p 88) after the conquest (792 = 1390) (the date given by most Turkish sources is supported by Bāyazīd's confirmation of the Venetian privileges for Balāt of May 21, 1390, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice 1899, ii, N° 134) The Menteshe who fled to Egypt (*Dusturnāme*, *l c*) was probably the prince of the house ruling in Balāt, while the senior Ahmed Ghāzī may have held out in Milas and Pečin till July 1391 (according to his tombstone he died in Pečin in Sha'bān 793 as *shahīd*) In 1394 Fīrūz built to the north of the old town and outside of it a splendid mosque in the style of the Brusa private mosques (cf Wulzinger's monograph) Ottoman rule was interrupted by Timūr who passed through Milas on his return from Smyrna in the winter after the battle of Angora (1402) (Ducas, p 76, Bonn ed), for about twenty years by the restoration of the former dynasty This last period of the Menteshe-oghlu has left no memorials in Milas or Pečin The Ottoman commanders then made their headquarters in Pečin, after which this kazā of the Menteshe sandjak was long called (Abū Bakr b Bahrām in Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān numā*, p 638, i e the second half of the xviith century) and only moved

to Milas at a later date, when a magnificent official residence was erected, with defensive towers, and is still partly inhabited

From the second half of the xviith century we have Ewliyā's description of the town (in the unprinted vol ix of his *Siyāhet nāme*, MS Beshīr Agha, N° 452, fol 51) He says the town had 4 mosques, 3 masdjids and two large khāns At this time the garrison was still in Pečin He praises the gardens of the town but rightly describes the climate as unhealthy Among the products he mentions tobacco, with which Milas supplied the whole of Anatolia Among the holy places mentioned by him, we may note that of Shaikh Shushterī because it probably belongs to the Baba al-Shushterī met here by Ibn Battūta Ewliyā's description of the old ruins is much exaggerated, although he saw a good deal more than now exists Pococke (*Travels*, ii /2, ch 6) at the end of the eighteenth century was still able to sketch a temple of Augustus and Roma here All that now survives in addition to the town walls is the Balta Kapu (a Corinthian gateway with the Carian double-axe) and a mausoleum called Gümushkesen (filigree worker) (Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, i 234 *sqq*, pl 85—92) In the adjacent village of Shaikh Koy is the *turbe* of Shaikh Bedr al Dīn b Shaikh Kāsim, who died at Brusa in 884 (1479) and is buried here, a *khalīfa* of Saiyid Muhammad al-Bukhārī (see *Rev Hist*, v 311 *sqq*), on the site of a church of St Xene, who died here (*Bull de Corr Hell*, xiv 616 *sq*)

The capital of the Menteshe, already mentioned several times, Pečin (Gr Petsona) consists of an imposing citadel built over ancient foundations and Byzantine masonry and an extensive town lying south of it The citadel with its walls and towers crowns a steep rock that rises out of the southern end of the plain of Milas (Ismā'īl Hakkı, fig 40) and is accessible only at the south side by a great door flanked by a tower adorned with lions carved upon it Inside the fortress, where there now is a miserable little village, the only architectural remains are the foundations of a church Opposite to the entrance to the citadel, on a plateau surrounded by walls, some of which still stand, lie the palace and its annexes, now mostly in ruins All that survives is the charming mediese, built of stone, of Ahmed Ghāzi of 777 = 1375 (Ismā'īl Hakkī, fig 51—54) In the *līwān*, the arch of which is flanked in the spandrels by reliefs of lions holding flags, the founder is buried (see above), opposite the medrese stands a mosque built by Urkhan Bey in 732 (1332), in ruins except for the gateway of Byzantine doorbeams and fragments of ambos (the inscription is given in Ewliyā), probably the one that Ibn Battūta saw being built on his visit to Pečin (Bardjīn) There is also a mosque and medrese, a bath and a palatial serai, all in ruins Exceptionally finely carved tombstones give the names of important people who lived here down to the xvth century Ewliyā, who still found about one hundred houses here, thought there must once have been a great town here Pečin is mentioned by Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, viii 18, as the possession of a certain Emīr Mūsā, lord of Balāt and Bardjīn (بردجين) (which is known from a coin in the collection of J H Mordtmann) A native of Bardjīn was Mahmūd b. Mehmed, who about the middle of the xivth century dedicated his "Book of the Falconer" (*Bāzname*) written in Turkish to a Menteshe-oghlu (v Hammer, *Falknerklee*, Vienna 1840, Thúry, *Torok nyelvemlekek a XIV sz*, p 29) On October 17, 1414 in Pezona the Menteshe oghlu Ilyās Bey concluded a treaty with the Venetians (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ii, N° 166)

Bibliography In addition to the works mentioned in the text V Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii 666 *sqq*, Ch Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1872, p 648, Heyd, *Gesch d Levantehandels im MA*, i 584 (Fr ed, i 535) I was unable to consult the work mentioned by Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, ii 596 entitled I Koukoulis, Τὰ Νέα Μύλασα, in Ξενοφάνης, iii 448 *sqq* For the Muslim inscriptions see A Tewhid, in *Rev Hist* (Constantinople), ii 761, iii 1146, also Hāfiz Kadrī (*ibid*, v 57, 308) and Ismā'īl Hakkī, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, p 155 *sqq*

(P WITTEK)

MILK (A), possession, property The word is not found in the Kur'ān, but is in regular use in legal terminology The double meaning of the word shows that the usual distinction in our legal language between the conceptions of possession and property are not found in the *fikh* There is, it is true, a special term for the actual power over a thing, what we call possession in the narrower sense, namely *yad*, lit "hand", but the distinction between a judicial ownership and the actual control is not found in Muslim jurisprudence and there is not a word for property which takes into account the actual ownership, either from the positive or the negative point of view As a result we find, for example, that the ownership of a thing passes directly by an agreement if this was intended, even if the thing in question is not at once handed over On the other hand, not only things but also rights can be owned

The following are excluded from the possibility of being property and subject to legal regulations 1 useless things (e g wild animals), 2 things the use of which is prohibited by religion (e g wine grapes), 3 things which are ritually impure or have become polluted to such an extent that they cannot be purified (e g swine, dung etc) so long as they are not essential parts of a pure or permitted thing If such things, however, are acquired, one talks not of *milk* but of *ikhtiṣāṣ*, a special claim upon them, legal transactions relating to such things have a special vocabulary of their own

Kamāl al-milk is a necessary preliminary for the property of an owner being liable to *zakāt* [q v]

Bibliography The articles 'ABD, BAI', MĀL, SHIRKA, TIDJĀRA and the literature there given, Juynboll, *Handleiding* (1930), § 60 and the references there given, al Ghazzālī, *al Wadjīz*, i 85 *sq*

(M PIESSNER)

MILLA (A), religion, rite However obvious it may be to connect this word with the Hebrew and Jewish- and Christian-Aramaic *milla*, *mella*, "utterance, word", it has not been satisfactorily proved how and where it received the meaning which is taken for granted in the Kur'ān religion or rite Nor is it known whether it is a purely Arabic word or a loanword adopted by Muhammad or others before him (Nöldeke, *Z. D M G*, lvii 413 seems to hold that it is Arabic for he refers to the 4th form *amalla* or *amlā* "to dictate") In the Kur'ān it always means (even in

the somewhat obscure passage, Sūra xxxviii 6) "religion" and it is used of the heathen religions (vii. 86 *sq*, xiv 16, xviii 19) as well as of those of the Jews and Christians (ii 114), and of the true religion of the fathers (xii 38) The word acquired a special significance in the Medīna sections where the Prophet in his polemic against the Jews speaks of "Abraham's *milla*", by which he means the original revelation in its purity, which it was his duty to restore (ii 124, iii 89, xvi 124, xxii 77 *sq*, cf iv 124, vi 162, xii 37) Muslim literature follows this Kur'ānic usage but the word is not in frequent use With the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muḥammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Muhammadan religion (Tabarī, iii 813, 15, 883, 4), just as its opposite *al-dhimma* is an abbreviation for *ahl al dhimma*, the non-Muhammadans who are under the protection of Islām, e g, Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 238, 21, cf also the derivative *millī* opposed to *dhimmī*, client (Baihaḳī, ed Schwally, p 121 infra)

Bibliography Noldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p 40, *Z D M G*, lvii 413, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, *Glossar*, s v, Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p 30 *sqq* (F BUHL)

MĪM, 24th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of forty On different forms of the letter cf ARABIA, plate I In some dialects of Southern Arabia and of tribes coming from that region, mim was and is used as the article of determination, side by side with *l* A well known tradition is put into the mouth of a man from Southern Arabia in the following form *Laisa min am-birri am ṣiyāmu fi 'm-safar* Cf Ibn Ya'īsh, ed Jahn, ii 1331, Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie meridionale*, ii/ii 281—290 (A J WENSINCK)

MINĀ, later often pronounced *Munā*, a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafa [q v] The distance between the two is given by Muḳaddasī as one parasang, while Wavell calls it five miles and says the continuation to 'Arafa is nine miles Minā lies in a narrow valley running from west to east, 1,500 paces long according to Burckhardt, surrounded by steep barren granite cliffs On the north side rises a hill called Thabīr Travellers from Mecca come down into the valley by a hill path with steps in it, this is the *'Akaba* [q v] which became famous in connection with Muhammad's negotiations with the Madinians The town consists of stone houses of fair size which form two long streets Close beside the 'Akaba is a rudely hewn short pillar leaning against a wall this is the "great djamra" or the "'Akaba djamra", at which the pilgrims cast stones [cf DJAMRA] A little to the east in the middle of the street is the "middle djamra" also marked by a pillar and lastly at a similar distance the third (the so called "first djamra") As one approaches the east end of the valley, there is on the right of the road a square mosque surrounded by a wall, the Masdjid al-Khaif, which was rebuilt by Saladin and in 874 (1467) reconstructed by the Mamlūk Sultān Kā'it Bey Along the west side of the surrounding wall is a colonnade with three rows of pillars, but there is none on the other sides It was different earlier, for Ibn Rusta (c 300 A H) tells us that the mosque had 168 pillars of which only seventy-eight supported the west wing The north side of the wall is pierced by several doors In the centre of the court of the mosque is a little domed building with a minaret built over a fountain There is another dome over the colonnade on the west side (see the illustrations, ii 256)

The most striking feature of Minā is the very great difference, noted already by Mukaddasī, between the quiet and empty streets of the greater part of the year and the tremendous throng and bustle of the pilgrimage month when, as Wavell says, half a million people with heavily laden beasts of burden hope to cover nine miles in the period between sunrise and 10 a m Every spot in the valley is then covered with tents in which the pilgrims spend the night Mukaddasī talks of fine houses built of teak and stone (among them was a frequently mentioned Dār al-Imāra), and large stone buildings are still to be found in Minā, but these are usually empty and are only let at the pilgrimage to the more wealthy pilgrims and even among these many prefer to live in tents This depopulation of the city has been a subject for discussion among the legists, for some held that this circumstance enables Minā and Mecca to be regarded as one city (*miṣr*), a view which others reject But another circumstance must have contributed to prevent a permanent settlement of the town, which is also true of other places on the pilgrims' route, namely the incredible filth and dreadful stench which is caused by such masses of humanity at the Hadjdj Complaints are made even of the uncleanness of the Masdjid al-Khaif and at Minā there are further the decomposing remains of the countless animals sacrificed

The Hadjdj ceremonies in Minā date back to the old pagan period [cf HADJDJ], for Muhammad, as usual in taking over old customs, contented himself with cutting out the too obviously pagan elements, the result being that we can no longer reconstruct the old forms with certainty The old poets make only passing references to them (cf DJAMRA), that they were similar to the Muslim practices is evident, for example, from an interesting passage in the Medīna poet Kais b Khatīm (ed Kowalski, N° 4, p 1 *sqq*) where there is a reference to the "three days in Minā" and where we further learn that the festival held there offered an occasion for entering into and carrying on love affairs The stone throwing is certainly very ancient, its significance is quite unintelligible in Islām, although it is doubtful if there were already three heaps of stones in the pre-Islāmic period [cf DJAMRA] It is also clear that the ceremonies in Minā formed the conclusion of the Hadjdj even in ancient times Muhammad however made some serious alterations here, for he inserted a visit to Mecca before the stay in Minā, whereby the ceremony first received its legitimate Muhammadan character, but the old elements remained the important factors, for the Hadjdj ends not in Mecca but, as before, in Minā, to which the pilgrims return after the digression to Mecca A survival of the pagan period probably exists in the slaughtering place preferred by the majority on the southern slopes of Thabīr "the place of sacrifice of the ram" (cf Sūra xxxvii 101 [illegible]), as its association with the story of Abraham probably enabled an old pagan sacred spot to be adopted into Islām From Burton's description it is a square rocky platform reached by a few steps. Muḥammad himself did not directly forbid the use

of the pagan place of slaughter, but deprived it of its importance by saying that all Minā is a place of sacrifice a clever procedure which he also followed at ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa

According to the law of Islām, the pilgrims who arrive in Mecca on the 8th Dhu 'l-Ḥiḏjdja should leave this town in time to be able to perform the mid-day ṣalāt in Minā and remain there till sunrise on the 9th and only then go on to ʿArafāt The majority however do not do this but go on the 8th straight on to ʿArafāt where they arrive in the evening After performing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa [q v], they go before sunrise on the 10th to Minā to celebrate the day of the great sacrifice (*yawm al-adhā* or *yawm al-nahr*) (in contrast to the pre-Islāmic practice, which was to start only after sunrise) Here the concluding rites are gone through, the slaughtering, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation There is not complete agreement on the order of these ceremonies, which one tradition (Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, p 429) makes Muhammad declare to be quite irrelevant The modification of the stone throwing is noteworthy, for on the day of sacrifice it is only done at the ʿAḳaba heap, while on the three following days each pilgrim daily throws seven little stones on all three heaps (cf the illustrations above, II 256 and Burton, II 205) The conclusion of the whole pilgrimage is the three Minā or *tashrīk* days, the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥiḏjdja (cf above, II 199 and the article TASHRĪK) They are days of rejoicing which are celebrated with great jubilation, illumination and the firing of shots All the pilgrims however do not wait for these three days but set off on their return journey before then

Bibliography Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, p 423, 426, 428, Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, II/1 125, al-Mukaddasī, *BGA*, III 76, Ibn Rusta, *ibid*, VII 55, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, IV 642 *sq*, Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p 415—431, Burton, *A Pilgrimage to al Madīnah and Meccah*, Memorial Edition, 1893, II 203—222, al-Batanūnī, *al Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*, Cairo 1329, Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim*, p 153–171, Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p 80, 88, Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880, esp p 158–167, Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p 151–157, Gaudefroy Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, p 238–295, cf the Bibl to the article DJAMRA, and add Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het Steenwerpen te Minā*, in *Versl Med Ak Amst, Afd Letterkunde*, 4 Reeks, VI 104—217, Chauvin, *Le jet de pierres et le pèlerinage de Mecque*, in *Annales de l'Acad d'Archeologie de Belgique*, ser V, vol 4, p 272 *sqq*, Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v where also are given the passages from Ḥadīth referring to the prohibition of fasting during the days of Minā, and to the order to stay in Minā during the "nights of M"

(Fr Buhl)

MINARET [See MANĀRA]

MINBAR (A), pulpit [cf MASDJID] On the origin of the form of the minbar the reader may be referred to C H Becker's exhaustive study *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam* (*Noldeke Festschrift* and *Islamstudien*) Becker refers to the earliest historical statement which says that the Prophet in the year 7 A H made his minbar on which he used to preach to the people, it had two steps and a seat (*makʿad*) The minbar was therefore originally a raised seat or throne On the morning after the death of the Prophet, after stormy disputes, Abū Bakr took his seat on the Prophet's minbar in a solemn assembly and received the general homage here The later caliphs followed this tradition, as did the governors, who ascended the pulpit on their accession to office and on their resignation The minbar in the early period was therefore not at all specially associated with worship but was the seat of the ruler in the council The pulpit only gradually grew out of it with the development of public worship According to Becker, the date of the change from the ruler's or judge's seat to the simple pulpit coincides with the end of the Omaiyad dynasty In 132 A H all the mosques in the provinces of Egypt were provided with minbars, about the same period probably in the other lands of Islām also At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period the minbar was already a pulpit exclusively The first tendency to its use as a pulpit is seen by Becker in the introduction of the minbar into the divine service at the Musallā in Medīna, which is ascribed to Muʿāwiya or to his governor The Prophet did not have a minbar at the Musallā and nothing but divine service could have been held there

The typical form of the minbar as a pulpit, which is placed to the right of the miḥrāb and of the spectator, is an erection on steps with a portal with or without a door at the entrance to the steps and a ciboriumlike canopy to the platform This form is peculiar to the minbar of wood, which is the most usual The variants in stone and brick are more simple and frequently are only a bare platform reached by three to five steps The fine series of minbars of wood begins with that most famous of all in the history of art, the minbar in the great mosque in Kairawān On the occasion of the extension of the mosque by Ibrāhim II Ibn Aghlab (261—289 = 874—902) it is said to have been brought with the lustre tiles of the miḥrāb wall from Baghdad and set up It is made of plane tree wood and is in the canonical minbar shape with a staircase — here of 17 steps — to the preacher's platform. The pulpit, however, has not yet the stylized structure of the later wooden minbar It has not the portal nor the canopy at the top Its composition of about 200 carved panels and narrow strips of unequal size, is simply a primitive agglomeration of profuse ornamentation, still very nomadic in feeling, such as would hardly ever have been found in Baghdād, and even in Kairawān can scarcely be regarded as original Saladin has pointed out that the pulpit must have been restored after Kairawān had been sacked by the troops of the Fāṭimid Mustansir Abū Tamīm in 441 (1049) In any case it has several times suffered damage and undergone restoration so that its present general appearance cannot be dealt with critically until we have a thorough monograph based on exact investigation on the spot The ornamentation must, as Kühnel observes, be regarded as Omaiyad (Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, VI 385)

The vine branches of the frame-strips and the panels filled with floral patterns and leaves resemble the decoration at Mshattā' [q v] and some of the geometrical patterns, which are of all imaginable combinations, are already found on the shafts of

pre-Islāmic columns in Diyār Bakr (cf van Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida*) The archaistic combination of designs on the minbar has no connection with the decoration which since Sāmarrā we call ʿAbbāsid We have here a phenomenon comparable to Mshattā' since here also ornamentations from different sources are combined to form a general scheme whose common denominator is formed by the formal quality of the chiaroscuro common to them all We do not even know how long the nucleus of these carved strips and latticed panels may have previously existed in Baghdād and they may have there belonged to an Omaiyad minbar before the pieces were brought to Kairawān and supplemented by copies and additions of local workmanship

The few pulpits that have survived from the Fātimid period follow the Syro-Egyptian style of woodwork of the period with their system of frames filled with foliage The tendrils were prevented from over-running the whole surface by being placed within small polygonal areas which were grouped together in cassettes (Kühnel, Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi 406) The wooden mihrāb of the xiiᵗʰ century from Cairo illustrated in the article MIHRĀB illustrates this style, which is also represented by the minbar made in 1091 A D for the mosque in ʿAskalān and now in Hebron, and by the pulpit of 1155 A D in the mosque of ʿAmr in Kūs on the upper Nile

During the Fātimid period the pulpit developed its canonical form as represented in the minbar of the Masdjid al Aksā in Jerusalem, which was gifted in 1168 A D by Nūr al-Dīn to Aleppo and later taken by Saladin to Jerusalem (Saladin, *Manuel*, fig 28) It henceforth appears with the door way and the domed canopy The main decorative motives are 8-pointed stars and the polygonal and star-shaped subsidiary panels show carving in relief inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl Of the minbar of Sultān Lādjīn in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn of the year 1269 A D little more is left than the framework, while the panels are preserved in the Arab Museum in Cairo and in the South Kensington Museum (cf *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arab Museum*, Cairo) That wooden minbars were sometimes copied in stone is shown by the stone pulpit in the mosque-madrasa of Sultān Hassān (757—764 = 1356—1363) The mukarnas on the door case and soon after found on the dome also, here as in the mihrāb goes back to Turkish influence transmitted through Syria Like the mihrāb, the minbar also attained its finest workmanship in Cairo under the second Mamlūk dynasty in the xvᵗʰ century and later No essential alteration was later made in its canonical form and its embellishment remained standardised and varied only in details. A fine example of this fully developed Cairo type is in the South Kensington Museum According to the inscription, it was presented by Kā'it Bey (1468—1495) and has finely carved ivory panels and traces of painting on the wooden parts The usual star pattern is replaced by a smooth surface. The gilt onionshaped dome with its finial and crescent on the stalactite cornices are, as Briggs observes, characteristic of the period (Briggs, *Muham Archit in Egypt and Palestine*, p 217)

After the Turkish conquest, the general deterioration in craftsmanship in Cairo affected the minbar also, but exceptions, like the finely-worked pulpit of the mosque of al-Burdaini, however show that the good old tradition still survived. Hakam II's minbar in Cordoba has not survived but from the descriptions of the Arab writers it must have been a peculiarly valuable piece of work, for according to al-Makkarī it cost 35,705 dinars It could be moved on wheels and contained the caliph ʿOmar's Kur'ān In the mosque of ʿAlā' al Dīn in Konya is a minbar of hazelwood, according to an inscription on the posts supporting the upper part, the work of an artist of Akhlāt of the year 550 (1155) Two inscriptions on the door of the pulpit mention Sultān Masʿūd I (510—551 = 1116—1156) and Kilidj Arslān II (551—584 = 1156—1188) (cf J H Loytved, *Konia* and F Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, p 27 *sq*, pl vi—viii) Inscriptions from the Kur'ān decorate the frames of the balustrades of the steps The pulpit is of the traditional Syro-Egyptian form, but is, however, distinguished from them by its vigorous structure Polygons and star shaped panels fill the sideframes, together with the same tendril patterns symmetrically interwoven, as we find naturalised in all the eastern lands of Islām from the beginning of the eleventh century (detailed illustration in Sarre, *op cit*, fig 24)

In Persia and Afghānistān all the old minbars seem to have been destroyed during the Mongol invasion On the other hand, the minbar illustrated here in the mosque of Djawhar Shāh Agha in the sanctuary of the Imām Rida in Meshhed which was built about 840—850 (1436—1446) is original in ornamentation and an example of the Timūrid minbar The structural motive is thrust into the background by the profuse covering of small pentagonal and star shaped wooden panels with tendrils carved in relief after the style of the contemporary tiles, the effect is that of a carpet Nothing is known of old minbars in Turkestān In India, pulpits were built almost exclusively of stone Many, some of them richly carved, still exist in the Muslim provinces and towns of India The pavilion on four pillars, common and popular in India, which gives a charm to buildings for Muslim worship as a decorative finish to the roof, was also used here for the stone minbar Indeed one might even wonder whether this originally Indian structure was carried by the Eastern Turks to Central Asian lands and adopted by them for the minbar Minbars with such canopies are frequently found in the mosques of the province of Gudjarat and in Ahmadābād (cf these volumes in the *Arch Survey of India*, *Western India*) The mosque of Hilāl Khān Kādī of 1333 A D in Dholka, for example, has a stone minbar with seven steps and a canopy on pillars on the roof, but no entrance gate The triangular side walls are divided into square areas which are carved in relief (*Arch Survey of India*, *Western India*, vol vi, Gudjarat, pl xxviii, xxx) In Haidarābād, the Muslim state of the south, on the other hand, the minbars are more simple and heavier, and have no canopy (cf illustration from Osmanābād)

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(E. DIEZ)

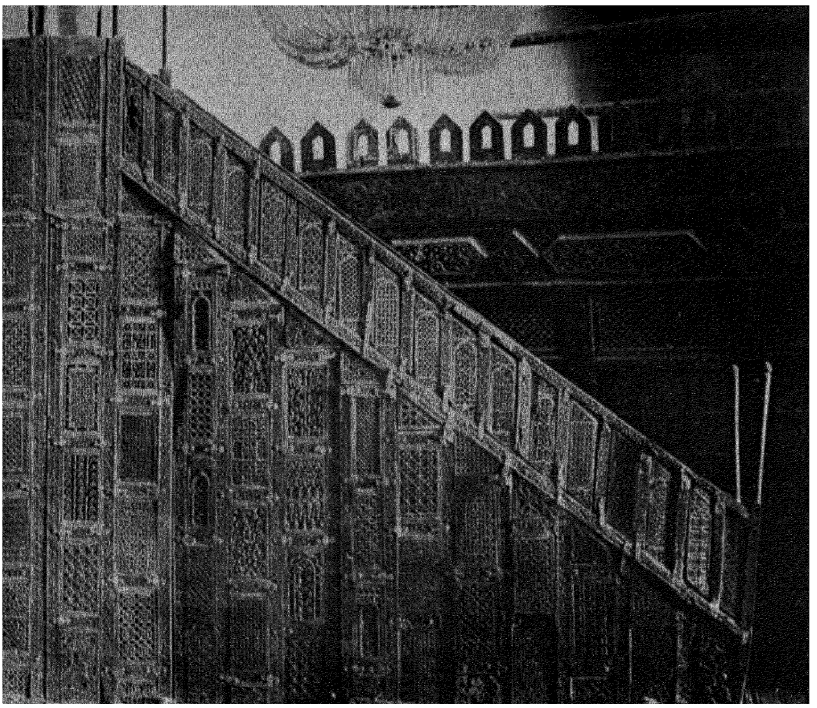

Fig. 1. Minbar in the Sīdī ʿUḳba Mosque in Ḳairawān.

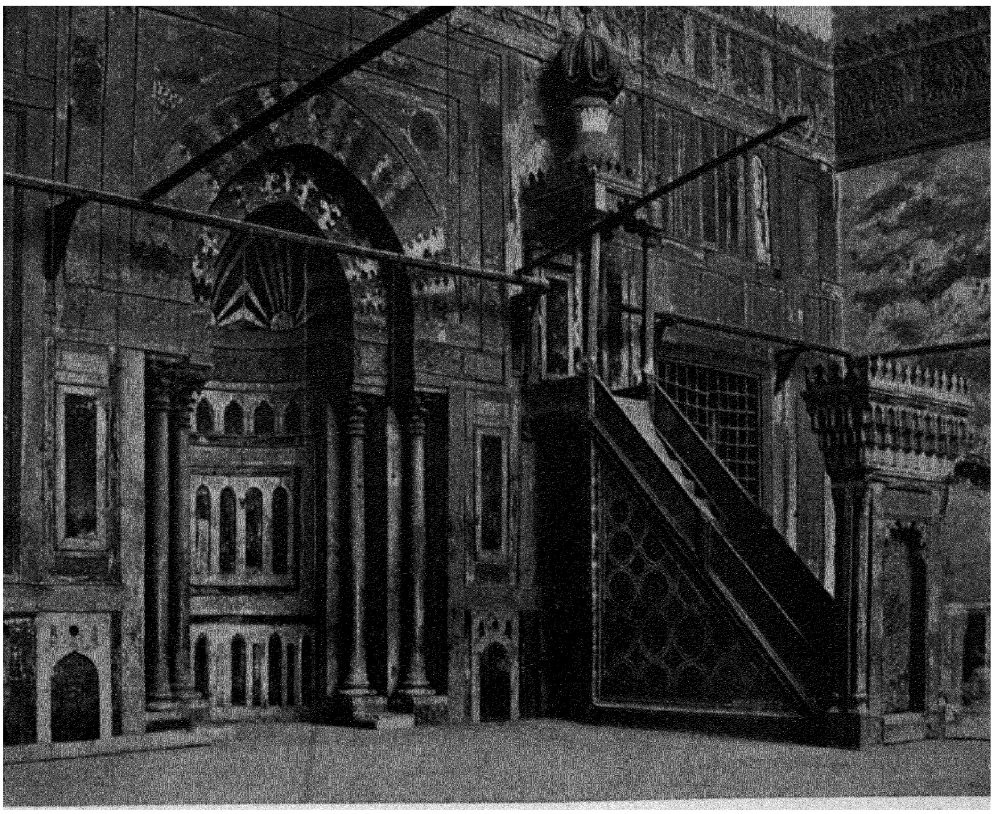

Fig. 3. Minbar in the Sulṭān Ḥasan Mosque in Cairo.

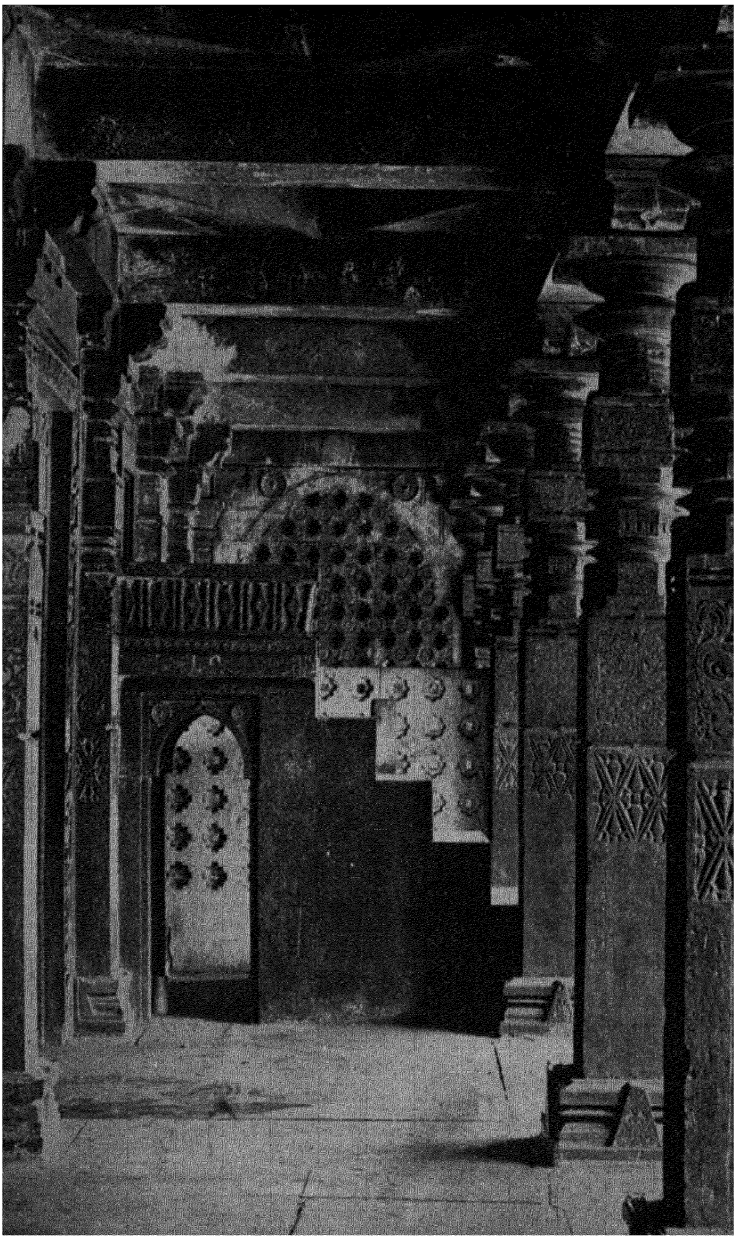

Fig. 2. Minbar in the Parenda Mosque in ʿUthmānābād.

MINṬAḲA or MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ also MINṬAḲA FALAK AL-BURŪDJ or (more rarely) NIṬĀḲ AL-BURŪDJ means, like the technical term FALAK AL-BURŪDJ most frequently used in scientific literature, the circle (*mintaka*) of the twelve signs of the zodiac ("towers", Greek πύργοι), then the zone of the ecliptic formed of the twelve signs each covering 30°

The Kur'ān contains references to *mintaka* in three different passages, viz

Sūra xv 16 "We have placed towers (*burūdj*) in the heavens and adorned them for the spectators"

Sūra xxv 61 „Blessed be he that placed towers (*burūdj*) in the heavens and who placed a lamp in them and a light-giving moon"

Sūra lxxxv is entitled *al-Burūdj* and verse 1 "By the heavens with its towers (*burūdj*)"

Babylonia may with great probability be assumed to be the original home of the zodiacal circle The period of its origin cannot be fixed with certainty the first attempts at a grouping of the constellations on the path of the sun and the planets, however, date from before the period of Hammurabi and in any case into the third millenium B C Almost all the names familiar to us are already found in Sumerian inscriptions The Boghaz-Koi list of about 1300 B C gives all the signs of the zodiac with the exception of Leo and Libra

The only pictorial representation of the starry heavens of the early Muslim period, the fresco on the dome of Kusair ʿAmra shows the ecliptic as a broad band, along which are arranged the twelve *burūdj*, it also shows the pole of the ecliptic and the 12 (ecliptical) degrees of longitude, as well as the equator and a series of parallel circles The peculiarity of the arrangement of the heavens with considerable southern latitudes shown beyond the equator on the hemispherical inner surface of the dome results in the equator and ecliptic not being shown as the largest circles The method of representing the separate constellations on the fresco, especially the mintaka, is, broadly speaking the same as that on the Atlas Farnese (N B It should be noted that the fresco of Kusair ʿAmra represents the heavens reflected as in a mirror)

The twelve Burūdj Preliminary Note The names of the *burūdj* are given in Arabic literature with many variations those quoted below are the most usual With the fixed stars a distinction is made between those which form the outline of a constellation (*Kawākib min al-ṣūra*), i e the essential stars and such as "go beyond the constellation" (*ḵẖāridj al-ṣūra*) and are regarded as only being loosely connected with it, i e the unessential stars

The account here given is based in its main features on the statements in the first part of al-Kazwīnī's *Cosmography*

1 *al-Ḥamal* or *al-Kabsh*, the Ram (*Aries*) It consists of 13 essential stars, 5 unessential lie in its immediate vicinity, its fore-part is turned to the west and its hind-part to the east It has its face on its back The two bright stars on the horn (*β* and *γ*) are called *al Sharaṭāni* or *al-Nāṭiḥ* ("the butter"), they form at the same time the first of the 28 stations ("mansions") of the moon (*manāzil*) According to another reading the name *al-Nāṭiḥ* is given to the unessential star *α* Arietis situated above the figure of the Ram. The three stars *ε*, *δ* and *ρ* Arietis form the second station of the moon and are called *al-buṭain* ("little paunch")

2 *al-Thawr*, the Bull (*Taurus*) 32 essential and 11 unessential stars; its forepart faces the east The bright star at the point of the northern horn (presumably *β* Tauri) is also included in the Waggoner (Auriga) as well as in the Bull. *α* is called *al-Dabarān*, *ʿAin al-Thawr*, *Tālī 'l-Naḏjm*, *Hādī 'l-Naḏjm* and *al-Fanīḳ* ("large camel"), while the Hyades which surround it are called *al-Kilāṣ* (the "young camels") The Pleiades are called *al-Thuraiyā*, *κ* and *υ* together *al Kalbāni* ("the two dogs" of *al-Dabarān*) The Pleiades form the third, *al-Dabarān* and the Hyades together the fourth station of the moon

3 *al-Taw'amāni* or *al Djawzā'*, the Twins (*Gemini*) 18 essential and 7 unessential stars The Twins are in the form of two men whose heads are turned to the northeast and feet to the southwest Castor and Pollux (*α* and *β*) are called *al-Dhirāʿ al mabsūta*, they form the seventh station of the moon *γ* and *ξ* are called *al-Hanʿa*, together with three other stars of the Twins they form the sixth station of the moon The name of *η* and *μ* Geminorum is *al-Baḵẖāti*

4 *al Saratān*, the Crab (*Cancer*) 9 essential and 4 unessential stars *ε* Cancri with *γ* and *δ* form the eighth station of the moon and have the peculiarly Arab name of *al-Nathra* ("the cartilage of the nose") or in keeping with the *Almagest*, *al-Maʿlaf* (= *praesepe*) The star *β* on the south hind foot is called *al-Taraf* ("the extremity") *ξ* Cancri and *λ* Leonis form the ninth station of the moon, *al-Tarf* ("the glance")

5 *al Asad*, the Lion (*Leo*) 27 essential and 8 unessential stars, he is conceived of as looking to the west *α* (Regulus), *γ*, *ζ* and *η* are called *al Djabha* ("Forehead of the Lion") and form the tenth station of the moon, *δ* and *θ* are the eleventh station of the moon, *al-Zubra* ("back-hair" or "mane of the Lion") or *Kāhil al Asad* *β* Leonis is called *Kunb al-Asad* or as the twelfth station of the moon *al-Sarfa* According to another reading, the name *Kunb al-Asad* is given to small stars in the vicinity of *al-Sarfa*

6 *al-ʿAdhrā'* (only in the catalogue of fixed stars taken from the *Almagest*), the Virgin (*Virgo*) or *al-Sunbula*, the ear of corn 26 essential and 6 unessential stars, the head of the Virgin lies south of *β* Leonis, her feet west of *α* and *β* Librae The five stars in the shoulders *β*, *η*, *γ*, *δ* and *ε* Virginis, form the thirteenth station of the moon *al-ʿAwwā'*, *α* Virginis forms the fourteenth station of the moon, *al-Simāk al-aʿzal* or *al-Sunbula* (cf *Spica*) which name is applied to the whole constellation of the Virgin (N B The name *Sāk al-Asad* for *α* Virginis is not quoted as a name of the fourteenth station of the moon) The fifteenth station of the moon consists of the stars ϕ_1, *ι*, *κ* and *λ* on the left foot, it is called *al-Ghafr*

7 *al-Mīzān*, the Scales (*Libra*) 8 essential and 9 unessential stars *α* and *β* Librae on the pans of the balance form the sixteenth station of the moon which is called *al-Zubānā* or *Zubāniyā al-ʿAkrab* ("claws of the Scorpion") (cf Sumerian ZI BA AN NA, Akkadian *Zibanîta* as the name of the constellation *Libra*)

8. *al-ʿAkrab*, the Scorpion 21 essential and 3 unessential stars, it has its head to the west and its tail to the east *β*, *δ* and *π* Scorpii mark the seventeenth station of the moon *al-*

Iklīl, α the eighteenth station of the moon *Ḳalb al-ʿAḳrab*, λ and υ the nineteenth station of the moon *al-Shawla* ("Sting of the Scorpion") The stars σ and τ to the right and left of *Kalb al-ʿAkrab*, are called *al-Niyāt*

9 *al-Rāmī*, the Archer (*Sagittarius*) or *al-Kaws*, the Bow or *al-Sahm*, the Arrow 31 essential and no unessential stars, the face with bow and arrow is turned to the west, the hind-part of the horse's body to the east (The fresco on the dome at Kusair ʿAmra on the other hand shows the upper part of the body of the archer turned towards the hind-part of the horse's body, and aiming with the bow over this to the west The stars γ (on the point of the arrow), δ (on the bow-grip) ε (at the south end of the bow), η (on the right fore-foot) are called *al-Naʿām al-wārid*, σ (on the left shoulder), ϕ (on the notch of the arrow), τ (on the shoulder blade) and ζ (under the shoulder) *al-Naʿām al-ṣādir* Both constellations together form the twentieth station of the moon, *al-Naʿāʾim* μ and λ Sagittarii on the northern bend of the bow are called *al-Ẓalīmāni*, α (on the knee), and β_1 β_2 (on the shin-bone) are together called *al-Suradāni* The space almost void of stars at π Sagittarii marks the twenty first station of the moon, *al-Balda* or *Baldat al-Thaʿlab*

10 *al-Djady*, the Goat (*Capricornus*) 28 essential, no unessential stars the figure is conceived of as looking to the west α and β on the eastern horn form the twenty-second station of the moon *Saʿd al-Dhābiḥ* γ and δ on the tail are called *al-muḥibbāni*

11 *Sākib al-Māʾ* or *al-Sāḳī*, the water-carrier (*Aquarius*) or *al-Dalw*, the pail 42 essential and 3 unessential stars, the head of Aquarius points to the N W, the feet S E α and o on the right shoulder are called *Saʿd al-Malik* or *Saʿd al-Mulk* The two (or three) stars on the left hand (μ, ν or μ, ν, ε) form the twenty-third station of the moon *Saʿd al-Bulaʿ*, β and ζ on the left shoulder together with c_1 and c_2 Capricorni form the twenty-fourth station of the moon *Saʿd al-Suʿūd* The four stars γ, ζ, π and η on the right fore-arm and the right hand are called *Saʿd al-Akhbiya* and form the twenty-fifth station of the moon

12 *al-Samakatāni*, the two Fishes (*Pisces*) or *al-Hūt*, the Fish 34 essential and 4 unessential stars, the figure is conceived as two fishes, the western in the south of the back of Pegasus, the eastern in the south of Andromeda The two fishes are connected by a band of stars al-Kazwīnī does not mention any outstanding stars

It is evident, then, that by far the greater part of the 28 *manāzil* fall into the area of the 12 *burūdj* and form part of them Only the following four do not belong to them N⁰ 5 *al-Haḳʿa* (λ, ϕ_1, ϕ_2 Orionis), N⁰ 26 *al-Fargh al-awwal* (α, β Pegasi), N⁰ 27 *al-Fargh al-thānī* (γ Pegasi, α Andromedae), N⁰ 28 *Batn al-Hūt* or *al-Rishāʾ* (a large number of stars forming a fish in the neighbourhood of β Andromedae)

The zodiacal figures N⁰ 1, *al-Hamal*, N⁰ 4, *al-Saraṭān*, N⁰ 7, *al-Mīzān* and N⁰ 10, *al-Djady* are known together as *Burūdj munkalība*, Greek ζώδια τροπικά, N⁰ 2, *al-Thawr*, N⁰ 5, *al-Asad*, N⁰ 8, *al-ʿAkrab* and N⁰ 11, *al-Dalw* under *Burūdj thābita*, ζώδια στερεά, N⁰ 3, *al-Djawzāʾ*, N⁰ 6, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, N⁰ 9, *al-Rāmī* and N⁰ 12, *al-Samakatāni* under *Burūdj Dhawāt al-Djasadain*, ζώδια δίσωμα (i e "Signa bicorpora", "Double figures" Twins, Virgin and Ear of corn, Archer with Horse's body and the two Fishes)

al Kazwīnī gives from Ptolemy the extent of the Mintaḳa as 486 259 $721^1/_7$ *Mīl*, the length of each *Burdj* as 39 388 $310^2/_3$ *Mīl*, and the breadth as 1 322 $943^1/_3$ *Mīl*

Mintaka in Astrology

Muthallathāt

By *al-muthallathāt* (sg *al-muthallatha*) are meant in Arab astrology the Greek τρίγωνα, Lat *trigona* or *triquetra*, which in the middle ages were usually translated by *triplicitates*

The twelve signs of the zodiac are here arranged in threes at the angles of four intersecting equilateral triangles of which one is allotted to each of the four elements Each triangle is given two of the seven planets as its rulers (*rabb*, pl *arbāb*, Greek οἰκοδεσποται οι τριγωνοκράτορες), one for the day and another for the night, a third is associated with the two others as "companion"

The arrangement is as follows

1 *Muthallatha* — Element Fire

Zodiacal sign *al-Hamal*, *al-Asad* and *al-Rāmī* (N⁰ 1, 5 and 9)
Ruler by day *al Shams* (Sun), by night *Mushtari* (Jupiter)
Companion *Zuhal* (Saturn)

2 *Muthallatha* — Element Earth

Zodiacal sign *al Thawr*, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ* and *al-Djady* (N⁰ 2, 6 and 10)
Ruler by day *Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Kamar* (Moon)
Companion *Mirrīkh* (Mars)

3 *Muthallatha* — Element Air

Zodiacal sign *al-Djawzāʾ*, *al-Mīzān* und *al-Dalw* (N⁰ 3, 7 and 11)
Ruler by day *Zuhal* (Saturn), by night *ʿUtārid* (Mercury)
Companion *Mushtarī* (Jupiter)

4 *Muthallatha* — Element Water

Zodiacal sign *al-Saratān*, *al-ʿAkrab* and *al Samakatāni* (N⁰ 4, 8 and 12)
Ruler by day *Zuhara* (Venus), by night *Mirrīkh* (Mars)
Companion *al-Kamar* (Moon)

The distribution of the *Muthallathāt* has been settled since the time of Ptolemy (τετράβιβλος)

Wudjūh or *Suwar* By dividing each *burdj* into three we get 36 decans each of 10°, which in Arabic are called *wudjūh* (sing *wadjh*), *suwar* (sing *sūra*) or *dardjān* (from the Indian *drekkāna*, a loanword from the Greek) or *dahadj* (Pers), in Greek δεκανοί or πρόσωπα, in mediaeval Latin *facies*, more rarely *decani* The astrological significance is the same as with the Greeks, who in their turn go back to Egyptian models The decans are not mentioned in Ptolemy *al Ṣuwar* means properly the *paranatellonta* of the Babylonian Teukros, the constellations which rise at the same time as the separate decans according to his list Abū Maʿshar and other Arab authors took over the list of the *paranatellonta* from Teukros un-

altered, but not the astrological interpretations associated with them

Buyūt The Greek οἶκοι or τόποι, Lat *domicilia* or (mediaeval) *domus*, are called in Arabic *buyūt* (sg *bait*) The sun and moon are each ruler (*ṣāḥib*, *rabb*, Greek οἰκοδεσπότης [cf above *muthallathāt*]) over one sign of the zodiac, each of the other five planets rules over two signs at the same time, according to the following scheme, also already laid down in the τετράβιβλος

Lion — Sun Crab — Moon		Archer Fishes	} Jupiter
Scales Bull	} Venus	Goat Water carrier	} Saturn
Scorpion Ram	} Mars	Virgin Twins	} Mercury

The *buyūt* from the Lion to the Goat are day-houses, the rest night-houses If a planet is in its day-house during the hours of day or in its night-house at night, it is credited with particularly powerful astrological influence

Sharaf and *Hubūṭ* By *sharaf* (pl *ashrāf*) we understand the ὕψωμα of the Greeks, *sublimitas* of Pliny, *altitudo* of Firmicus Maternus, *exaltatio* in mediaeval Latin, *hubūṭ* is the Greek ταπείνωσις, ταπείνωμα, more rarely κοίλωμα, class Lat *directio*, med Lat *casus*

A planet attains its maximum astrological influence in its *sharaf*, its influence is least in the *hubūt*, i e the point in the heavens diametrically opposite the *sharaf* on the circle of the ecliptic

Planet	*Sharaf*	*Hubūt*
Sun	Ram 19°	Scales 19°
Moon	Bull 3°	Scorpion 3°
Saturn	Scales 21° (20°)	Ram 21°
Jupiter	Crab 15°	Goat 15°
Mars	Goat 28°	Crab 28°
Venus	Fishes 27°	Virgin 27°
Mercury	Virgin 15°	Fishes 15°

The only inaccuracy in the list of exaltations, already fixed in ancient times, is giving 20° instead of 21° to the Scales for Saturn, which however goes back to a very old error, it is also found in Pliny, Firmicus and in the Hindu astronomer Varāha-Mihira

al-Balʿamī assumed that at the time of the creation of the world the planets were in their *ashrāf*

Various Arab writers since Abū Maʿshar also ascribe exaltations and dejections to the nodes of the moon (*ʿakdāni* or *ʿukdatāni*, scil *al kamar*) ascending node (*raʾs*) as *sharaf* the Twins 3°, and as *hubūt*, the Archer 3°, *vice versa* to the descending node (*dhanab*) as *sharaf* the Archer 3°, as *hubūt* the Twins 3° This allocation is not known to the Greek astrologers

Hudūd Each of the five planets (excluding the sun and moon) possesses in each of the 12 *buyūt* a sphere of influence covering several degrees (Arab *hadd*, pl *hudūd*, Greek ὅριον, Lat *fines*, med Latin *terminus*) which has the same astrological significance as the planet itself and can represent it at any time in horoscopes On the distribution of these spheres of influence within the zodiacal circle opinions differed widely and unanimity could never be attained Ptolemy added one more to the Egyptian and Chaldaean divisions already in existence (The various systems are fully expounded in the τετράβιβλος, i 20, fol 43 Boll has studied this question very fully in *Neues zur babylonischen Planetenordnung*, *Z A*, xxxviii [1913], p 340 *sqq*) The Arab astrologers used almost exclusively the Egyptian system, which makes the different spheres of very unequal sizes

Mintaka in Astronomy

The Mintaka is, as in the Greek astronomy, the fundamental basis for all calculations It is divided into 360° degrees (*dju²*, pl *adjzā'* or *daradja*, coll *daradj*, pl *daradjāt*), each degree into 60 minutes (*dakika*, pl *dakā'ik*), each minute into 60 seconds (*thāniya*, pl *thawāni*), each second into 60 thirds (*thālitha*, pl *thawālith*) and so on

The points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator (*dā'ira* or *falak muʿaddil al-nahār*) define the two equinoxes (*al-iʿtidālāni*), the points of the greatest northerly and southerly declination the two solstices (*al-inkilābāni*) The position of a fixed star or planet with respect to the Mintaka is defined by giving its longitude (*tūl*, pl *atwāl* or in al Battāni *al-djuz' alladhi fihi al kawkab*) and latitude (*ʿard*, pl *ʿurūd*) The longitudes are numbered from the vernal point (*al-nuktat al rabiʿiya*) The axis erected perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic meets the sphere of the fixed stars in the two poles of the ecliptic (*kutbā dā'irat al-burūdj*)

On Arab star-maps and -globes, we frequently find a mixed ecliptical and equatorial system of coordinates used (cf the remarks above on the fresco on the dome at Kusair ʿAmra), which consists of ecliptical circles of longitude through the poles of the ecliptic and equatorial parallel circles

Precession (in al-Battāni *Harakat al kawākib al-thābita*, in later authors more precisely *Mubādarat nuktat al iʿtidāl*) Among the Arab astronomers supporters were found for the theory of Ptolemy, who explained the precession as a continual revolution of the whole heavens around the pole of the ecliptic with a period of 36,000 years, as well as for that handed down by Theon of Alexandria (Thāwun al-Iskandarāni) from older sources, according to which the process of the precessions consisted of an oscillation to and from around the "nodes of the path of the sun" The greatest amount of the precession according to this theory is 8° west or east of the nodes, the retrogression amounts to 1° in 80 years so that the whole phenomenon repeats itself after 2,560 years The latter theory found particular approval in India and was further developed there Thābit b Kurra gave an explanation for it which at the same time took into account the (more suspected than observed) diminution in the obliquity of the ecliptic and calculated the length of the period at 4171½ years al-Battāni attacked and refuted this oscillation hypothesis of Theon and of the *Aṣḥāb al-tilsamāt* (ἀποτελεσματικοί), on a basis of new and comparative observations he found that the precession amounted to 1° in 66 years, which corresponds to a period of 23,760 years, which is roughly 10% too small The very accurate estimate of 1° in 70 years is also occasionally, if rarely, given in Arabic literature, according to E Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, p 289

Obliquity (*Mail falak al-burūdj*, very frequently *al-mail kulluhu* or *al-kullī* in contrast to *al-mail al djuz'ī*, "declination of the separate points in the Mintaka", cf. al-Aghzāwī, p 21) The pro-

blem of estimating the obliquity of the ecliptic was during the classical period a centre of interest for the Muslim astronomers As a first attempt at an exact estimate in the Muslim period, Ibn Yūnus (ch ix, p 222 of the Leyden Codex or of the Paris Codex, N° 2475) mentions an observation of the period between 778 and 786 which gave the value $\varepsilon = 23° 31'$ We have an unusually large number of observations of later dates (For details see Nallino's notes on al Battānī's *Opus Astronomicum*, i 157 *sqq*)

al-Battānī in his observations used a parallactic ruler (triquetrum, *idāda ṭāwīla*) as well as a finely divided wall quadrant (*ḥibna*) He ascertained with these instruments in al-Raḳḳa the smallest zenith distance of the sun at 12° 26′, the greatest at 59° 36′, this gave $\varepsilon = \frac{47° 10'}{2} = 23° 35'$ This value is at the basis of all al Battānī's calculations and tables and has been adopted by many other Arab astronomers

The question whether the amount of obliquity remains constant at all times or is subject to a secular diminution was answered in different ways by different students As a matter of fact the degree of accuracy of observation was not sufficient to settle this point and the old Hindu value of $\varepsilon = 24°$, on which these investigations were often based, was based not on observations but only on a statement of Euclid's according to which astrologers of his time used to estimate the obliquity as a fifteenth part of the circumference of the circle

The following table gives a survey of the Arab values for the obliquity of the ecliptic (cf Nallino, *al-Battānī*, *Opus Astronomicum*, *loc cit*) The column "average obliquity" gives by Bessel's formula

$$\varepsilon = 23° 28' 18'' 0 - 0'' 48\,368\ t - 0'' 000\,002\,722\,95\ t^2 \quad (t = \text{years after } 1750)$$

the true values calculated for the periods in question The years given in brackets are only approximate, i e not given by the authors themselves

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(Willy Hartner)

MINICOY, a coral island in the Arabian Sea midway between the Laccadive and the Maldive Islands, it belongs like the former to the Ālī Rājā of Cannanore but ethnographically and geographically has more claim to be attached to the Maldive group It is six miles long but very narrow, being only $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles in area The population is about 3,000 The people, who are probably of Singhalese origin, have been Muhammadans since the xivth century The language is Mahl but the Arabic character is used They are strictly monogamous A girl's consent is required for her marriage and she brings no dowry, but receives presents from the bridegroom The women go unveiled There are three castes in the island The inhabitants all live in one village which is divided into ten quarters in each of which the men and women are separately organised with their own headmen and headwomen All work on land is done by women The men are sailors and fishermen Most of the island's food supply has to be imported The chief exports are cocoanuts, coir, cowries and dried fish The important position held by women in Minicoy has suggested its identification with Marco Polo's "Female Island" (ed Yule, ii 404)

Comparative table of the Arab values for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic

Observer	Place	Year	Obliquity observed	Average obliquity	Error
Eratosthenes	Alexandria	(230 B C)		23° 43′ 45″	+ 7′ 35″
Hipparchus	Rhodes	(130 B C)	23° 51′ 20″	42′ 57″	+ 8′ 23″
Ptolemy	Alexandria	(140 A D)		41′ 10″	+ 10′ 10″
Tabulae Probatae (*al-Zīdj al-mumtaḥan*)	Baghdād	829	33′	35′ 41″	— 2′ 41″
Other observers under al-Ma'mūn	Damascus	832	33′ 52″	35′ 40″	— 1′ 48″
Banū Mūsā	Baghdād	(860)	35′	35′ 26″	— 0′ 26″
al-Battānī	al-Rakka	(880)	35′	35′ 17″	— 0′ 17″
Banū Amādjūr	?	(918)	35′	35′ 0″	0′ 0″
'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī	Baghdād?	(965)	33′ 45″	34′ 35″	— 0′ 50″
Abu 'l-Wafā'	Baghdād	987	35′	34′ 25″	+ 0′ 35″
Widjān b Rustam al-Kūhī	Baghdād	988	51′ 1″	34′ 25″	+ 16′ 36″
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	1001	34′ 52″	34′ 19″	+ 0′ 33″
al-Bīrūnī	Ghaznī	(1019)	35′	34′ 10″	+ 0′ 50″
Alphonsinian Tables	Toledo	(1250)	32′ 29″	32′ 19″	+ 0′ 10″
Ibn al-Shāṭir	Damascus	(1363)	31′	31′ 25″	— 0′ 25″
Ulugh Beg.	Samarḳand	(1437)	30′ 17″	30′ 49″	— 0′ 32″

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MINŪČIHRĪ, ABŪ 'L-NADJM AḤMAD B YAʿḲŪB, Persian poet, nicknamed *Shaṣt-galla* = "sixty-herds", because of the wealth he accumulated in horses and cattle, but some say the name should be read *Shast-kul* or *Shast-kula* i e "crooked-thumb" He was a native of Damghān, calling himself "Dāmghānī" in his verse although Dawlatshāh says he came from Balkh He was a younger contemporary and imitator of ʿUnsurī [q v], but he is considered to have excelled his model in poetic power After completing his studies under Abu 'l-Faradj of Sīstān (d circa 392 = 1002) he enrolled himself in the service of the Amīr Minūčihr b Kabūs b Washmgir, ruler of Djurdjan and vassal of Mahmūd of Ghazna, and from the name of this first patron he took his *takhallus* Presumably through the influence of ʿUnsurī he later became attached to Mahmūd's entourage of literary men at Ghazna, and wrote *kaṣīdas* in praise of his new patron and of his sons Muhammad (who reigned for less than a year) and Masʿūd who succeeded to the Ghaznawid throne The latter was assassinated in 432 (1041), and Minūčihrī did not long survive him (Riẓā-kulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fusahā'*, i 543, says he died in the same year and quotes ʿAwfī as having called him "short lived") In his work Minūčihrī shows himself to be a skilled versifier, displaying a clever felicity of rhyme and very often a refreshing simplicity and straightforwardness of language Also he did not hesitate to use new forms for his verse, and he is the earliest Persian writer we know of to have used the strophic form of the *musammat*, which, as used by him, consists of a series of *misrāʿs* or *stichoi*, in groups of six All six may rhyme together, or only five, in the latter case the last line rhymes with the last lines of the other strophes In spite of his qualities as a versifier, Minūčihrī cannot be regarded as a great poet, even for his day His themes, — wine, love, springtime and the virtue of patrons — are of the stock pattern, and his *kasidas* are deliberately moulded on the Arabic form, with all its artificialities In flattery of his patrons he is as servile as any in the whole range of Persian panegyrists and his conceit of himself as it appears in his work is sometimes ludicrous in its effect (cf N⁰ 48 in Biberstein Kazimirsky's edition, Paris 1886)

Bibliography works quoted above and Ethé, in *Grundriss d iran Philologie* A Tihrān ed of the *Dīwān* was published in 1297 A H (R LEVY)

MĪR, a Persian title abbreviated from the Arabic *amīr* and approximating in meaning both to it and to the title *mīrzā* [q v] (For the dropping of the initial *alif*, cf Bū Sahl for Abū Sahl etc) Like *amīr* the title is applied to princes (Minūčihrī, ed Biberstein-Kazimirski, 1886, p 96, speaks of Masʿūd, Sulṭān of Ghazna, as "Mīr"), but it is also borne by poets and other men of letters (e g Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, Mīr Khwānd, Mīr Muhsin, cf the following art) In India, Sayyids sometimes call themselves by the title As a common noun, it is used as an equivalent of *ṣāhib*, e g *mīr pandj*, *mīr ākhwūr* In Turkish there was derived from it the colloquial adjective *mīrī* ("belonging to the government"), which gave rise to *al-mīrī* ("the government") in the colloquial Arabic of ʿIrāḳ (R LEVY)

MĪR, the poetical designation of Mīr Muhammad Takī b Mīr ʿAbd Allāh, was a native of Akbarābād After the death of his father he went to Dihlī during the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam (1173—1221 = 1759—1806) and became a pupil of Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū In 1190 (1776) he left Dihlī for Lucknow, where he spent the remaining portion of his life He is recognised to be the most eminent poet of the Urdū language He died at Lucknow in 1225 (1810) when he was nearly 100 years old He is the author of six *dīwāns* which have been repeatedly printed in India, and a biography of Urdū poets, entitled *Nukāt al-Shuʿarā'*

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MĪR AMMĀN [See AMMĀN]

MĪR DJUMLA [See MUHAMMAD SAʿĪD]

MIʿRĀDJ (A), originally ladder, later "ascent", especially Muhammad's ascension to heaven In the Kurʾān, Sūra lxxxi 19–25 and liii 1–12, a vision is described in which a heavenly messenger appears to Muhammad and Sūra liii 12–18 deals with a second message of a similar kind In both cases the Prophet sees a heavenly figure approach him from the distance but there is no suggestion that he himself was carried off It is otherwise with the experience alluded to in Sūra xvii 1 "Praise him, who travelled in one night with his servant from the Masdjid al-Harām to the Masdjid al-Aksā, whose surroundings we blessed, in order to show him our signs" That Muhammad is meant by the "servant" is generally assumed and there is no reason to doubt it (Schrieke, *Islam*, vi 13, note 6, Bevan, *Z A T W*, xxvii 53 *sq*), that the Masdjid al Harām is the Meccan sanctuary is certain from Kurʾānic usage (Horovitz, *Koran Unters*, p 140), but what is the Masdjid al Aksā? According to the traditional explanation, but not the only one recognised in Hadīth (see Schrieke, *op cit*, p 12, 14 and above, s v ISRĀʾ) it would mean Jerusalem, but how could Muhammad, who in Sūra xxx 1 speaks of Palestine as *adna 'l ard*, call a sanctuary situated in Jerusalem *al-masdjid al akṣā*? The age of this explanation is not quite certain, perhaps it was already known to ʿUmar b Abī Rabīʿa (ed Schwarz, xci) and Abū Sakhr (*Lieder der Hudhailiten*, ed Wellhausen, cclxiv 24), but even these belong only to the Umayyad period (contrary to Lammens, *Sanctuaires*, p 72, this is true also of Abū Ṣakhr, who according to *Aghānī*, xxi 94 was a partisan of the Banū Marwān and panegyrist of ʿAbd al Malik) Muhammad probably meant by al-Masdjid al Aksā a place in heaven, such as the place in the highest of the seven heavens in which the angels sing praises of Allāh and we would then have in Sūra xvii 1, evidence from the Prophet himself about his nocturnal ascension into the heavenly spheres (Schrieke, *op cit*, p 13 *sqq*, Horovitz, *Isl*, ix 161 *sqq*), testimony which is however content with the mention of the experience itself and says nothing about its course The question

of the possibility of an ascent to heaven is several times touched on in the Kurʾān In Sūra xl 38 Firʿawn gives Hāmān orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of heaven and climb up to the god of Mūsā (cf also Sūra xxviii 3) In Sūra lii 38, the calumniators are asked whether they had perchance a ladder (*sullam*) so that they could hear the heavenly voice and in Sūra vi 35 the consequences are considered which the signs brought by the Prophet with the help of a ladder to heaven might have on his hearers The old poets also talk of ascending to heaven by a ladder, as a means of escaping something one wants to avoid (Zuhair, *Muʿallaka*, p 54, Aʿshā, xv 32)

Hadīth gives further details of the Prophet's ascension Here the ascension is usually associated with the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, so that the ascent to heaven takes place from this sanctuary We also have accounts preserved which make the ascension start from Mecca and make no mention of the journey to Jerusalem In one of these the ascension takes place immediately after the "purification of the heart" (see Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1, *Hadjdj*, bāb 76, *Manākib*, bāb 42, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv 207, v 143, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1157 *sq*) In the last mentioned passage we read "When the Prophet had received his revelation and was sleeping at the Kaʿba, as the Kuraish used to do, the angels Gabriel and Michael came to him and said With regard to whom have we received the order? Whereupon they themselves answered With regard to their lord Thereupon they went away but came back the next night, three of them When they found him sleeping they laid him on his back, opened his body, brought water from the Zamzam well and washed away all that they found within his body of doubt, idolatry, paganism and error They then brought a golden vessel which was filled with wisdom and belief and then his body was filled with wisdom and belief Thereupon he was taken up to the lowest heaven" The other versions of the same story show many additions and variants, according to one, for example, Gabriel came to Muhammad through the roof of his house which opened to receive him, according to another, it was Gabriel alone who appeared to him and there are many similar variants All these versions however put Muhammad's ascension at an early period and make it a kind of dedication of him as a Prophet, for which the purification of the heart had paved the way Ethnographical parallels (Schrieke, *op cit*, p 2—4) show other instances of a purification being preliminary to an ascension Similar stories are found in pagan Arabia (Horovitz, *op cit*, p 171 *sqq*) and also in Christian legends (*op cit*, p 170 *sqq*) Another story (Ibn Saʿd, i/i 143) says that the ascension took place from Mecca although it does not associate it with "the purification of the heart" which it puts back to the childhood of the Prophet [cf HALĪMA]

How did it come about however that this, obviously the earlier, tradition of Mecca as the starting point of the ascension was ousted by the other which made it take place from Jerusalem? The localisation of the Kurʾānic Masdjid al-Aksā in Jerusalem is by some connected with the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik to raise Jerusalem to a place of special esteem in the eyes of believers (Schrieke, *op cit*, p 13, Horovitz, *op cit*, p 165 *sqq*, do, in *Islamic Culture*, ii 35 *sqq*) and in any case it cannot be proved that this identification is older than the time of ʿAbd al Malik It might all the easier obtain currency as Jerusalem to the Christians was the starting point of Christ's ascension and from the fourth century Jesus's footprint had been shown to pilgrims in the Basilica of the Ascension, as now, perhaps as early as the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, that of their Prophet was shown to Muslim pilgrims (Horovitz, *op cit*, p 167 *sq*) The idea of the "heavenly Jerusalem" may have had some influence on the development of the *isrāʾ* legends, when Muhammad meets Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā in Jerusalem, the presence of these prophets in the earthly Jerusalem is not at once intelligible, but it loses any remarkable features if Bait al-Makdis (Ibn Hishām, p 267) from the first meant the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (Horovitz, *op cit*, p 168, another explanation cf ii 604) Perhaps also the phrase *alladhī bāraknā hawlahu* was taken to support the reference to Jerusalem, when these words occur elsewhere in the Kurʾān they refer to sites in the holy land (Lammens, *op cit*, p 72, note) While the stories quoted above only say that Gabriel took the Prophet up to the heights of heaven, but are silent as to how, others add that a ladder (*miʿrādj*) was used for the ascent (see Ibn Hishām, p 268, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv 10, Ibn Sʿad, i/i 143), this ladder was of splendid appearance, it is the one to which the dying turn their eyes and with the help of which the souls of men ascend to heaven The ladder is probably identical with Jacob's ladder in Genesis, xxviii 12, the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees, xxvii 21 calls this *maʿāreg* and Sūra lxx 3, 4 calls Allāh *Dhu 'l-Maʿārid̲j* "to whom the angels and the spirit ascend" (*taʿrudj*) According to Sūra xxxii 4, the *amr* rises to Allāh, according to Sūra lvii 4 and xxxiv 2, Allāh knows "what descends from heaven and what ascends to it", and in Sūra xlii 32 there is a reference to steps (*maʿārid̲j*) in the houses of men Muhammad therefore already knew the word, which is presumably taken from Ethiopic (Horovitz, *op cit*, p 174 *sqq*) Among the Mandaeans also the ladder (*sumbilta*) is the means of ascending to heaven (*Ginza*, transl Lidzbarski, p 49, 208, 490) and there are parallels to the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras (see Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, p 45, Wetter, *Phos*, p 114, note 2), the Manichaean *ʿamūd al-sabh* (*Fihrist*, p 335, 10) by means of which the dead man is taken to the sphere of the moon is a more distant parallel (Bevan, *op cit*, p 59)

Just as the miʿrādj is associated with the ascension, so Burāk is originally connected with the night journey to Jerusalem, it found its way however at an early date into the legend of the ascension (see Bukhārī, *Manākib*, bāb 42, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv 207, v 387, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv 12) The prophets earlier than Muhammad had used Burāk as their steed (Ibn Hishām, p 263, Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i 349), in particular Ibrāhīm (ʿAdjdjādj, ed Ahlwardt, xlv 48—52, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv 5, Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis*, p 63, Halabī, i 369) This idea of one animal used by the different prophets is borrowed, according to the Midrashic statement, late it is true (*Yalkūt* on Zachariah, ix, N° 875, *Pirkē de R Eliʿezer*, xli), the ass which Abraham rode (Genesis xxii 3) is the same as that used by Zipporah and her sons (Exodus, iv 20) and is that on which

the Messiah will make his entrance (cf also Ibn Saʿd, I/II 176) The recollection that this steed was an ass survives in Muslim tradition so that Burāḳ is described as "smaller than a mule and larger than an ass" (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, bāb 43, similarly Ibn Hishām, p 264, Ibn Saʿd, I/I 143) Ibn Saʿd already describes Burāḳ as a female beast and, as early as a story attributed by Ibn Ishāḳ to al-Hasan al Basrī, Buraḳ is given wings (Ibn Hishām, *loc cit*) Thaʿlabī seems to be the first who speaks of Burāk's human face (in Halabī, I 370), in the miniatures dealt with fully by Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p 118 *sqq*, al-Burāḳ usually has a woman's head

At the gate of each of the seven heavens through which he wanders with the Prophet, Gabriel is asked for his own name and that of his companion (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb I, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv 4, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, I 1157) After he gives these he is next asked if Muhammad has already been sent as a prophet (*awakad buʿitha ilaihi*, correction for the original *awakad buʿitha* found in Tabarī, *Annales*, I 1158, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Isl*, VI 5, note 4), this also indicates that the ascension originally belonged to the period immediately after his call (Schrieke, *op cit*, p 6) In each heaven they meet one of the earlier messengers of God, usually Adam in the first, Yahyā and ʿĪsā in the second, Yūsuf in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Hārūn in the fifth, Mūsā in the sixth and Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven, there are also variations und Adam appears as judge over the spirits of the dead (Andrae, p 44 *sq*, Schrieke, p 17, Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, v 143, cf *Apoc Mosis*, p 37) Of the other messengers of God we are only told — in addition to being given a description of their personal appearance — that they greeted Muhammad, Mūsā is an exception who expressly says that Muhammad is higher in the esteem of Allāh than himself and that the number of his followers surpasses his own (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv 11) On another occasion, Muhammad engages in a conversation with Mūsā after Allāh had imposed upon him 50 salāts a day as obligatory prayers for the faithful On Mūsā's advice, Muhammad asks several times for an alleviation and each time Allāh grants it, but when Mūsā says 5 salāts are still too many, the Prophet refuses to ask for less (on *Genesis*, xviii 23 *sqq* as the prototype of this episode, cf Goldziher, *Studien*, I 36, Schrieke, p 19, Andrae, p 82) According to some versions, Mūsā dwells in the seventh heaven and the conversation seems to be more natural there To the ascension belong the visits to paradise and to hell Paradise according to many versions is in the seventh heaven, according to others in the first, in some it is not mentioned at all The statements about its rivers are contradictory (Schrieke, p 19, cf above KAWTHAR), the *Sidrat al-Muntahā* is usually placed in the seventh heaven (Bevan, p 59, Schrieke, p 18) In one description hell is put below the first heaven (Ibn Hishām, p 269, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, IV 10) According to another, the place of punishment of the damned is on the way between heaven and earth and Muhammad sees it on his journey to the Bait al-Makdis (Ṭabarī, xv 101, also Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, I 257, II 353, III 120, 182, 224, 231, 239) On the punishment in hell cf Schrieke, p 17, Andrae, p 44, Horovitz, p 173, Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch der Grösse*, p 81 *sqq*, Lidzbarski, *Johannisbuch*, p 98 *sqq*, *Ginza*, p 183

That Muḥammad appeared before Allāh's throne in the seventh heaven and that the conversation about the obligatory prayers took place there, is already recorded in the oldest stories (see above) but only rarely do they extend the conversation between Allāh and the Prophet to other subjects (Ṭabarī, xxvii 26, *Musnad*, IV 66 as a dream, Andrae, p 70) But objection was raised to the assertion that Muhammad on this occasion saw Allāh face to face (Andrae, p 71 *sqq*), and the question was also raised at an early date whether the ascension was a dream or a reality, whether only the soul of the Prophet was carried up or also his body (Caetani, *Annali*, Intr § 320, Andrae, p 72, Bevan, p 60, Schrieke, p 13, note 1)

The Hadīth contains, besides these, other details which Asin (*Escatologia*, Madrid 1919, p 7—52, do, *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid 1927, p 25—71) has discussed In developing the story of the Prophet's ascension Muhammadan writers have used models afforded them by the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses A few features may also come from the Parsees from the Arda Viraf, cf the works already mentioned by Andrae, Bevan, Schrieke, Horovitz and W Bousset, in *A R W*, IV 136—169

Later accounts (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, XI 207 *sqq* Asin, *Escatologia*, p 53 *sqq*, do, *Dante* etc, p 72 *sqq*, Nallino, in *R S O*, VIII 802) collect and systematise the material scattered in the older sources, they only increase the matter without however increasing the depth of its thought Among the Miʿrādj-books which have become popular in modern times that of al Ghaitī may be mentioned (this is the correct form, see Nallino, *op cit*, p 813) on which Dardīr (d 1201) wrote a *hāshiya*, also that of Barzandjī (d 1179) In the non-Arab lands of Islām, Persian, Turkish, Hindustānī and Malay versions of the legend have contributed to its dispersion (see Chauvin, *loc cit*)

The ascension of the Prophet later served as a model for the description of the journey of the soul of the deceased to the throne of the divine judge (Asin, *Escatologia*, p 59 *sq*), for the Sūfīs however, it is a symbol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge Ibn al-ʿArabī thus expounds it in his work *Kitāb al Isrā' ilā Makām al-Asrā* (Asin, p 61 *sqq*, Andrae, p 81 *sq*), and in his *Futūhāt*, II 356–375 he makes a believer and a philosopher make the journey together but the philosopher only reaches the seventh heaven, while no secret remains hidden from the pious Muslim (Asin, p 63 *sqq*) Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* is a parody on the traditional accounts of the Miʿrādj (Asin, p 71 *sqq*) Asin in his two books quoted has dealt with the knowledge of Muslim legends of the ascension possessed by the Christian middle ages and their influence on Dante In a separate work (*La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1924) he has collected and discussed the literature produced by his *Escatologia* down to 1923

According to Ibn Saʿd, I/I 147 the *isrā'* took place on the 17th Rabiʿ I, the ascension on the 17th Ramadān For centuries however, the night before the 27th Radjab — a date also significant in the history of Mecca (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II 71) — has been regarded by the pious as the *Lailat al-Miʿrādj*, and the eve is like the *Mawlid al-Nabī* devoted to reading the legend of the feast

(see al-'Abdarī, *Madkhal*, 1 143 *sqq*, Herklots, *Qanoon e Islam*[2], p 165, Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1896, p 474 *sq*, Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, 1 219, Asin, *Escatologia*, p 97)

Bibliography is given in the article, cf also R Hartmann, in *Bibliothek-Warburg*, *Vorträge 1928—1929* (Leipzig 1930), p 42—65

(J Horovitz)

MĪRĀNDJĪ, whose full name was Mīr Muhammad b Kāḍī Sā'in dātā b Kādī Kalandar, commonly called Miyān Mīr or Miyāndjī, born 938 (1531) in Siwastān, Sind He traced his origin to the caliph 'Umar and spent the last 60 years of his life in great sanctity at Lāhūr He died in 1045 (1635) But according to the *Bādshāh-Nāma* of 'Abd al-Hamīd, 1 330, his death took place in 1044 (1634) Shāh Djahān repeatedly visited the saint and Prince Dārā Shikūh erected a splendid dome over his tomb The Prince also wrote a work called *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* in which he described fully the lives of this Indian saint and his disciples

Bibliography *Safīnat al-Awliyā'* p 70, *Khazīnat al Asfiyā'*, p 154, 'Abd al Hamīd, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, 1 329, Rieu, *Cat Persian MSS British Museum*, 1 358

(M Hidayet Hosain)

MĪRĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH I, of Khāndesh, was the eleventh prince of the Fārūkī dynasty He belonged to the younger branch of that line, which had taken refuge in Gudjarāt, and his ancestors had lived in that kingdom and had married princesses of the Muzaffarī family until Mahmūd I of Gudjarāt had, on the extinction of the elder branch of the Fārūkīs, placed 'Ādil Khān III, Muhammad's father, on the throne of Khāndesh Muhammad, who was, through his mother, the great-grandson of Mahmūd, and the grandson of his son, Muzaffar II, succeeded his father in Khāndesh in 1520, and in 1527 incautiously intervened in the cause of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Imād Shāh of Barār by aiding him against his enemy, Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar He was defeated and driven back into Khāndesh, but succeeded in persuading his uncle, Bahādur of Gudjarāt, to intervene, and with him invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar The campaign was only partially successful, but Muhammad was indemnified by Burhān I for his losses He accompanied his uncle in the campaign which ended, in 1531, in the capture of Māndū and the annexation of Mālwa to Gudjarāt, and on Bahādur's death in 1537, was summoned, in his mother's right, to the throne of Gudjarāt, but died on his way to Ahmadābād

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(T W Haig)

MĪRĀTH (A), inheritance (pl *mawārith*), *mūrith* legator, *wārith* heir

1 The law of inheritance (*'ilm al-farā'id*, "the science of dispositions", i e of the quotas laid down in accordance with Sūra IV 16, which is called after its most important and most difficult part) is one of the branches of Muhammadan law in which Muhammad more deeply modified earlier practice by legislation Although the Kur'ānic regulations are fairly detailed, the task of deducing all necessary conclusions from them, to which lawyers turned with particular enthusiasm, gave rise to a great mass of traditions and considerable divergences of opinion on questions not expressly decided in the Kur'ān In the law of inheritance we can also still trace fundamental old Arabian pre-Islāmic features

2 In the period before the rise of Islām, in keeping with the patriarchal system prevailing among the Arabs, the estate of a deceased tribesman went, if he died intestate, to the nearest male relative(s), the order of succession in which these relatives, the so called *'asaba* (corresponding to *agnati*), were called upon to inherit survives systematised in its order in the Muslim law of inheritance (cf below) Minors were, as incapable of bearing arms, excluded from the succession as were female relatives widows also were not entitled to inherit, and originally no doubt themselves formed a part of the estate, a view which survived in the levirate marriage usual among the Arabs, to which Sūra IV 23 (cf below) refers in forbidding it There is no evidence of any preferential treatment of the first-born, which we find elsewhere in Semitic law This, the original legal position, had by Muhammad's time most certainly altered somewhat in favour of women, in cases where the deceased left no male relatives his daughters seem frequently to have obtained the estate but woman had by no means equal treatment with man, as is clear from Muhammad's regulations In addition to these principal heirs the pre-Islāmic Arabs had also secondary heirs who correspond to the later so-called quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farā'id*) and received a part of the estate, the bulk of which went to the *'asaba* From Kur'ān II 176 and IV 37 which confirm this arrangement, we can see that these included the parents, the "relatives" — apparently so far as they were not *'asaba* — and the so called confederates (*halif*, plur *hulafā'*) the settlement of the portions falling to them was done in accordance with Sūra II 176 — at least in part — according to the last will of the testator

3 Muhammad modified this system considerably in details, the main point being the improvement in the treatment of women as in his innovations with regard to the laws of family life generally [cf TALĀK], at the same time there is a clear endeavour to fix in legal form the practice which had varied considerably in heathen times The main lines of the system and the general conceptions as above briefly outlined were retained by the Prophet One provision which had been made under special circumstances he was not able later to keep in force, immediately after the *Hidjra*, he had ordered that those who migrated with him (the *muhādjirūn*) and the believers in Medīna (the *ansār*) should regard themselves as brethren and therefore able to inherit from one another, while all bonds of relationship between the *muhādjirūn* and their relatives left in Mecca, even if they were believers, were to be regarded as broken (Sūra VIII 73, with the limitation imposed in VIII 76), but this was expressly revoked by Sūra XXXIII 6 Tradition regards this fraternization as a special case of confederacy (*halif*dom, cf above, section 2) For the rest, Muhammad in his first Medīna period confirmed the system of secondary heirs and the whole general practice in regard to inheritance (cf *ibid*, Sūra II. 176 is probably to be dated in Ramadān of the year 2, and IV 37, of which the first view in

al-Baidāwī is undoubtedly the right one, cannot be much later), that in ii 176 he expressly makes the fair treatment of the secondary heirs a duty, already reveals the direction which later ordinances were to take Connected with this is the probably contemporary ii 241 *sqq* which secures the wife, if she survives her husband, a legacy of maintenance for a year Not much later, about the year 3, is Sūra iv 23 "Ye, who are believers, are not permitted to inherit women against their will", this is a prohibition against the *ʿaṣaba* forcing the widow of the deceased into a levirate marriage and generally assuming the position of *walī* over her which belongs only to her male relatives, this is not meant as a regular legal ordinance but is part of Muhammad's endeavour to improve the position of women [cf TALĀK] Very soon after the battle of Uhud, when numerous Muslims had fallen, we have — as a result of it — the final Kur'ānic ordinance of Sūra iv 8—18 "To the men belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave, and to the women belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave — whether it be much or little — as a definite share 9 If the relatives (not entitled to inherit), the orphans and the poor are present at the division, give them some of it and speak kindly to them (verses 10 *sq* go on to deal with the treatment of orphans) 12 Allāh commands you, as regards your children, as follows to the boy belongs as much as the share of two girls, if however there are (only) girls (and) more than two, two thirds of the estate belongs to them and if there is one (girl) to her belongs the half And the parents shall each have a sixth if (the legator) had children, and if he had no children and (only) his parents inherit from him, his mother shall have a third If however he have brothers, his mother shall have a sixth (All this) after deducting any bequests he may have made or a debt Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use to you (This is) an ordinance of Allāh and Allāh is all knowing and wise 13 To you belongs the half of the estate of your wives, if they have no children, but if they have children you shall receive a fourth of their estate — after deducting any bequest that they may have made or any debt 14 To them belongs a fourth of your estate, if you have no children, but if you have children an eighth of your estate belongs to them — after deducting any bequest that you may have made or any debt 15 If distant relatives inherit from a legator, male or female, and he has a brother or a sister, each shall have a sixth, but if there are more, they shall have a third among them after deducting any bequest which he may have made or debt, 16 Without prejudice (this is) an ordinance of Allāh Allāh is all-knowing and gracious" (Verse 17 *sq* contain promises and threats) As the settlement of the succession in indirect lines left questions undecided, Sūra iv 175 supplemented the above „They ask thee for a decision Say Allāh gives you the following decision for remoter kindred if a man die childless and have a sister, half of what he has is hers and if she die childless, he is her heir, if there be two sisters, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them, but if there be both brothers and sisters, the brother shall have as much as two sisters " The object of these regulations is simply to supplement the law regarding the rights of the *ʿaṣaba*, they are not a reorganisation of the whole law Each of the persons named is therefore only allotted a definite portion The remainder, and this is as a rule the major portion, of the estate falls as before to the *ʿaṣaba* There is a distinct tendency to give female relatives half the share of male relatives of the same degree, even in the case when there are daughters but no sons (and correspondingly sisters but no brothers), they do not receive all that would belong to the sons or brothers, but as regards a few smaller portions the two sexes rank equally The quotas here given abolished the testamentary settlement of the portions usual in the heathen period, which was still approved by Sūra ii 176, this is the historical starting point for the tradition — early interpreted in another sense — that a legacy in favour of the heirs is not valid Sūra ii 241 *sq* (cf above) is probably rightly regarded as abrogated by the settling of the widow's portion in tradition. There is a slight difficulty in interpretation only in iv 15, but there can be no doubt that this verse refers to half-sisters on the mother's side, as indeed it has always been interpreted, the text of Ubai' even inserts an addition to this effect (cf Noldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorans*, ii 85, 93, note 5) The verse iv 175 on the other hand refers to full sisters, how the Kur'ān wished half-sisters on the father's side to be dealt with, is difficult to say In iv 12 "more than two" (girls) is to be interpreted, as the sense requires, as "two and more", similarly, in the case in which the mother is allotted a third of the estate, it is presumed that the father gets the other two thirds

4 The full details which tradition is able to give regarding the causes of the revelation of the regulation of the law of inheritance are not historical, on internal grounds all we can say is that it took place soon after the battle of Uhud (cf above, section 3) The numerous *ḥadīth*s which simply repeat the Kur'ānic regulations may be neglected here Tradition can only record very few actual divergences from the prescriptions of the Kur'ān one of these is that a woman received back as her inheritance a slave whom she had presented to her mother and who represented the latter's whole estate (in a parallel case it is a man who has given his mother a garden, by this alteration the divergence is disposed of) According to another story, the Prophet is said to have laid it down that the wives of the *muhādjirūn* should inherit the houses of their husbands, according to the wording, it cannot have been a temporary arrangement which was abolished by the final settlement While nothing can be quoted in favour of the first *ḥadīth*, the second, which does not seem to be intended as a foundation for any legal clause, may have a grain of historical truth in it

5 The prescriptions of the Kur'ān are supplemented and developed in countless traditions among which a comparatively large number relate not decisions of the Prophet himself, but of his Companions (we may cite Ibn Hanbal, iv 279 *sq* as a typical mixed form), in reality they must not for a moment be regarded as fact, but only as anonymous evidence of the first developments of the Kur'ānic law of inheritance At this stage of development it is already firmly established that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim, the right of a Muslim to inherit from an unbeliever is finally also denied, although there is some opposition to this view, on the question

of inheritance of a *murtadd*, unity was not attained Excluded from the right of inheritance is also one who has killed the legator, according to one view always, according to another only if the slaying was deliberate (with *ʿamd*, cf article KATL) That a slave has no right of inheritance is taken for granted Legal relationship is necessary for the right of inheritance, thus illegitimate children or those whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān* [q v] have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations The patron (*mawlā*, q v) is included among the *ʿasaba*, who are placed in the order which had been handed down from the pre-Islāmic period and continued to hold good the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another and according to one view, the same right is granted to the *mawlā*, meaning the man before whom the person concerned has adopted Islām After the *mawlā* come — although some oppose this — the *dhawu 'l-arhām*, i e persons related to the legator in the female line, whose representative is usually the *khāl* or maternal uncle In case all these heirs should not exist, the fellow-tribesmen are named The law in Sūra iv 14 is also extended to the widow whose husband dies before the consummation of the marriage, on the question what should be the share of two daughters, we have the answer two-thirds, doubtless in keeping with the sense of Sūra iv 12, but also that based on the literal interpretation (the half), finally half brothers on the father's side, about whom the Kurʾān lays down nothing definitely, are excluded from inheriting by full brothers With certain modifications which occur again in the later teaching, a son's daughters are treated like daughters and grandparents like parents, but this regulation only won recognition after opposition and varying practice in details Here arises the problem of the different shares of the grandfather along with the brothers when he appears with them as *ʿaṣaba*, which goes back to his varying position in the series (cf below sect 6*b*), along with other views we find quoted also the one that later prevailed but it does not seem to be the earliest The Kurʾān lays it down that before dividing the estate the amount of any legacies and debts should be deducted, and in early times — probably in literal interpretation of the Kurʾanic passages — the legacies often were given preference to debts, after some opposition the opposite teaching prevailed The *diya* [q v] to be paid for a slain man was in itself subject to the usual laws as part of his estate, but in early times the wife was not allowed a share in the *diya* of her slain husband, which goes back to old Arab conceptions of the family, the other view ultimately prevailed In addition there are numerous, often contradictory, views on separate points which show the eager interest taken in the matter The interest taken in early Islām in the law of inheritance is reflected in Hadīth, there are traditions in which the Prophet orders the law of inheritance to be taught and learned, calling it "the half of knowledge" on account of its difficulty and expressing the fear that this subject, so difficult to remember, might in time disappear from the memory of his community

6 The law of inheritance attained its full development in the system of *fikh*, the following are its principles according to the Shāfiʿī teaching (for the most important divergences in the other schools cf. below sect 7).

a The law of intestacy in general. According to Muslim law, there is no fusion between the property of the legator and that of the heir The creditors of the estate can therefore only assert their claims against the estate, on the other hand, the heirs have no claim on the estate until all debts are paid The *fikh* has therefore no special teaching on the rejection of legacies, the different ways of succeeding to an inheritance, etc In addition to pledges entered into by the deceased, the debts of the estate include the funeral expenses and the religious duties omitted by the deceased so far as they consist of concrete things (e g unpaid *zakāt*) or can be atoned for by payment (e g neglected fasts [*ṣawm*]) or can be carried through at the expense of the estate by a deputy (e g the *hadjdj* omitted without good reason), in the opinion of a minority of Shafiʿī legists, omitted salāts may also be included in these After the debts any legacies have to be paid [cf WASIYA], the remainder passes to the heirs A necessary condition for inheriting is that the heir has survived the testator, in doubtful cases, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without its being certain which died first, as a rule no inheritance passes between them (this decision is already found in Tradition, there was a very old difference of opinion on the point) The heir must also have existed when the testator died, only in the case where a man leaves a pregnant widow or *umm al walad*, is a child's share reserved for the unborn child (Tradition is not agreed on this point) If a man is missing long enough to be considered dead, the kādī can declare him "presumably dead" at the request of the heirs after investigating the circumstances, the heirs thus receive the right to take possession of the estate for the time Excluded from succession are the following one who has caused the death of the deceased, the *murtadd*, an unbeliever from the succession to a Muslim and vice versa, the *harbī* (the unbelieving member of a state with which the Muslim stands in no treaty relation) and the slave As in old Arab law the succession of the *ʿasaba* is the basis of the law of inheritance in the case of an intestate, the *ʿaṣaba* are the usual heirs, inheritance by others is only an exception from the general rule, on the order of succession among the *ʿaṣaba* cf under *b* The *ʿasaba* receive the whole estate after the deduction of the portions set aside for the quota-heirs by the Kurʾān (cf under *c*) If there are no *ʿaṣaba*, that portion of the estate which remains after the deduction of the portions of the quota-heirs goes to the state treasury (*bait al-māl*, a notable change from the view found in traditions — cf section 5 —, even ʿOmar II is said to have decided otherwise, cf al-Dārimī, *Farāʾid*, bāb 56), it being presumed that this is administered according to law for the benefit of the Muslims, otherwise the Kurʾānic quota-heirs receive the remainder of the estate in proportion to their quota by the so called law of reversion, with the exception of the widower or widow if they are not also at the same time blood-relations of the deceased (here also as in the case of the exclusion of the widow from sharing in the *diya* of her slain husband, the basis is the old Arab family law) Only if there are neither *ʿaṣaba* nor quota-heirs and the state treasury is not being administered in accordance with the law are the *dhawu 'l-arhām* — i e persons related to the deceased in the female line as well as those

female relatives who cannot be quota-heirs — called upon to inherit (there are two theories regarding their order of succession) If there are none of these relatives, any Muslim may take possession of the estate, if he is capable and ready to administer it for the general good of Muslims

b Rights of the *ʿaṣaba* The *ʿaṣaba* are called upon to inherit in the following order which in essentials already existed in the pre-Muhammadan period 1 The male descendants of the legator in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession 2 The nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and remoter ascendant), of the deceased inherits before his brothers, the grandfather shares with the brothers (cf below) 3 The nearest male relative in the male line in the descendants of the father first the full brother, then the half-brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half brother on the father's side 4 The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather (as under 3) etc , 5 lastly the *mawlā*, i e the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freed man, and then his *ʿaṣaba* — The brothers of the deceased inherit only with the grandfather as *ʿaṣaba* in equal shares with him, but if there are more than two brothers there, the grandfather receives one-third of what is to be divided between him and the brothers If there are also quota heirs, the grandfather is allowed in addition at least a sixth of the estate (which he would inherit as a quota-heir, cf below *c*) He can then choose the most favourable of the three arrangements This rule seems to be a compromise between the two earlier contradictory views that the grandfather excluded the brothers or *vice versa* was excluded by them (cf above section 5) — Female *ʿaṣaba* If the deceased left sons as well as daughters they inherit jointly, the share of a son being twice as large as that of a daughter (according to Sūra iv 12) while the quota allotted to the daughters (*ibid*) is dropped, as is intended by the spirit of the Kurʾānic law The daughter who inherits along with a son is therefore also called *ʿaṣaba* and in order to distinguish her from the male *ʿaṣaba*, the *ʿaṣaba bi-nafsihi* ("*ʿaṣaba* by themselves"), she is called *ʿaṣaba bi 'l-ghair*[i] ("become *ʿaṣaba* through another") The daughter of a son of the legator is similarly treated, inheriting along with the son of a son, and the full sister who inherits along with a full brother (by Sūra iv 175), finally it applies also to the half-sister on the father's side who inherits with a half-brother on the father's side (the grandfather makes the full sister as well as the half-sister on the mother's side *ʿaṣaba bi 'l-ghair*[i]) — If the full sister and the half-sister on the father's side inherit along with a daughter of the deceased or of a son, they do not receive their Kurʾānic quota (Sūra iv 175) which in this case goes to the daughter or son's daughter (according to Sūra iv 12), but the rest of the estate after deduction of all quotas that have to be paid, they are in this case therefore called *ʿaṣaba maʿa 'l-ghair*[i] ("inheriting with one another as *ʿaṣaba*")

c Rights of the quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ*, cf the article FARĀʾIḌ) The regulations in this connection are in general based on literal interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic regulations It is true that here only the daughters, parents, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters are allotted a quota but (with some limitations) the rules holding for the daughters have been extended to the daughters of the son and those for the parents to the grandparents, in addition, a distinction has been made among the sisters between the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-sister on the mother's side The total number of quota-heirs has thus been raised to twelve 1 The daughter is entitled to half the estate, two or more daughters get two-thirds, but if daughters inherit along with sons, their claim to the quota drops and sons and daughters receive the whole after deduction of the quotas to be paid, in this case the daughter's share is half a son's 2 The daughter of a son is subject to the same rules as a daughter, inheriting along with the son of a son she receives half as much as he as *ʿasaba bi 'l ghair*[i] As the son's daughter is related to the son through him, she is excluded from participation when a son of the legator inherits A daughter on the other hand does not exclude a son's daughter from the succession, as however daughters and son's daughters together have only two-thirds of the estate as their quota, a son's daughter has only a sixth if there is one daughter, and nothing if there are two or more, unless she inherits in these cases along with a son's son as *ʿasaba bi 'l ghair*[i] 3 The father's quota is always a sixth of the estate, in addition he appears as *ʿasaba* and receives as his quota also any residuum of the estate after deducting all quotas, unless male descendants of the legator inherit jointly with him 4 The paternal grandfather (in default of him, the remoter ascendants) also receives one sixth of the estate as his quota but is excluded by the father, he also appears as *ʿaṣaba* (like the father) if there are no male descendants nor father of the deceased But if in addition to him there are also brothers of the legator, he appears with them as *ʿaṣaba* (on the share which falls to the grandfather in this case and in the case where there are also quota heirs cf above *b*) 5 The mother by Sūra iv 12, receives one-sixth of the estate if there are children, son's children or two or more brothers or sisters of the legator, otherwise a third (on the meaning of the Kurʾānic rule cf above, in practice the father in this case as a rule receives two-thirds, i e according to the scheme, one sixth as quota-heir and the rest as *ʿaṣaba*, on the exceptions cf below under *d*) 6 The quota of the grandmother is always a sixth, from this the mother's mother is excluded by the mother, and the father's mother by the father and mother, all other female ascendants of the legator rank equally with the grandmothers on both sides if there is no father and mother, so far as they are not related to the deceased by a male descendant not entitled to inherit (therefore for example the mother of the maternal grandfather inherits nothing) 7 A full sister receives half, two or more such sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate (Sūra iv 175) Along with a full brother or grandfather she becomes *ʿaṣaba bi 'l-ghair*[i] and receives the half of the brother's share (Sūra iv 175) Along with the daughter or son's daughter she becomes *ʿaṣaba maʿa 'l-ghair*[i] (cf above *b*), sons, sons' sons and the father exclude her from succession She has a claim to the quota only when the legator has died without leaving de-

scendants or male ascendants 8 The treatment of the half-sister on the father's side in general corresponds to that of the full sister, along with a half-brother on the father's side or the grandfather, she becomes *ʿaṣaba bi 'l-ghairi*, with the daughter or son's daughter *ʿaṣaba maʿa 'l-ghairi* (cf above *b*), sons, sons' sons, father and full brothers exclude her from the succession Full sisters exclude her only in so far as two or more full sisters receive together two thirds of the estate, so that nothing is left for the half sisters, if however the half sister inherits along with one full sister they receive together two thirds, the full sister getting a half and the half-sister a sixth, unless she in these cases inherits along with a half brother on the father's side as *ʿaṣaba bi 'l-ghairi* (i e the same rule as with daughters and sons' daughters, cf above) 9 and 10 The rights of the half-brother on the mother's side and of the half-sister on the mother's side are based on Sūra iv 15 each of them receives a sixth, two or more together share a third among them, they are excluded from the succession by descendants and male ascendants 11 By Sūra iv 13 the widower receives half of the estate, but only a quarter if there is a son or son's child, it is indifferent whether these are his wife's or his own descendants 12 The widow, by Sūra iv 14, receives the half of what a widower would receive under the same circumstances, if the deceased leaves more than one widow they share equally the quota allotted to the widow During the *ʿidda* (period of waiting, q v) after a revocable *talāk* a man and woman are still regarded as man and wife for purposes of inheritance

d Exceptions from the general rules Although the quota-heirs can never all inherit together and in particular the collateral relatives are excluded from their quotas by those in the direct line, the number of qualified quota-heirs may sometimes be so large that the sum of their shares is larger than the whole estate, in this case their shares are proportionately reduced [cf ʿAWL] Otherwise, the occurrence of a number of heirs makes no change from the main rules necessary, except in a few particular cases which have special names, these are cases in which, if the main rules were strictly carried through, the inheritances would be in a proportion to one another which would be contrary to the law, e g in the case of the so-called *gharībatān* if some one dies leaving a husband or wife and both parents, the mother would receive in this case a third, the father's share however, which is usually two-thirds (cf above *c* 5), would be here reduced by the quota either of the widow i e a quarter or of the widower, i e the half and thus reduced to five twelfths or to a sixth, according to tradition, it was ʿOmar who decided in this case that father and mother should share, in the proportion of two to one, what remains after deducting the portion of the widow or widower, an arrangement which is doubtless in the spirit of the Kurʾānic rule Another case, the so-called *mushtarraka*, is that in which a wife leaves her husband, her mother, two or more half-brothers ou the mother's side and also one or more full brothers, as the quotas in this case make up the whole estate, nothing would be left for the full brothers as *ʿaṣaba*, and they are more closely related to the legator than the half-brothers, in this case, which is also said to have been decided by ʿOmar, the law lays down that the full brothers have the same rights as the half-brothers so that all inherit in equal shares the third originally set aside for the half-brothers On a third case of this kind cf AKDARĪYA

7 The most important points of difference among the *madhāhib*, including the early legists, are the following It is unanimously agreed that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim nor a Muslim from an unbeliever, but Saʿīd b al-Musaiyib and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī] recognised the right to inherit in the latter case Unbelievers who belong to different religions cannot inherit from one another according to Mālik and Ibn Hanbal, but they can according to Abū Hanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī There are three views regarding ability to inherit from the *murtadd* according to Mālik, al Shāfiʿī and Ibn Hanbal his whole estate goes to the state treasury, according to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī it goes to his Muslim heirs, according to Abū Hanīfa what he has made while a Muslim goes to his Muslim heirs, but what he made after his apostacy goes to the treasury If a legator has been deliberately (with *ʿamd*) and illegally slain, his slayer, it is unanimously agreed, is excluded from inheriting Abū Hanīfa, al Shāfiʿī and Ibn Hanbal, but not Mālik, also exclude one who has killed him without design (with *khaṭaʾ*, q v) One who is a slave to some degree can, according to Abū Hanīfa, Mālik and al Shāfiʿī, neither inherit nor bequeath, according to Ibn Hanbal, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaibānī and al-Muzanī he can inherit or bequeath in the proportion he is free According to Abū Hanīfa and Ibn Hanbal, if there are no *ʿaṣaba* and quota-heirs, the *dhawu 'l-arhām* inherit, according to Mālik and al Shāfiʿī (cf above 6 *a*) as well as Zuhri, al-Awzāʿī and Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, in this case the treasury steps in If there are only quota heirs, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī the remainder goes to the treasury, according to Abū Hanīfa and Ibn Hanbal however also to the quota heirs, according to Saʿīd b al-Musaiyib the maternal uncle inherits along with the daughters The relationship of *mawlā*, which is produced by some one attaching himself to the tribe (usually on the adoption of Islām by a non Arab, cf above, sect 5) and which results in the patron becoming surety for the *diya* [q v] of the client, does not, according to the usual view, give any right to inherit Ibrāhim al-Nakhaʿī and Abū Hanīfā take the opposite view but hold but it may be dissolved at any time by either side so long as the patron has not paid a *diya* for his client The paternal grandmother is not excluded from the succession by the father, according to Ibn Hanbal only, in his view, in this case she inherits a sixth either alone or shared equally with the mother Among female ascendants, according to Mālik, only the mothers of the two grandmothers inherit, likewise their mothers and so on, but according to Abū Hanīfa also the mothers of all male ascendants and their mothers again, and so on, both views are quoted by al-Shāfiʿī, but the latter is best known and has established itself in the *madhhab* According to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, the female ascendants on the father's and mother's side share in equal portions the sixth allotted to the grandmother who is nearer of the two to the legator According to Abū Hanīfa, however, the nearer female ascendant on the father's side excludes the remoter on the

mother's side from the succession Whichever of the two sides is entitled to inherit a quota inherits, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, only on ground of "stronger" relationship, according to Abū Hanīfa and Ibn Hanbal on ground of both respects (this case, particularly frequent in the marriages of the Parsees, has been decided in various ways in Tradition, cf al-Dārimī, *Farāʾiḍ*, bāb 42), in the case of two cousins on the father's side, of which one is also the brother on the mother's side, the latter, it is unanimously agreed, receives a sixth and the remainder falls to the two as *ʿasaba* in equal portions, while Abū Thawr and al-Hasan of Basra make him inherit the whole The estate of a child, whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān*, as well as that of an illegitimate child, passes in default of other heirs, according to Abū Hanīfa, entirely to the mother (a third as Kurʾānic quota and the remainder as quasi-*ʿaṣaba*), according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī the mother receives a third as Kurʾānic quota and the remainder goes to the treasury, according to one view transmitted from Ibn Hanbal the *ʿasaba* of his mother are regarded as his *ʿasaba*, and receive the remainder, the other view corresponds to that of Abū Hanīfa In the special case of the so-called *musharīaka*, Mālik's view agrees with that of al-Shāfiʿī (cf above 6 *d*), this is also the opinion of al-Zuhrī and of Saʿīd b al-Musayyib and others, according to Abū Hanīfa and his fellows, Ibn Hanbal and Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, the full brothers actually receive nothing

8 *a* The law of the Imāmīs (Twelver-Shīʿīs) as regards inheritance is based on the same principles as that of the Sunnīs but in its practice shows a number of features of its own, which already can for the most part be traced in the traditions, i e in the earliest post-Kurʾānic development Among the divergences — apart from differences in terminology and presentation — are the classing of the *ʿaṣaba* and the *dhawu ʾl arḥām* together into one group of relatives, which is divided into three classes 1 the ascendants in the first degree and the descendants, 2 the other ascendants and the descendants of the ascendants of the first degree, 3 the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts Each of these classes excludes the following ones from the succession and within the two categories of the two first classes the relative of the nearest degree excludes all others of a remoter degree of relationship, i e for example the daughter excludes the son's son, within the third class a distinction is made between the uncles and aunts of the legator and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of his parents, and their descendants etc, and here also the member of a nearer degree excludes those of a remoter degree Within the same grade all full relatives (male or female) exclude all relatives on the father's (not the mother's) side, i e full sisters exclude half brothers, the relatives on the mother's side are excluded only from a share in the residuary estate by all other relatives of the same degree If relatives whose relationships with the legator is traced through several persons inherit jointly, the proportion of their shares is settled by the (hypothetical) shares of the persons through whom they are related to the deceased If, for example, paternal and maternal uncles inherit together, the former divide two thirds of the estate (i e the father's hypothetical share), the latter a third (i e the mother's hypothetical share), correspondingly, son's children and daughters children, children of brothers and children of sisters, and ascendants on the mother's and father's side The rules applying to the brothers and sisters of a legator are also applied to his father's brothers and sisters and so on, if the latter are called upon to inherit, if, for example, father's full brothers and sisters (uncles and aunts), and father's brothers and sisters on the mother's side exist together, the latter are not excluded by the former but receive a third (if there is only one, a sixth) which is divided equally among them (Sūra IV 15), and the former receive the remaining two-thirds (or five sixths as the case may be) of which each uncle gets twice the share of an aunt, the process is similar when their children take the place of uncles and aunts, the grandfather (and if the case arises the remoter ascendants) also inherits equally with the brothers of the legator Within similar groups the male inherits double as much as the female, so far as there are no special regulations to the contrary (cf above), for the rest the male relative on the father's side is not specially privileged before the others, as among the Sunnīs Besides these heirs by blood, there are "heirs for special reasons", i e the husband and the patron (*mawlā*), namely 1 a patron who has released the legator from slavery, 2 a patron before whom the legator has become a Muslim, or who has pledged himself to pay the *diya* for him, 3 the *imām*, who here takes the place of the state treasury and who, as the general protector of all Muslims, is entitled to inherit in the last resort — In both main groups there are simple heirs and such as have a claim to a Kurʾānic quota If the estate does not suffice to satisfy all the quotas, the shares are correspondingly reduced to the paternal relatives only, never to the maternal What is left over after satisfying the quotas is given to relatives by blood according to the above rule, but if there are no blood relatives entitled to inherit, the quota heirs, with the exception of the husband or wife, receive the residuum also by the residuary law (cf however above), if there are no heirs by blood the patrons come in, in the order given, so that the *imām*, i e the treasury, inherits only in the last resort — These general rules are sufficient to cause the distribution of an estate to look very different among the Shīʿīs from among the Sunnīs But there are in addition differences in detail, of which the most important are the following The Muslim can inherit from the unbeliever (and apostate), even the remotest Muslim heir of an unbeliever has a preference over all non-Muslim heirs, unbelievers of all sects inherit from one another, the succession of the heirs to the estate of an apostate who was born a Muslim begins from his apostacy The accidental killing of a legator does not exclude the slayer from inheriting If the sole existing heir is a slave, he is purchased at the expense of the estate (his owner cannot refuse to sell him), thus becomes free and inherits what is left, if the parents of the legator are slaves, they must in all cases be purchased at the expense of the estate, according to some the children also (this is disputed) and according to others every heir (this has not been accepted) The part-slave inherits to the degree in which he is free One who has a claim to an inheritance from two sides inherits on both grounds Of the estate of a child whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān*, the mother receives a third as the Kurʾānic quota

and the remainder as quasi ʿ*asaba*, according to the more usual view, according to the other the remainder goes to the *imām* There are no legal relationships between an illegitimate child and his ascendants (including his mother and her relatives), only between him and his descendants, if there are none, the estate goes to the *imām* In the special case of the so called *gharībatān* (cf above 6 *d*), there is no divergence from the general principles — On the whole then the Shīʿa law of inheritance represents an independent systematisation of the common principles found in the Kurʾān and Tradition but diverging further from the old Arab pre Islāmic principles, whether and how far it the Sunnī system already presupposes (as has been proved for the Zaidīs, cf Bergstrasser, *O L Z*, vol xxv, p 124) has not yet been investigated

b On the law of the Shīʿī Zaidīs cf Strothmann, *Isl*, vol xiii, p 36 *sqq*

c The most important peculiarities of the law of inheritance among the Khāridjī Ibādīs are the following the paternal grandfather inherits as quota-heir a sixth of the estate if there are descendants of the legator, otherwise he inherits as ʿ*asaba*, thus excluding the brothers, just as he himself is excluded by the father The grandmother is only excluded by the mother Female descendants, like husband or wife, have no right to the residuum Manumission confers no rights of inheritance, freedmen, negroes, Indians, Abyssinians or Nubians can inherit from another if there are no other heirs (cf above, sect 5) If there are no heirs at all, the estate is given away in charity The special case of the so called *mushāraka* is settled as among the Shāfiʿīs (cf above 6 *d*) — The dependence of this system on the Sunnī is apparent

9 The law of inheritance, as a branch of family law and as possessing a peculiarly religious character from its very full regulation in the Kurʾān, has always been one of the chapters of Muslim law most carefully observed in practice [cf ʿĀDA and SHARĪʿA] As in the long run it must lead inevitably to the splitting up of even the largest estates, various endeavours have been made to avoid this result, which was considered undesirable A plan, frequently adopted, was to constitute considerable portions of the estate religious endowments [cf WAḲF] the proceeds of which could be disposed of by the grantor as he pleased, but most endowments in course of time became much broken up Another way adopted in the Dutch Indies is, in keeping with the local ʿ*āda*, to admit only a portion of the actual estate to division among the heirs, we also frequently find an estate divided already in a lifetime by gift or friendly arrangement, and not infrequently some member of the family, according to circumstances, simply takes over the estate and obligations of the deceased, lands here are taken out of the control of Muslim law So far only a very few Indian modernists (notably Khuda Bukhsh) have dared to criticise the Muslim law of inheritance and demand its abolition It is the general practice of Muslim lands and is used by the *sharīʿa* tribunals, which also undertake the distribution of the estate, a thing too difficult for a layman to attempt The Muslim law of inheritance is also applied to members of other creeds, when they come with problems to be settled to the Sharīʿa tribunals, which often happens in Muslim countries

Bibliography (so far as not already quoted), in addition to the Muslim sources On sect 2 Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*[2], p 65 *sqq* — On sect 3 (chronology of the Kurʾān passages) Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, vol i — On sect 4 and 5 Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v Heirs, Peltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du "ʿAhih" d'el Bokhâri*, al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awtār*, in *Kitāb al-Farāʾid* — On sect 6 and 7 (for the earlier period the two recensions of Mālik's *al-Muwatta*ʾ are a valuable source) Juynboll, *Handbuch*[2], p 237 *sqq*, do, *Handleiding*[3], p 241 *sqq*, Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Recht*, p 181 *sqq* (Shāfiʿī), Baillie, *The Moohummedan Law of Inheritance*, do, *A Digest of Moohummedan Law*[2], vol i (Hanafī), Guidi and Santillana, *Il muḫtasar di Ḫalil ibn Isḥâq*, Sánchez Perez, *Perticion de herencias entre los Musulmanes* (Mālikī), Hirsch, *Abd ul Kadir Muhammed Wissenschaft des Erbrechts* (Hanafī and Shafiʿī) — On sect 8*a* Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol ii, p 326 *sqq*, Baillie, *A Digest of Moohummedan Law*, vol ii — On sect 8*c* Sachau, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1894, p 159 *sqq* — On sect 9 Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], p 250 *sq* Further references there given p 406

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

MIRDĀS B UDAIYA, Khāridjī leader in Basra, killed in 61 (680—681) He belonged to the Rabiʿa b Hanzala b Mālik b Zaidmanāt (called Rabiʿa al-Wustā, *Nakāʾid*, ed Bevan, p 185, 5 = 699, 11, *Mufaddalīyāt*, ed Lyall, p 123, 12, 772 8), a branch of the tribe of Tamīm which supplied so many leaders to the Khāridjī movement His father was called Hudair b ʿAmr b ʿAbd b Kaʿb and Udaiya was his mother's or grandmother's, name, she belonged to the tribe of Muhārib b Khasafa (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk*, ed Wustenfeld, p 134, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 209, Tabarī, Mubarrad, Balādhurī, cf *Bibl*) He is often called by his *kunya* Abū Bilāl

His brother ʿUrwa b Udaiya had been one of the instigators of the Khāridjī movement of secession at the battle of Siffīn, he himself had taken part in the movement and had fought against the Caliph ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān (38 A H), after this defeat he gave up all political activity although, like his brother, he remained faithful to his old opinions, but he declared himself against armed insurrection, political assassination (*istiʿrād*) and the participation of women in the Khāridjī movement These moderate views, which Mirdās retained till the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya and which caused the extremists to class him among the *kaʿada* (quietists) of the Khāridjīs, made it all the more remarkable when he came out openly and actively against the excesses of the governor of Basra, ʿUbaidallāh b Ziyād, in his repression of Khāridjism A woman named al-Baldjāʾ or al Bathdjāʾ (the latter form, given by Ibn al-Athīr from al Balādhurī, seems to be wrong) had been cruelly martyred by the governor Mirdās's indignation was so aroused that he left Basra with 40 of his followers and went to al-Ahwāz on the Fārs frontier, where he held out for a long time without committing any of those acts of fanaticism usual among the Khāridjīs and confined himself to imposing a levy equal in value to the pension

(ʿaṭā') which was legally due to him and his companions (60 A H) ʿUbaidallāh b Ziyād sent against Mirdās the Kilābī chief Aslam b Zurʿa (this is the best authenticated form, al-Tabarī in the first of the two versions which he quotes has Ibn Hisn, al-Dīnawarī Aslam b Rabīʿa, Yākūt Maʿbad b Aslam) at the head of 2,000 men They met near a village called Āsak (or Midjās, according to a verse quoted by Yākūt, IV 712—713) but the Khāridjīs, in spite of their greatly inferior number, defeated him In the following year, a second expedition of 4,000 men under the Tamīmī ʿAbbād b Akhdar was organised by Ibn Ziyād, he found the Khāridjīs encamped in front of Darābdjird It was a Friday and the two parties agreed to finish their prayers before fighting But the government troops, breaking the oath they had sworn, fell upon the Khāridjis while they were still praying and massacred them Mirdās's head was cut off and taken to Ibn Ziyād

This episode, insignificant in itself, provoked a tremendous reaction throughout the ʿIrāḳ in view of the fame which the piety and moderation of Mirdās had brought him His death was promptly avenged by ʿAbīda b Hilāl, who was later to become one of the leaders of the Azraḳī rising, and it was in the name of Mirdās that Khāridjīs rebelled again on the death of the Caliph Yazīd I (65 A H) The heroism and death of Mirdās were sung by several poets, notably the famous ʿImrān b Ḥittān [q v], his memory was cherished for long in Khāridjī circles and especially in ʿOmān, the centre of the Sufriya (al-Mubarrad, p 533, l 14 = *Aghānī*, XVI 154) The latter, whose intransigeance is much less marked than that of the Azraḳīs, may rightly regard Mirdās as their predecessor (cf Haarbrucker, *asch-Scharastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, II 406, from the *Kitāb al Tabṣīr fi 'l-Dīn* of Shahfūr b Ṭāhir al-Isfarāʾīnī [Brock , I 387]), on the other hand, the Muʿtazilīs held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*munkiran*) and the Shīʿīs even denied that he was a true Khāridjī (al-Mubarrad, p 560—561)

Mirdās's brother, ʿUrwa b Udaiya, does not seem to have taken part in the insurrection, but this did not save him from persecution by Ibn Ziyād, who had him arrested and executed shortly after the death of Mirdās, the version which puts his execution before the rising of Mirdās in 58 A H (Tabarī, II 185) is less probable

Bibliography The fullest and most complete account is that of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 584—596, without indication of source, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al Ashrāf*, Constantinople MS ʿĀshir Efendi, p 386ᵛ—387ᵇ, is very close to but not identical with al-Mubarrad's and quotes a large number of verses He also omits the *isnād* Al-Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, II 186—187, 390—391 relies on two sources, Wahb b Djarīr and an anonymous one, of which the former does not seem very reliable and the latter follows al-Mubarrad and al-Balādhurī, but is much shorter, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed Wustenfeld, I 61—62 (cf also II 434, l 1) seems to have used an independent source Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, III 428—430, IV 81–82 harmonises al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī, and follows al Mubarrad, p 592 for the death of ʿUrwa, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al ṭiwāl*, ed Guirgass, p 278—279 knows the episode, but wrongly attributes it to the Azraḳīs (sic !) and does not even mention Mirdās — Cf also Wellhausen, *Die rel-pol Oppositionsparteien* (*Abh G W Gott*, phil-hist Kl, N J V, 2, 1901), p 25—27 (G LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MIRDĀSIDS, an Arab dynasty in Syria The Mirdāsids took their name from the leader of the Bedouin tribe of the Kilābīs, Sālih b Mirdās We know nothing of Mirdās himself On Sālih cf the art and on his successor Shibl al-Dawla, the art , for the other members of the dynasty cf HALAB

In the beginning of the fifth (eleventh) century the Kilābis migrated from the ʿIrāk to the region of Aleppo In 414 (1023) their leader Sālih took the town The dynasty, at first so strong, gradually became so feeble that its last representative Sābik exchanged the town in 472 (1079) in spite of his brothers' protest for a few smaller towns with the then powerful Bedouin chief Muslim b Kuraish

The importance of the Mirdāsids, the second last Arab ruling family of Syria, lies in the fact that they successfully defended the northern province of Aleppo by arms and policy against the Byzantines and Turks Lane-Poole gives the genealogy in his *Muhammadan Dynasties*, London 1894, Shibl al-Dawla Nāsir (2) had also a son Mubārak and Rashīd al Dawla Mahmūd (4) had also sons Shabīb and Waththāb

Bibliography given in the article (M SOBERNHEIM)

MIRJAM [See MARYAM]

MĪR KHĀWAND, historian, author of the *Rawdat al-Ṣafā'* ("Garden of Purity") He was son of Burhān al Dīn Khāwand Shāh, native of Transoxiana, and, apparently, of Bukhārā He lived much in Herāt and died there on June 22, 1498, aged 66 His work is a universal history in seven volumes, beginning with the Creation and ending at the death of Sultān Husain of Herāt in 1505 The last volume, however, is really the work of his grandson, Khwāndamīr [q v] His work is not so interesting as his grandson's *Habīb al-Siyar*, for it is a compilation and wants the personal note The style too is bombastic, and there is little historical criticism But it is a work of great industry and has a high reputation in the East It was lithographed in Bombay 1848, in Tihrān 1852, a Turkish translation appeared at Constantinople in 1842, partial translations were made by Jenisch, Mitscharlik, Wilken, Vullers, Shea (O T F series), Rehatsek (T F series), Jourdain and Silvestre de Sacy (*Journal des Savans*, 1837)

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AL-**MIRRĪKH,** the planet Mars The etymology of the name is unknown The sphere of Mars is the fifth sphere of the planets It is bounded on the inner side by the sphere of the sun and on the outer side by the sphere of Jupiter, and its breadth is according to Ptolemy (XX 376) 998 miles Its period of revolution is estimated at 1 year, 10 months and 22 days In about 17 years, after 9 revolutions, Mars comes back to the same spot in the heavens, it spends about 40 days in each sign of the zodiac and covers about 40

minutes each day It is said to be one and half times the size of the earth

Astrologers call Mars *al Nahs al-aṣghar*, the minor misfortune It is the planet, which next to Saturn is credited with the most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagration etc The character of those born under Mars is in keeping with this

Bibliography al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed Wustenfeld, i 26, A Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strassburg 1916, passim, *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Safāʾ*, Section iii, iv (J RUSKA)

MĪRZĀ or MIRZĀ, a Persian title, from *Mīr-zāda* or *Amīr-zāda*, and originally meaning "born of a prince" (cf *Malik zāda* and *Farhang-zāda*, which occur in Saʿdī etc) The title, in addition to bearing its original significance, was also given to noblemen and others of good birth, thus corresponding to the Turkish Āghā Since the time of Nādir Shāh's conquest of India it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullās* or *ʿulamāʾ* In modern times the title is placed after the name of a prince, and before the name of other persons bearing it e g *Husain Mīrzā* "Prince Husain", whereas *Mīrzā Husain* is practically equivalent to "Mr Husain" (R IEVY)

MĪRZĀPŪR, a district (and town) in India in the Benares division of the Central Provinces area 5,240 square miles The population is nearly 1,100,000 of whom barely 7% are Muhammadans The latter show a tendency to increase in proportion to the Hindus, owing to their greater vitality, containing as they do a smaller proportion of the very poor The district is however a stronghold of Hinduism, and Islām makes little progress by conversion Nothing is known of the early history of the district It was occupied by Radjputs in the eleventh century A D and in the next century passed into the power of the Muslim rulers of Djawnpūr Down to the Moghul conquest, the district played an important part in the military history of India, as it contained the great stronghold of Čunār which guarded the gateway of the east

At Rasulpur near Ahraura is the tomb of a Muslim martyr called Saiyid Ashrāf ʿAlī which is a place of pilgrimage Near the gateway of the fort of Bijaigarh is shown the tomb of Saiyid Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, the saint who miraculously took the stronghold for Sher Shāh The town of Čunār contains two mosques at one of which are preserved garments said to have belonged to Hasan and Husain The tomb of the Afghān saint Shāh Kāsim Sulaimānī (1545—1606) with those of his family forms a group of buildings of architectural interest His festival is celebrated on the 17th—21st Djumādā I

Mīrzāpūr city is the capital of the district of the same name It has a population of 80,000 of whom a sixth are Muslims It is a Moghul foundation dating from late in the xviith century in the xviiith and early xixth centuries it attained great prosperity as a trading centre, being at the junction of important roads and at the highest point on the Ganges reached by the larger ships In 1864 the opening of the East India Railway left the town isolated, since then it has declined, as the railway now carries the trade with which it used to deal

Among the mosques is one founded in the middle of the xixth century by a Muslim lady named Ganga Bibi who also left funds to build a sarai The town contains the celebrated Hindu shrine of Vindhesvarī, much visited by pilgrims and formerly held in special veneration by Thugs

Bibliography D L Drake-Brockman, *District Gazetteer of Mirzapur*, Allahabad 1911 (J ALLAN)

MĪRZĀ TAKĪ KHĀN, *Amīr i Nizām* or *Amīr i Kabīr*, was born at Farāhān of humble parents, his father having been first the cook and then the steward of the *Kāʾim Makām*, Mīrzā Abu 'l-Kāsim, who ended his life as the first minister of Muhammad Shāh Kādjār (1834–1848) In 1829, as a young menial, Takī khan accompanied the Persian Commander in-Chief on the Mission which was sent to St Petersburg after the murder at Tihrān of the Russian ambassador Grebaiodoff On his return to Persia after this visit to Europe, he was promoted to be a *mirzā* or writer, and subsequently was advanced to the rank of khān By the time his master and patron died the young official had achieved distinction enough to be made wazir responsible for the army in Ādharbāidjan Still further honours came, when, during the negotiations at Erzerūm for the settling of outstanding disputes between Persia and Turkey, he was sent to represent his own country in place of the Mushīr al Dawla, who had fallen ill after his appointment as plenipotentiary On the conclusion of the Treaty of Erzerūm, Mirza Takī returned to Tihrān and was then commissioned to accompany the young Wali ʿAhd, Nāsir al-Dīn Mirzā, to Tabriz, to which the latter was sent as governor of Ādharbāidjān In 1848, Takī Khān's master became Shāh, and on the way back to Tihrān he appointed his lieutenant to the post of Prime Minister It is said that either modesty or prudence caused him to refuse the title of Sadr-i Aʿzam which is bestowed on the holders of the office, but, in any event, he contented himself with the less imposing one of *Amir i Nizām*, which he had held in Ādharbāidjan as Commander-in Chief As a mark of the royal favour he was given the sister of the Shāh in marriage, and found in her a wife who displayed the utmost devotion to him for the short remainder of his life

In office he had the rare distinction in Persia of being inamenable to bribery, and he had a regard for his country which led him to resent interference from foreign powers in its affairs Moreover, recognizing the reactionary influence of the *ʿulamāʾ*, he attempted in such ways as were open to him to counteract their activities He reorganised the army in spite of attempts by his enemies to rouse certain sections of the troops into revolt against him, he made efforts to improve the fiscal system of the country and he had some success in making the provincial treasuries self-supporting Trade, both internal and external, was encouraged by him, and it was he that equipped Tihrān with the fine bazars which it now has As has been indicated, his period of office was not a peaceful one In 1850 occurred the execution of the "Bāb" [*q v*] at Tabrīz, the revolts of the Bābīs at Yazd and Zindjān and the execution of the "Seven (Bābī) Martyrs" at Tihrān The risings were put down with great cruelty, and in consequence an attempt was made by the Bābīs on the life of the Amīr-i Nizām, whom they regarded as responsible Almost from the begin-

ning of his period of office he had aroused by his influence over the Shāh the jealousy of the latter's mother and of possible rivals, and their secret attacks were helped by his overbearing character In November 1851 his enemies succeeded in securing his dismissal, after which the ill-judged attempt of the Russian ambassador to give the fallen minister his protection roused the anger of the Shāh who ordered him to retire in disgrace to Kāshān There, on January 9, 1852, he met his death at the hands of the sovereign's farrāsh-bāshi

Bibliography Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of Persia* (London 1856), p 201 *sq*, 248—252, R G Watson, *History of Persia* (London 1866), p 364—404, Muhammad Taki, *Ta'rikh-i Kādjāriya* (Tihrān n d not paged), part III, folios 13b, 14a, 26 (R I EVV)

MISĀHA (science of measurement, plane and solid geometry) is the name given by the Arabs to the science of comparing magnitudes and its methods In the wider sense it covers the measurement of all things which can or need be measured, mainly lengths, areas, volumes, weights and numbers, in particular however, the *'ilm al-misāha* deals with geometry, with definitions of solids and geometrical figures as well as the laying down of rules for the calculation of lengths, areas and volumes of the different figures in elementary plane and solid geometry The conception *misāha* therefore includes only a portion of what we call measurement in the wider sense, or practical or technical geometry (i e the measurement of things having length, breadth and volume), in particular it excludes mensuration in the narrow sense, geodesy The Arabs possessed special treatises dealing with the problems of geodesy They therefore make the same distinction between theoretical and applied measurement, which had developed among the Greeks from the time of Aristotle and is most clearly expressed by Hero in his *Metrica* and *Dioptra*

The definitions given by the Arabs themselves of the conception *misāha* are very varied Some authors give a very wide one (e g al-'Umawi "Measurement consists in ascertaining an unknown quantity by means of a known one The result gives the amount of the unknown quantity in units of the quantity used for measuring"), most of them mean by it the measurement of length, area and volume Al-Shinshawri makes a clear distinction between direct measurement, "the test of coincidence" (*tatbīk*), and indirect measurement by calculating from certain formulae

We find treatises on geometry throughout the whole period in which the Arabs acted as the transmitters of the ancient culture with which they had become acquainted, from the earliest beginnings of their literary activity at the beginning of the ninth century A D to the decline of Arab mathematics about 1600 The purpose of such works was to give the future surveyor, architect or soldier the necessary equipment, the theoretical foundation for his profession Three groups of these treatises can be distinguished according to their method of treatment

a those which are quite like our modern collections of formulae, are made as brief as possible, give only the usual methods of calculation and contain no examples (e g that of Ibn al-Banna'),

b those which contain examples, completely worked out, illustrating the process of calculation (e g that of al Baghdādī),

c those which only contain a series of fully worked out problems, and are a kind of exercise book (e g that of Abū Bakr)

On the method of exposition in these works it should be noted that we cannot of course speak of mathematical formulae in our sense of the word among the Arabs They, especially the eastern Arabs, had no language of mathematical formulae, it was only late among the western Arabs and probably only in the field of algebra that a technical language was developed The rules for measuring were always written out fully in words, sometimes even the figures occurring in the text

The matter of the works on *misāha*, especially the larger ones, as a rule comprises introductory remarks, rules for calculating areas and volumes and the most important lengths found on them, and occasionally also practical exercises

A Introductory remarks These are as a rule

1 Definition of the term misāha

2 Explanation, description and systematic classification of the geometrical figures to be discussed

3 Definition and list of the most common units of measurement

B Rules for calculation

I Plane surfaces (and the lengths occurring on them)

1 Quadrilaterals (square, rectangle, rhomboid trapezium, trapezoid, quadrilateral with salient angle)

2 Triangles (equilateral, isosceles, scalene, right angled, acute-angled and obtuse angled)

3 Polygons (regular, irregular, "drumshaped figure" (*mutabbal*), "hollow figure" (*mudjawwif*) "stepshaped figure" (*mudarradj*)

"Drumshaped" and "hollow" figures are formed by the combination of two congruent trapeziums in such a way that in the former the shorter, in the latter, the longer parallel sides coincide, a number of varieties are distinguished The stepshaped figure is formed by placing together a number of rectangles of the same length but different breadth, in which the proportions of the breadths form an arithmetical progression

4 Circle, segments of a circle (semi circle, segment, sector, circumference) and related areas (horseshoe or crescent [*hilāli*], egg shape, bean-or lentil shaped, or oval figures)

The crescent is formed by the subtraction of two segments of circles of different radius with a common chord egg shape and bean-shape by the addition of two congruous segments which in the egg-shape are less, in the bean shape greater than the semi circle The area of the oval (ellipse) is given by Savasorda as $^1/_4\ (a + b)^2\ \pi$

II Solids (and the areas, especially superficies, and lengths that occur on them)

1 Prism (ordinary straight and oblique prism, square column, rectangular column, dice, triangular prism, obliquely cut prism, *corpus simile domui* in Abū Bakr as translated by Gerard of Cremona)

2 Cylinder

3. Pyramids (straight and oblique pyramids, sections of pyramids)

4 Cones (straight and oblique cone, section of cone)

5 Sphere and section of a sphere, hemisphere, segment, sector and zone

6 Regular and semi-regular bodies (the five Platonic and two Archimedean are treated at any length only in al-Kāshī)

7 Other bodies [cylindrical vault (*azāḏ* and *ṭikān*, the only difference between them is the length) hollow dome (*kubba*), roof-shape (*corpus simile caburi* in Abū Bakr), wreaths and discus (hollow cylinder), terrace-shaped figures]

C Practical exercises

These are generally speaking rare in works on *misāha* We frequently find exercises in dividing fields modelled on Hero and Euclid Savasorda has a number of exercises on fields on slopes, in hollows and on summits and on the calculation of the heights of hills, al-Hanbalī has some on the measurement of inaccessible pieces of ground, the depth of wells and breadth of rivers Of other problems may be mentioned, for example, the calculation of the number of pieces of stone or bricks required to build a house or a roof, the ascertainment of the height of a wall

It must not however be supposed that the subject matter as above described is fully contained in any work on misāha The individual works differ in subject matter according to the inclinations and abilities of their authors, just as our text-books of geometry do at the present day We find works planned on a very comprehensive scale (by al-Hanbalī and al-Kāshī), alongside of very brief ones, often dealing only with portions of the subject (e g the anonymous Berlin MS N⁰ 5954 which contains only formulae for calculating plane surfaces), or even only a single problem (like the treatise by al-Shinshawrī) We therefore often find expositions which are only put into works on geometry in order to show the author's special knowledge or results of his research in a particular field

Among remarkable examples of this kind are the insertion by Djamshīd al Kāshī in a work on *misāha* of a treatment of regular and some semi-regular bodies (the calculation worked out by him in sexagesimal fractions to the fifths is so accurate that it only begins to differ from the correct figure in the tenth decimal place), the formulae for the area of a surface given by al-Umawī $F = \sqrt{a\,b\,c\,d}$ for trapezoids with a right angle and his improvement of Hero's formulae for the segments of a circle, the formula for an arc given by al-Karkhī, the formula $d^2 = {}^1/_9\,[n(n-1)+6]\,a^2$ where d is the diameter of the circle around a regular polygon of n sides of length a given by the same author and al-Baghdādī (the same formula is found in Nemorarius and Regiomontanus and attributed by the latter to the Hindus, it is however, so far as we know, not found in any Hindu mathematical work yet published), also the application of algebra to geometry by Abū Bakr and Ibn al-Bannā' The former uses the algebraical solution for problems of areas in order to show the application of equations of the first and second degree to the six cases distinguished by al-Khwārizmī, the latter uses combinatorial analysis to investigate the different possibilities of stating the problem

The methods of calculating the volume are the same as we find among the Greeks and Egyptians When it is not a question of matter that has been taken over from them, in which case the formulae are directly adopted, the obtaining of results is purely inductive and empirical Al-Karkhī for example for the volume of a sphere gives, in addition to the formulae d^3 $({}^{11}/_{14})^2$, on the method of obtaining which he says nothing, also d^3 $({}^{28}/_{45})$ which he gets by comparing the weight of a cube of wax with the weight of a sphere, which is made out of the cube of wax and whose diameter is equal to the edge of the cube al-Baghdādī deals with a method of ascertaining the volume from the weight and specific gravity al-Kashī knows the method of immersion of Archimedes mentioned by Hero The direct method of measuring the length of areas by laying a thread along them is still recommended as the most reliable by al-Karkhī and Bahā' al-Dīn It is evident that such methods must lead to approximative results and formulae of approximation, the typical feature of practical geometry, continue to be used by the Arabs in measuring long after they obviously knew of their inaccuracy Ibn Mammātī criticises the usual formulae for the area of a triangle ${}^1/_2\,(a+b)\,{}^3/_4\,c$ and ${}^1/_2\,(a+b)\,{}^2/_3\,c$, al-Baghdādī the formula for a quadrilateral ${}^1/_2(a+c)\,{}^1/_2(b+d)$ which comes from the Egyptians

The reasons for the long survival of such rules are partly that the formulae gave in practice quite useful results and partly that the practical men who were concerned with measurement in the exercise of their trade wanted values easy to calculate rather than great mathematical accuracy and took no note of slight errors, especially if they thereby avoided calculations with roots For similar reasons and in keeping with the traditional practice, almost all works of *misāha* give no scientific geometrical proofs of the accuracy of the formulae they quote Only the book of the Jew Abraham Savasorda, who may be reckoned among the western Arabs, gives logically worked out proofs in any number, we occasionally find references to early mathematicians (especially Euclid) in Ibn al-Bannā' and Ibn al-Hanbalī Probably inspection was quite sufficient (ʿAbd al ʿAzīz for example draws plane figures in a network of squares each of one unit and counts the squares and their parts within this area) or a simple demonstration in some form or a calculation to prove the correctness of the procedure, which was frequently illustrated also by examples completely worked out

A further peculiarity of Arabic authors was to give formulae which agree completely in substance in different algebraical forms The Berlin MS N⁰ 5954 gives for example for the calculation of the section of the hypotenuse q in the right angled triangle the following formulae $q = {}^1/_2\,[a + (c^2 - b^2)\;a] = {}^1/_2\,[a + (c+b)\,(c-b)\;a] = {}^1/_2\,[a + (c+b)\;\frac{a}{c-b}] = {}^1/_2\,[a^2 + (c^2 - b^2)]\;a$ This differentiation was probably only intended to give as many forms as possible of the relations between the known and unknown magnitudes so as to afford the practical man a choice of different correct formulae of which one might suit the special case better than another

The sources of Arab geometry are to be sought among the Greeks and Hindus The form and

substance of the rules are almost entirely Greek, especially in the older authors Hero's "elaborations" in particular, which in turn go back to Egypt, seem to have been the model for Arab works on geometry To Egypt may be traced the prefacing of a metrological section (found in many books on *misāha*), the problems on dividing fields, the formula for the trapezoid, the special name for the upper side of a quadrilateral (*raʾs al-ʿarīd*) Hindu are the values for π in al-Khwārizmī, the formula $\sqrt{a\,b\,c\,d}$, for the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, the terms are, perpendicular from the summit of an arc and chord, the marking of lengths in Hindu figures, the use of algebra to solve geometrical problems (equations, method of double error, combinatorial analysis) The chief teachers were however the Greeks, whose achievements the Arabs generally speaking never surpassed, the requirements of practical mensuration gave them no new problems and practical geometry remained down to quite modern times elementary, the majority of the problems of which had been finally settled long ago by the Greeks

The services of the Arabs to geometry lie less in the extension of the field by ascertaining new, hitherto unknown facts, although in the misāha works we do find a series of new and novel rules, than in their enrichment of this science by new methods of calculation and teaching and especially in their preserving the inheritance of the ancients and handing it down to the western world Although Hero's geometry first became known in northwestern Europe through Roman surveyors, it was mainly the Arab sources which gave new life to this subject which had become stagnant in its old form Arabic original works were made accessible to the west in Latin translations Leonardo of Pisa in his *Practica geometrica*, which remained a standard work for three centuries, depended closely on Savasorda, who most probably owed a great deal to Abū Bakr as there are striking similarities between the *Liber embadorum* and the *Liber mensurationis*, down to late in the xvith century we continually come across writings on practical geometry, which in form and content show to what originals they go back

Bibliography a I Manuscripts Arabic authors translated into Latin 1 *Liber in quo terrarum et corporum continentur mensurationes Ababuchri* (author presumably Abū Bakr, † 1055, cf H Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber* etc, *Abhdlg z Gesch d math Wissensch*, xlv, 10 Heft, 1900, N⁰ 224), Cambridge, Univ Library, Mm ii 18, fol 69ᵛ—76ᵛ, 2 *Liber Saydi abuothmi* (author presumably Zaid Abū ʿOthmān, † 1052, Suter, N⁰ 222), do, fol 76ᵛ—77ʳ, 3 *Liber aderameti* (author presumably ʿOmar al-Hadramī, † 1057, Suter, N⁰ 227), do, fol 77ʳ—77ᵛ

II Arabic works (the titles are given as translated by F Wiedemann and J Ruska) 1 Ibn al-Djiyāb (c 1150) "Records of the measurement of surfaces", Escurial, old N⁰ 924, fol 1ᵃ—70ᵇ, 2 ʿImād al Dīn al-Baghdādī († 1335, Suter, N⁰ 494), "Work on the science of measurement and the sharing of difficulties", Berlin 5976, fol 17ᵃ—26ᵃ, 3 Ibn al-Bannāʾ († 1339–1340, Suter, N⁰ 399), "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement, Berlin 5945, fol 70ᵇ—73ᵃ, 4 anonymous, "Treatise on the principles of the doctrine of measurement" (written in 1358), Berlin 5953, fol 56ᵇ—59ᵃ, 5 anonymous, "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement", Berlin 5954, fol 85ᵇ—95ᵇ, 6 Djamshid b Masʿūd al Kashi († 1436—1437, Suter, N⁰ 429), "Keys for the calculator in the science of arithmetic", Berlin 5992, fol 27ᵃ—48ᵇ, 7 Yaʿish b Ibrāhim al-Umawī (c 1490, Suter, N⁰ 453), "Abolition of difficulties in measurement", Berlin 5949, fol 73ᵃ—79ᵃ, 8 Ibn al-Hanbalī († 1563, Suter, N⁰ 464), "Marks of beauty in the problems of geometry", Paris 2474, fol 1ᵃ—53ᵃ, 9 ʿAbd Allāh al Shinshawri († 1590–1591, Suter, N⁰ 472), "Comfort to the eyes in measuring the vessel which holds two kulla", Berlin 5951, fol 1—12, Gotha 1078, 1 and 1079

b Editions 1 M Curtze, *Der Liber Embadorum des Abraham bar Chyja Savasorda in der Übersetzung des Plato von Tivoli*, *Abhdlg z Gesch d math Wissensch*, Heft xii, 1902, 2 A Hochheim, "*Kafi fi ʾl-Hisâb*" *des Abû Bekr al-Karchi*, 9–11 Programm d hoh Gewerbeschule Magdeburg, 1878–1880, 3 A Marre, *Le messahat de Mohammed ben Mousse al-Kharezmi*, in *Annali di Matematica*, Rome 1865, vol 7, p 269 *sq*, 4 G H F Nesselmann, *Fssenz der Rechenkunst von Mohammed Beha-eddin ben Alhossain*, Berlin 1843, 5 Fr Rosen, *The Algebra of Moh b Musa*, London 1831, 6 J Ruska, *Zur altesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkuust*, *Sitzgs-Ber d Heidelberger Akad d Wissensch*, Heidelberg 1917, 7 E Wiedemann, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Mafatih al-ʿUlûm*, *Beitrage z Gesch d Naturwissensch*, xiv, *S B P M*, *Soz Erlangen*, vol 40, Erlangen 1908, 8 do, *Über das Messen nach Ibn al-Haitam*, *Beitrage*, xvii, *S B P M*, *Soz Erl*, vol 41, Erlangen 1909, 9 do, *Über Vermessung nach Ibn Mammâti*, *Beitrage*, xxi, *S B P M*, *Soz Erl*, vol 42, Erlangen 1910 (H SCHIRMER)

MISʿAR B MUHALHIL ABŪ DULAF AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-YANBŪʿĪ, an Arabic poet who lived at the court of the Sāmānid Nasr II b Ahmad (301—331 = 913—942) and in 331 was sent by him to conduct a Chinese embassy back to their land and on his return visited India He later gained the favour of the Būyid vizier al-Sāhib al-Tālkānī (so al Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol 363ᵇ) Ismāʿīl b ʿAbbād (d 385 = 995) To him he devoted a long kasida on the thieves' dialect of the Banū Sāsān, which his patron so much admired that he himself wrote a commentary upon it (extracts in Thaʿālibī, *Yatima*, iii 176—194) The dates of his birth and death are nowhere exactly given To his long journeys he alludes in his verses quoted by Thaʿālibī, *op cit*, iii 174 The only authentic information has been preserved by the author of the *Fihrist*, on p 346, 30 *sqq* (where *wa-kāna dhawwālatan* is of course not to be translated as Flügel does [note 182] "there was a rumour current" but "he was a great traveller") he gives his account of a temple in Mukrān said to be of gold, and on p 350, 15 *sqq* a description of the capital of China A comparison of these with the corresponding account of his journey attributed to Abū Dulaf in Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 457, 20 *sqq*, 451, 55 *sqq* shows that the latter is a late falsification (cf Marquart in the *Festschrift* for Sachau, p 292) This is confirmed by an internal criticism of his statements The first country to be entered after leaving Muslim territory is, he

says (Yāḳūt, III 449, 7), al-Khargāh, I e as Marquart, *S B B A*, 1912, p 492 has recognised, the Persian translation of the Turkish name for Kāshghar, Ordukänd Of this kingdom of the Boghrākhāns however, this author (p 447 *sqq*) talks as if it belonged to the tribe of Boghiāč, whose ruler was a descendant of 'Alī, as the East Turkish legend of Satok Boghrā Khān says of his grandson The story is therefore compiled from various sources Marquart (Sachau, *Festschrift*, p 271—272) has also recognised that the alleged ruler of Sadjistān whom the author claims (*op cit*, p 458, 4) to have met, Abū Dja'far Muhammad b Ahmad b Laith, son of Bānūi, a sister of Ya'kūb b Laith, is identical with Khalaf b Ahmad son of Bānū, a granddaughter of 'Amr b Laith, who was taken prisoner by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 1002—1003 and died in 1008 The geographical information given by the compiler is therefore quite unreliable in detail His story is also preserved in the second version of Kazwīnī's *Cosmography* in the Gotha Mss 1506 (Moller, N° 2316) and has been edited from it by Schlozer

Bibliography al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al Dahr*, III 174—194, F Wustenfeld, *Des Abu Dolef Misar Bericht uber die turkischen Horden*, *Zeitschr fur vergl Erdkunde*, I Jahrg, vol 2, Heft 9, Magdeburg 1842, *Abu Dolaf Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere suo asiatico commentarius*, ed C Schlozer, Berlin 1845, W Grigorieff, *Ob arabskom putesestvennikya X jaka Abu Dolef i stranstwowanii ego no srednei Asii*, in *Žurnal ministerstwa narodnago prasvjacenu*, vol clxiii/2 (1872), p 1—45

(C Brockelmann)

MISBAHA [See Subha]

MISKĪN, poor, a loanword which has shown remarkable vitality It goes back to the Assyrian *muskenu*, "poor" (in the Laws of Hammurabi it is a name for a class between those enjoying full citizenship and slaves, according to L W King freemen who do not belong to the ruling race) In the meaning "poor" it has passed into Aramaic (*meskin*), Hebrew (*miskēn*), North Arabic (*miskīn* or, against analogy, *maskin*), into Southern Arabic and Ethiopic (*meskīn*) It has passed from Arabic into Italian as *meschino* and into French as *mesquin* In Arabic, on the analogy of the form *mif'īl*, it is usually of common gender but the feminine form *miskina* is also found with plural *miskīnāt* Muhammad often uses the word in the Kur'ān in the list of persons whom it was a duty for believers to support As in Sūra IX 60 it is found alongside of *fukarā'*, commentators and jurists have felt that some distinction must be made between the two They usually explain *miskīn* as needy, but not absolutely without possessions like the *fukarā'*, and refer to Sūra XVIII 78, where there is a reference to poor people who possess a ship among them How uncertain this is, is however evident from the fact that the Mālikīs in opposition to the Shāfi'īs take the other view and regard the *miskīnūna* as the most needy, cf also the various definitions collected by Lane *Dhū Matraba* in Sūra XC 16 does not help us From the meaning "poor" gradually developed that of "base, miserable", also in the moral sense, cf e g Ibn Sa'd, III/1 6 ult where Abū Sufyān's wife Hind is called *al-Miskina* On the other hand, the word can mean "humble" as in the words attributed to Muhammad "Let me live as a *miskīn* and die as a *miskīn* and include me among the *miskīnūna*"

Bibliography On the Assyrian cf the references in Gesenius, *Hebraisches Worterbuch* [16], and King, *History of Babylon*, p 164, for Arabic Lane, I 1305, Abū Ishāk al Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed Juynboll, I 879, 6 *sq*, Th W Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p 106

(Fr Buhl)

MISR, *a* a proper name denoting the eponym of Egypt, the ancestor of the Berbers and the Copts In accordance with the Biblical genealogy (Genesis x 1 *sqq*) Misr is called the son of Ham, the son of Nūh The Biblical origin of the pedigree appears clearly in the form Misrā'im or Misrāim (cf Hebrew *Miṣraim*) which is found side by side with Misr

In some genealogies between Hām and Misr there is inserted Baisar, a name of which the origin is unknown to me

There exists, however, also quite a different genealogy, according to which Misrām is a son of Tablil, one of the early heroes (*djabābira*), who ruled Egypt after the Deluge

Bibliography al Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed de Goeje, I 217, al Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed Houtsma, I 210, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al Dhahab*, Paris ed, II 394, Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A*, VI 80, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, I 58, al-Suyūtī, *Husn al-Muhādara*, Būlāk, p 15, Muh 'Abd al-Mu'tī al-Manūfī, *Kitāb Akhbār al Duwal*, Cairo 1311, p 5,

b a proper name denoting Egypt as a country It may be supposed that Misr was already the name of Egypt among the Arabs in pre-Islāmic times as it is used in the Kur'ān (e g sūra X 87, XII 21, 100, XLIII 50), where the Biblical form Misraim does not occur It has remained the Arabic name of Egypt [q v] up to the present day

c a proper name denoting the capital of Egypt, i e at present and since its foundation Cairo, which with its full name is called Misr al-Kāhira [cf Cairo] Misr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated southwest of later Cairo, when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Misr al-kadima (Old Misr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of 'Amr and the right bank of the Nile (cf Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p 16)

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo the name Misr is regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A*, VI 247, 251, Ibn Rosteh, *B G A*, VII 115 *sqq*, al-Bukhārī, *Fard al Khums*, bāb 13, Abū Dāwūd, *Tahāra*, bāb 74) We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fustāt or the Tūlūnid capital) is especially denoted by it It may be supposed that the combination of Fustāt Misr "Fustāt in Egypt" (cf e g Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, *B G A*, VIII 358, Makrīzī, *Khitat*, I 285 opposes Fustāt Misr to *ard Misr*) forms the link between the application of the name Misr to the country and to the capital After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz Babylon and Fustāt The papyri never mention Misr as the name of either of these settlements Yet in the latter part of the seventh century A D the application of the name Misr to one or to the other or to both

must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu who at least once uses Mesr as the name of a city, where he speaks of "the gates of Mesr" (p 25) In other passages Mesr appears as the name of the country (p 201, 209)

The statement that the name Miṣr as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the South of the later Babylon, a city called Miṣr (cf Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p 15, do, *The Arab Conquest*, p 221 note) Caetani (*Annali*, A H 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact, that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of Miṣr Butler's reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest — The Coptic name of Babylon was Keme

Bibliography A J Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902, do, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924, Maspero and Wiet, *Materiaux pour servir a la geographie de l'Egypte*, in *M I F A O*, vol xxxvi, p 168 *sqq*, *Chronique de Jean eveque de Nikiou, texte ethiopien publie et trad par H Zotenberg*, Paris 1883, register

d a common noun, denoting a town, it is used especially in connection with the capitals of the provinces in the times of the conquests, e g in the tradition "The *amṣār* will be conquered at your hands" (Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, bāb 28) Basra and Kūfa are often called "the two miṣrs" (Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, bāb 13, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 454) Further any town may be called miṣr (e g Bukhārī, *Dhabāʾih*, bāb 2 *Adāhi*, bāb 15, *Idaīn*, bāb 25, Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 32 etc) This miṣr is a genuine Semitic word, cf *Iṣān al-ʿArab*, s v and the Jewish Aramaic *miṣi*, *mesrānā*, which have the same meaning, viz that of a house or a field as an exactly delineated and demarcated territory (cf J Levy, *Chaldaisches Worterbuch*, do, *Neuhebraisches-talmudisches Worterbuch*)

It may be supposed that the geographical name Miṣr (cf above, *a*—*c*) comes from the same root and has originally a meaning akin to that of the common noun (A J Wensinck)

MISRĀʿ, a term in Arabic prosody applied to a hemistich or half line (*baīt*), the first hemistich is called *ṣadr* and the second *ʿadjuz* Each has two, three or four feet, *tafʿila* or *djuz*ʾ The last foot of the first hemistich is called *ʿarūd* and the last of the second *darb* As a general rule, and in the first verse of a poem, the *ʿarūd* foot should have the same measure (*tasrīʿ*) and rhyme (*takfiya*) as the *darb* foot

(Moh Ben Cheneb)

MIṢRĪ [See Niyāzī]

MIṢṢĪS, arab al Maṣṣīṣa, a town in Cilicia on the Djaihān

In antiquity it was called Μόψου ἑστία a name, which (like that of Μόψου κρήνη in the Cilician passes) is derived from the cult of the legendary seer Mopsos (cf Meyer, *Gesch d Altert*, I/II ², § 483) In ancient times, the town was chiefly famous for its bishop Theodorus (d 428), the teacher of Nestorius and friend of the suffragan bishop and inventor of the Armenian alphabet, Mashtʿocʿ (Peeters, *Revue des Etudes Armen*, ix, Paris 1929, p 210, on him cf e g al Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed de Goeje, p 152, Mich Syr, transl Chabot, ii 3, Barhebraeus, *Chron eccles*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, i 133, Theophanes, *Chron*, ed de Boor, i 77, 19, 96, 4) In the reign of Justinian a synod was held in Mopsuhestia in June 550 to see that his name was removed from the diptychs of the bishops (Mansi, *Acta Concil*, ix, col 275–289, Hefele, *Konziliengeschichte*, ii ², 832–834) At a later date the name of the town was usually written Μομψουεστία (pronounced Mobsuhestia?, cf *Append ad Petri Siculi hist Manuch*, ed Gieseler, p 63, 1, Wilh Schulze, *Zeitschr f vergl Sprachforsch*, xxxiii, new series, xiii, 1895, p 372, references in Gelzer to Georg Kypr 819, Syr Mompsuhestia Noldeke, *W Z K M*, iii, 1889, p 356, Severus Antioch, *Epist*, v 6, ed Brooks, p 338, Arab Mābsubastiyā in Ibn Khurdādhbih, ed de Goeje, p 99) As early as the end of classical times we already find the popular forms *Mompsistea* (Tab Peut), Byzant Μαμίστα (Michael Glykas, *Annal*, Bonn Corpus, p 570, 4, Anna Komnena, ed Reifferscheid, ii 140, 5, in al-Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister in *Z D P V*, viii 24 *Mānistrā*, the Byzantine work on "Towns with later altered names" ed Burckhardt, Hierokles, *Synekdem*, Leipzig 1893, p 62, Appendix I, N⁰ 29, wrongly says Καστάβαλα Κιλικίας ἡ νῦν Μάμιστα, the former is rather the modern Budrūm Kalʿe), Masista (Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, c 32, ed Geyer in *Corp Script Eccles Lat*, xxxix 150, 6), i e Syriac Masīstā (*Notitia Antiochena*, ed Rahmānī, *I fasti della chiesa patriarcale Antiochena*, Rome 1920, p v, *Byzant Ztschr*, xxv 74, 81), from which the Arabic al-Massīsa, Armen Msis and Turk Missīs or Missis have arisen

The emperor Heraclius is said to have removed the inhabitants and laid waste the district between Antioch and Mopsuhestia on the advance of the Arabs, in order to create a desert zone between them (al-Ṭabarī, i 2396, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 163 between al-Iskandarūn and Tarsūs), and under the Omaiyads all the towns taken by the Arabs from al Massīsa to the fourth Armenia (Malatya) are said to have been left unfortified and uninhabited as a result of the inroads of the Mardaites (Theoph, ed de Boor, i 363, 17) According to Abu 'l-Khattāb al-Azdī (in al Balādhurī, p 164), the Arabs conquered al Massisa and Tarsūs under Abū ʿUbaida, according to others under Maisara b Masrūk, who was sent by him and who thereafter advanced as far as Zanda (in 16 = 637 Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii 805, § 311) Muʿāwiya on his campaign against ʿAmmūriya in 25 A H found all the fortresses abandoned between Antākiya and Tarsūs (see above) According to the *Maghāzī Muʿāwiya* he himself destroyed all the Byzantine fortresses up to Antākiya in 31 (651—652) on his return from Darawlīya (Δορύλαιον in Phyrgia) (al Balādhurī, p 164 *sq*) After the Syrian rebellion against ʿAbd al-Malik, the emperor Constantine IV Pogonatos in 65 (684–685 A D) advanced against the town and regained it (al Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 321) Yahyā b al-Khakam in 77 marched against Marḏj al-Shahm between Malatya and al Massīsa (al-Yaʿkūbī, ii 337) It was only in 84 (703) that ʿAbd al-Malik's son ʿAbd Allāh retook the town and had the citadel rebuilt on its old foundations (Balādhurī, p 165, Yaʿḳūbī, ii 466, Wāḳidī in Tabarī, ii

1127, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, iv 398, Theophan, *Chron*, ed de Boor, p 372, 4, Mich Syr, transl Chabot, ii 477, Elias Nisiben, *Opus chronolog*, ed Brooks, p 156, transl, p 75, *Script Syri, chronica minora*, ed Guidi, p 232, transl, p 176, under 1015 Sel year, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, i 472) In the following year, he installed a garrison in the fortress, including 300 specially picked soldiers, and built a mosque on the citadel hill (Tall al-Hisn), a Christian church was turned into a granary (*huryun, huryā = horreum, horrea*, al-Balādhurī, p 165, Ibn al-Shihna, ed Bairūt, p 179) To the same event no doubt refers the wrongly dated reference in the *Chronicle* of the Armenian Samuel of Ani of the year 692 A D to the fortification with strong walls of the town of "Mamestia, i e Msis" by the Muslims under ʿAbd al-Malik (*Ratio temporum usque ad suam aetatem presbyteri Samuelis Aniensis*, in Euseb Pamphil, *Chron*, ed A Mai and I Zohrab, Mediolani 1818, App p 57, Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 286) Every year from 1,500 to 2,000 men of the corps (*tawāliʿ*) of Antākiya used to winter in the town According to Michael Syrus (transl Chabot, iii 478), ʿAbd al-Malik died in 1017 Sel (705 A D) in al-Massīsa

ʿUmar II is said to have intended to destroy the town and all the fortifications between it and Antioch and to have been either prevented by his own death (Balādhurī, p 167) or dissuaded by his advisers, according to this version, he then had a large mosque built in the suburb of Kafarbaiya in which there was a cistern with his inscription It was called the "Citadel Mosque" and kept up till the time of al-Muʿtasim (al-Balādhurī, p 165, but Kafarbaiya was probably not really built till the time of al Mahdī or Hārūn al-Rashīd, [see below] Yazīd b Djubair (Ἄξιδος ὁ τοῦ Χουνεί) in 704 A D attacked Sis (τὸ Σίσιον κάστρον, in al-Tabarī and Ibn al Athir Sūsana in the Nāhiya of al-Massīsa) but was driven off by Heraclius, the emperor's brother (Theophan, ed de Boor, p 372, 23 A M 6196, according to al Tabarī, ii 1185, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv 419, wrongly not till 87 A H) Hishām built the suburb (*al-Rabad*), Marwān II the quarter of al-Khusūs east of the Djaihān, which he surrounded with a wall with a wooden door and a ditch The bridge of Djisr al-Walīd between al-Massīsa and Adhana, 9 *mīl* from the former, was built in 125 (742—743 A D) and restored in 225 (840) by al-Muʿtasim (al-Balādhurī, p 168, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, ii 82, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, ed Juynboll, i 255) In the first half of the viiith century the caliphs al-Walīd II and Yazīd III brought the gipsy tribe of the Zutt, who had been deported to Basra by Muʿāwiya in 670 A D, and settled them with great herds of buffalo in the region of al-Massīsa in order to fight the plague of lions in the district of the Djabal al-Lukkām (al-Balādhurī, p 168, De Goeje, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Zigeuners*, 1875, p 17—22)

The first ʿAbbāsid, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh, on his accession strengthened the garrison by 400 men, to whom he gave lands, the same estates were later allotted to them by al-Mansūr The latter in 139 (756—757) restored the wall, which had been damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year, and increased with 8,000 settlers the much diminished population of the town, which he called al-Maʿmūra (al-Balādhurī, p 166, Ibn al Athīr, v 382, Yākūt iv 579, s v *al-Maʿmūriya*, Ibn Shihna, p 179) On the site of a heathen temple he built a large mosque which far surpassed the mosque of ʿUmar in size When ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir was governor of Maghrib (i e 211 = 826), it was enlarged by al-Maʾmūn Al Mansūr increased the garrison to 1,000 men and settled in the town the inhabitants of al-Khusūs, Persians, Slavs and Christian Arabs (Nabataeans), whom Marwān had transplanted thither (see above), and gave them allotments of land It is probably that to the same event the story refers that Sālih b ʿAlī, when in the ʿAbbāsid period the inhabitants of al-Massīsa, harassed by the Byzantines, resolved to migrate, sent Djabrʾil b Yahyā al-Badjalī al-Khurāsānī in 140 (757—758) to rebuild the town and settle it with Muslim inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, p 166 according to al-Tabarī, ii 135 in the year 141) Under al-Mahdī the garrison was increased to 2,000, in addition there was the Antākiya corps of almost the same size which wintered here regularly until Sālim of Burullus became their wālī and increased the garrison by 500 men instead There is a brief reference in the Syriac inscription of ʿEnesh to a raid by al Mahdi to the Djaihān (Syr Gihōn) in 780 A D (1091 Sel, Chabot, in *J A*, ser ix, xvi, 1900, p 287, Pognon, *Inscr semit de la Syrie et de la Mesop*, p 148—150, N⁰ 84) Hārūn al Rashīd built Kafarbaiya or according to another story, altered the plans for this suburb prepared by al-Mahdī and fortified it with a ditch, he also built walls which were only completed after his death by al-Muʿtasim In 187 (803) an earthquake laid waste the town (al Tabarī, iii 688) In the following year, the Byzantines invaded and pillaged the region of al Massīsa and ʿAin Zarba and carried off the inhabitants of Tarsūs into captivity, whereupon Hārūn al-Rashīd attacked and defeated them (Mich Syr, iii 16) According to al Tabarī (iii 709) and Ibn al Athir (vi 135), the Byzantines in 190 (806) invaded ʿAin Zarba and Kanīsat al-Sawdāʾ and took prisoners there, but the people of al-Massīsa regained all their loot from them If, as it seems, the curious story in the Byzantine chroniclers (Theoph, *Chron*, ed de Boor, p 446, 18, Georg Kedren, Bonn Corpus, ii 17) that in 771—772 (A M 6264) Ἀλφαδαλ Βαδινάρ, i e al-Fadl b Dinār, who had 500 Byzantine prisoners with him, lost 1,000 men and all his booty through a sortie of the Μομψουεστεῖς refers to the same events, the latter would appear to be wrongly reported and wrongly dated

On the 13th Hazīran 1122 Sel (811 A D) the walls and many houses in the town and three adjoining villages fell in a great earthquake, near al Massīsa the course of the Djaihān was dammed for a week so that the boats lay on the dry bed (Mich Syr, iii 17) In 198 (813—814) Thābit b Nasr al Khuzāʿī was fighting in the Syrian marches of al Massīsa and Adhana (Yaʿkūbi, ii 541) On his campaign into Bilād al-Rūm, al-Maʾmūn passed through al-Massīsa and Tarsūs in Muharram 215 (March 830, (al-Tabarī, iii 1103, Ibn al-Athīr, vi 294, Abu 'l Fidāʾ, *Annales Muslem*, ed Reiske, ii 152, Weil, *Gesch d Chal*, ii 239) In revenge the emperor Theophilos in 216 (831) raided the lands around these two towns and slew or took prisoner 2,000 men (al-Tabarī, iii 1104, Ibn al-Athīr, vi 295)

After the emperor's campaign against Zibatra (837 A D) in which he also defeated the Μομψουεστῖται (Const Porphyrog, *De caerim*, ed

Bonn, p 503, Vasilev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, in *Zapiski ist filol fak imp S-Ptbg Univ*, čast lvi, 1900, p 88 *sq*, note 4), al Muʿtasim bi 'llāh in the following year attacked ʿAmmūrīya, his general Bashīr commanded a part of the army which included the Massīsa contingents (Mich Syr, iii 96) In 245 (859) the town was again visited by an earthquake which destroyed many places in Syria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia (al-Yaʿkūbī, iii 1440) The Caliph al Muʿtadid after restoring order in the Thughūr al-Shāmiya (287 = 900) returned from al-Massīsa via Hunduk al Hussain, al-Iskandarīya and Baghrās to Antākiya, Halab and al Raḳḳa (al Tabarī, iii 2198—2200, al Funduk, a place in the Thughūr near al-Massīsa Yākūt, iii 918, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, ii 365)

When in 292 (904—905) the Byzantine Andronicus invaded the district of Marʿash, the people of al Massīsa and Tarsūs met him but were defeated and lost their leader Abu 'l-Riḍjāl b Abi Bakkāi (al-Tabarī, iii 2251, Ibn al Athīr, vii 371, Vasilev, *Zap ist-fil fak imp S-Ptbg Univ*, cast lvxi, 1902, p 154, note 2)

In 344 (955—956) the Hamdānid Saif al Dawla was visited by horsemen from the frontier towns of Tarsūs, Adana and al Massīsa and with them an envoy from the Greek king who concluded a truce with him (al-Nuwairī and Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z D M G*, xi, p 192, Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī, *Kitāb al-Duwal al Munkatiʿa*, transl Vasilev, *op cit*, Prilożen, p 86) Defeated by Leo Phocas in 349 (960) in the pass of al Kučuk, Saif al-Dawla spent the night in al-Hawānit and returned to Halab via al Massīsa (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *op cit*, p 196, Yahyā b Saʿīd, *Taʾrikh*, ed Kračkovskiy-Vasilev, in *Patrol Orient*, xiii, 1924, p 782)

In 352 the emperor Nicephoros took Adana, the inhabitants of which fled to al-Massīsa, and sent the Domesticus John Tzimisces (Yānis b al-Shimshkīk al-Dumistik) against this town The latter besieged it for several days but had to withdraw as his supplies were running short, and after laying waste the country round burned the adjoining al Mallūn (Μαλλός) at the mouth of the Djaihān (Yahyā b Saʿīd, *op cit*, p 793 *sq*) The emperor himself came again in Dhu 'l Kaʿda 353 (Nov 964) to the marches (al Thaghr) and besieged al-Massīsa for over 50 days but had again to abandon the siege owing to shortage of supplies and retired to winter in Kaisarīya Finally the town was stormed by John Tzimisces (Arm Kuir Žan) on Thursday the 11th Radjab 354 (July 13, 965) The inhabitants set it on fire and fled to Kafarbaiya After a desperate struggle on the bridge between the two towns the Greeks took this suburb also and carried off all the inhabitants into captivity (Yahyā b Saʿīd, *op cit*, p 795, Ibn al-Athīr, viii 408—411, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Ann Musl*, ed Reiske, ii 482 *sq*, Mich Syr, iii 128, Elias Nisiben, ed Brooks, p 218, transl p 106, Georg Cedren, ed Bonn, ii 362, Leon Diakon, ed Bonn, p 52 *sq*, Mattʿeōs Urhayecʿi, ed Dulaurier in *Rec hist crois*, *Docum Arm*, i 5, Stepʿan Asołik of Taron, *Armen Gesch*, transl H Gelzer and A Burckhardt, Leipzig 1907, p 134, 24) They were, to the number of 200,000, it is said, led past the gates of Tarsūs, which at that time was being besieged by the emperor's brother Leo, to terrify the people of the town (Ibn Shihna, *Rawdat al-Manāzir*, in Freytag, *Z D M G*, Elias Nisiben, *op cit*) The gates of Tarsūs and of al-Massīsa were gilded and taken as trophies to Constantinople, where one set was put in the citadel and the others on the wall of the Golden Gate (Georg Cedren, ii 363)

The town remained for over a century in the hands of the Byzantines, the Emperor Basil II Bolgaroktonos stayed for six months in the region of al-Massīsa and Tarsūs before going to Armenia after the death (March 31, 1000 A D) of the Kuropalates Davitʿ of Tajkʿ to take possession of his lands by inheritance (Yahyā b Saʿīd, *Taʾrikh*, ed Rosen, p 39, in *Zap Imp Akad Nauk*, xliv, St Petersburg 1883) In 1042 the Armenian prince Aplgharib, son of Hasan and grandson of Khačʿik of the house of the Arcrunians, was sent by the emperor Constantine Monomachos as governor to Cilicia (St Martin, *Mem sur l'Arm*, i 199) In 1085 A D Philaretos Brachomios, who was appointed in Constantinople perhaps Sebastos (Mich Syr, iii 173) or at least Kuropalates (Mich Attal, Bonn ed, p 301) and whose ephemeral kingdom comprised the land from Tarsūs to Malatya, Urfa and Antākya, held al Massīsa (Mich Syr, *loc cit* Laurent, *Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarete*, *Rev des Et Arm*, ix, 1929, p 61—72) Shortly before the arrival of the Crusaders, the Seldjūk Turks took Tarsūs, al-Massisa, ʿAin Zarba and the other towns of Cilicia (Mich Syr, iii 179) About the end of Sept 1097 the Franks under Tancred, who had been invited thither from Lambron by Ōshin III, took the town which was stormed after a day's siege the inhabitants were slain and rich booty fell into the hands of the victor (Albert Aquens, iii 15 *sq*, in Migne, *Patrol Lat*, clxvi, col 446 *sq*, Radulf Cadom, *Gesta Tancredi*, c 39 *sq*) William of Tyre describes al Massīsa on this occasion (iii 21, in Migne, *Patrol Lat*, cci, col 295) "*Erat autem Mamistra una de nobilioribus eiusdem provinciae civitatibus, muro et multorum incolatu insignis, sedet optimo agro et gleba ubere et amoenitate praecipua commendabilis*" Count Baldwin, who had quarrelled with Tancred, followed him along with the admiral Winimer of Boulogne and encamped in a meadow near the Djaihān bridge, Winimer left him there and went with his fleet to al-Lādhikīya, while the two rivals had a desperate fight, after which Baldwin withdrew to the east (Albert Aquens, iii, c 15, 59, in Migne, *op cit*, col 446, 472) Tancred followed him, after he had imposed on the city "*plus paternas quam principis leges*" (Radulf Cadom, c 44) The Byzantine general Tatikios, who had joined the Crusaders to take over their conquests in name of the emperor, left them in the lurch in the beginning of Feb 1098 at the siege of Antākiya and ceded to Bohemund the town of Tursol (Tarsūs), Mamistra and Addena (Adana) (Raymond of Agiles, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover 1611, p 146, 5) Bohemund only took possession of the towns of Tarsūs, ʿAin Zarba and al Massīsa in August (Will of Tyre, vii 2) After the town had again fallen to the Greeks for a period Tancred again took it in 1101 (Rad Cad, c 143), but had to hand it over with Tarsūs, Adana and ʿAin Zaiba to Bohemund on his return from captivity in 1103 (Will of Tyre, vii 2, in Migne, *op cit*, col 379) In the following year however, Longinias, Tarsūs, Adana and Μάμιστα were regained for Byzantium by the campaign of the general Monastras (Anna Comnena, Ἀλεξίας, ed Reifferscheid, ii 140, 5, who apparently did not recognise the identity of Μάμιστα with Μόψου

ἐστίαι which she mentions several times) In the treaty between Bohemund and the emperor Alexios of Sept 1108 the town was promised to the former (Anna Comnena, *op cit*, II 218), Tancred having taken it in the preceding year with 10,000 men from the Byzantine general, the Armenian Aspietes (Anna Comnena, II 147) At this time, of the quarters of the town one (probably Kafarbaiya) was in ruins (Anna Comnena, *op cit*) Baldwin of Burg and Joscelin of Courtenay, who allied themselves against Tancred with Kogh Vasil of Kaisūm, were supported by the latter with a detachment of 800 men and a body of Pečenegs, who were stationed in al-Massīsa as Greek mercenaries (Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i, transl Dulaurier, p 266 *sq* = *Rec Hist Crois*, *Doc Arm*, I 86) The great earthquake of 1114 destroyed the town like many others in Cilicia and Syria (Smbat, in *Docum Arm*, I 614)

Under the Frankish patriarchate of Antioch, Mopsuestia-Mamistra was separated from the ecclesiastical province of Anazarbos and made an autocephalous metropolis (Michael Syrus, III 191, recensions of the *Notitia Antiochena* of the Crusading period, MS of Chalki [now in Leningrad, Russ Publ Library, MS Gr 716, cf Beneševič, *Byz-Neugriech Jahrb*, V, 1927, p 103, note], ed Papadopoulo-Kerameus, in Ἑλλην Φιλολ Σύλλογ, Μαυρογορδ Βιβλιοθ, Constantinople 1884, p 65 ὁ Μουμψοεστίας ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Ἀναζάρβης καὶ ἐτάγη αὐτοκέφαλος, cf cod Paris suppl grec 1226, ed Nau, *R O C*, 1909, p 215, Vatic gr 1455, ed Gelzer, *Byz Ztschr*, I, p 250, N° 165 and pass) The ἐνορία Μοψουεστίας stretched (according to a work on the boundaries of the Antiochene dioceses, ed Papadopoulo-Kerameus, *op cit*, p 67) from Seleucia in Syria and Adana ἀπο τοῦ μεγάλου Ξηροποταμοῦ (now Ozerlu or Rabat Çaï?) ἑως τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Φυσῶν The latter is undoubtedly identical with αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς Ἀδανας, the Saihān, for the name Djaihān (probably first found in the 'Umaiyad court poet 'Adī b al-Rikā' c 710 A D Noldeke, *Z D M G*, xliv, 1890, p 699 *sq*) and Saihān for Pyramos and Saros are no doubt derived from the names of the Biblical rivers Gīhōn and Pīshōn (*Gen*, II 11) (wrongly explained from the Persian Djihān in Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Mineure*, Nancy 1904, p 278, 1)

In 1132/33 the Rupēnid Łevon I (Λεβούνης), son of Constantine, took the town (Arm Msis, Mises, Mamestia or Mamuestia from the Greeks (Cinnamos, I 7, III 14, Smbat Sparapet *Chronicle*, in *Docum Arm*, I 615) The brother of the emperor John II Comnenos went to him and Łevon gave his sons his daughters as wives with the towns of al-Massīsa and Adana as dowries But when they quarrelled he took back from the Greeks all that he had given them, and Isaac had to flee with his sons to Sultān Mas'ūd (Michel Syr, II 230) Łevon, falling through treachery into the hands of Raymond of Poitiers, had to cede (1136—1137) al-Massīsa, Adana and Sarvantik'ar (now Sawuran Kal'e?), but regained his liberty in a couple of months, he very soon retook these towns (*Docum Arm*, I 152 *sq* = *Chron de Matthieu d'Édesse*, transl Dulaurier, p 457, Smbat, *op cit*, p 616) The emperor John in 1137 (1448 Sel) had his revenge on Łevon He invaded Cilicia, took Tarsūs, Adana and al Massīsa, seized Łevon himself with his wife and children and took them to Constantinople, where Łevon subsequently died (Ibn al-Athīr, XI 35, Michael Syrus, III 245, Gregor presbyt, *Forts d Chronik des Matt'ēos*, transl Dulaurier, p 323, cf *Docum arm*, I, p xxxii, I and 153, 4, Will of Tyr, XIV 24, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerusalem*, p 211) John installed Coloman (*Calamanus*), son of Boris and grandson of king Coloman of Hungary, as governor of Cilicia (Will Tyr, XIV 24, XIX 9, in Migne, *Patr Lat*, CCI, col 603, 756, a "*Dux Ciliciae*" mentioned in *Regum et principum epistolae*, N° 24, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Franc*, p 1182, l 46 and *passim*) When the emperor John died at Mardj al-Dibādj on April 8, 1143 (Will of Tyr, XV 22 *sq*, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 228, 4), his successor Manuel I Comnenos had his body brought by boat from Mopsuestia down the Pyramos to the sea and taken by sea to the capital (Niketas Choniat, *Man Komn*, I, Bonn ed, p 67)

Thoros II, the son of Łevon who had escaped home from his confinement in Constantinople, was again able to cast off the Byzantine yoke When in 1151 he took Msis and T'il (Tall Hamdūn) from the Byzantines (Smbat, in *Doc Arm*, I 619) and made their general Thomas prisoner, the emperor Manuel in the following year sent against him with 12,000 cavalry Andronicos Comnenos, whom he had appointed governor of Tarsūs and al Massīsa (Gregor presbyt, in *Doc Arm*, I 167 = Matth Edess, transl Dulaurier, p 334, Smbat, *Chron*, in *Doc arm*, I 619) Andronicos, who did not recognise Thoros as ruler of Asia Minor, advanced against al Massīsa but was surprised by the Armenians and put to an ignominious flight with his 12,000 men Thus not only the town, which was very well supplied with provisions and military material of all kinds, fell into his hands, but also a great part of Cilicia (Gregor presbyt, transl Dulaurier, p 334—336 = *Doc Arm*, I 167 *sqq*, Smbat, *op cit*) The emperor, himself too weak to avenge the insult, twice induced by gifts the Sultān Kīlīdj Arslān II (Gregor wrongly Mas'ūd) of Kōniya to attack Thoros The Sultān, who on the first occasion (1153 A D) was content with the defeat of the Armenian and the return of the lands taken from the Greeks, again attacked al Massisa, 'Ain Zarba and Tall Hamdūn (Arm T'ilin Hamtunoy) in 1156 but could do nothing against them and had finally to retire after heavy losses (Gregor, *op cit*, p 338 = *Doc Arm*, I 171)

The emperor Manuel himself passed through Cilicia in 1159 with a large army to the assistance of the Crusaders Thoros had already retired to Vahka in the desolate mountains (*Armen Rhymea Chron*, in *Doc Arm*, I 505) when the emperor entered al-Massisa at the beginning of November, but he did no injury to any one there (Gregor, transl Dulaurier, p 353 *sq* = *Doc Arm*, I 187) The Frankish kings led by Baldwin came to pay homage to him in the town or on the adjoining *pratum palliorum* (as Will of Tyre, XIII 27 translates Mardj al Dibādj) where his court was held in camp for 7 months (Gregor, transl Dulaurier, p 358, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerusal*, p 298) Thoros was also able with great tact to become reconciled with him, and on acknowledging Byzantine suzerainty and ceding several towns in Cilicia, was recognised as "Sebastos" of Msis, Anazarbos and Vahga (*Doc Arm*, I 186, Smbat, *ibid*, p 622) His brother Mleh, who attempted his life while out hunting between al-Massīsa and

Adana, was banished by Thoros and given by Nūr al-Dīn the town of Kūrus (Kyrrhos, Smbat, *loc cit*) After the death of Thoros of Msis (1168–1169, Smbat, p 623), Mleh (Arab Malīh b Līwun al-Armanī) succeeded him and at first ruled only over the district of the passes (*Bilād al-Durūb*) In 1171 he surprised Count Stephen of Blois at Mamistra and plundered him (Will of Tyre, xx 25—28) In 568 (1172—1173), supported by troops of his ally Nūr al-Dīn, he took from the Greeks Adana, al-Massīsa and Tarsūs (Ibn al-Athīr, xi 255, Kamāl al-Dīn, transl in Rohricht, in *Beitrage z Gesch d Kreuzzuge*, i, Berlin 1874, p 336)

When Mleh's successor Rupēn III fell through treachery into the hands of Bohemund of Antioch, his brother Łevon (II) obtained his release in 1184 by ceding al-Massisa, Adana and Tall Hamdūn (Tell) and paying 3,000 dīnārs, immediately afterwards, Rupēn retook these strongholds from the Franks (Mich Syr, iii 397, *Doc arm*, i 394)

Het'um, the nephew of the Catholicos Grigor IV and son of Č'ortvanēl of Tarōn, who came to Cilicia in 1189 with his brother Shahinshah, received from Łevon II (1185—1219) his niece Alice, daughter of Rupēn III, in marriage and the town of Msis, but died in the same year (Smbat, in *Doc arm*, i 629, Marquart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p 481 *sq*) The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 586 (1190) was about to go to Syria via Tarsūs and al-Massisa when he met his tragic end in the Kalykadnos (alleged [?] letter of the Armenian Catholicos in Ibn Shaddād, in *Rec Hist Orient des Crois*, iii 162) a portion of his army thereupon went to Antioch via Tarsūs, *Mamistra* and *Thegio* (Hisn al-Mukhalkab, not *Portella*, the Syrian passes, with which Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 530, 4, identifies it)

Wilbrand of Oldenburg who visited the East in the train of Duke Leopold VII of Austria and Steiermark and the Teutonic Grandmaster Hermann von Salza, came in the beginning of 1212 to *Mamistere* which he describes as follows (Wilbr, c 18, ed Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, Leipzig 1864, p 175) „*Haec est civitas bona, super flumen sita, satis amoena, muram habens circa se turritum, sed antiquitate corrosum, paucos in quodam respectu habens inhabitatores, quibus omnibus rex illius terrae imperat et dominatur*" In the vicinity lay „*quoddam castrum quod erat de patrimonio beati Pauli sed nunc temporis possidetur a Graecis*" „*In hac civitate* [Mamistere] *habetur sepulchrum beati Pantaleonis Ipsa vero distat a Canamella* (cf Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, 1891, app viii, p 71) *magnam dictam*" Łevon II granted the republics of Genoa and Venice the privilege of having their own trading centres in al-Massisa, which could be reached by ship from the sea before the mouth of the Djaihān became silted up (Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Armeno-Cilicie*, p 287) The attempt of Raymund Rupēn of Antioch to seize the throne of Armenia after Łevon's death in 1219 failed, he was, it is true, able to take Tarsūs and attack al-Massisa but he was taken prisoner by Constantine of Barżrberd and died in prison in 1222 (*Doc arm*, i 514, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerus*, p 741 *sq*)

For a century the Rupēnids ruled almost undisturbed in the town Their glory reached its height under the splendour-loving Het'um I (1219–1270) Here were held the annual festivals of the Church at which numerous princes and nobles used to gather down to the last and difficult years of the king Here was held the brilliant ceremony at which his 20 year old son Łevon was dubbed knight Hither the king brought the seat of government after the destruction of Sīs (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 287 *sq*)

Baibars sent a punitive expedition against Het'um in 664 (1266) under al-Malik al Mansūr of Hamā, who advanced as far as Kal'at al-'Amūdain and into the district of Sis, while Saif al Dīn Kilā'ūn took al Massīsa, Adana, Ayās and Tarsūs (al-Makrīzī, *Hist d Sult Maml*, transl Quatremere, i/ii 34 *sq*, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal Musl*, ed Reiske, v 18, al-Nuwairī, in Weil, *Gesch d Chal*, iv 56) Three years later (1269), the district of al-Massisa was visited by an earthquake (al-Suyūti, in *Doc arm*, ii, 1906, p 772, note f) Baibars (Arm *Pntukhtar* = Arab *Bunduk dār*) himself in 673 (spring of 1275) took the field against Łevon III, son of Het'um, laid waste the whole of Cilicia as far as Korikos and stormed al Massīsa and Sīs, the former on 26th March The inhabitants were massacred, almost all the houses burned and the great bridge destroyed (Armen Kandarayn Msisay, i e Kantarat al-Massīsa, cf al-Makrīzī, i/ii 123 *sq* with note 154, Mufaddal b Abi 'l-Fadā'il, *Gesch d Mamlūkensultane*, ed Blochet, in *Patrol Orient*, xiv 389, Barhebraeus, *Chron syr*, ed Bedjan, p 531, 6, Smbat, *Chronik*, in *Doc arm*, i 653, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerusalem*, p 967, van Berchem, *C I A*, i 688, note 2) When in 697 (1297—1298) an army under the emirs Saif al-Dīn Kipčāk, the Nā'ib of Dimashk, Fāris al-Dīn Ilbeki al-Sāki al-Zāhiri, the Nā'ib of Safad, Saif al Dīn Bizlār al-Mansūrī and Saif al-Dīn 'Azāz al-Sālihī invaded the land of Sīs, al-Massīsa is not specially emphasised among the unimportant places taken like Tall Hamdūn, Hammūs (Humaimis), Kal'āt Nadjma, al Massīsa, Sirfandikār, Hadjar Shughlān, al-Nukair and Zandjfara (al-Makrīzī, ii/ii 60–65, Mufaddal, *op cit*, p 602, al-Nuwairi, in Blochet, *ibid*) In 1322, the Egyptians crossed the Djaihān by a bridge of boats, got behind the Armenians who had retired to Msis and inflicted a severe defeat upon them, among those who fell are mentioned the barons Het'um of Djiknoc', his brother Constantine, Wahram Lotik, Ōshin, the son of the marshal, along with 21 knights and many men (Smbat's Continuator, in *Doc arm*, i 668) This authority also mentions a raid by an Egyptian force against al Massīsa (Mamuestia), Adana, al-Mallūn (Mlun) and Tarsūs in 1334—1335 (*Doc arm*, i 671, Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, 1891, part viii, p 68) The last Egyptian invasion took place in 823 (1373—1374) Among the towns destroyed were Sīs, Adana, al-Massīsa and 'Ain Zarba, and Łevon IV had to surrender in 1375 after a siege of nine months in Ghaban (*Doc arm*, i 686, note 3) The town thus passed nominally into the *Futūhāt al-Djahānīya* of the Mamlūk empire, it had, it is true, by now sunk into insignificance and it is not mentioned, for example, among the towns taken by Shahsuwār in 1467 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 290)

Armenian sources mention 8 archbishops of the town from 1175 to 1370 (1175—1206 David, 1215 Johannes, 1266 Sion, 1306 Constantine 1316 John, 1332 Stephen, 1342 Basil, 1362—1370 unnamed, cf Alishan, *op cit*, p 290) Michael Syrus knows only Job of about 800 A D (*Chron*, transl.

Chabot, III 23 *sq*, 451, N° 27) and the Frankish writers from 1100 onwards Bartholomaeus, before 1234 Radulphus and in the years from 1162–1238 three or four more unnamed bishops (Albert Aquens, IX 16, Will of Tyre, XIV 10, Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III 1198—1200, Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr Jerusal*, p 42, 202) On account of the many Egyptian invasions the Latin archbishopric was removed to Ayās by Pope John XXII in 1320 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 290)

After the fall of the kingdom of Little Armenia, the power of the Ramadān-Oghlu and Dhu 'l-Kadr-Oghlu gradually spread in Cilicia Selim I on his campaign against Egypt in 922 (1516) and on his return also preferred to keep to the east of their land (Taeschner, *Anatol Wegenetz*, II 32) Missīs has been Ottoman since that year, in which the decisive battle was fought on Mardj al-Dābik

In Kafarbaiya a khān was built for caravans passing through in 1542 and restored in 1830 by Hasan Pasha The Djaihān bridge became useless in 1736 when the central arch collapsed, in 1766 this was repaired but it was blown up in 1832 on the retreat of the Turkish troops from the fighting at Bailān in order to hold up the advance of Ibrāhīm Pasha's pursuing army As late as the middle of the XIXth century it could only be crossed by an improvised wooden footbridge

In modern times Missīs is mentioned only by eastern pilgrims and travellers who as a rule only spent a short time there Thus it was visited in 1432 by the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Brocquiere ("*Misse-sur-Jehan*"), in the XVIth century by P Belon, 1682 the Mecca pilgrim Mehmed Edib, 1695 the Armenian Patriarch of Antiochia Makarios, 1704 Paul Lucas, 1736 Chevalier Otter, 1766 the Dane Carsten Niebuhr, 1813 Macd Kinneir, 1834 Aucher Eloy, 1836 Colonel Chesney, 1840 Ainsworth, 1853 Victor Langlois, whose reports were exhaustively used by Carl Ritter (*Erdkunde*, XIX 66—115) The "Merges Galles" visited by Ludwig von Rauter on July 8, 1568, is not (as in Rohricht Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem hl Lande*, 1880, p 434, note 43) al-Massisa, but Merkez Kal'esī on the Bāb Iskandarūn (Cilic -Syr passes) Somewhat fuller descriptions of the modern Missīs and its ancient and mediaeval ruins were given in the XIXth century by Langlois, Alishan and at the beginning of the XXth by Cousin (see *Bibliography*)

The stretch of the Baghdād railway from Dorak south of the Taurus via Adana and Missīs to Ma'mūra at the foot of the Amanos was opened on April 27, 1912 As a station on the railway (the station is actually $1^1/_2$ miles N W of the place) the town gained a certain strategic importance in the Cilician campaign of the French in 1919—1920 (1919 settlement of about 1,2—1,500 Armenians, May 27–28, 1920 futile Turkish blockade of the garrison there, about a company strong, end of July withdrawal of the troops to Adana, cf E Bremond, *La Cicilie en 1919—1920*, in *Rev Étud Arm*, Paris 1920, I, p 311, 360, 363, 365) After the Turkish occupation the newly settled Armenians were probably exterminated in the usual way The importance of the town has now passed to the neighbouring Djihān

According to the Arab geographers, al-Massīsa lay on the Djaihān (Πύραμος, sometimes confused by the Byzantine authors with the Σάρος, Arab Saihān, with which it seems to have had at one time a common mouth George Cedren, II 362, Anna Comn, II 147), I—2 days' journey from Baiyās and one from 'Ain Zarba and Adhana, 12 *mil* from the Mediterranean coast The sea could be seen from the Friday mosque in the town, in front of the town lay a beautiful fertile plain (the ancient Ἀλήιον πεδίον) Al-Massīsa lying on the right bank was connected with Kafarbaiya by an ancient stone bridge built by Constantius and restored by Justinian The country round was rich in gardens and cornfields, watered by the Djaihān According to Yākūt, the town originally had a wall with 5 gates and Kafarbaiya, one with 4 gates A speciality of the town were the valuable fur-cloaks exported all over the world Ten miles from al Massisa, which is somewhat inaccurately placed by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Yākūt and others on the Djabal al Lukkām (Amanos), was the plain of Maidj al-Dībādj, which is often mentioned in the records of the fighting between the Mamlūks and Little Armenia (probably the "*ager Mopsuestiae*" on which Cicero encamped *ad fam*, III 8) In it, N E of the town on the road to Sīs, was the fort of al-'Amūdain (al-Makrīzī, ed Quatremère, II/II 61, cf Kal'at al 'Āmudain in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann Musl*, ed Reiske, V 18, located by Alishān, *Sissouan*, p 225 *sq* too far east in "Hémétié Kaléssi") A field of Mardj al-Atrākhūn is also mentioned near al-Massisa (Yākūt, IV 487, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, III 74) Tall Hāmid, a strong fortress of the Thughūr al Massīsa, corresponds to the modern Hāmidiye, now called Djihān (*Z D M G*, XI 191, 200, Yākūt, I 866, Safi al-Dīn, *Marāsid*, I 211, Ibn al Shihna, Beirūt ed, p 339) There also was Tall Hūm (Yākūt, I 867, *Marāsid*, I 211, Ibn al Shihna, *ibid*, exact site unknown) Al-'Ain at the foot of the Djabal al-Lukkām, over which went the Darb al-'Ain pass, was also one of the forts of al-Massisa (Yākūt, III 756, *Marāṣid*, II 293), on the frontier against Halab lay Būka (q v, cf van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, p 257, 8) Hisn Sinān (al-Balādhurī, p 165, Yākūt, III 155) is probably also to be sought near al-Massīsa A pass called Thanīyat al 'Ukāb, to be distinguished from that of the same name near Damascus, was in the region of al-Massīsa (Yākūt, I 936, *Marāsid*, I 230) Even the remote fortress of Samālū (on its site cf Tomaschek, *Festschrift f H Kiepert*, p 144) was sometimes reckoned in the Syrian Thughūr and located near al-Massisa and al-Tarsūs (Balādhurī, p 170 Dhamālū, Yāḳūt, III 416, *Marāsid*, II 167, Byzantine το κάστρον Σημαλούς) al-Safsāf on the present Sugudlī-sū (*Z D M G*, XI 180, Reiske on Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal* II 649, note 76 according to Hādjdjī Khalifa "Hisn Safsaf, that is Sogud") is also reckoned by Yākūt (III 401) to the marches of al Massīsa Not far from the town was a Syrian monastery, Gawikāth (mentioned about 1200 A D Barhebr, *Chron eccles*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, I 624, in Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 295 Djokhath, probably identical with *Joacheth*) The neighbouring fortress of Adamodana (now Tumlu-Kal'e) and Cumbetefort ("*in territorio Meloni*", I e of Mlun, Arabic al-Mallūn) were according to Wilbrand of Oldenburg (*op cit*) about 1212 in the possession of the Teutonic Order (*Allemani*) The Venetians had a church in al Massīsa (*Gestes des Chiprois*, in *Doc arm*, II 831) Armenian authors mention there the churches of St Sarkis, Thoros and Stephan (Alishan, p 288 *sq*)

The present Miṣṣīṣ, (frequently also written Missīs,

cf Taeschner, *Turk Bibl*, xxii, pl 16 and 17), is an insignificant village lying on almost exactly 37° N Lat (piet in Alishan, p 283), which is stretches along the heights of the right bank of the Djihān čai A stone bridge with nine arches (in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel*, 1914, p 303 wrongly "five arched") the foundations of which are in part ancient (piet in Alishan, *Sissouan*, p 289, Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sis*, p 15), leads to the left bank where pieces of walls and inscriptions still mark the site of the ancient Mopsuhestia Here lay the medieval Kafarbaiya, while this form is the one in general use in Arabic texts and in modern authors, al-Idrīsī (transl Jaubert, ii 133) and Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145 [1732], p 602) have Kafarbinā (Taeschner, *Turk Bibl*, xxii, p 145, 1), as Langlois (*Voyage*, p 462) and others apparently heard on the spot The name is unknown there now (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Denkschr Ak Wien*, xliv part vi, p 11 *sq*, the Turkish General Staff map in the German version of July 1918, Sheet Adana, calls the two halves of the town "Misis Nahijesi" and "Huranije") According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairūt ed, p 179), Kafarbaiya was also called "Little Baghdād"

Missis lies where the river emerges from a gorge with walls of yellow loess at which the last foothills of the highlands between the Saihān (now Saihūn) and Djaihān (now Djihān-čai) in the N W and the Djabal Nūr (Nūr Dāgh, 2,200 feet, piet in Alishan, p 284), a part of the Djabal Missis (*Stadiasm mar magn* Πάριον ὄρος), in the southeast meet This ridge, which takes its name from the town, lying in the centre of the Cilician plain on the left bank of the lower Djaihān and linked up with the Amanos in the east, is celebrated, particularly in the Djabal Nūr, for its rich flora, which was studied by the Austrian Theodor Kotschy on 24th–26th April 1859 On account of its medicinal herbs, Ibn al-Rūmiya in his commentary on the book of Dioscurides says that many writers took al-Massīsa to be the city of the wise Hippocrates (Ibukrāt) who, however, according to others, belonged to Hims (Mufaddal b Abi 'l-Fadā'il, in *Patrol Orient*, xiv 393, Ibn al Shihna, Bairūt, p 180)

Near the mouth of the Djaihān, which at one time was navigable for small ships up to al-Massīsa, lay al Mallūn, the site of which is not known (Μαλλός, now rather Bebelī than Karatash, cf R Kiepert, *Form orb antiqu*, viii, text p 19[a]) The Frankish writers also speak of a "*portus de Mamistra*" (Raimundus de Aiguilers, *Historia Francor qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, c xi, cf *Doc arm*, i, p xlvi, note 1), probably on the "*fauces fluminis Malmistrae*", where al Idrīsī mentions the place al Busā (*Z D P V*, viii 141, Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, cxxiv, 1891, fig viii, p 69 writes al Būsā)

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(E Honigmann)

MISWĀK (A), a term denoting the tooth-brush as well as the tooth-pick The more usual term is *siwāk* (plural *suwuk*) which means also the act of cleansing the teeth Neither of the two terms occurs in the Kur'ān In Hadīth miswāk is not used, *siwāk*, on the other hand, frequently In order to understand its use, it is necessary to know that the instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent The piece of wood used as a tooth pick must have been smaller and thinner,

as appears e g from the tradition in which it is related that Muhammad one day received a visitor and kept the tooth-pick "at the end of his tongue" (Mir, *Ṭahāra*, trad 45)

Concerning Zaid b Khālid it is related that he used to sit in the mosque keeping the tooth-pick behind his ear, "just as a writer will keep his pen" (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25, al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18) When Muhammad was in his last hours, there entered a man with a piece of wood fit for a *siwāk*, ʿĀʾisha took and chewed it, so as to make it smooth (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 83)

In general Hadīth emphasises the value attached by Muhammad to the *siwāk* When he entered his house, his first movement was towards it (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad 43, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 27) His servant ʿAbd Allāh b Masʿūd has received the epithet of *ṣāḥib al-siwāk* "he who used to take care of Muhammad's *siwāk*" (Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, bāb 20) When Muhammad awoke at night, he cleansed his mouth by means of the *siwāk* before he washed himself and performed night prayer (Bukhārī, *Aḏhān*, bāb 8, *Wuḍūʾ*, bāb 73, *Tahaǧǧud*, bāb 9, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 30, Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad 46, 47) When fasting, Muhammad also made use of the *siwāk* (Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 445, 446)

The miswāk is chiefly used before *wuḍūʾ* as a preparation before the *ṣalāt* It is said that this was the practice of Muhammad (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad 48) who attached so great a value to it, that he would have declared it obligatory before every *salāt*, were it not that he feared thereby to over burden his community (Bukhārī, *Aḏhān*, bāb 8, Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad 42, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25, Tirmidhī *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18) In one tradition it is said, as a matter of fact, that the obligatory use of the *siwāk* before every *salāt* was introduced by Muhammad as a compensation for the abolition of the obligatory *wuḍūʾ* before every *salāt* (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25) In another tradition (Nasāʾī, *Ǧumʿa*, bāb 66) the use of the *siwāk* is called obligatory before the Friday-service

The appreciation of the miswāk which appears from all these traditions culminates in the fact that it belongs to the customs of the "natural religion" (*fitra* Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 29) or to the ordinances of the Apostles (Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 1)

Nevertheless Fikh does not declare the use of the miswāk obligatory in any case There is general agreement on this point According to some traditions, however, the Ẓāhirites did declare the use of the miswāk obligatory before the *salāt*, but these traditions are not generally accepted According to Fikh the use of the miswāk is recommended at all times, especially in 5 cases in connection with the *ṣalāt*, under all circumstances, in connection with the *wuḍūʾ*, with the recitation of the Kurʾān, after sleep, and as often as the mouth has lost its freshness, e g after long silence

According to the school of Shāfiʿī the use of the miswāk is blamable (*makrūh*) between noon and sunset at the time of fasting, for the nasty smell (*khalūf*) of the faster's breath is beloved by Allāh (cf Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 6)

It is recommended to use a miswāk of *arāk*-wood of medium hardness, neither too dry nor too moist, to cleanse the palate as well as all sides of the teeth, beginning from the right side of the mouth, moving the miswāk upwards and downwards in order not to hurt the alveoles

Bibliography References to Hadīth in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v Tooth-brush, the juridical points of view in al-Nawawī's commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Būlāk 1290, i 325, Wellhausen, *Reste arab Heidentums*, 2nd ed, p 172, Goldziher, in *R H R*, xlii 15 *sq*, Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p 354, note 94 (A J WENSINCK)

MITʿA [See MUTʿA]

MITHKĀL (A), the weight of a thing, this is the meaning of the word in the Kurʾān, a particular weight for weighing precious metals, jewels, drugs, etc, probably the oldest unit in the Arab Troy system The mithkāl corresponds to the Roman solidus of the Constantinian system which the Arabs adopted in Syria ʿAbd al Malik took it over for his unit of gold when he reformed the currency in 77 (696) His dīnār weighed a mithḳāl of 65 5 grains (4 25 grammes), hence mithḳāl is used as a synonym for dinār The silver dirham weighed $^{7}/_{10}$ of a mithkāl and the mithḳāl contains 24 kirāts Slight variations in weight are found in the different parts of the diferent parts of the Muhammadan world

Bibliography See the bibliographies to the articles DĪNĀR and HABBA (J ALIAN)

MIʿWADH [See HAMĀʾIL]

MIʿZAF, MIʿZAFA (A, plur *Maʿāzif*) Among the various classes of musical instruments dealt with by Arabic, Persian and Turkish writers on music is one which embraces those with "open strings" (*awtār mutlaka*) such as the lyre or cithara, harp, psaltery and dulcimer Among them are instruments grouped as *maʿāzif* Nowadays, this term refers to all stringed and wind instruments (*M F O B*, vi 28) but in the Middle Ages it had a more restricted meaning and stood for "instruments of open strings" Al-Djawharī (d ca 1003) and al-Saghānī (d 1261) define them as "musical instruments which you beat upon as in the ʿūd (lute), *tunbūr* (pandore) and the like", meaning by this that *maʿāzif* were played with the fingers or plectrum in the same way as the ʿūd and *tunbūr* were The *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs* includes the tambourine among the *maʿāzif*, but it is an erroneous deduction from the saying of ʿUmar, *marra bi-ʿazfa duffin* ("he passed by the sounding of the *duff*"), which has misled many writers (cf Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s v) The author of *Mafātih al-ʿUlūm* (xth cent) states that the *miʿzafa* was "a stringed instrument belonging to the people of al-ʿIrāk" (p 237), whilst al Mutarrizī (xiith cent) says that the *miʿzaf* was "made by the people of al Yaman", a provenance which Ibn Khurdādhbih (d 912) also gives the instrument (al-Masʿūdī, viii 93) A more precise classification is allowed by al-Shalāhī who includes the *miʿzaf* among barbitons (*barābit*) and lyres (*lasirān*), which agrees with our oldest authority, al-Laith b al-Muzaffar (viiith cent), who says that both *miʿzaf* and *miʿzafa* were terms given to "an instrument of many strings", whilst al-Fārābī (d 950) specifically denominates *maʿāzif* as instruments of "open strings" (Kosegarten, *Lib cant*, p 77, 110) In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* the *miʿzafa* is rarely placed in the hands of the minstrels, probably because it was of inartistic merit One performer on the instrument, Muhammad b al-Hārith b Baskhīr (ixth cent), was asked sarcastically if it were a rat-trap (*Aghānī*^{2}, x 153)

Tradition avers that *maʿāzif* were "invented" by Dilāl the daughter of Lamak, who was of the

seventh generation from Adam (al-Masʿūdī, viii 89) Since there was a *hadīṯ* condemning *maʿāzif* as signs of the end of the world (al-Tirmiḏhī, ii 33) it is quite likely that the *fukahāʾ* thought it consistent with policy to make Dilāl or Dalāl ("error, destruction") the originator of these *malāhī* or "forbidden pleasures" On the other hand, we read that "David the Prophet had a *miʿzafa* on which he used to play when he recited the psalms" (*ʿIkd al Farīd*, iii 189), which was an echo of the Jewish tradition that he was an adept on the *kinnōr* (I Samuel, xvi 16, 23) The name may be a survival from the days of belief in sympathetic magic The voice of the *ḏjinn* was termed the *ʿasf*, and the spiritual world could be conjured by the sounds of the *miʿzaf* In Islāmic times musicians claimed that their music was inspired by the *ḏjinn* The Greek μάγαδις was an instrument of the same class as the *miʿzaf* It was of Lydian origin and the name is suspiciously like the Semitic one

Lyre and cithara Although we see these instruments in the hands of the ancient Semites on the monuments they do not appear to have had acceptance among the musicians of Islāmic times except with the *fallāhīn*, unless the seven-stringed *wanaḏj* (= *zanaḏj*) of Khuiāsān was such an instrument (al-Masʿūdī, viii 90) Both words are of Greek origin and they appear in Arabic as *lūr* and *kiṯāra* generally In Palestine and Egypt to-day, a primitive type of lyre is known under the name of *tunbūra barbarīya* or *kitāra* (*kissara*) *barbarīya* Villoteau (*Descr de l'Egypte, etat mod*, i 918) and Saint Saens (Lavignac, *Ency de la musique*, i 528) have shown that much of the ancient Greek method of lyre-playing still obtains in the modern Egyptian *kitāra* playing It is worthy of notice that the Arabic word for striking the *kiṯāra* strings is *harraka*, and this is practically identical with the Greek κρέκω

Harp Whilst we possess an actual example of a Sumerian harp with the sound-chest below the strings, this type does not seem to have had any vogue with the Arabs or Persians in artistic music, and is only found among the peasantry In Palestine and Upper Egypt to-day it is called the *tunbūra sūdānī* and *nanga* The harp with the sound-chest above the strings has been a far more important instrument with the Semites and is to be found in the Assyrian sculptures (cf the Assyr word *sanaku* and the Ethiopic *sanko*) That extremely chatty Turkish writer Ewliyāʾ Čelebī says that this instrument, which the Persians called the *čang*, was "invented" by Pythagoras to solace Solomon (*Travels*, i/ii 227), and even al Shalāhī says that it was of Byzantine (*Rūmī*) origin (fol 15) Yet Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Djawharī show that it was peculiar to the Persians and, indeed, the type may be found on the Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii 175) The Arabs called it the *ḏjank* and/or *ṣanḏj* (cf al-Djawālīḳī, ed Sachau, p 97) It may be that the *ḏjank* and *ṣanḏj* were different types of harp, the Persian and Arabian There were certainly two types, the straight sound-chest and the crooked In the *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm* the Byzantine *salbāk* (σαμβύκη) and *lūr* (λύρα) are likened to the *ḏjank* and *sanḏj* respectively Among the Arabs the *ḏjank* is mentioned as early as al-Aʿshā Maimūn (d ca 629) Al-Fārābī devotes a section in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīkī* to *maʿāzif*, *ḏjunūk* and/or *ṣunūḏj*, and other instruments "in which there is made to every note, according to its state, a solitary string", and he shows them strung with both fifteen (diatonic) and twenty-five (chromatic) strings (Kosegarten, *l c*) Both Ibn Sīnā (d 1037) and Ibn Zaila (d 1048) deal with the *ṣanḏj*, whilst in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) and the works of Ibn Ghaibī (d 1435) the *čang* is fully described The oblique sound-chest was 109 cm long, and the handle (*dasta*) 81 cm long From the sound-chest to the horizontal bar below twenty-four or twenty-five strings of goat's hair were stretched, being fastened to metal pegs (*malāwī*) Some players even used thirty five strings so as to embrace the scale of the Systematists The face of the sound-chest was of skin, but the remainder of the frame-work was of vine or plum tree wood The handle was placed under the left arm (cf the pictures in MSS) and the fingers of both hands were used in performance, plectra (*zakhmāt*) being fastened to the finger tips Nowadays the harp has fallen into complete desuetude among the Arabs and Turks Even among the Persians it has become rare, and in its modern form it was little different from the occidental instrument (Adviellc, *La musique chez les Persans*, p 13), whilst the instrument shown by Kaempfer (xviith century) under this name was a zither In 1638 Ewliyāʾ Čelebī found only twelve players of the *čang* in Constantinople because, he said, it was a difficult instrument to play (*Travels*, i/ii 234) At this time the Turkish *cang* had forty strings, and a very large instrument of the xvith (not xviith) century is given by Engel (*Mus instr in the South Kensington Museum*, p 59)

Although the "humped back" of the *cang* or *ḏjank* became a favourite theme for poets, and it was certainly the best known type, yet an instrument with a "straight back" was also to be found A more pronounced "hump" existed in a type mentioned by Ibn Ghaibī and called, probably on account of this feature, the *agrī* It was strung similarly to the *cang* but had a wooden instead of a skin face on the sound-chest, and its tuning-pegs were also of wood

A Byzantine harp called the *salbāk* (erroneously written *salyāk*, *shalyāk* [cf the art SHALYĀK, which clashes with the opinion of the present writer, Red], or *salbān* in most dictionaries and MSS) was also known to the Arabs It was actually a survival of the old Greek σαμβύκη, and is described in the *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm* as "an instrument of the Greeks (*Yūnāniyūn*) and Byzantium (*Rūm*) resembling the *ḏjank*" (p 236) According to Ibn Khurdādhbih it had twenty-four strings (al-Masʿūdī, viii 91, cf Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, p 4 *sq*) Ibn Sīnā classes it with the *ṣanḏj* among the instruments with "open strings" stretched across a space

Psaltery In describing those instruments with "open strings" stretched across a surface, both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila mention a particular type named the *ʿankā* Whilst the name suggests a "long necked" instrument, the details given of strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges (*hamilāt*), compel one to recognize in it a trapezoidal psaltery, one species of which was known later as the *kānūn* The word *ʿankā* also stood for "phoenix", and we know that the Greeks of old had an instrument called the φοίνιξ This

may account for both the instrument and the name among the Arabs It is not mentioned however, after the xiᵗʰ century

The *kānūn* [q v], the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, is said by Ibn Ghaibī to have been invented by Plato, although the instrument as known in the xᵗʰ century is attributed to al-Fārābī (Ibn Khallikān, *Biog Dict*, iii 309) The word itself is derived from the Greek κανών Although the instrument is delineated in the various MSS of the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (xᵗʰ century) sub "kithara", yet the name *kānūn* is not given It is mentioned in the *Thousand and One Nights* (ed Macnaghten, 49ᵗʰ and 149ᵗʰ nights), and in one place is designated the *kānūn miṣrī* ("Egyptian psaltery") In Spain it was particularly favoured and al-Shakundī (d 1231) includes it among the Andalusian instruments manufactured at Seville (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii 143—144) In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and in Ibn Ghaibi it is described in detail The shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound chest, 9 cm deep, was made of vine or plum tree wood The lengths of the bass and treble sides were 81 and 40 5 cm respectively, whilst the oblique side was 74 25 cm It was mounted with sixty four strings (seventy-two ? in Ibn Ghaibī), arranged trichordally Although the *kānūn* has fallen into disuse in Persia, it is still a great favourite in the Maghrib, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from fifty-one to seventy five strings

A rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass was the *nuzha* It was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d 1294) and a design is sometimes to be found in his *Kitāb al-Adwār* (see Farmer, *Arabic musical mss in the Bodleian Library*, frontispiece) Its features are also fully discussed in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and by Ibn Ghaibī Its dimensions were 74 25 × 54 cm, whilst the depth of the sound-chest was 27 cm 108 strings were mounted on the instrument

Dulcimer Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila describe an instrument with "open strings" played on with beating rods (*maṭārik*) which is called the *sanǧ sīnī* ("Chinese *sanǧ*") This is clearly the dulcimer, later to be generally known as the *sinṭir* or *santūr* (also written *ṣantūr*, *sintir* and *ṣanṭīr*), a word derived immediately from the Aramaic, but probably finally traceable to the Greek ψαλτήριον Indeed, it is invariably found in the hands of Jews and Greeks It is of similar structure to the *kānūn*, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks (*maḍārib*) instead of plectra as in the *kānūn* We find it mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (d 1406) and al-Haithamī (d 1563), but its popularity was but fitful among the Arabs In the xviiiᵗʰ century it is doubtfully acknowledged by Russell (i 152) and Niebuhr (*tympanon*) In Egypt, both Villoteau and Lane show that it was only to be found in the hands of Jews, Greeks and other foreign residents, whilst native writers like Musharḳa and Darwīsh Muhammad make no mention of it To day it is practically unknown in Syria and Fgypt In the Maghrib it is unnoticed by Host, Christianowitsch and Salvador-Daniel, and although it is dealt with by Delphin and Guin, it is scarcely known to-day In Persia however, it obtained greater recognition In the xviiiᵗʰ century it is mentioned by Chardin, but not by Kaempfer, whilst Adrielle in the xixᵗʰ century gives both a design and a description In Turkey, whilst the word is registered in the xviiᵗʰ century by Meninski, it is not mentioned by Hādjdjī Khalīfa nor described by Ewliyāʾ Čelebī, in their lists of Turkish musical instruments In the next century however, it is recognised by Toderini, and to-day the *santūr* is one of the most esteemed instruments in the country, where it may be seen in two forms the *santūr turkī* and the *santūr fransīz* The former, exclusively used by the Jews, has 160 strings grouped in fives, giving thirty two notes, a two octave chromatic scale The latter, which is confined to the Turks, was introduced from the West about the middle of the last century by a certain Hilmī Bey It is mounted with 105 strings, also grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound chest in the Occidental way

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AL-**MĪZĀN**, the balance, is the nomen instrumenti from *wazana* "to weigh", which means to weigh in the ordinary sense and also to test the level of, like the Latin *librare* Here we shall discuss

1 The various instruments used for weighing in the ordinary sense, brief notes are added on the ascertainment of specific gravities 2 Levelling instruments

1 BALANCES

The steelyard (*al karastūn*, q v) has already been dealt with, the general principles of the balance are also discussed in that article — The usual balance with two arms of equal length had the same shape among the Muslims as in ancient times and at all periods in the west, this we know from extant specimens and illustrations in various works, notably in al Khāzinī, in a manuscript of al Kazwīnī with reference to the constellation Libra (fig 1), in a manuscript of Harīrī, in the *Ajāʾib al ʿAkbarī* of Abu 'l-Fadl (fig 2) In the beautiful manuscript from which Ch Schefer published the *Sefer Nameh* of Nasīr-i Khusraw,

on p 88 in the illustration of the Masdjid al-Aksā there is a balance labelled *terazu* (*Sefer Nameh, Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed Ch

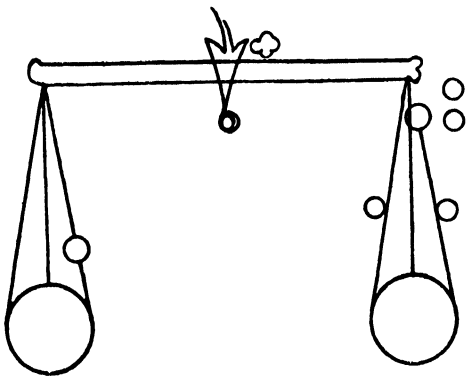

Fig 1

Schefer, *Publications de l'ecole des langues orientales vivantes*, II ser, I, Paris 1881) The common balance is called *mizān* but in the Kur'ān we also

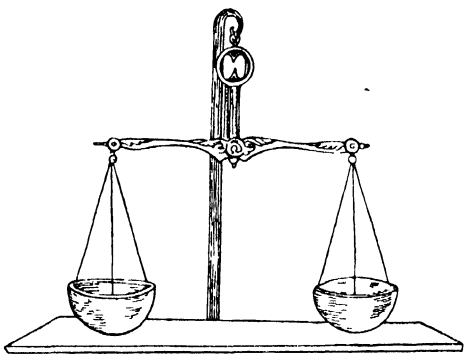

Fig 2

find *kusṭās*, which, according to al-Tha'labī, is a loanword Other names are *shāhin*, which does not only mean the beam and tongue of the balance and is contrasted by the *Ikhwān al-Safā'* to the *kabbān* (steelyard), also *taris* from the Persian *tarāzū*, then *mihmal* for scales for gold and *kubba* for beam and tongue *Mindjam* means the tongs and also the beam According to J Ruska, *habbāba* seems to be used for scales (for gold) On the expressions connected with *karastūn*, see that article Al Makdisī mentions Harrān as a place where balances were made, in his work *Ahsan al-Takāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Akālim*, p 141, in this town many very skilful mechanics were engaged in making astronomical instruments The accuracy of the balances made in Harrān was proverbial

The Arabs devoted special attention to the construction of balances used to identify metals and jewels from their specific gravity, to distinguish false from genuine and pure and to ascertain the composition of alloys of two metals by the use of the principle of Archimedes They called these balances *mizān al-mā'*, "water" (hydrostatic) balances Of makers of these, al-Khāzinī (c 1100, q v) mentions Sanad (Sind) b 'Alī (c 250 = 864), Muhammad b Zakariyā al Rāzi († 320 = 932—933), Ibn al 'Amīd († 359 = 969—970), Yuhannā b Yūsuf (perhaps al-Kass, d c 370 = 980—981), Ibn Sīnā († 428 = 1037), Ahmad al-Fadl al-Massāh (the "measurer", also mentioned by al Bīrūnī without the "Massāh"), Abū Hafs 'Omar al-Khayyāmī (as the celebrated mathematician is never called Abū Hafs, it is doubtful whether he is the individual mentioned by al-Khāzinī) The balances made by these men are still fairly simple as only two, or at most three, scales were used in them A contemporary of al-Khāzinī, namely Abū Hākim al-Muzaffar Ibn Ismā'īl al Asfizārī (d before 515 = 1121) added two more scales, these and other improvements made the scales much more convenient to use Of him al-Baihakī says (E Wiedemann, *Beitr*, xx, *Einige Biographien nach al Baihakī*, in *S B P M S Erlg*, xlii, 1910, p 17) "He constructed the balance of Archimedes with which one ascertains forgeries The treasurer of the great sultān feared that his frauds would thus be discovered He therefore broke the balance and destroyed its parts Al Muzaffar died of grief as a result" Al-Khāzini then took up al-Muzaffar's work and made the balance a

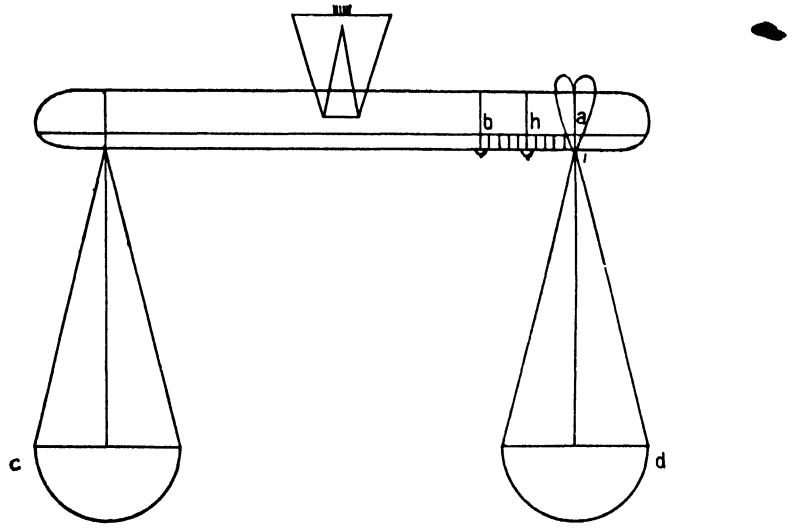

Fig 3

most accurate means of measuring, he called it the universal balance, *al-mīzān al ḏjāmiʿ* But, no doubt in memory of his predecessor, he called his book *Kitāb Mīzān al-Hikma*

In the physical (*ṭabīʿī*) balance of Muhammad b Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (fig 3), it goes back to Greek models, e g of Archimedes (fig 4, cf al-Khāzinī, *op cit*)

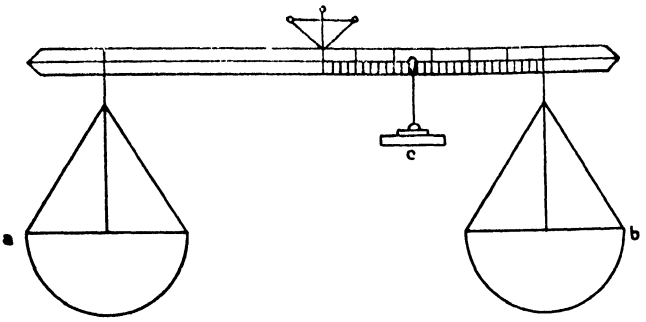

Fig 4

For special purposes such as the examination of gold and silver and their alloys, many contrivances were made with balances and the movable scales and running weights on the beams, for example

Here we shall describe somewhat more fully the "balance of wisdom" [1]) of al-Khāzinī

Al-Khāzinī gives the beam *A* of the balance (fig 5) a thickness of six cm and a length of

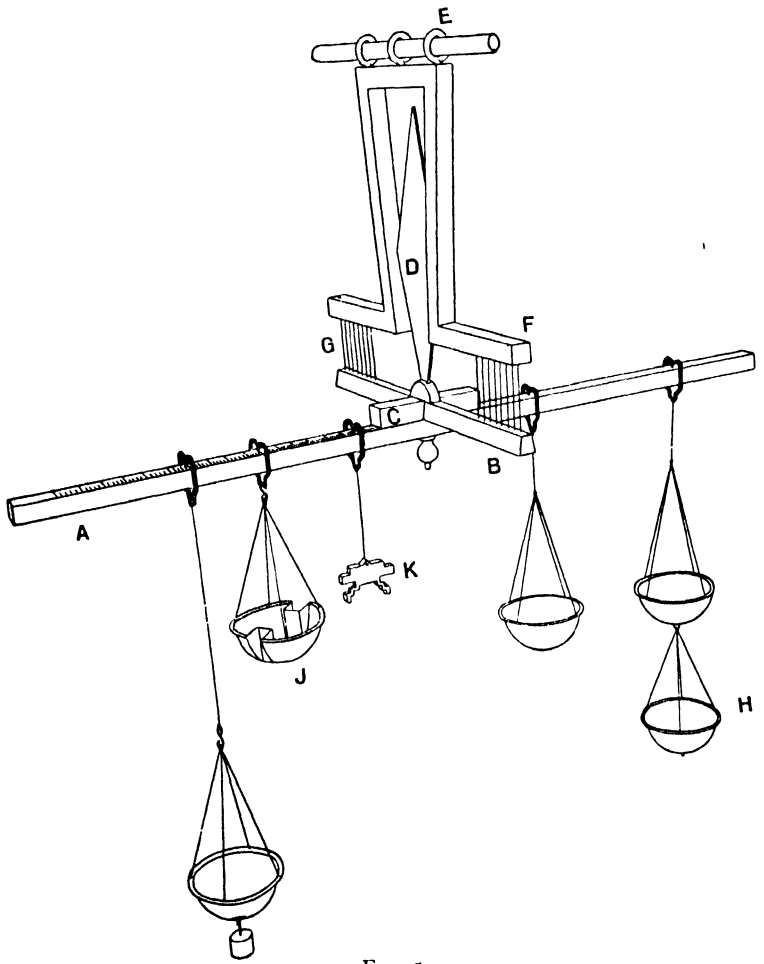

Fig 5

1) H Bauerreiss (*Zur Geschichte des spez Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Dissertation, Erlangen 1913) has reconstructed the "balance of wisdom", as nearly as possible following the data of the original Reproductions are in Erlangen and the German Museum in Munich The illustration is taken from a photograph In the original right and left are reversed

two m In the centre it is strengthened by an additional piece *C*, obviously intended to avoid any bending at this point A cross-piece *B* (*ʿarīḍa*) is let in here Corresponding to it is a similar cross-piece *F* on the lower part of the tongs, in which moves the tongue *D*, itself about 50 cm long The upper cross-piece *E* is hung by rings to a rod which is fastened somewhere Pegs or small holes are placed at exactly opposite places of the cross-pieces *B* and *F* to which threads are tied or drawn through The friction at an axis is thus avoided, which, in view of the great weight of the beam, is quite considerable The knob visible below the beam under its centre is used to secure the tongue to the beam or to take it out in order to adjust it evenly The tongue has for this purpose a peg at the foot which goes through a hole in the beam Al Khāzinī also observes that one could also take shorter beams but then all the other dimensions must be proportionately smaller The beam is divided not on one side only, as in the illustration, but on both The scales are hung on very delicate rings of steel (*ghurāb* "ravens") the points of which fit into little niches on the upper surface of the beam Five scales are used in ascertaining specific gravities, i e in investigating alloys and examining precious stones Of these the scale *H* (fig 5ª) is called the cone-shaped or *al hākim*, the judge, as it is used to distinguish false from true It goes into the water and in order to meet with less resistance in sinking is cone shaped and pointed below The scale *J* is called the winged (*muḏjannah*, fig 5ᵇ and 5ᶜ, side and top view) It has indented sides so that it can be

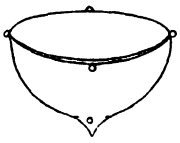

Fig 5ª

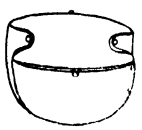

Fig 5ᵇ

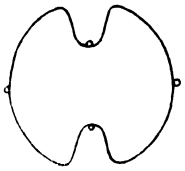

Fig 5ᶜ

brought very close to the adjoining scales It is also called the movable (*munakkal*) There is also a movable running weight *K* (*al rummāna al satyāra*) which serves, if necessary, to adjust the weight of the lighter beam, it is therefore also called the *rummāna* of the adjustment (*al taʿdīl*) The other scales are used to hold weights Al-Khāzinī attained an extraordinary degree of accuracy with his balance This was the result of the length of the beam, the peculiar method of suspension, the fact that the centre of gravity and axis of oscillation were very close to each other, and of the obviously very accurate construction of the whole Al-Khāzinī himself says that when the instrument was weighing 1,000 mithkāls, it could show a difference of 1 habba = $^1/_{68}$ mithkāl, i e about 75 centigrammes in 4,5 kilogrammes We thus have accuracy to $^1/_{60\,000}$

Al-Khāzinī used his scales for the most varied purposes Firstly for ordinary weighing, then for all purposes connected with the taking of specific gravities, distinguishing of genuine (*ṣamīm*) and false metals, examining the composition of alloys, changing of dirhams to dīnārs and countless other business transactions In all these processes the scales are moved about until equilibrium is obtained and the desired magnitudes in many cases can at once be read on the divisions on the beam

False balances That as early as the time of Muhammad balances showing false weights were used for fraudulent purposes is shown by various passages in the Kurʾān (Sūra xxvi 182, vii 13, xvii 37) We read for example "Weigh with the just (or upright, *mustakīm*) balance" Al-Djawbarī (middle of the xiiith century, cf E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, iv, *Über Wagen bei den Arabern*, in *S B P M S Erlg*, vol xxxvii, 1905, p 388) describes two such arrangements In the one the beam of the balance consisted of a hollow reed closed at the ends in which there was some quicksilver, by a slight inclination of the beam this could be made to flow as desired to the side of the weights or of the articles and thus make the one or other appear heavier A balance like this was used in Cairo in the time of E W Lane by a dishonest police inspector (*muhtasib*) In the second pair of scales the tongue was of iron and the merchant had a ring with a magnetic stone By bringing the ring close to it the balance went down to right or left

The balance or the principles applying to it were used for many purposes besides weighing Contrivances turning on an axis in which sometimes one and sometimes the other side becomes lighter or heavier, especially by the admission or release of water, were used to produce automatic movements, they are often called *mīzān* (cf e g the writings of the Banū Mūsā and of al-Djazarī, e g in F Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyal Das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Banū Mūsā*, Abh 2, *Gesch der Naturwissenschaften und Med*, Heft II, 1922, E Wiedemann and F Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kais Leop-Carol Akademie*, vol c, 1915, N⁰ 5 and other passages) In the hour balance used to measure time, a container filled with sand or water is hung at one end of a lever poised with arms equal and has a hole in the bottom The equilibrium disturbed by the gradual loss of sand or water is compensated for by weights which move along the other arm From their weight and position one can calculate the time that has passed (E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, xxxvii *Über die Stundenwage*, in *S B P M S Erlg*, xlvi, 1914, p 27, a full description is given by Prof F Hauser in E von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*)

Most artisans also describe as "scales" *al mistara*, i e ruler, *al-barkaz*, the compasses, *al-kūniyā*, set square and level, as they serve to show lapses from the straight etc — *Mikyāl*, ell, *shāhin*, *kubbān* are "scales" with which one measures whether things are correct or over measure in business transactions (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, i/ii 128)

For a few further meanings of *al-mīzān* see Dozy, *Supplément*, s v *wazana* — In mathematics the balance is used to elucidate certain mathematical processes The steelyard is used to illustrate the inversed relation the weights are in inverse proportion to the length of the arms (cf e g Th Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, in *Programm Forchheim*, 1905—1906, p 93, *Rasāʾil*

Ikẖwān al-Ṣafā', Bombay 1305, I/II 10 and other places) Al-Bīrūnī uses the balance to explain the procedure in solving equations (*al-ǧabr wa 'l-muḳābala*) (*Kitāb Tafhīm* etc, Berlin, N° 5665, fol 9b) The method of the double error is also called the "process with the use of the beam"

One knows whether a number is divisible by nine by casting out the nines to do this one adds up the figures in a number and takes away 9's from the total until 9 or another number is left, the number left is called *mizān* The word *mīzān* also means testing the correctness of any calculation (cf Bahā' al-Dīn, *Khulāṣāt al-Ḥisāb*, ed G H F Nesselmann, Berlin 1843)

In magic squares the sum of the largest and smallest figure is called *al-mīzān*, it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals (G Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl*, XIII, 1922, p 223)

Alchemy is often called *'ilm al-mīzān*, the science of the scales, or of accurate measurement, as in the preparation of the elixir etc the choice of the right proportion of the ingredients is an important matter

Among other uses of the word *mīzān* may be mentioned that a tree on a boundary near Bāniyās at the source of the Jordan was called "tree of the balance" (*mīzān*) We may also note that on the day of judgment a balance with a very long beam will be erected (on it cf e g M Wolff, *Muhammadanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, text, p 81, transl, p 148 and al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākẖira fī Kashf 'Ulūm al Ākẖira*, ed L Gautier, Leipzig 1878, text, p 67, transl, p 79)

Specific Gravity We have already mentioned that the "balance of wisdom" and other scales were used to test the purity of metals etc and to ascertain the composition of alloys we shall now briefly discuss the work of the Arabs on this subject Two magnitudes have to be considered The weights of equal volumes are compared, which corresponds to an investigation of the specific gravities[1]), al-Bīrūnī, for example, takes hemispheres of the different metals or rods of equal size and compares their weights, or the volumes of equal weights are compared by finding those of any weights and then comparing the specific volumes (i e the volumes of the unit of weight) For these measurements one used either methods based on the principle of Archimedes, according to which a body loses in a liquid as much weight as the volume of the fluid displaced by it, or one measures the fluid displaced by the body itself For this purpose al Bīrūnī constructed a cone-shaped vessel (*al-ālat al-makẖrūṭīya*) [fig 6] This vessel is filled with water until it begins to run out by a pipe at the side, then a definite mass, as large as possible, of the substance (weight P_1) is weighed, as is the scale P_2 placed under the outlet pipe The substance is then put in the vessel and the pan with the water displaced weighed (P_3), so that from P_3-P_2 we get the volume of water corresponding to the mass P_1, which is then calculated by al Bīrūnī for a weight of 100 mithkāls As almost always,

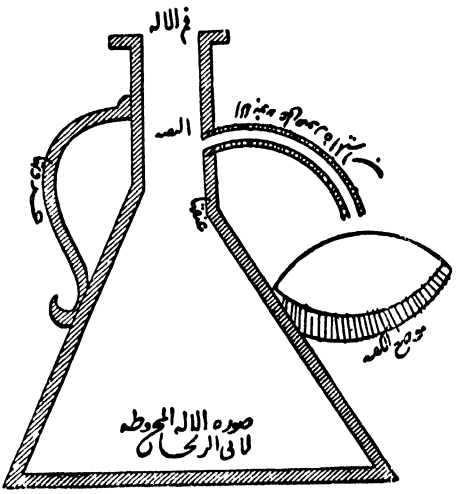

Fig 6

in ascertaining the specific gravity the Arabs rely on the ancients, particularly on the work of Menelaus "on the artifice by which one ascertains the quantity of each of a number of mixed bodies", *Fī Ḥila allatī yu'rafu bi hā Miḳdār kull wāḥid min 'Idda Aǧsām mukẖtalita* (from the Escorial MSS) and *Ma'rifat Kammīyat Tamayyuz al-Aǧrām al-mukẖtalita* (according to Ibn al-Kiftī, p 321, Professor Dr Wurschmidt is giving an edition of this work in *Philologus*) In al Bīrūnī's work, Archimedes himself is mentioned and a certain Manātiyūs (according to Noldeke, probably Μαντίας) The Muslims however did not slavishly take over the statements of the ancients Al-Bīrūnī, for example, emphasises that one can ascertain the composition of an alloy of two components but not of one of three, as Menelaus says Among the Muslims it was certainly al Biruni who did most in this field, in his work "on the relations which exist between metals and jewels in volume" (*Makāla fi 'l Nisab allatī bain al-Filizzāt wa 'l Ǧawāhir fi 'l-Haǧm*, cf also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, p xxxxiv), which still exists, and also in another work, which only survives in fragments quoted by al-Khāzinī Al-Bīrūnī was induced to compose the first named by the difficulties encountered by goldsmiths in ascertaining the quantities of metals necessary to copy a given article As predecessors he mentions Sanad b 'Alī, Yuhannā b Yūsuf, Ahmad al-Fadl al-Bukẖārī So far as we know he was followed and his results were used by Abū Hafs 'Omar al-Khayyāmī (see above), al-Asfizārī (see above), al-Khāzinī (see above), Fakẖr al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn 'Omar al-Rāzī († 1210, Suter, N° 328), and Abu 'l-Fazl Allamī, Eliyā Misrākẖī, a work ascribed to Plato which was composed in the time of Bāyazīd by a slave of a son of Sinān, a Turkish work by al-Ghaffarī, and a Persian by Muhammad b Mansūr (on these works, as on mineralogical literature in general, see E Wiedemann, *Beiti*, XXX *Zur Mineralogie des Islam*, in *S P M S Erl*, XLIV, 1912, p 205) We must also mention the study by Abū Mansūr al-Nairīzī who is not to be confused with the commentator on Euclid, and the work on the measurement of bodies which are compounded of

1) It is to be noted that expressions like specific gravity and specific volume, which refer to the unit of weight and the unit of volume are not found among the Arabs Al-Bīrūnī, for example, gives the amount of water displaced by 100 mithkāls of various substances corresponding to their volume and the weights of the metals which have the same volume as 100 mithkāls of gold and in the case of other substances the same volume as 100 mithkals of blue *yākūt*

other substances, in order to ascertain the unknown amounts of the separate constituents *Minbar fī Misāhat al-Adjsām al-mukhtalita li 'stikhrādj Mikdār madjhūlihā* by Samū'īl b Yahyā b ᶜAbbās al-Maghribī al-Andalusī (d 1174–1175 at Maghāra, s Ibn al-Kiftī, p 209, Suter, N° 302)

The statements on specific gravities refer to *A* Metals gold, mercury, bronze (*sifr*), copper, brass (*shibh*), iron, tin (*rasās*), lead (*usruf* and *usrub*) *B* Precious stones blue *yākūt*, red *yākūt*, ruby, emerald, lapis lazuli, pearl, coral, cornelian, onyx and rock crystal *C* Other substances Pharaonic glass, clay from Siminyān, pure salt, salt earth (*sabakh*), sandarach, enamel (*mīnā*), amber, pitch, wax, ivory, bakkam wood, willow wood

The weights of equal volumes of liquids and the volumes of equal weights of liquid are sometimes found directly, sometimes ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus The former magnitude plays an important part in the liquids used in every day life like oil and wine The second was of more scientific interest It is especially interesting that the Arabs found that hot water and hot urine had a larger volume than equal weights cold They also knew that ice had a larger volume than the same weight of water

The facts ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus for fluids refer to cold fresh water, hot water, ice (does not properly belong to this connection), sea water, vinegar, wine, sesame oil, olive oil, cow's milk, hen's egg, blood of a healthy man, warm and cold urine

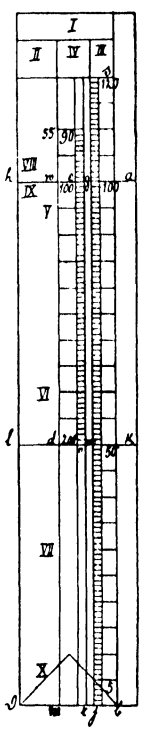

Fig 7

Fig 7 shows the araeometer reconstructed by H Bauerreiss from al-Khāzinī *X* is a massive cone used to make the instrument heavy There are inscriptions corresponding to the Roman numerals For details the reader may be referred to H Bauerreiss's article — The principle that floating bodies of the same weight sink in water to the same depth finds application in a juristic trick cited in the *Kitāb al Hiyal fi 'l-Fikh* of Abū Hātim al-Kazwīnī The weight of a camel is ascertained by putting it in a boat and noting how deep the boat sinks The camel is then replaced by iron weights until the boat sinks to the same level (cf J Schacht in G Bergsträsser, *Beitr zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*)

In medical works and treatises on weights and measures, figures are given for the weights of equal volumes of wine, oil and honey (cf Bauerreiss, *op cit*)

So far as it is a question of particular bodies, the values as ascertained by the Arabs agree very well with those obtained by modern science and even surpass in accuracy those obtained by it up till the beginning of the last century

Bibliography This is given in the article AL-KARASṬŪN

2 LEVELLING (*wazana*, to weigh, corresponding to the Latin librare)

The Arabs certainly adopted a large number of methods of levelling and testing levels from other peoples, either the Byzantines or the Persians The statements in Ibn Wahshīya (see below) about the making of canals etc agree with those of Vitruvius, who in turn drew on Greek sources The Arabs learned partly from Greek works, for example we are told that according to Philemon (according to M Steinschneider Philon), the incline in canals must be at least 5 1,000, but they also utilized data gained from the practical experience of land owners, canal builders etc Whether the Arabs were acquainted with the standard works of Hero on this subject, the *Metrica* and the "On the Dioptra" (Hero, *Opera omnia*, ed H Schone, III, Leipzig 1903), is not known, for no corresponding title is found in the biographical or bibliographical works But the writing mentioned in the *Fihrist* "On the use of the astrolabe" may have dealt with geodetic problems Many problems in the Arabic sources are very similar to those dealt with in the work "On the Dioptra", only the Arabs use the astrolabe or quadrant instead of the dioptra Whether one or other of the methods described below was discovered independently by the Arabs and by whom, cannot be established from the authors on the subject, who were mainly practical men They are described in the most different places

In levelling, one is faced with two problems firstly to make a surface exactly level and horizontal or to place a rod or a surface exactly perpendicular, and secondly to ascertain the point on the same level as a given one, or to ascertain the difference in height between two points

I A surface is made level and horizontal in the following way

A ruler with a straight edge is moved over the surface and one sees whether it touches it everywhere so perfectly that light penetrates nowhere between ruler and surface, in this case the surface is perfectly smooth (al-Shīrāzī, see below)

That the ruler itself is straight is ascertained by seeing if a thread stretched along it and fastened to it at one end can be lifted the same height from the ruler along its whole length Whether three rulers are straight is tested by putting them side by side and exchanging their sides (Ibn Yūnus, in K Schoy, see below)

To examine if a surface was perfectly horizontal, the following tests were adopted

1 Water is poured over the surface and it is observed whether this flows equally in all directions, this is one of the most usual methods The same plan is given by Proclos in his *Hypotyposis* (ed K Manitius, Leipzig 1909, p 50, 51) According to him, one pushes supports in under a level surface on all sides till it shows no slope anywhere, this is the case when water poured on it remains standing without running to one side

2 An object which can roll is placed on one side, if it does not roll off but only oscillates, the surface is horizontal (al Shīrāzī, see below)

3 Water is poured into a plate or dish (*djafna*, fig 8) with an edge which is parallel to the surface and of the same height all the way round,

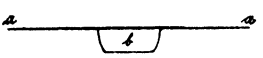
Fig 8

and it is observed whether the water comes exactly up to the edges on all sides (Ibn Luyūn, see

below). An exactly straight ruler is laid on the plate and one looks over this

Ibn Sīnā (Cod Leidensis, N° 1061) in order to test whether the upper surface of the base of a theodolite is horizontal, makes a cavity in it with exactly perpendicular walls, pours water in and proceeds as in the case of the plate To test whether a large ring is absolutely smooth, al-ʿUrdī used a process which he called *al-afādain* This is not a ready made instrument but an apparatus to be put together from case to case The ring to be tested is first of all placed exactly horizontal with the ground by means of the level (fig 9) Inside the ring on its concave side a circular

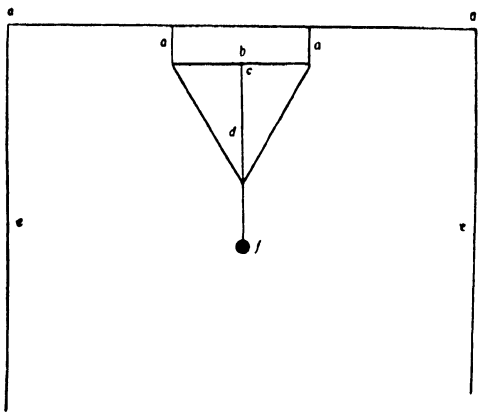

Fig 9

In the original the rod is at *e*, the rope at *a*, *b c murḏjikāl*, it is a triangle of wood, at *d* thread, at *f ṯhakkāla*, weight

gutter of potter's clay is built Its outer edge comes up to the level of the surface of the ring while its inner edge is a little higher The gutter is filled with water and some light ashes are scattered on it If the water flows over the ring the depressions in the ring are filled with it, while the ashes remain on the raised parts of it The inequalities in the surface of the ring are thus brought out (fig 10) Al-ʿUrdī em-

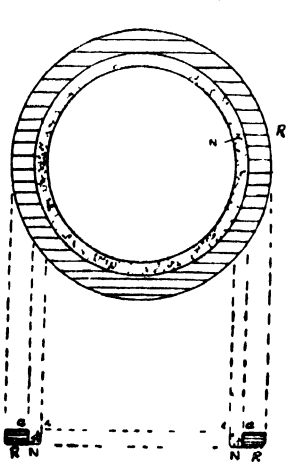

Fig 10

phasises that the test must be made in absolute calm

Al-ʿUrdī also used the same method in order to see that the outlets for water in a distribution system at Damascus were all of the same level In the centre of the reservoir he put a gutter like this and deepened or raised the bottoms of the channels running out of it until the water from the gutter spread equally over the channels which revealed any inequalities (fig 11) Cf H J Seemann, in *S B P M S Erlg*, lx, 1928, p 49, 81 and J Frank, in *Zeitschr f Instrumentenkunde*, xlviii, 1929

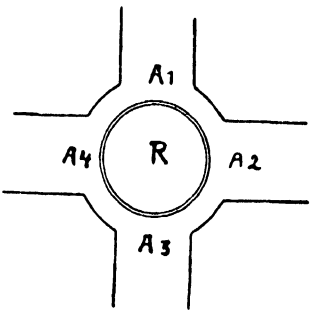

Fig 11

4 A plumb line (*ṣhākūl*, *bulḏ*, *balad* [from βόλις], *ṯhakkāla*) is dropped from the apex (fig 12) of a isosceles triangle, made for example of wood, with

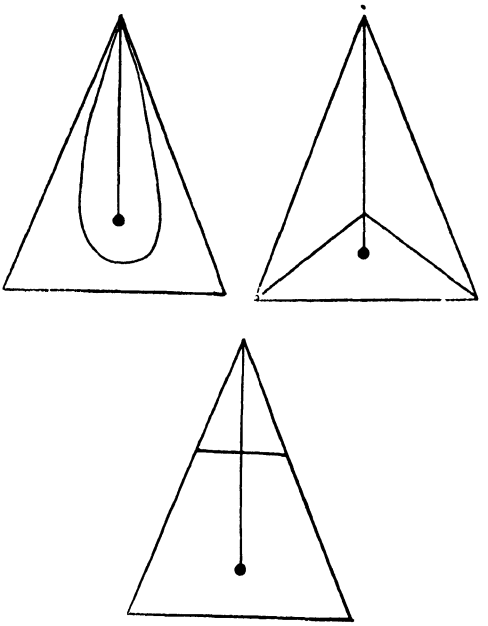

Fig 12

its perpendicular marked, a piece is sometimes left open in the centre of the under side for the weight of the plumb line If the plumb line coincides with the perpendicular, the surface is horizontal (the figures go back to al-Shīrāzī and al-Khalkhālī) Such drawings have led to the erroneous idea that Muslim students were already acquainted with the pendulum (cf E Wiedemann, in *Verhdl d d phys Ges*, 1919, p 663, the apparatus is called *al-fādin* [e g in al Shirāzī, al ʿUrdī, see below], Dozy, *op cit*, also *al kādin*)

In the architect's balance (fig 13), according to Ibn Luyūn or al-Tighnārī (see below), a quadrangular piece of wood is placed on the beam *a a* to be

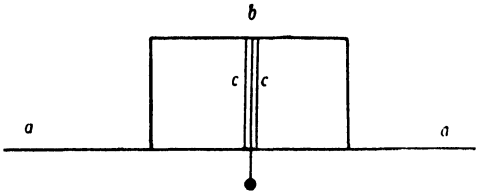

Fig 13

examined, in the middle of it, a perpendicular line *b a* is drawn before which a plumb-line is hung, according to the original figure, it seems to be two parallel lines between which the plumb-line hangs

Al Marrākushī (see below) has described a more perfect form (fig 14) In the figure *a b*, *a c* and *d e* are rods, and *a b* = *a c* and *a d e* is an equilateral triangle, *d e* is pierced in the centre A plumb-line

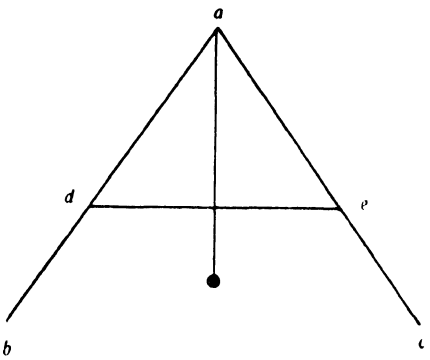

Fig 14

is hung from *a* through the hole If the surface on which *b* and *c* are put is horizontal, the thread of the plumb line goes through the centre of the hole

Whether the levels and other similar instruments are themselves correct, whether for example the plumb-line from the apex to the base is perpendicular, is tested in this way After the plumb line comes to rest in one position of the level, the latter is put in various positions on some horizontal surface, particularly in one perpendicular to the first, and in one in which left and right have places exchanged If the plumb-line always comes to rest the level is correct but if it only does so in the former case the error can be corrected by adjusting the position of the surface and that of the level

The level here described is usually called *kūnīya* (*γωνία*), the word, however, is also used for the wooden set square, as used by carpenters (s *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm*, ed v Vloten, p 255) and land surveyors like Abu 'l-Wafāʾ (s *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin*, Heft iv, 1922, p 98) A synonym is according to al-Shīrāzī (*Nihāyat al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat al-Aflāk*, *Mak* 2, chap 13) *afadan* From the same root we have in Ibn Wahshīya (Cod Leidensis, N° 1279, p 527) *fawdān*, in Dozy (*Supplement*, ii, p 246) *fādin* and *fādim* Connected with this is *fawdān*, dual of *fawd*

Sometimes one finds it stated that levelling is done with the *shākūl*, e g in al-Battānī (ed Nallino, text, 1903, p 137) *mawzūn bi 'l shākūl*, and an exactly similar statement is made by Ibn Sīnā (Cod Leidensis, N° 1061) A set square is either brought up to the plumb line and a perpendicular dropped on the surface from it, or the *shākūl* is used for the level, the essential part of which is the plummet

On larger surfaces, such as roofs, etc, a long rod (*kubtāl* = cubitale) is first of all laid down and on it the apparatus for testing the level is placed, this is called *mizān al-izur* (or *al bannāʾin* of the architects, cf Ibn Luyūn, see below)

5 At the apex of a threesided pyramid built on a surface by 3 rods of equal length, a plumb-line with a sharp point in the plummet is hung This ought to hang over the centre of the surface (al-Khāzinī, see below)

6 On the apexes *A* and *B* (fig 15) of two sharp pointed tetrahedra of equal height *A I H K*, and *B L M N*, a rod of some length *A B* is laid

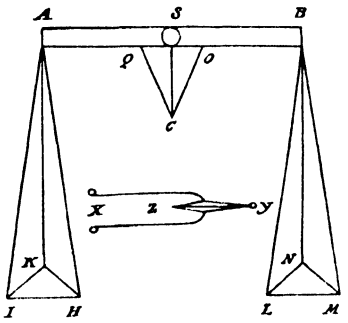

Fig 15

on which is fixed a triangle with a plumb line hanging from it or an arrangement such as is already described for the scale-beam If the plumb-line or the tongue comes to rest, the rod and therefore the surface is horizontal (al-Marrākushī, see below)

The necessity of making surfaces exactly level continually crops up in building, and also in putting up astronomical instruments, and in constructing the Indian circle with which the meridian and then the direction of the *kibla* is ascertained In this case the level surface is usually not prepared on the ground but on a firm foundation, perhaps of stone The construction for the Indian circle is already described in the *Hypotyposis* of Proclos (*loc cit*) in the same way as by the Arabs

We now deal with the tests used to see if a thing is perpendicular

1 The simplest method is to hang a plumb-line beside it In the case of level perpendicular surfaces, this must touch it all the way down if its point of suspension is on it This method is always recommended in working with the quadrant (s also below)

2 If the point of suspension is a little in front of the surface the thread must be equidistant from it all the way down

3 In the side of the gnomon, a perpendicular rod, often with a cone-shaped top, Ibn Yūnus (see below) cut out a groove which ended in a hemispherical cavity In the groove a thread is hung from the top of the gnomon with a ball shaped weight If this comes to rest in the hollow, the gnomon is perpendicular

4 The gnomon is moved backwards and forwards (turned about on its foot *mukbil wa-mudbir*), its shadow must only move so far on the level surface, on which it stands, as is in keeping with the movement of the sun during the turning (Ibn Yūnus, see below)

5 A circle is described at the foot of the rod and a pair of compasses used to test whether the distance of the top of the gnomon is the same from all points of the circle

8 Ibn Sīnā drills a small hole through the gnomon parallel to its base, puts it in a vessel with a horizontal bottom which is filled with muddy water and examines whether the surface exactly coincides with the level of the hole

7 In order to examine whether a level surface is standing exactly perpendicular, two exactly equal parallelepipedal blocks of wood (fig 16) are placed on it, L_1 and L_2, one above the other From the upper edge of L_1 a plumb line is hung, one watches whether its thread exactly touches L_2, the best plan is to place a very thin ruler between L_1 and the plummet and test the position of the thread with respect to L_2 (al-Marākushī, see below)

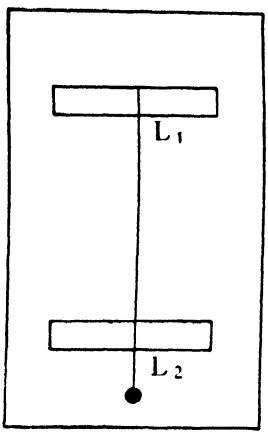

Fig 16

II In order to ascertain the difference in height between two points s_1 and s_2 which are at a distance a from one another, as is necessary in making a canal for example, one looks horizontally from s_1 with an apparatus which is at a height h from the ground to a vertical rod at s_2 and ascertains the height h_1 at which the point observed is above the ground A mark can be made on it (in modern mensuration, the rod at s_2 has divisions marked on it) The difference in height is h_1-h According to fig 19, the Arabs, like Hero, seem to have used something similar Ibn al ʿAwwām (see below) uses a square board on which are marked a number of circles touching one another, which are distinguished by different colours or have different centres In order to place the rods absolutely perpendicular, plumb lines are hung beside them (fig 17)

The horizontal line of vision is obtained in various ways

1 A rod (e g an ell long) with square sides is put up in such a way that the upper surface appears horizontal to the eye and one looks along this surface

2 The rod (*kubṭāl*) is put on the above mentioned dish or plate (fig 8) and one looks along it

3 At the end of the rod nails are fastened at the same height and their heads are pierced and one looks through the holes

4 For a rough examination, one can put, at the two places, two tube-shaped bricks which for convenience may be made each out of two half-pipes (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, see below)

5 An astrolabe is put in a horizontal place such as the edge of a well or on its cover and one looks through the eyepiece

Other methods of ascertaining differences of level are as follows

1 An assistant is sent from the higher position to the lower holding a rod of a known length l vertically until one sees just the end of it, if h then is the level of the eye, $l-h$ is the difference in height If the distance is too great for the top of the rod to be distinguished, a light is put on it, for example a lighted candle and the observation is made by night

2 If it is a question of ascertaining whether a place outside a well is lower than the level of water in the well, the distance of the latter from the surface of the ground or from the edge is ascertained by letting a rod and thread down with a shining heavy object at the end and used in calculation

Two apparatuses, closely connected with each other, are the following

3 To a rod (fig 17) the triangle with the plumb-line is attached To its two ends two threads with weights at the ends are attached, a and b

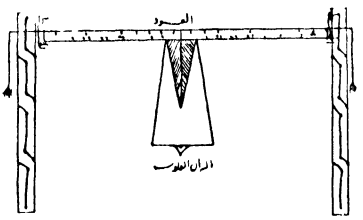
Fig 17

Two posts 1 and 2 are erected at the points, the difference in level of which is to be ascertained The one thread is fastened to the end of the lower post 1 and the other hung along and over the post 2 until its weight comes to rest The amount of shifting of the thread measures the difference in height (al Khāzinī, see below)

4 The *murdjikāl* (the bat, fig 18) consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb line which hangs from the middle of one side The triangle is suspended by this side Two rods, an ell in length, are erected 10 ells apart, a rope is passed from the top of one to the top of the other and by two threads $a\,a$ the *murdjikāl* is suspended in its centre If the plumb-line goes through the apex of the triangle, both places are on the same level, if not, one is raised by putting stones below it for example, but the end of the rope can, as in 3, be moved along (Ibn Luyūn, see below)

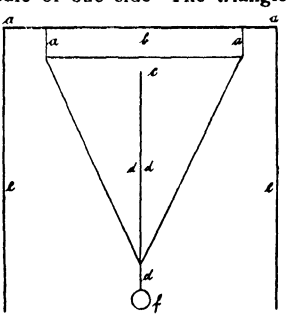

Fig 18

5 In the Paris manuscript N⁰ 2468, an unknown author describes 3 apparatuses for levelling (fig 19a–c) In the first (*al mashhūr*, the known) a rod of wood an ell in length is bored through its entire length and tongs with a tongue suspended from its centre (fig 19a) Through the hole a rope some 15 ells long is drawn which is fastened to the two vertical rods already mentioned The second apparatus (fig 19b *al-shabīha*, the similar) corresponds to the *murdjikāl* only the two threads $a\,a$

are replaced by rings which are put over the long rope *a a* The third arrangement (fig 19c *al-anbūb*, the pipe) is also mentioned by al-Karkhī

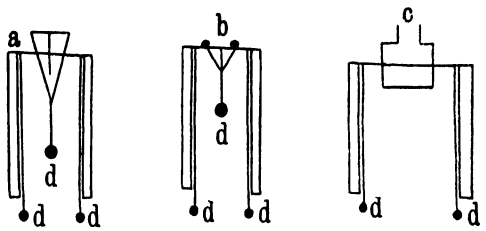

Fig 19a Fig 19b Fig 19c

(From the Paris MS Nr 1417
a *is the known*, b *the similar*
c *the pipe*, d *the weight)*

and Bahā' al-Dīn but not described, it probably corresponds to our canal level, a communicating pipe filled with water, such as is very fully described by Heron (*Dioptra*, p 197 and *loc cit*), but he gives it no particular name, probably because it is associated with a dioptra On the plumb-line of the figure is written *thakkāla* (cf E Wiedemann, *Beitr*, xxxv, see below)

Tighnārī mentions another instrument called *mizān al kat'*, Ibn Wahshiya (see below) one of brass called *kafar* or *kakaı* Neither are described however Arab authors who give full descriptions of Arab instruments are the following

1 Ibn Wahshīya (or Abū Tālib al Zaiyāt, † 870) in *Kitāb al Falāha al Nabatiya*, in "the Book of Nabatean Agriculture" (cf H Schmeller, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch der Naturwissensch und Medizin*, Erlangen 1922, Heft VI, p 36) His data are supplemented by those of numerous commentators

2 al Khāzinī (c 1100) in the *Kitāb Mizān al-Hikma*, cf Th Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum u Mittelalter*, Diss Erlangen 1908, p 159 *sqq*

3 Ibn al-'Awwām (c 1130) in *Kitāb al Falāha* (cf E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, x, see below)

4 Abū 'Othmān b Iuyūn (c 1348) in *Kadjaz fi 'l-Falāha*, deals with levelling ground etc, and gives notes on al-Tighnārī and others (cf E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, x 317 and Dozy, *Supplement*, ii 302 and 579)

5 Bahā' al Dīn al-'Āmilī, *Fssenz der Rechenkunst*, ed F Nesselmann (1547—1622, s E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, x 319)

Full details of levelling are given in the astronomical books in discussing the ascertainment of the meridian, e g in Kutb al Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d 1311, cf E Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr fur Physik*, vol x, 1922, p 267), al Khalkhālī etc Many books on the astrolabe give information on the subject in discussing surveying problems, e g al Bīrūnī (cf E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, xviii 59 *sqq*)

I give once again the names of the levelling instiuments

mīzān, *mizān al-bannā'īn*, *mīzān al kat'*, *mīzān al-izur*, *kubtāl*, *kūnīya*, *fādin*, *kādin*, *afādain*, *djafna*, *murdjikāl*, *kakar*

I know of no comprehensive treatise on levelling in connection with canal building etc in the early Muslim period For the literature see my *Beitrage*, iii 229, xviii 26 and H Schmeller, *loc cit*, p 41 — For knowledge of these matters in ancient times see C Merkel, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Altertum* and H Diels, *Antike Technik*², Leipzig 1920

Bibliography Lerchondi and Simonet, *Crestomatia arabigo española*, Granada 1881, p 138—139 (see also Ibn Luyūn, i e Leon), cf also Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 1888, p 187—198, K Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber* (Ibn Yūnus), p 6—7, E v Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, vol i, fasc F, 1923, E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, x, *Zur Technik der Araber*, iii, *Über Nivellieren und Vermessen*, in *S B P M S Erl*, xxxviii, 1906, p 310—321, do, *Beitrage*, xviii, N° 3 *Geodaetische Messungen*, *ibid*, vol xli, 1909, p 59–78, do, *Beitrage*, xxxv *Über Nivellieren*, *ibid*, vol xlv, 1914, p 15–16, Kutb al Dīn, al-Shīrāzī, *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fi Dirāyat al Aflāk* (cf E Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr fur Physik*, x, 1922, p 267, *Verhandlungen der deutschen physik Gesellsch*, 1919, p 663), al-Marrākushi, *Traite des instruments astronomiques*, ed L A Sédillot, i 376, Ibn Sīnā, *Fī Ittikhād al-Ālat al rasdiya* (Cod Leyden, N° 1061), cf also E Wiedemann, *Uber ein von Ibn Sinā* (*Avicenna*) *hergestelltes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *Zeitschr fur Instrumentenkunde*, 1925, p 269–275, Husain al-Husaini al-Khalkhālī, *Risāla fi 'l Dā'ira al-hindiya*, *Abhandlung* (Cod Gotha, N° 1417), Mu'aiyad al-Dīn al-'Urdī, *Risāla fi Kaifiyāt al-Irsād wa mā yuhtādju ilā 'Ilmihi wa-'Amalihi min al-Turuk al mu'addiya ilā Ma'rifat 'Awdāt al-Kawākib* etc (Paris Cod, N° 2544, also contains descriptions of the instruments in the observatory at Marāgha, s H J Seemann, *loc cit*)

(E Wiedemann)

MIZMĀR means literally "an instrument of piping" In the generic sense it refers to any instrument of the "wood wind" family, i e a reed-pipe or a flute In the specific sense it refers to a reed pipe (i e a pipe played with a reed) as distinct from a flute, as we know from Ibn Sīnā (d A D 1037) who describes the *mizmār* — a reed-pipe — as an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow", as distinct from an instrument like the *yarā'* — a flute — "which you blow into from a hole" Ibn Zuila (d 1048) writes similarly but substitutes the Persian word *nāy* for the Arabic word *mizmār* In Ibn Sīnā's Arabic treatise *al Nadjāt* we read of the *mizmār*, but in the identical passage in his Persian *Dānish nāma* the word is *nāy* Further, the *Mafātīh al-'Ulūm* says, "the *mizmār* is the *nāy*" (p 236) For the present purpose, "wood-wind" instruments (*mazāmīr*) may be divided into 1 reed-blown types, and 2 pipe-blown types Among the former we have single reed-pipes of the clarionet, oboe, and saxophone types, as well as double reed-pipes, the bagpipe, and the *chêng* Among the latter we have the flute and recorder, as well as the panpipes

a Reed-blown types — Single reed-pipes occur in ancient Semitic art and literary remains (Lavignac, i 35 *sq*) Hoary gossip attributes the "invention" to the Persians (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 90), whilst Djamshīd himself is claimed to have been the actual "inventor" (Ewliyā Čelebi, i 641) With Islāmic peoples, reed-pipes are found with a conical or cylindrical tube (*unbūb*) pierced with finger-holes (*thukūb*), and played with a single or double beating reed (*kaṣaba*, *kaṣhṣha*) Among the Arabs of the vth century, the *mizmār* finds a place at convivial

parties (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, xvii), and in the viiith century it is one of the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of al-Ḥiḏjāz (*Aghānī*, ii 172) When Islām came, an anathema was placed on reed-pipes mainly, it would seem, on account of the female reed-pipe player (*zammāra*) who, as was common in the East, was looked upon as a courtesan, and, indeed, the terms *zammāra* and *zāniya* became almost synonymous It is improbable that the Prophet Muhammad could have referred to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) in the well known *ḥadīth* in praise of the chanting (*kirā'a*) of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī The reference was rather to "a *mazmūr* (Hebr *mizmōr* "psalm") from the *mazāmīr* of the House of David" (cf my *Hist of Arabian music*, p 33) In early days, what the Arabs called the *mizmār*, the Persians called the *nāy*, and the latter distinguished the flute by the name *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*) Later they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* (black *nāy*) and the flute the *nāy safīd* (white *nāy*) because of the colour of the instruments About the beginning of the ixth century, a musician at the 'Abbāsid court named Zunām invented a reed-pipe which was named after him the *nāy zunāmī* or *zunāmī* (*Tāḏ al-'Arūs*) What the invention was we can only conjecture It may have been the cylinder used for altering the pitch of the instrument, or perhaps it was the introduction of a conical tube (see my *Studies*, p 79, 82) At this period we have no information whether the various reed-pipes had cylindrical or conical tubes or whether they were played with single or double beating reeds The word *zunāmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, whatever favour the invention itself found In the West, where the name eventually became vulgarized into *zullāmī*, it became the most important reed-pipe not only in Spain as we know from al-Shakundī (d 1231, al-Makḳarī, *Moh Dyn*, i 59), but also in the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii 353) It became the *xelami* of the Spaniards (see also Schiaparelli, s v)

The *mizmār* (= *mizmār wāḥid*) is described and delineated by al Fārābī (d 950) It had eight holes for fingering, giving a complete octave He also describes a smaller reed-pipe called the *suryānai* (Kosegarten, p 95, Land, p 122, D'Erlanger, p 262) One special feature of this instrument was called the *sha'īra* In the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p 237) we read "The *sha'īra* of the *mizmār* is its head, and it is that by which it is made narrow and wide [in compass]" It was actually the cylinder inserted into the head of the instrument which lowered the pitch when required (see my *Studies*, p 82), a device called later the *tawk* (*Kanz al Tuḥaf*) or *fasl* (Villoteau) It was called the *sha'īra* perhaps on account of the button at the top of the cylinder which was turned round The word *suryānai* came to be modified into *surnāy* and then *surnā* Popular etymology opined that the word was derived from *sūr* "fête" and *nāy* "reed", but this form only appears in the lexicons (*Burhān-i kāti'*) Some moderns even write *şūrnāy* The *surnāy* found its way into martial music as early as the beginning of the ixth century (*Aghānī*, xvi 139 the text has *surnāb*)

In the xith century, Ibn Zaila shows how, by devices in the fingering and embouchure, other notes were obtained on the reed-pipe (Pers *nāy*) In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (xivth cent) the *mizmār*, also called the *nāy siyāh*, is both described and delineated More valuable is the explanation of the actual making of the beating reed with which the instrument was played, from which we learn that it was a double reed In the next century a Turkish author Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrullāh copied extensively from this work (Lavignac, i 3012) Ibn Ghaibī (d 1435) says that all the notes could be obtained on the *zamr siyāh nāy* by accomodating the fingering and the embouchure The smaller instrument, the *surnā*, was defective in the upper octave he says A similar type of reed-pipe to the latter called the *balabān* is also mentioned by him Ewliyā Čelebī says that it came from Shīrāz In the Muhammad b Murād Treatise (xvth cent) we learn that the *nāy aswad* (= *nāy siyāh* = *mizmār*) was 27 cm long

With the Turks, the Persian word *surnā* had been altered to *zūrnā* and the term had become common to both the *zamr* (= *mizmār*) and *surnā* in the East Ewliyā Čelebī (xviith century) mentions among the Turkish reed pipes of his day the *kabā zūrnā* or *'aḏjami zūrnā*, the *'arabi zūrnā*, the *aşafī zūrnā*, and the *shihābi zūrnā* (a Moroccan reed pipe) He also speaks of the *kurnāta* which, he says, was an English invention (i 642) If this is the same as the *kurnaita*, it was the clarionet, an instrument which Denner is said to have "invented" about 1690, which is after its mention by Ewliyā Čelebi The Persians still continued to call their reed pipe the *surnā*, and a xviith century design of the instrument is given by Kaempfer Both Russell in Syria (i 155) and Villoteau in Egypt (i 356 *sq*) refer to several kinds of reed-pipes in use in the xviiith century

The latter delineates these and describes them fully They are three, the *kabā zūrnā* or *zamr al-kabīr*, the *zamr* or *zūrnā*, and the *zūrnā ḏjurā* or *zamr al sughaiyir*, the first being 58 3 cm and the last 31 2 cm in length The modern instrument is also delineated by Lavignac, p 2793, Sachs, p 428 For specimens see Brussels, Nrs 122, 355, 357, New York, N° 1331

In the West also we find a new name, or instrument, the *ghaita* or *ghāyta* [q v] It is said to have been introduced by the Turks (Delphin and Guin, p 48) but the name is mentioned by Ibn Battūta (d 1377) who likens the Mesopotamian *surnāy* to the Maghriban *ghaita* (ii 126) There are, however, two kinds of *ghaita*, one — a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and another — a conical tube blown with a double reed This may explain why *ghaita* does not always equate with *surnāy* and *mizmār* in the West (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, p 93, Muhammad al Saghīr, p 34) The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ghita* For details see Bū 'Alī, p 103, Delphin and Guin, p 47 For specimens and designs see Host, p 261, tab xxxi, Brussels, N° 351, New York, Nrs 402, 2824, Lavignac, p 2921

A reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe was the *būk* played with a reed The original *būk* [q v] was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal Pierced with holes for fingering, and played with a reed, a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone, was evolved In the xth century, this *būk* was "improved" by the Andalusian Caliph al-Hakam II (*Bibl de autores Españ*, li 410) Ibn Khaldūn, who describes it, says that it was the best instrument of the *zamr* family (ii 353) Ibn Ghaibī,

in his holograph MS in the Bodleian Library, writes *bāk*, but adds, "also called *būk*", but the latter remark has been deleted It appears to be delineated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, fig 41, b)

Another interesting instrument is the *ʿIrākiya* or *ʿIrākya*, which may have been the forerunner of the European *rackett* It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed It is probably the descendant of the *Nāy al-ʿIrāki* that al-Ghazzālī (d 1111 A D) speaks of It is delineated and fully described by Villoteau (1 943 *sq*) Examples are given at Brussels, N⁰ 124, New York, N⁰ 2861

With Islāmic peoples, reed-pipes belong to outdoor music Just as we see them in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* as being essential to folk, ceremonial, processional, and martial music, so they are today, and probably have always been

Double reed-pipes Ibn Khurdādhbih says that the Persians "invented" the double reed pipe called the *diyānai* (al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 90), the earliest instrument of this type that we know by name in Arabic literature, although it appears in the viiith century frescoes at Kusair ʿAmrā (Musil, pl xxiv) It has been suggested that the word should be *dūnāy*, but *diyānai* is also given by al-Farābī (see my *Studies*, p 57), who describes and delineates the instrument which, he says, was also called the *mizmār al-muthannā* or *muzāwadj* The two pipes were of equal length and each was pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them Probably the instrument known in the Middle Ages as the *zammāra* (vulg *zummāra*) was actually the old *diyānai*, although it merely equates with *fistula* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xiith century) and the *Vocabulista* (xiiith century) As early as the xiiith century we read of the *mawsūl* in Egypt (al-Makrīzī, i/i 136) The name itself means "joined" (see my *Studies*, p 78), and it was doubtless a double reed-pipe Since the xviiith century at least, *zummāra* has been the name for this instrument in the East (cf Niebuhr, 1 145), and Lane (p 367) describes and delineates it It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds It is to be found with a varying number of finger holes and is named accordingly (Sachs, p 433) In the Maghrib it is called the *makrūn* and *makrūna* (Lavignac, p 2793 *R A*, 1866), whilst in Syria it is given a vulgarized or metathetical form of the old *muzāwadj* (cf Sachs, p 257, Dalman, *Pal Divan*) For specimens and descriptions see Brussels, Nrs 115–118, New York, Nrs 2167, 2633, and *Z D P V*, 1927, p 19 Specimens in my collection range from 18 to 43 cm in length

Another type of double reed pipe has only one pipe pierced with finger holes, whilst the other serves as a drone This also carries the name of *zummāra* when the two pipes are of the same length (cf Niebuhr, 1 145) When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe it is known as the *arghūl* (*arghūn*, Mushārka, p 29, *ʿarkūn*, Lavignac, p 2812) in modern times (cf Freytag, *Chrest Arab*, 1834, p 34) in Egypt and Syria Villoteau (1 962) gives a detailed description with scales and designs of three sizes, 107, 82 6 and 38 6 cm in length (In South Kensington Museum there is one 144 cm long) Like the preceding instrument it is played with single beating reeds The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes (*ziyādāt*) which are affixed to lower the pitch In Syria the smaller type of *arghūl* is named the *mashūra*, a most significant name, in spite of it being ignored in the lexicons Lane (p 367) figures a six finger-holed instrument which, he says, was used at *dhikrs*, and by Nile boatmen For specimens see Brussels, Nrs 342—346, *Z D P V*, 1927, pl 2

Bagpipe An ancient instrument in the Orient Just prior to Islām we have it figured on Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, pl 64) We do not know its ancient Semitic name, but Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila mention it as the *mizmār al-djirāb*, describing it as being played by "an artificial contrivance" Although Niebuhr (1 146) calls it the *zummārat al kirba*, and Lane, p 386 names it the *zummāra bi-sukn*, the more general term used in Arabic speaking countries is *zukra*, although we find *mizawid* used in Tunisia (Von Hornbostel, p 4) The word *zukra* is given variations by some European writers as in the *zūkkara* of Villoteau (1 970) and the *sukkara* of Rouanet (Lavignac, p 2812) In Persia, the bagpipe has long been known as the *nāy anbān* and *nāy mashk* or *mashkak* (*Burhān i kāṭiʿ*) from whence the Hindūstānī name *mashk* or *mushuk* (Tagore, p 24, Day, p 151) In Turkey, the older word was *ṭūlum*, *tulūm* or *tulūm* (Meninski, Sachs, cf Ewliyā Čelebī, 1 642 *tulūm dūdūk*), but *ghaidā* would appear to be equally popular, and this name is to be found throughout the Balkan countries (cf Arab *ghaita*, Span *gaita*, Engl *wayghte*)

The bagpipe used by Islāmic peoples is generally equipped with a chanter pipe (with five or six finger holes) and mouthpiece, but rarely with a drone pipe The chanter, terminating in a horn bell (Schallstück), is often double, a feature which was probably the original reason for the term *zummāra* being used with the bagpipe The woodwork is sometimes inlaid with metal, whilst another feature is the adornment of the instrument with tassels, beads, shells, and other frippery Designs may be found in Niebuhr (tab xxvi) and Sachs (p 434), and actual specimens in Brussels, N⁰ 372

Instrument of free reeds The Chinese *cheng* is such an instrument Probably it was not used by Islāmic peoples although known to them The *cheng* is described in the *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm* as follows "The *mustak* is a musical instrument of the Chinese It is made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*), and its name in Persian is *bīsha mushta*" (p 237) We get a little more information from Ibn Ghaibī who informs us that the *cubčik* or *mūsīkār i khatāy*, was made of tubes of reed joined together It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by finger-holes For description and designs see Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, p 80

b Pipe-blown types — The flutes of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, unlike those of Western Europe, are played vertically, a current of air being blown across the orifice (*manfakh*) at its head Ewliyā Čelebī (1 623, 636, 642 read فوال not فرال) is not sure whether it was Pythagoras or Moses who "invented" the first instrument of this type, the shepherd's flute, called the *kawāl* (cf *καυλός*) Ibn Khurdādhbih says that it originated with the Kurds (al-Masʿūdī, viii 90), and Ibn Ghaibī (*Sharh al Adwār*) says that this instrument was the *nāy abyad* (white *nāy*) We know from Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d 846) that the Arabs called

this flute or reed-pipe the *shiyā'* A characteristic of the Arab flute was its length, hence the ancient Greek proverb which likened a talkative person to an Arabian flute (*Menandri Fragm*)

In the early days of Islām, the Arabs called their flute the *kussāba* (later modified into *kaṣaba*), and this is the name used by the poets al-A'shā (d 629) and Ru'ba b al 'Adjdjādj (VIIIth century) These terms fell into desuetude in the East when Persian musical influences were at their height The Persians called their flute the *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*) so as to distinguish it from the *nāy* proper and the *surnāy*, which were reed-pipes, and so the Arabs of the East called their flute the *nāy*, although in the West the old word *kusṣāba* or *kaṣaba* was retained Another term for the flute in early days, perhaps a different kind, was *yarā'* (*Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, p 236), and in the XIth century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* it equates with *calamaula* In the XIIIth century it was still a common name with Safī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (p 9) in the East, and with al Shakundī in the West (al-Makkarī, I 59, read *yarā'* not *barā'*) In the contemporary *Vocabulista in Arabico* it (*yarā*) agrees with *fistula* The words *hara'a* and *hara'a* (al-Djawharī, al-Fīrūzābādī) would appear to be vulgar forms of *yarā'*

Whilst the diminutive *kasība* (*kuṣaiba*) sometimes occurs in reference to a small flute, *shabbāba* and *shabāb* (*√shabba* "to grow up") were the more general terms used in 'Irāk (*Ikhwān al-Safā'*, I 97), Egypt (al Makrīzī, I 136), Spain (al Shalābī, *Voc in Arab*), and the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, II 352) It became the *exabeba* of Western Europe Another name for a small flute was *djuwāk*, and this word also found a place with the Latins as the *joch* (Du Cange) In Persia, the small flute was called the *pīsha* (*Kanz al-Tuhaf*), hence the Balkan *piscou* and *pisak*

We read of the *nāy* in the *Aghānī* (IX 71) but we cannot be sure whether it was a flute or a reed-pipe Al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, p 45) ignores the flute (*nāy*) and says that it was inferior (*ukhrā*) to the *mizmār* (reed-pipe), but it soon gained wide recognition in chamber music probably by reason of *ṣūfī* appraisement and the *dhikr* of the *darwīsh* Safī al-Dīn 'Abd al Mu'min (d 1294) describes the *nāy* with eight holes for fingering, the thumb-hole at the back being called the *shudjā'* ("vehement"), its name revealing its function In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (XIVth cent) we find two very small flutes mentioned, but in the *Sharh al-Adwār* (XVth cent) we find that the *nāy abyad* was normally 63 cm long Five larger sizes are given, the longest being 99 cm, with two smaller sizes, the limit being 31 5 cm Ibn Ghaibī also registers several varieties including the *nāy bamm* of 67 5 cm approximating in pitch to the *bamm* string of the lute, and the *nāy zīr* of 33 75 cm approximating to the *zīr* string Ewliyā Čelebī (XVIIth cent) gives the names of a number of Turkish flutes (I 623) including the *shāh manṣūr*, the *dāwūdī*, and the *bol-āheng* Villoteau (I 954) describes and delineates the Egyptian instruments of the late XVIIIth century The largest, 77 cm long, was the *nāy shāh* (= *shāh nāy*), and the smallest, 48 8 cm long, was the *nāy djuraf*, the *kiraft* of modern Syria (Mushārka, p 29) Other flutes named by him are the *nāy kushuk*, the *nāy sufurdja* (? *supurda*), the *nāy mutlak*, and the *nāy husainī* In Turkey the *supurda* is the smallest flute used in chamber music (Lavignac, p 3019) Turkish and Egyptian flutes are usually well made, with a head to support the lips In Palestine and the Maghrib they still retain, more or less, a primitive appearance, and although the seven holed flute is common (Christianowitsch, pl 2), the five and six holed instrument has acceptance (Delphin et Guin, p 45 *Z D P V*, 1927, pl 1) In the Maghrib the flutes in the orchestras still retain the name of *kasaba* (vulg *kaṣba*), and they are generally about 40 cm long, whilst the *djuwāk* or *shabbāba* (*shabāb*) is smaller In the interior, longer flutes like the *ghiblī* and *sudāssi* may be found Delphin and Guin give an account of these

The recorder, or flûte a bec, also found favour in the East This is the Arabic *nāy labak* (mouth *nāy*), the Persian *sūt*, the Turkish *dūduk*, and the Hindūstānī *alghūza* As early as the *Ikhwān al Safā'* and the *Mafātīh al-'Ulūm* (Xth cent) we read of the *saffāra*, which was doubtless a flûte a bec (see my *Studies*, p 83) Villoteau (I 951) says that it was an instrument of this type in his day in Egypt The *dūduk* or *dūdūk* is mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebī in nine different species (I 642), and is also mentioned by Hādjdjī Khalīfa (I 400) The *shāhīn* would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in Mediaeval Western Europe It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the *tabl* or drum, hence the phrase in al Ghazzālī "the *shāhīn* of the drummer (*tabbāl*)"

Panpipes are also common to the folk Both Pythagoras and Moses are credited by Ewliyā Čelebī (I 624, 636) with the "invention" of the *mūsikār* or panpipes Although the word stands for "a composer of melodies" in the *Mafātīh al-'Ulūm* (see also Meninski), it referred to a musical instrument in the XVth century (*N E*, XIV 312) A contemporary writer, Ibn Ghaibī, says that "the *mūsikār* is one of the [wind instruments with] free pipes Its notes are determined by size [of pipes] The longest have the low notes, and the shortest the high notes" We find the instrument called *mūsikāl* (*Farhang i Shu'ūrī*) whilst Hādjdjī Khalīfa (I 400) has *mithkāl*, and Toderini (I 237) *mescal*, which probably gave birth to the Roumanian *muscal* The term *mūsīkāl* survived up to modern times (Villoteau, I 963), but the more general word used today (Mushārka, p 29) is *djanāh* (Pedro de Alcala [1503] mentions a harp by this name, but perhaps he confused the name with *djank*) Russell (*The Natural History of Aleppo*, I 156) writing in Syria in the XVIIIth century says that panpipes were to be found with from three to twenty-three pipes Kaempfer, p 743, delineates a XVIIth century Persian instrument

The names of instruments in the *mazāmīr* group in Arabic are legion Many of those not mentioned in this article are regional and are of folk origin, their source being often discernable, such as in the *zamdjara* and *zamkhar*, to name only two More interesting however, are the older words like *hunbūka*, *nakīb* and *zanbāk* The first two occur in al-Fīrūzābādī (d 1414), and *nakīb*, which equates with *mizmār*, reminds us of the much debated passage in *Ezekiel*, XXVIII 13 *Zanbak* occurs in in al-Azharī (d 981) and even earlier (cf Lane) The Greek σαμβύκη and the Latin *sambuca* were stringed instruments, and Isidore of Seville's *sambuca* as a "wood-wind" instrument has long been

suspect, but since *ẓanbak* is to be found in Arabic equating with *ẓammāra* and *mizmār* there would appear to be good reason for accepting Isidore of Seville

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For specimens of instruments Brussels, *Catalogue descr du Musee Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique*, New York, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments* (1st ed)

(H G Farmer)

MIZWĀR, a arabicised form of the Berber *amezwār*, he who precedes, he who is placed at the head, equivalent to the Arabic *mukaddam* and like this frequently has in North Africa the meaning of chief of a religious brotherhood (*ṭarīka*, q v), the superintendent of a *zāwiya* [q v] or the chief of a body of *shorfā* (q v, dialect form from the class plur *shurafāʾ*) In those districts of the Maghrib, where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwār* is sometimes the equivalent of *anflūs*, the political adviser to a body, cf R Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* (Paris 1930, p 222)

The term *mizwār* (or *mazwār*) is early found in the histories of the Maghrib in connection with Almohad institutions There it means the head of a faction and the corresponding office seems at this time to be often confused with those of *ḥāfiz* and *muhtasib* [q v] In the time of the Muʾminid Caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb [q v] al-Mansūr, each of the twenty-one Almohad tribes had two mizwārs "one for the first rank of the hierarchy, i e the earliest recruits of the Almohads, and an other for those who had joined them later (*ghuzāt*)" (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, in E Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inedits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, p 70, cf also p 63—64 and M Gaudefroy-Demombynes, introduction to the translation of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* of Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Paris 1927, p xxxvi)

At the present day, *mizwār* is in constant use in Fās for the *nakīb* [q v] of the principal Sharīfan groups who live in this capital

(E Lévi-Provençal)

MŌBEDH, a Persian word which passed into Arabic in the form موبذ or مؤبذ, we also find in Arabic the Persian plural, *mōbedhān*, but usually combined with *mōbedh* in the expression *mōbedhān mōbedh*, which means "chief of the *mōbedh*s", "grand *mōbedh*" It is also found alone (*mōbedhān*) standing for *mōbedhān mōbedh* The Arabic plural is *mawābidh* The word is derived from the Pehlevi *magupat*, which means "chief of the *magi*" and therefore indicates a priestly office, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishrāf*, *B G A*, vii 103, the word would mean *ḥāfiz al dīn* and be derived from *mu* = "religion" and *badh* = "protector", and according to al Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, i 207) *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* In Armenian texts the word is rendered by *mogpet*, in the Greek acts of martyrs by μαυπτάς μαυπτάς μαύπτης μαύπτης μάπτα, in Syriac and especially in the acts of the Persian martyrs not only by ܡܘܒܕܐ, but also by ܡܘܗܒܕܐ, in one passage (Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p 88, cf below), the word ܡܘܗܒܕܐ is used immediately before ܡܘܒܕܐ ܡܘܒܕܐ The Syriac has also *rēsh mgūshē* or *rēshā damegūshē* corresponding to the Greek ἀρχίμαγος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μάγων We have no satisfactory information regarding the functions of the *mōbedh*s, we know more about those of the chief of the *mōbedh*s or *mōbedhān mōbedh* The information given below relates to the Sāsānian period, a period in which the clergy were reorganised and which is reflected in the Arabic and Persian Muslim sources

In the later *Avesta* we find references to the sacerdotal organisation but the names do not agree with those of the Sāsānian period, for example the principal office, that given in the Sāsānian period to the *mōbedhān mōbedh*, is called *Zarathustrotema*, and had judicial functions like the chief of the *mōbedh*s The term *magupat* is only found in the Pehlevi commentaries on the *Avesta*

The sources from which we can extract information about the *mōbedh*, and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* or chief of the *mōbedh*s, are of course Pehlevi or go back to Pehlevi texts Among the former which have come down to us is the *Bundahishn* which among other things contains a list of *mōbedhān mōbedh*, the *Ardā Wīrāf Nāmak*, the *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshir-i Pāpakān* (transl by Noldeke in the *Benfey-Festschrift* = *Beitrage zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, iv , 1878, and by Pagliaro in *L'Epica e il Romanzo nel Medio Evo persiano*, Florence 1927, a part of the text 1—3 is reprinted in the *Hilfsbuch fur das Pehlevi* by Nyberg), the *Mātikān-i hazār Dāte-*

stān, a legal work studied by Bartholomae in *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, *Sitzungsber d Heidelb Akad d Wissensch*, 1922, is valuable for our knowledge of the judicial functions of the *mōbedh*s and *mōbedhān mōbedh*, a few short moral treatises preserving traces of law (cf Pagliaro in *R S O*, x, 1925, p 468—577) etc The numerous references to the *mōbedh*s and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* which we find in Persian and Arabic sources come from lost Pehlevi sources or Arabic and Persian versions of them Thus the *Book of Kings* especially in the latter part contains some information about the *mōbedh*s but nothing very full or precise about their functions, the matter of the *Shāhnāma* is taken, as we know, from a Persian prose version of the *Khwadāināmagh* The version which we have of the letter of Tansar (publ and transl by Darmesteter in *J A*, 1904, 1) gives very interesting information about the Sāsānian hierarchy and also about the *mōbedh*s, it comes from a Pehlevi document which, according to Christensen, goes back not to the time of Ardashīr but rather to that of Khusiaw the Great (cf *Empire des Sasanides*, 111—112, and more recently *Abeïsam et Tansar*, in *Acta Orientalia*, x 43 *sqq*)

The numerous writers in Arabic and Persian whose works give us notes on the *mōbedh*s derive their matter, as regards Persia, from information supplied directly by contemporary *mōbedh*s or grand *mōbedh*s, from Pehlevi works translated into Arabic (especially the translations of Ibn al Muḳaffaʿ) which no longer exist, such as the *Khwadāināmagh* and the *ʿĀʾin-nāma* or "book of offices" (*Kitāb al Rusūm*, cf below) Of great importance is the *Kitāb al-Tādj* or *Akhlāk al-Mulūk* by al Djāhiz (cf H Gabrieli, in *R S O*, x [1928], p 232—308) and others written by al-Djāhiz himself and the *Kitāb al Mahāsin wa 'l-Addād* which is attributed to him, very important also are the works of the historians, chroniclers, geographers and polygraphers or men of letters like al-Yaʿkūbī, Ibn Kutaiba, al-Dīnawarī, al-Tabarī, al Masʿūdī, Hamza al-Isfahānī, al-Thaʿālibī, al-Nuwairī, al-Shahrastānī, etc

Of course all these sources bear different relations to the Pehlevi originals or to one another and they differ greatly in value, apart from the fact that they frequently combine legendary matter with accurate statements, e g some concerning certain of the functions of the *mōbedh*s

Information of value can also be extracted from Syriac, Greek (especially Acts of Martyrs) and Armenian (historians etc) sources

Even by combining all these sources it is not possible to give a precise account of the office of *mōbedh* in the Sāsānian ecclesiastical hierarchy as laid down in the organisation of the kingdom attributed to Ardashīr (cf *Kitāb al-Tādj*, p 23—30) nor to follow its developments (cf the letter from Tansar, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 103—104 and *Murūdj*, II 156, al-Yaʿkūbī, *Historiae*, I 202, al Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, p 193, transl Haarbrucker, I 292) Nothing definite can be deduced from the Parsi hierarchy of the present day as the ecclesiastical organisation has profoundly changed But we may assume that high priests regularly called *mōbedh*s were given the task of supervising in the different divisions of the empire (one might say dioceses) the very varied work of the hereditary clergy, the *magi*, who had so great an influence over the lives of the Persians, that is to say not only the very elaborate ceremonies of worship, the sacrifices, the care of the pyres, but also the cure of souls and the education of the people These *mōbedh*s and their chief (cf below) were like all priests the repositories of learning, profane as well as sacred (cf *Tanbīh*, p 97, where there is an allusion to the unbounded knowledge of the *mōbedh*s and *hērbedh*s) and the Arab writers must also have obtained information from *mōbedh*s (cf Inostranzev, *Études sassanides*, p 10) The *mōbedh*s had also judicial functions (cf below), in the Acts of the martyrs they appear vested with executive power, but since courts of inquiry were composed of lay officers and priests, it is probable that this power was exercised by the whole college or by delegation It is also certain that the title of *mōbedh* is not applied exclusively to these heads of administrative divisions or dioceses (of whom it is nevertheless characteristic) because at the court of the king, according to the sources, especially the *Shāhnāme*, there were many high priests called *mōbedh*s or *hērbedh*s who formed a kind of council around the grand *mōbedh* (cf below) or who had other special offices Gradually the name *mōbedh* must have come to mean, as at the present day, a priest fully qualified to do everything in connection with worship The other terms for Persian priests seem to refer rather, either to their dignity (e g *dastūr*) or to functions occasionally performed by them [cf ZOROASTRIANISM] *Rat* and *magupat* are sometimes put on the same level The relation of the *mōbedh* to the other degrees of the hierarchy like the *hēr bedh*, another office (perhaps teacher) having supervision over a body of priests, is not clear Al-Masʿūdī says in the *Tanbih*, p 103, that *herbedh*s were lower in rank than *mōbedh*s

At the head of the hierarchy of priests were no doubt the *hērbedhān hērbedh* or chief of the *hēr bedh*s and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* or chief of the *mōbedh*s Tansar, the writer of the famous letter, is called by the *Dēnkart hērbedhān hēr bedh*, according to Darmesteter "chief of the religion", while al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, p 99) calls him better the *mōbedh* of Ardashīr Indeed it is quite certain from our sources that the supreme head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the chief of the *mōbedh*s (*mōbedhān mōbedh*) who was also the first dignitary of the court, all the power of the Zoroastrian clergy which constituted a state within the state was concentrated in this pontiff Al Masʿūdī in the *Tanbīh*, p 103, says of his rank that it was almost equal to that of a prophet

In accounts of the ceremonial of the Sāsānids, he is always given first place and he frequently appears surrounded by a council of high priests, *hērbedh*s or *mōbedh*s Besides all the functions which he exercised as head of the clergy, i e the supervision of the whole religious life of the country, the settlement of theological questions, of problems of ecclesiastical policy, the appointment and dismissal of ecclesiastical officials, he had others which we must outline Christensen thinks he can deduce from several sources (letter of Tansar, al Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p 103—104, Yaʿkūbī, *Historiae*, p 1—202), that four or five high officials formed with the king a kind of ministry, the composition and number of members of which perhaps changed from time to time but which always included the *mōbedhān mōbedh* (cf e g the *Shāhnāme*, ed Mohl, VI 223 where the *mōbedh* is called the king's vizier) But he was also supreme judge as head of the *mōbedh*s of the administrative divisions, as the latter were the

judges of higher degree in their respective areas It is evident from the studies of Bartholomae on Pehlevi legal texts (and especially on the *Mātīkān-ī hazār Dātestān*, cf *Zum Sasanidischen Recht*, p 34, etc) that in the different districts there were judges of first instance and of two degrees (*kas* lower, *mas* higher), above whom was the *mōbedh* of the district The supreme judge was ultimately the *mōbedhān mōbedh* whose final sentence could not be disputed For the judicial functions of the *mōbedh*s it is interesting to consult the acts of the Persian martyrs in Syriac and Greek (cf Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, the texts of Bedjan, etc, in *Patrologia Orient*, etc) The Arab writers also give us a pretty clear idea, especially as regards the *mōbedhān mōbedh*, for example in Tabarī, i 952, Noldeke, *Gesch d Perser und Araber*, p 230, the *mōbedhān mōbedh* in advising the king in the matter of the son of Dhū Yazan, lays particular stress on the young man's right to have his prayer granted, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ii 156) and *Tanbīh*, p 103, calls him *kādī 'l kudāt*, in the *Murūdj* also (ii 211) we are told in connection with the abuses of Hurmuz son of Khusraw that, having abolished the jurisdiction of the *mōbedh*s, the good old tradition and the ancient laws fell into desuetude In al-Thaʿālibī, *Hist Pers*, p 506–7, we find two answers which are interesting in this connection, they were given by the *mōbedhān mōbedh* to the king, who had consulted him with regard to the sentence of death to be pronounced against his chief wife and his cook, in the *Kitāb al-Tādj*, p 78 it is related that king Kawādh full of admiration for a subtle answer given by the *mōbedh* exclaimed "It is with justice that kings have given you the first place and that they have entrusted you with the control of jurisdiction!"

Some Arabic sources also allude to the court of justice which was held on the occasion of the great festivals of the *Nawrūz* and the *Mihrdjān* (e g *Kitāb al Tādj*, p 159—63, *al Mahāsin wa 'l-Addād*, p 359—65, al-Bīrūnī, *al-Athār al bākiya*, ed Sachau, p 215—219, 222—223, *Siyāset-nāma*, ed Schefer, p 38—40, etc) According to these stories, the people on those days had the right to bring any complaint against the king before a commission of which the grand *mōbedh* was the most important member, the first complaint was judged by the grand *mōbedh* who thus had the right to condemn the king, the latter having pronounced a formula of submission, kneeling before him The complaints that followed were judged by the king According to al-Nuwairī, the *mōbedh* also offered to the king on these ceremonial occasions a basket of fruits over which he had uttered a prayer Tansar's letter (*J A*, 1904, p 544—545) informs us that in the procedure laid down by Ardashīr for designating the heir to the throne the grand *mōbedh* played the most important part, that is to say he proclaimed the new heir chosen by divine inspiration should it happen that the other dignitaries summoned to deliberate with him were not in agreement The position of the grand *mōbedh* as intimate councillor and mentor of the king who placed complete confidence in him (he is often called "councillor of the king") is very clear in the *Shāhnāma* as well as in the Arabic and Persian sources (cf al-Thaʿālibī p 504—505, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii 171 where Bahrām son of Bahrām, son of Hurmuz, addresses the grand *mōbedh* "Thou, support of religion, councillor of the king and the man who directs his attention to affairs of state neglected by him") According to al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 104, only the *mōbedh*s and a few other high officials of state possessed a copy of the *Gāhnāme* or register of offices, a very large book, forming part of the *Ā'īn-nāma* (an *Ā'īn-nāma* was translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ with the title *Kitāb al-Rusūm*)

Among the details which are preserved in the sources about the grand *mōbedh*, we are told that he was one of the three who shared the king's table in time of war when the royal meals were very frugal, and that when a victory was won, he along with other dignitaries pronounced a discourse (*Kitāb al Tādj*, p 173—174) A very marked feature in the sources is the wisdom of the grand *mōbedh* and indeed of all the *mōbedh*s (cf below) In the *Shāhnāme* (we pick out only a few of the more interesting episodes) the Byzantine ambassador who was, the grand *mōbedh* tells Khusraw, of the school of Plato, puts seven questions to the *mōbedh* which he answers (Mohl, vi 3 *sqq*) and thus excites the admiration of the king In this story, as usual, the grand *mōbedh* appears surrounded by other priests called *mōbedh*s or *hērbedh*s as the case may be, and he is also given the title *dastūr* Cf also the questions put by the grand *mōbedh* to Khusraw Anūsharwān (Mohl, vi 394 *sqq*) and the assembly of the *mōbedh*s under the presidency of the grand *mōbedh* to put questions to Hormuz son of Anūsharwān (*ibid*, p 424—430) Another passage (Mohl, vi 442 *sqq*) describes the heroic piety of the grand *mōbedh* who consoles a high official, a victim of king Hurmuzd, and is poisoned by the latter The grand *mōbedh* is also represented as interpreting the language of birds (cf also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii 169—170 the dialogue of the owls denouncing the cruelty of king Bahrām son of Bahrām son of Hormuz [276—293 A D]), and in al-Ṭabarī (i 965, Noldeke, p 250) he explains the invasion of jackals in the reign of Khusraw as a punishment for the impiety of the land

The story is very well known among the Arabs of the dream of the grand *mōbedh* in the night of the birth of the Prophet and his interpretation of other marvellous happenings of the same night (al-Ṭabarī, i 982 *sqq*, Noldeke, p 253, *Annali dell' Islām*, i 150), Hamza al-Isfahānī (ed Gottwaldt, p 27) quotes a list of Sāsānian kings drawn up by the *mōbedh* Bahrām son of Mardānshāh (Noldeke, p 401)

In religious discussions the steps to be taken against heretics, in the persecutions and inquisitions against the Christians, the *mōbedh*s and the grand *mōbedh* are always most prominent (Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, texts of Bedjan, *Patrologia Orient* etc) Cf also the articles MAZDAK, ZINDĪK

A list of grand *mōbedh*s of the Sāsānian period and of *mōbedh*s contemporary with the last editors of the book is found in the *Bundahishn*, ch 33 (Christensen, *Empire des Sasanides*, p 35) The first grand *mōbedh* appointed by Ardashīr was, according to Tabarī (Noldeke, p 9), a man named *Pahr* (?) The *mōbedhān mōbedh* Āturpāt i Zartushtān lived, according to the Pehlevi sources, 150 years and was grand *mōbedh* for 90 Elisée (Langlois, ii 230) mentions a grand *mōbedh*, who had the honorific title of Hamakdēn ("he who knows all religion") on account of his vast theological learning, this title seems to have been often given to the

mōbedhs A number of names of grand *mōbedhs* are given in various sources, among them the Acts of the Martyrs in Syriac, Greek and Armenian, some are also preserved on the seals published by Herzfeld in his work on the monument of Paikuli Mazdak was according to some texts *mōbedh* or even grand *mōbedh* In Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 216, we have a description in verse of pictures representing with other dignitaries "their *mōbedh* and their *hērbedh*" who judges ignorantly and iniquitously On the *zamzamah* cf the article ZOROASTRIANISM and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i 170 and al-Ḏjāhiz, *Bayān*, ed Sandūbī, Cairo 1927, iii 7, on the *Shu'ūbiya* It is known that the Zoroastrian clergy played an important part in the *Shu'ūbiya* movement (Inostranzev, *Études sassanides*, St Petersburg 1909, p 10—15)

After the Muhammadan conquest the importance of the grand *mōbedh* and of the *mōbedhs* diminished in proportion as Islām spread, our sources of course continue to mention them and Arab writers give information obtained directly from *mōbedhs* (al-Ṭabarī, i 2874, year 31 A H , mentions the *mōbedh* who advised the governor Māhawaihi not to kill king Yazdagird, al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p 104 gives the name of the *mōbedh* of all Persia in 345 A H etc)

The organisation of the Parsis at the present day is different, *mōbedh* means a priest qualified to perform all the offices of worship This, however, is beyond the scope of this article

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MODON, a town in the Morea on the south-west point of Messenia, about 20 miles N W of Cape Akritas, opposite the island of Sapienza at the foot of Mount Tomeus Modon is frequently mentioned in ancient times under the names Μεθώνη and Μοθώνη, from the latter comes the Italian name of the town, Modon, under which it has been known since the middle ages in Europe In the middle ages it was of much greater importance than in antiquity The good harbour of the town, sheltered by cliffs of varying heights, has long been a haven of refuge and of supply for ships going from the west to the Levant Hence pilgrims frequently mention the town and their accounts of their travels even contain maps

The Arab Idrīsī, in his geographical work finished in 548 (1153) for Roger II of Sicily, enumerates many seaports and towns on the mainland of Greece Among these is Modon of which he records that it is a fortified town and has a citadel which commands the sea (*Geographie d'Edrisi*, ed A Jaubert, Paris 1846, p 305) By the treaty of 1199 with the Byzantine emperor Alexius III, Venice was allowed to trade freely in Modon The town had suffered severely at the hands of the Venetians in 1125 and again of the Normans in 1146 but was recovering again slowly After the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204) and the division of the lands which had previously formed the Byzantine empire, Modon fell to the Venetians, under whose rule it remained for nearly three centuries It is this period that marks the golden age of the town, which, carefully administered by her merchant princes, developed a new prosperity and became an important and secure centre for trading with Egypt and Syria, while previously it had often been a nest of pirates In the xv^th^ century the population of Modon was a mixed one of Greeks, Jews, Albanians, Turks, Gipsies and Western Europeans The Turks of the neighbourhood reared swine which they sold to the townspeople According to some sources, at the end of the xv^th^ century five thousand swine were exported annually from Modon to Venice About the same time a settlement of gipsies in Modon is mentioned, who came from Gyppe, a district about forty miles from Modon, from which they said they had fled — for the sake of the Christian faith — and were seeking refuge in all lands with a letter of recommendation from the Pope (cf *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, ed E v Groote, Cologne 1860, p xxviii, 67 *sq* , *Z D P V*, xvii, 1894, p 144) The fact is, however, that the gipsies of Modon after 1500 went over *en masse* to Islām, about the end of the xviii^th^ century were again mainly Christians, outwardly at least, after 1715 again became Muslims and finally after 1821 became Christians again

During the second half of the xiv^th^ century the population of Modon increased considerably for many Christians and Jews of the Peloponnesus, seeking to escape the Turkish yoke, took refuge here While the town itself was immune, the country round, which was flat, suffered a great deal from the Turks Thus for example about 1480, the Turks raided this plain and destroyed by fire the olive-trees there In the last decades of the xv^th^ century, the Venetian republic had much anxiety about Modon and her other possessions in the East, which the Turks had long coveted In 1499 the Admiral Antonio Grimani was ordered by his government to see to the defence of Modon against the Turks In July of this year, the Turkish fleet came to the vicinity of Modon and soon afterwards several naval encounters with the Venetian fleet took place In a naval battle fought on Aug 8, 1499, outside Modon, the heroic Venetian Andreas Loredano, governor of Corfu, was taken by the Turks and put to death Another Venetian admiral, Melchior Trevisano, was now entrusted by the Venetian republic with the defence of Modon and her other possessions in the East At the same time the republic endeavoured to make peace with Turkey, but the negotiations broke down in face of the impossible conditions laid down by Bāyazīd II Among other things he insisted on the surrender of Modon In the meanwhile on March 23, 1500, the Turks had occupied Merona, a little town near Modon Marcus Gabriel, the commander of Modon, had previously, on February 18, 1500, reported to the Venetian government the great straits of the town According to his report, the garrison was not sufficient to defend the town against the Turks, and for a successful defence it would require four thousand trained men, in addition to artillery, arms, munitions and gunpowder, which the town lacked In spite of her difficult financial

situation, Venice managed to provide the town with money, troops and artillery But the Turkish fleet again appeared before Modon while Bāyazīd II advanced on the town by land at the head of a well equipped army An attempt by the Venetian fleet under Admiral Hieronymus Contarini to raise the blockade on July 24, 1500 failed with heavy losses The Turkish fleet, according to the Venetian admiral, had very good artillery In the meanwhile famine had broken out in the garrison so that they could hold out no longer Four Venetian galleys were able to steal through the Turkish fleet into the harbour and bring the garrison food, munitions and men, but this could not avert the fate of the town After a siege of twenty-eight days during which the town was bombarded by heavy artillery, the Turks stormed it On Sunday, August 9, 1500, the Venetian garrison had to yield to this onslaught

The lot of the surviving garrison and other inhabitants of the town was a hard one They were either massacred in most inhuman fashion or sent into slavery Very few of them succeeded in escaping But the number of people captured did not come up to the expectation of the Turks, because the Venetian authorities had earlier sent thousands of old men, women and children from Modon to Crete and Zante Among those who fell at the capture of the town was the Roman Catholic bishop of Modon, Andreas Falcus, a number of prominent Venetians and high officials of other origin When the news of the capture of Modon by the Turks reached Venice, it was plunged into deep mourning This is reflected in a letter which the Doge Augustino Barbarigo sent on September 7 to the Pope and several European rulers with reference to the catastrophe The sole consolation of the Venetians was the deceitful hope that their fleet might succeed in retaking Modon The Venetian Senate at once saw to the settlement of a number of the refugees from Modon in Cephalonia Sultān Bāyazīd II regarded the conquest of Modon, at the fortifications of which he was rightly amazed, as a gift from God When he entered the town as a victorious conqueror, it had already been partly consumed by fire which had been begun by the defenders themselves The fugitives from Modon, who had taken refuge in Zante, watched the flames that were destroying their homes burn for several days Sultān Bāyazīd II promoted the first janissary to leap over the walls of Modon to the rank of Sarak-bey He had two towers built of the skulls of the fallen and massacred Christians and turned the cathedral of the town, the venerable church of St John, into a mosque On August 14, 1500, he went to the new mosque to return his thanks in prayer He then saw to the resettlement of Modon, the walls of which were rebuilt By imperial decrees, each Peloponnesian village had to send five families to become permanent settlers in Modon, the revenues of which were allotted to Mecca After a brief stay, Sultān Bāyazīd left his new conquest He took with him as a prisoner the last Venetian defender of the town, Marcus Gabriel, whose life he had spared with the intention of using him for his own purposes later The historian Safā'ī, a native of Sinope, wrote some time before 1521 an account of the taking of Lepanto (Naupactos) and Modon (*Fethnāme-i Anabakhlī we-Moton*) The brief description of the capture of Modon written by Munshi Seiyid Mehmed also gives details of the sultān's treatment of the town (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, Leipzig 1909, p 49)

In 1531 the Knights of St John endeavoured to take Modon from the Turks and to establish themselves there To do this they equipped a small fleet under the command of the Abbot Fra Bernardo Salbiati, a nephew of Pope Clement VII Two Greeks employed in the harbour of Modon and Johannes Skandalis, a Greek from Zante, whose father was a customs officer in Modon, were to assist the enterprise The fleet, led by Salbiati with two merchant ships, which also concealed soldiers, sailed for Sapienza The warships were hidden in the vicinity of this island, while the two merchant ships under the guidance of Johannes Skandalis, made for the harbour of Modon Permission to land was given without trouble to the crews of the two ships, who gave themselves out to be some merchants and some janissaries, and they were allowed to spent the night in the tower at the harbour Johannes Skandalis and his little body of followers then succeeded in overpowering the Turkish guard at the tower and taking nearly the whole town The rest of the Turkish garrison shut themselves in the palace which had once housed the Venetian governors of the town, and offered a stubborn resistance In order to overcome the Turkish garrison the warships hidden at Sapienza were necessary These now came up, although very late, and bombarded the town with their guns Scarcely had they begun when a strong Turkish fleet appeared The Knights and John Skandalis therefore abandoned Modon but not without carrying off some sixteen hundred prisoners

The years 1532—1534, during which a Spanish force in the service of Charles V occupied the adjoining Coroni, were a critical period for the Turks in Modon But after this, it was left in peace for a considerable period The *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebi who visited the Morea in 1667 to 1668 contain valuable notes on Modon and its vicinity, while Hādjdjī Khalīfa (d 1658) contains nothing essential

During the war which broke out in 1684 between Turks and Venetians in which Germans, Poles and Russians also shared as allies, Modon with the whole of the Morea was restored to the Venetians General Francesco Morosini in 1686 broke the resistance of the Turkish garrison with the help of Greek and German troops and secured it for the Adriatic republic The chief mosque of the city, i e the old cathedral, was once more dedicated to Christian worship Only in 1699 after the peace of Carlowitz, did the Turks recognise the Venetian claim to Modon Venice now did her utmost to restore the city which, with its commerce, had much declined during the Turkish occupation Of the seven administrative divisions (*camera*) into which the Venetians had divided the Morea, the third was that of Modon This district was again divided into four areas (Fanari, Arcadia, Navarino and Modon) From a Venetian record of September 29, 1690, giving the results of a census by the Venetian officials, we see that the district of Modon had been depopulated to an incredible degree The 218 villages detailed in this list were inhabited by only 11,202 souls Modon itself, including the citadel, had only 236 inhabitants of whom some must have been Muhammadans A large number of villages which at the turn of the xviith—xviiith centuries belonged to the district of Modon, have

Turkish names, some of which survive to this day These villages were originally fiefs granted to Turks whose names in time passed to the village (cf S P Lambros, in *Deltion*, publication of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, vol II, 1885, p 686—710, pl VII, thereon Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα, Athens 1884, p 114 *sqq*, Pier' Antonio Pacifico, *Breve descrizzione corografica del Peloponneso o' Morea*, Venice 1704, p 125 *sqq*)

After the conquest by Morosini whose services to Modon are commemorated in inscriptions still in existence, the town remained for some nineteen years under Venetian rule In 1715 the grand vizier ʿAlī Kumurtzi with the help of a number of Greeks took not only Modon but almost the whole of the Morea from the Venetians in a very short time The Venetian garrisons of Navarino and Coroni as well as the inhabitants abandoned them when the Turkish army approached in the summer of 1715, in order to take refuge in Modon, which was much more strongly fortified Soon afterwards the Turkish fleet and army began the siege of the town After a brief resistance Modon surrendered voluntarily After the capture of the town the grand vizier ordered a general slaughter of the Christians Many in the district thereupon adopted Islām in order to save life and property in this way The Turks who had formerly owned property in Modon or the neighbourhood were allowed by imperial edict to resume possession of it The peace of Pessarowitz (1718) finally ceded Modon to Turkey The town recovered from the catastrophe of 1715 From 1725 onwards a busy trade developed between Modon and the lands of North Africa, especially Algeria and Tunis, this trade had existed previously but not to the same extent Modon played a certain part during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768—1774 The Russian vice-general Georg Vladimir Dolgoraki in 1769 with 500 Russians, 150 Montenegrins and 100 Greeks (mainly Mainotes) besieged Modon The Turkish garrison of Modon consisted of 800 janissaries and a large number of Turks of the town and vicinity able to bear arms The walls of the citadel were in good condition, and the supply of food and munitions ample The siege lasted a long time, the fighting was conducted mainly by the artillery on both sides The Russians had also two warships co operating on the sea At the end of May 1769, Turks and Albanians from the interior of the Morea came to the help of the besieged who undertook a valiant sortie, when they learned of the approach of help In the battle that now developed the Russians suffered heavily They were forced to abandon most of their artillery and to escape to Navarino, from which they sailed with the rest of the Russian army and a few Greek notables A few years later, the Turks in Modon were still displaying the guns which they had taken from the Russians in 1769 According to reliable sources, the Turkish population of Modon about 1820 was four to five hundred fighting men About the same time ʿAlī Agha was prominent among the Turks of the town for his wealth and in other respects also The vicinity of Modon was almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks who cultivated the land, which mainly belonged to the Turks, and were despised by them as contemptible menials During the Greek War of Independence of 1821—1827, all the attempts of the Greeks to take the town failed At the end of March 1821, a Peloponnesian force led by the orthodox patriarch of Methone, named Gregory, and other notables, besieged Modon and the adjoining towns of Koroni and Neokastron The besiegers were joined in the spring by Greeks from the Ionian islands and later by Philhellenes from Europe On May 18, 1821, Greek ships, under the captains of the Speziots, Nikolaou Mpotasis and Anastasiou Koladrutsos blockaded Modon But neither the Turkish garrison nor the armed Turkish civilians in the town were the least dismayed On the contrary, they undertook raids in all directions and did their best to impede the progress of Greek emancipation Many fierce encounters took place between the Turks of Modon and their besiegers In July 1821, Turkish ships re provisioned Modon but they were not successful in their attempt to reprovision Neokastron, the garrison of which was in dire straits from want of food and even water On August 8, 1821, the Turks of Modon decided to attempt the relief of their compatriots in Neokastron, who had in the meanwhile been forced to capitulate to their Greek besiegers On the road between Modon and Neokastron a battle was fought on August 8, 1821, in which the valiant chief Constantine Pierrakos Mawromichalis, a member of a notable Mainote family, fell On the same day, the Greeks took Neokastron, but they gradually abandoned the siege of Modon The town was able to continue to hold out, only, however, with the frequent help of the Turkish fleet

When Ibrāhīm Pasha, the adopted son of Mehemmed ʿAlī, undertook to suppress the Greek rising and to pacify the Morea, Modon and its neighbourhood formed his main base There he landed troops on February 24, 1825, and dug entrenchments Modon became an important base for Ibrāhīm Pasha's operations On October 8, 1828 the town was taken from him by the French General Maison Not before 1833 the French left and Modon has since then belonged to the Greeks

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MOGADOR, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hanno (vth century) The island seems to have been known as the island of Hera or of Juno Pliny records that at the end of the first century B C the king Juba II founded purple dye works on the *Purpurariae Insulae*, islands in the Ocean, "opposite the Autololes", a Getulic people who lived in the north of the High Atlas Getulic purple, which was celebrated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast It is only at Mogador that we find an island and islets which can be identified as the *Purpurariae Insulae*, but no archaeological discovery has yet been made to confirm the deductions made from the ancient geographers

In the xith century of the Christian era, according to al Bakrī (who finished his book in 1068), Amogdul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the province of Sūs We see in the name that of a local saint, Sīdī Mogdūl, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wādi 'l-Ksob It is however possible that the saint, of whom we know nothing, gets his name from an old Berber place-name Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdūl, through the forms Mogodul, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts The harbour and the island bear the name Mogodor or Mongodor on a series of portolans of the xivth and xvth century (publ by Ch de la Roncière, *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-âge*, 1925) but there was not a town here, when in Sept 1506, the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I commanded a gentleman of his court, Diogo d'Azambuja, to build a fortress here which was called *Castello Real* of Mogador Built with great difficulty in face of the hostility of the natives, the Portuguese stronghold did not long resist them While at Safi and Santa Cruz of Cape Guer (Agadir), the state of anarchy in which the tribes lived favoured the rapid progress of the Portuguese, it seems that at Mogador they came up against strong resistance probably organised by the old Berber marabout body of the Ragrāga The garrison had to remain blockaded in Castello Real, revictualled with difficulty from Portugal and Madeira, until in October or November 1510, the tribes were strong enough to seize the fortress in circumstances which we do not know

A sketch of the xviiith century and plans of the xviiith leave no doubt as to the site of Castello Real It was situated, not at the mouth of the Wādi 'l-Ksob, where is now shown an alleged Portuguese fort which however only dates from the end of the xviiith century, but on the shore of the northern passage opposite the island, on the rocky point which supports the mole west of the present harbour Sometimes abandoned, sometimes more or less restored by the rulers of Morocco, who from time to time kept a small garrison there, the old Portuguese castle survived till 1764 or 1765 and was only destroyed when the town was built

In spite of the lack of success of the Portuguese attempt, this privileged situation continued to attract the envy of European nations At the beginning of the xviiith century, Spain, fearing that Moroccan, Algerian or even European corsairs would establish themselves at Mogador, thought of seizing it herself to protect the route to the Indies At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against Spain The Sultāns Mawlāy Zaidān in 1611—1612 and his son ʿAbd al-Malik in 1628 drew up a scheme to fortify the place to prevent foreigners from establishing themselves there This was the time when in France Richelieu and Père Joseph were drawing up schemes for a colonial policy The Chevalier de Razilly in 1626 suggested to them the occupation of Mogador and the organisation of a factory and fisheries there He had it reconnoitred in 1629 but found it impossible to take it by surprise

In spite of so many projects and attempts against it, the island and the shores remained practically deserted Ships however frequented the roadstead It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the xviiith century, the greater part of the trade between Marrākush and Holland took place Later, in the time of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels

In 1751, Sīdī Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, then *khalīfa* of his father for the district of Marrākush, desiring to develop commercial relations between his subjects and Europe, ceded the island of Mogador to a Danish company, which however preferred to establish a centre at Agadir and was not successful there A few years later on becoming sultān and having made Marrākush his capital, Sīdī Muhammad decided himself to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of

the south of his kingdom through it, to the greater benefit of the royal treasury, which would obtain not only the customs from this increased trade but also profit by the rents of the buildings, most of which had been built by the sovereign and were his private property The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the menace they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultān by which he received valuable presents and even sums of money In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have houses built at their own expense

By 1760 he had begun work but it is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates, it was given the name al-Suwaira (Souira), the little fortress, by which it is known to the natives, the name Mogador is only used by Europeans We also find a Berberised form (*Tasurt*) The sultān went in person to choose and distribute the sites for the buildings He had asked the English to send him an architect They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Cournut, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War He was living at Gibraltar where he entered Sīdī Muhammad's service The sultān did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767 None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Cournut, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultān, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the *skāla* situated on the western rampart facing the sea Mogador owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character Sīdī Muhammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyābāt

The dreams of the sultān were only imperfectly realised The merchants, attracted to Mogador by the promise of a reduction in the export duties on goods, were soon undeceived when they saw that the sovereign did not keep his promises but constantly imposed new burdens on trade The prosperity of Mogador remained insignificant under Sīdī Muhammad and declined under his successors The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently used in the xixth century as a political prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace Mogador remained however the starting place for the caravans to Sūs, Mauritania and the Sūdān and has retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce will now do considerable harm

On August 15, 1844, after the battle of Isly, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tangier, came and bombarded Mogador It was intended to make an impression on Sulṭān Mawlāy ʿAbd al Rahmān by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues A three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries, the French army then disembarked on the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning On August 16, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of Mogador The town, which had suffered very little from the French shot, but had been evacuated by the inhabitants, was burned and plundered by the tribes of the country round (Shiyādma and Hāha)

Mogador is now the headquarters of a *contrôle civile* It had 18,401 inhabitants at the census of 1926 The Jewish element is particularly large, numbering 7,730

The extremely temperate climate is remarkably equable, but it is spoiled by the wind which blows almost incessantly, laden with the sand from the neighbouring dunes

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MOGHUL [See MUGHAL]

MOHUR, an Indian gold coin The name is the Persian *muhr*, which is a loanword from the Sanskrit *mudrā*, seal or die The earliest occurrence of the word on coins is on the forced currency of Muhammad b Tughlak where it has the literal meaning of "sealed" or "stamped" By the xvith century it had come to be used as a popular rather than precise name for gold coins in general

Very little gold had been issued in India for two centuries before the reign of Akbar One of his reforms was the issue of an extensive coinage in gold In addition to many pieces which had only a brief circulation, he revived the old gold tanka [q v] of the Sultāns of Dehlī on a standard of 170 grains (11 02 grammes) to which he gave the name *muhr* That the name at first could be applied to any gold coin is shown by Djahāngīr's reference in his *Memoirs* (transl A Rogers, *O T F*, vol xix , p 10) to muhrs of 100, 50, 20, 10, 5 and 1 tola After the numismatic experiments of Akbar and Djahāngīr, only one gold piece was struck, occasionally with subdivisions so that the general name acquired a particular meaning, especially among the English merchants in India Mohurs continued to be struck to the end of the Mughal Empire and by the states into which it broke up in the xviiith and xixth centuries Akbar and Djahāngīr issued

square as well as round pieces and the former also struck a few *mihrābī* pieces, so called from their shape Of the numerous large denominations recorded by Abu 'l-Fazl and Djahāngīr, only 5 muhr pieces of Akbar and of Djahāngīr are known to exist

As the silver rupee was the standard coin of India the value of the mohur fluctuated with the price of gold In the latter half of the xviiith and early xixth centuries, the East India Company endeavoured to make gold the standard of India and issued mohurs (called gold rupees in Bombay) with the legends of the Mughal Emperor None of their attempts to keep gold and silver in currency at a fixed rate were successful When in 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for British India a gold mohur or 15 rupee piece with English types was struck in name of William IV but never attained general circulation, this was the last attempt to restore the mohur to circulation The mohurs occasionally seen of Victoria of 1861, 1862 and other dates are patterns

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MOKHĀ, a small seaport on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea in 13° 19′ 50″ N Lat and 43° 12′ 10″ East Long (Greenwich)

The once imposing town lies on a small bay between two promontories with forts on each about one and a half miles apart The wall which surrounds the town in a semicircle is pierced by four gates In the north the Bāb al Hamūdīya leads to the citadel of the town and to a tongue of land which runs out into the sea, in the east roughly in the centre of the wall is the Bāb al Shādhilī through which the fort of al Barūdh is reached and to the east the road to al Taʿizz from it, while the road to al-Hodeida runs north via Bēt al-Fakih In the south the Bāb al Sundūl admits to the fort of al-Bahēr and the road to ʿAden, in the west through the Bāb al-Bahr the harbour is reached, its stone breakwater is now much decayed This also holds of the wall which connects the city-gates Seen from the sea the town, which covers an area of about half a square mile, still looks very fine, the white mass of houses stands brightly out from the dark blue waters of the Red Sea But as one approaches, the damage which wars, dilapidation and turbulent times have done to the often sore tried town, is apparent, the houses are for the most part deserted, while the inhabitants, consisting of Arabs, Sōmālīs, Danākil, Jews and a few Parsees, have settled in huts outside the town East of the Bāb al Shādhilī, for example, there is a large group of huts, inhabited by Arabs, south of this another group belonging to Sōmālīs, while farther south and on the other side of the Wādi 'l-Kebīr is the Jewsh quarter (Kāʿ al-Yahūd) In the north lies the great cemetery and a white-washed mosque which contains the tomb of the patron saint of the town, Shaikh ʿAlī b ʿUmar al-Shādhilī, in the east of the town is a second important mosque with a minaret 118 feet high, which forms a landmark visible from a considerable distance, along with several smaller ones The country round is barren Drinking water is brought by a conduit from the Mawzāʿ twenty-four miles to the north The population has varied considerably in the last hundred years In 1824 it was 20,000, in 1878—1879 5—8,000, in 1882 it was put at 1,500 inside the town and in 1901 it had sunk to about 400

al-Mokhā is briefly mentioned by al Hamdānī in connection with al-Mandab as lying in the land of the Banū Madjīd, al-Masʿūdī also refers to it briefly in his geographical work The Portuguese gave the town the name by which it has become known in Europe Moca P Manoel d'Almeyda calls it *Moquá* in his *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta por B Ithesar Tellez* (Coimbra 1660)

About 850 years ago Mokhā was an insignificant village, but rapidly grew in importance when Shaikh Shādhilī discovered the peculiar qualities of the coffee bean and introduced the habit of drinking coffee In 1513 Alfonso Albuquerque found Mokhā still a modest place but by 1610 it had become the most important port for trade with Abyssinia, and England was endeavouring to trade with it while the Dutch had a factory here Coffee was the chief article of export along with other specialities of the Yemen, and received its name from the town As late as 1763 Niebuhr found the town very prosperous, but the capture of ʿAden by the English put an end to its prosperity ʿAden and al Hodeida attracted all the trade of Southern Yemen Under Turkish rule Mokhā was a kadā in the sandjak of Taʿizz but its trade was insignificant In 1916 for example, only about £ 10,000 worth of coffee was sent to ʿAden There is a minimum of industrial activity and that only to supply local needs Indigo dyeing and the manufacture of spirits may be mentioned, the latter is in the hand of Jews Mokhā is connected by telegraph with Sanʿā' (via Taʿizz), al Hodeida (via Zabīd), Shaikh Saʿīd and Perim Mokhā has acquired a new importance by the creation of the imāmate of al Yemen and is now beginning to share the trade with al-Hodeida

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MOLLĀ [See MAWLĀ]

MOLLĀ KHUSRAW [See MUHAMMAD B FARĀMARZ]

MOMBASA (ممباسة, anciently Mvita), an island and town on the east coast of Africa, in I at 4° S, Long 39° E The island, about 3 miles in length from north to south and nearly the same distance from east to west, is remarkably compact in shape and is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the converging of several creeks as to be almost entirely surrounded by the mainland, only presenting its south-eastern angle

to the Indian Ocean This peculiarity of its situation suggested to the late W E Taylor the derivation of the name Mvita (the "Curtained Headland") from *(n)ta* "point" The more usual derivation from *vita* "war" seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds, another explanation connects it with *fita* "hidden", either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate

The town of Mombasa is situated at the eastern end of the island and, being the terminus of the Uganda railway and the only port of the colony, is of considerable commercial importance The population, according to the latest information available, is something over 44,000, of whom 26,906 are classed as "Africans" (i e the permanent residents, mostly Swahili, and a floating contingent of labourers belonging to other tribes) The remainder includes 7,523 Arabs, 7,556 Indians, 1000 Europeans, and a proportion of "other races" The Arabs, Swahili and many of the Indians are Moslems, the two former chiefly Sunnī of the Shāfi'ī sect, though a few of the older men belong to the Ibādīya There are several mosques, very plain buildings, as a rule, and devoid of minarets, the *mu'adhdhin* stands on the flat roof to give the call to prayer The largest and most imposing of these structures is that belonging to the Khōdjas

The origin of Mombasa is involved in some obscurity It is certain that Arab trading stations existed on the East African coast at the beginning of the Christian era, and we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that the traders frequently married native women This indicates a fairly early origin for the Swahili race The first permanent settlements, however, seem to have been post-Islāmic 69 (689) is given as the date for the settlement of Pate, and, as Lamu is said by native tradition to have been founded by colonists sent out by 'Abd al-Malik b Marwān (A D 684–705), these two towns were no doubt contemporary There is no mention of Mombasa in the traditions of Lamu or Pate, at this period, except for a statement made to the late Captain Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p 29), that 'Abd al-Malik sent out Syrians, who "built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa" Other authorities place the founding of Kilwa much later, viz 365 (976) The *Chronicle of Kilwa* states that 'Alī b Hasan of Shīrāz, the founder and first "Sultān", installed one of his sons as ruler of Mombasa, no doubt the first of the "Shīrāzī Shaikhs", the last of whom was deposed by the Portuguese It would appear that Mombasa was for some time under the suzerainty of Kilwa, but how far the "King of the Zanj" described by Idrīsī and, later, by Ibn Sa'īd as residing at Mombasa, was independent, is not clear The names of the twelve tribes (called indifferently *kabila* or *ṭā'ifa*) said by native authorities to make up the Swahili population indicate a composite origin and possibly a late one, as the bulk of the people came from settlements already founded It is possible that the Wamvita (who either take their name from the city or gave theirs to it) go back to the alleged foundation under 'Abd al-Malik, but against this is the assertion, repeatedly made, that the Wachangamwe, Wakilindini and Watangana are the *tatfa tatu*, "the three" — i e the three aboriginal — "tribes" Some native authorities give these three as "Kilindini", separate from Mombasa Changamwe is a village on the mainland, a mile or two from the crossing at Makupa, Kilindini (now important as the principal harbour for steamers from Europe) is at the western end of the island Tradition says that Kilindini was a city before Mombasa existed, and, in fact, the jungle near the present port contains numerous ruins of uncertain date, which, so far as I know, have not yet been competently examined Tangana is on the island of Mombasa, now included in the town The remaining tribes are those of Kilifi[1]) (a town to the north of Mombasa, its inhabitants are said to have come from "Shīrāzi", either Shīrāz in Persia or a town of the same name in Tanganyika Territory, a colony from the original Shīrāz), Pate, Paza (or Faza, in the island of Pate), Shaka (a Persian settlement near the mouth of the Tana), Mtwapa (between Mombasa and Takaungu), Jomvu (on the creek known as Port Tudor), the Wagunya (the people on the mainland north of the Lamu archipelago) and the Wakatwa (the Somali) Another account omits this last name and substitutes that of the Wamalindi Krapf (*Dictionary*, p 240) mentions a tradition that the town was built (not on the present site, but at the place known as Kwa Mashekh, a little to the north) by one Shehe Mvita, whose tomb was pointed out to him, but it seems probable that this eponymus was invented to account for the name When that of Mombasa was introduced we have no information, but it was used by the Arab geographers as far back as the xiith century It is mentioned, as already stated, by Idrīsī Ibn Sa'īd speaks of "a great estuary" to the west of Mombasa, by which must be meant the creek now known as "Port Tudor", and says it is distant about one degree from Malindi Ibn Battūta, who spent one night there, on his way to Kilwa, describes it as "a large island, two days' journey by sea from the Sawahil country It possesses no territory on the mainland They have fruit trees on the island, but no cereals, which have to be brought to them from the Sawahil Their food consists chiefly of bananas and fish The inhabitants are pious, honourable and upright, and they have well-built wooden mosques" This would imply that the coast opposite Mombasa was not reckoned as part of the Sawahil Present day Swahilis restrict the term "Swahilini" to the strip of coast between Malindi and Lamu, which they look upon as the cradle of their race and this might be taken as intended by Ibn Battūta, but for his reference to cereals being brought from "Sawahil", which would place it in the south, since the dhows laden with millet come up from that quarter with the S W monsoon (cf Taylor, *Aphorisms*, § 128)

The first European to reach Mombasa was Vasco da Gama, who touched there, April 7, 1498, but did not land, owing to the real or suspected treachery of the Arab pilot sent by the Shaikh He went on to the rival state of Malindi and established friendly relations with its ruler, who hoped to find in him an ally against Mombasa Mombasa — after the city had been repeatedly destroyed, in whole or in part, by Almeida in 1505, by Nuno da Cunha in 1528 and by Continho in 1589 — was rendered tributary to the Portuguese in or about 1590, after the adventurer Mīr 'Alī Bey had induced the Shaikh to tender his allegiance to the Turkish Sultān and had been

1) In these names of places, I omit the *wa-*, which is the prefix indicating plurality of persons

driven off by Contınho's fleet At the same time occurred the ınvasion of the Zımbas, an unıdentıfied trıbe who had spread desolatıon on theır march north-eastward, "probably from some localıty on or near the West coast" (cf Theal, ı 352) From Mombasa they passed on to Malındı, where the Portuguese garrıson, wıth the help of natıve allıes, effectually resısted them, and, ıf not exterminated, they ceased to exıst as a trıbe The fort, stıll ın exıstence, was erected between 1593 and 1595, and Mombasa was held by the Portuguese for some sıxty years The last Shīrāzī Shaıkh, Shaho Mshaham b Hısham, was deposed and the Shaıkh of Malındı, Ahmad, ınstalled ın hıs stead wıth the tıtle of Sultān Immıgratıon from Portugal was encouraged, but ın 1615 the settlers, apart from the garrıson, only numbered 50 (cf Strandes, p 173) In 1605, a convent of Augustınıan monks was founded, whıch, wıth other ecclesıastıcal establıshments, was under the jurısdıctıon of the Archbıshop of Goa tıll 1612 In that year a separate dıocese of Mozambıque was created Shaıkh Ahmad dıed ın 1609 and was succeeded by hıs son Hasan, whose treatment by the Portuguese authorıtıes ranks among the scandals of Colonıal hıstory He was fınally murdered, at the ınstıgatıon of the governor, De Mello Pereıra (1615) Hıs son, Yūsuf, aged seven, was sent to Goa to be educated and there baptızed by the name of Geronımo Chıngulıa After an ınquıry held at Lısbon ın 1618, the hıghest ecclesıastıcal trıbunal ın Portugal pronounced Hasan ınnocent and decreed that Yūsuf should be restored to hıs ınherıtance In 1630 he was sent home and ınstalled as Sultān, contınued for a tıme to profess Chrıstıanıty, but, beıng accused of apostasy because he had been seen prayıng at hıs father's tomb and apprehensıve of beıng sent to Goa (the seat of the Inquısıtıon), revolted, openly declared hımself a Moslem and massacred all the Portuguese ın Mombasa (cf Faria y Sousa, vol III, IV, I, p 391) Hıs example was followed by Tanga, Mtangata and some other towns (1631) Mombasa was besıeged for three months by F de Mowra, wıth a fleet from Goa, but wıthout success Yūsuf, however, probably seeıng that he would be unable to hold out permanently, retreated to Arabıa after dısmantlıng the fort and destroyıng the town The new governor, Seıxas de Cabreıra, subdued the revolted towns and repaıred the fort, as recorded ın the ınscrıptıon stıll legıble above the gateway The Portuguese rule becomıng more and more oppressıve, the Coast Arabs appealed ın or about 1660 to Sultān b Seıf al Ya'arubī, Imām of 'Omān, who had already expelled the Portuguese from Maskat He took Mombasa after a long sıege and varıous operatıons, and though ıt was retaken shortly afterwards, the power of Portugal was already on the wane, and Seıf b Sultān again captured Mombasa ın 1698 and ınstalled Nasr b 'Abd Allāh al-Mazrui as governor Internal quarrels and a revolt against thıs governor laıd the town open to a last Portuguese attack, ın 1728, when Luıs de Mello Sampayo seızed ıt, wıth the help of Bwana Tamn Mknu (Abū Bakr b Muhammad), Sultān of Pate Thıs occupatıon lasted but a short tıme and was termınated by another massacre, probably that commemorated ın the tradıtıon recorded by Taylor (*Aphorısms*, § 401) A perıod of anarchy ensued, whıch became so ıntolerable that not only the "Twelve Trıbes" of Mombasa but the chıefs of the pagan Wanyıka on the maınland, appealed to Seıf b Sultān for help. He sent three shıps and appoınted a governor In 1739 thıs office was held by Muhammad b 'Othmān al-Mazrui, the first of a lıne who became practıcally ındependant rulers of Mombasa When the Ya'arabī Imāms wore ousted by the Al Bū Saıdı, the Mazrui refused to recognıse the new dynasty They were left undısturbed for a consıderable tıme, but the more energetıc polıcy pursued by Sa'īd b Sultān (1804—1856) ınduced them to seek Brıtısh protectıon ın 1823 Thıs was provısıonally granted by Captaın Owen, but wıthdrawn three years later, as the Home government refused to sanctıon ıt Sa'īd fınally gaıned possessıon of Mombasa ın 1837, when the leadıng Mazrui were captured by treachery and deported to Bander 'Abbās From that tıme tıll the establıshment of the Brıtısh protectorate ın 1890, Mombasa remaıned subject to the Saıyıd (now called Sultān) of Zanzıbar, who ındeed retaıns a certaın jurısdıctıon over the ten-mıle strıp of coast leased from hım by the Brıtısh East Africa Company ın 1887 The prıncıpal event ın ıts hıstory sınce that date ıs the rısıng of the Mazrui ın 1895, coıncıdent wıth, but not caused by the proclamatıon of the Brıtısh protectorate over the maınland terrıtory, whıch was taken over from the Company by the Imperıal Government Sınce then the completıon of the Uganda Raılway and the harbour works al-Kılındını have notıceably changed the character of Mombasa, whıch ıs now a flourishıng seaport, much frequented by European shıppıng

The dıalect of Swahılı spoken at Mombasa was consıdered by the late W E Taylor "the truly central" language, "the best fıtted for accurate statement and grave dıscussıon", though that of Zanzıbar has now attaıned a wıder currency The art of poetry was, tıll recently, much cultıvated there, the best known of the natıve poets are Muyaka b Mwınyı Hajı, Mwalımu Sıkujua (dıed 1891), and Hemedı b Muhammad b Ahmad al-Mambassı, who was stıll lıvıng durıng the last decade of the XIXth century (sınce deceased), Muhammed b Ahmad, 'Abd Allāh Borashıdı, Mwınyı Mugwama

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(A WERNER)

MONASTIR (pronounced *Mnestīr*, *Mestīr*, ethnic *Mestīrī*), a town in the Sāhel, the eastern coast of Tunisia, on the site of the ancient Ruspina at the end of a cape which runs out to the south-east of Sūsa The Arabic name raises a problem which is not yet solved The name clearly conceals the Greek word *μοναστήριον* which suggests that there was an important Christian monastery here at one time This is however a pure hypothesis, supported by no text, although Tissot (*Geographie comparée de la province d'Afrique*, II 165—166) seems to take it for granted If on the other hand we remember that the Arab Monastir from the end of the eighth century was a great Muslim monastery and probably the first to be founded in the west, it is tempting to accept the explanation (suggested by Sī Hasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) that the name was given to the Muslim foundation by the Greeks of the country or Berbers speaking Greek, still Christians or recently converted to Islām

It was in 180 (796) that Harthama b ʿAiyān, who ruled the province of Ifrīkiya in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al Rashīd, founded the *ribāt* of Monastir This fortified monastery attained considerable importance in Western Islām A century after its foundation, *hadīths* were quoted which proclaimed its great importance and promised the highest rewards to those who came there to fight the infidel or to prepare themselves for the holy war The Prophet foreseeing the foundation of al-Monastīr is said to have said "On the coast of Ifrīkiya, there is one of the gates of Paradise which is called al-Monastīr, one enters it by the grace of God's mercy and leaves it by the effect of his pardon", or again "He who keeps watch in the frontier town of al-Monastīr for three days has the right to Paradise" (cf Abu 'l ʿArab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, transl Ben Cheneb, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, transl Fagnan, I 1) In the XIth century al-Bakrī gives a description of Monastir, the substance of which is taken from al-Warrāk (d 973) and which is not quite clear to us It is a large fortress (*kasr*), he says, which contains a quarter (*rabadh*) of considerable size In the middle of this quarter stands a citadel (*hisn*) which contains suites of rooms, oratories and castles (*kisāb*) of several stories To the south of this citadel is a great court (*sahn*) with *kubbas*, called *kibāb djāmiʿ*, around which women who wish to devote themselves to religion come to live It seems that the "fortress" was the town itself with its ramparts, still known by the name, common in Tunisia, of *bled* Outside the *bled* is the quarter also encircled by ramparts and turrets in which we have the *ribāt* This occupies the north-east angle of this "faubourg", its walls and high tower called *nadhur* dominate with their proud silhouette the shore and the country round To the south is a courtyard with tombs, here no doubt we have to locate the abodes of the pious women mentioned by al-Warrāk The interior of the *ribāt* shows traces of frequent attention and repairs which makes its plan singularly complicated We can however perhaps recognise the general arrangements of which the *ribāt* of Sūsa, founded twenty-five years later, gives us a clearer scheme on a smaller scale a central rectangular court surrounded by two storeys of cells On the first floor on the south side, the cells are replaced by a hall for prayer of no great height, very simple with cradle vaulting It is probably the same as is mentioned by al-Bakrī "On the first storey is a mosque where there is always a *shikh* of great virtue and merit, who has the direction of the community" The signal tower, circular in plan, occupies almost the same position as that which dominates the *ribāt* of Sūsa In addition to the dwellings of the marabouts there are reservoirs, baths and "Persian mills" in the monastery Every year a great fair was held at Monastir on the ʿĀshūrā' day when the pious began their temporary withdrawals from the world Some, however, shut themselves up for life and devoted themselves entirely to prayer and the defence of the lands of Islām The people of Kairawān supplied them with provisions, in itself a pious work

The ninth century was undoubtedly the golden age of the *ribāt* of Monastir Its importance however must have diminished somewhat as a result of the foundation in 821 of the *ribāt* of Sūsa, which was the starting point for the expedition to Sicily Al-Bakrī would regard the *ribāt* of Monastir as a dependency on that of Sūsa It was nevertheless, as well as the land around it, an auspicious place We can date to about 1000 A D the building of the Great Mosque, close to the *ribāt*, and that of the little mosque of the Saiyida, both of which have preserved *mihrābs* of a very curious transitional style It is probable that the "Lady" whose tomb has given its name to the oratory of the Saiyida was a princess of the family of the Zīrids of Kairawān Monastir was, especially after the Hilālī invasion (middle of the XIth century), the St Denis of the Sanhādja rulers According to al-Idrīsī (XIIth century), the dead were brought there by boat (the roads were by no means safe at this time) from the town of Mahdīya The tombs of this period are numerous in the cemetery in which the patron saint of Monastir, Sīdī al Māzarī, is buried

Although Monastir did not play a great part in history after this period, the town and the *ribāt* continued to be an object of care to various Tunisian dynasties From the Hafsid al-Mustansir (1260) date the two gates of the *bled* Bāb al-Darb and Bab al-Sūr As to the *ribāt*, one of the gates was rebuilt by the Hafsid Abū Fāris in 828 (1424), another dates from 1058 (1648) and is the work of the Turks

Monastir is at the present day a town of some 7,000 inhabitants Three little islands, one of which contains a number of puzzling artificial caves, shelter the roadstead outside, which is frequented by a considerable number of ships at the tunny and sardine fishing season

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MONTENEGRO (Turk KARA DAGH, Serbo-Croat CRNA GORA) is in its heart a steep rocky citadel, the interior of which is difficult of passage and much cut up orographically and hydrographically, it has only a gateway in the south from Lake Skutari and in the north from the Herzegovina, these two gateways are connected by a corridor, the valley of the Zeta This route which, as the main line of communication, has been the scene of fierce fighting between the natives and invaders and is also the dividing line between western and eastern Montenegro or Crna Gora in the narrow sense, the oldest part of the modern state on the one hand and the eastern districts called Brda on the other, is formed by the undulating plain of Zeta on the lower course of the Morača, which flows into Lake Skutari, by its right tributary the Zeta, the large but little fertile basin of the Nikšic and the depression of the Duga passes Crna Gora and an adjoining strip of the Brda running north and south belong to the most desolate and poorest parts of the Dinaric or Illyrian limestone region which runs along the Adriatic, the forests of which, still existing down to modern times, have been sacrificed to get pasture land, lime, charcoal and tar (C Patsch, *Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria*, I, Vienna 1922, p 28) and which, with a poor water supply, have only a little arable land in little hollows and cups on their cold rocky highlands, on which we also have the few little villages and towns of which Cetinje at the eastern foot of the Lovcen (5,750 feet) with 5,473 inhabitants is the largest It is not till we come east of the Brda to the valleys of the Piva and Tara with their deep ravines, which join to form the Drina on the northern frontier, and on the Lim, around the massif of the Durmitor (7,200 feet) and Kom (8,000 feet), where the soil is of gravel, that we have favourable conditions with a regular water supply, extensive forests of pine and other woods, rich meadows which enable cattle to be reared in large numbers, in many places in this region bread is dearer than meat A very small fruit-growing region is the alluvial plain of Crnnica, the "garden of Montenegro" which lies around Virpazar on the north-western shores of Lake Skutari, which is full of fish, with a Mediterranean climate and vegetation, which is also found in the narrow strip of land along the Karst river Crnoyevića Riyeka, to the north

I The oldest known inhabitants of the country were the Illyrian tribes of the Docleates and Labeates, of whom the former lived in the wilds of Montenegro and the latter in the Mediterranean area around Lake Skutari down to the coast After the destruction in 168 B C of the Illyrian kingdom of the Ardiae whose last capital was Skutari, to which they, along with the Herzegovina, Southern Dalmatia and Northern Albania, had belonged, they came under the rule of the Romans and later formed part of the province of Dalmatia In the first century A D we find the two tribal areas replaced each by a town organised on Roman lines with the old tribal territories attached to them, but ill defined Doclea, at the corner formed by the junction of the Morača and Zeta, and Scodra, now Skutari, which latter, in the division of Dalmatia under Diocletian, became the capital of the *provincia Praevalitana* or *Praevalis* and has maintained a dominating position almost down to the present time [cf SKUTARI] Doclea, on the other hand, is representative for Montenegro of the economic and cultural decline of south west Europe since ancient times In spite of the step-motherly nature of the country, we know from the ruins of public and private buildings bleaching in the miserable desert of the Karst and from epigraphic evidence that it was once a prosperous city with considerable trade with the interior across Lake Skutari and on the Boyana which flows out of it (Patsch, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klass Altertumswissenschaft*, V 1251 *sqq*) It suffered severely in 395 when the Balkans suffered so much at the hand of the Teutons at the time of the migration of the Visigoths, but in spite of the plundering of the Adriatic territory which followed at other hands also, it was still the see of a bishop in 602, in the period when the towns of the peninsula were finally destroyed as a result of the raids of the Avars and Slavs and the permanent settlement of the latter, who having no understanding of town life, retained in their new homes their traditional poor and primitive mode of life, for the most part in family groups settled on the land and mainly engaged in cattle-rearing

II Its situation and tradition, from traces in place names, remnants of the old population and the city walls, now much decayed, preserved for the ruined town of Doclea which hitherto had held the position later occupied by Montenegro, its old ecclesiastical position — there is a record of a bishopric of Doclea subordinate to the Greek metropolitan of Durazzo — and seem also to have given it a military and political preponderance, since the little Slav state which later grew up here bore after it the name of Dioclia, Slav Dioklitiya down to the XIIth century This originally comprised only southern Montenegro and the stretch of territory called Krayina along the west bank of the Lake Skutari The littoral itself (with Cattaro, Budua, Antivari and Dulcigno) and Northern Albania, with many Roman towns like Skutari and Drivasto, remained Byzantine on the contrary, as part of the theme (province) of Dyrrachion down to the XIth century, while eastern and northern Montenegro belonged to Serbia and the north west to the principality of Travunia (capital Trebinye)

Of the early obscure pre-history of Dioclia all that we have is a Byzantine seal of a ruler of probably the tenth century Πέτρου ἄρχοντος Διοκλία[ς], the country was then not only ecclesiastically and culturally but also politically under Greek influence like the larger Slav Adriatic states From 1000 A D our information is fuller, if not absolutely reliable

Prince John Vladimir, a figure much obscured by legend, is inextricably associated with the last efforts of the Western Bulgar state First a prisoner, then the son-in-law of the Czar Samuel (d 1014), he was murdered (drowned in Lake Prespa) by the last Czar John Vladislav (1015—1018) in the Bulgar capital Remembered in Montenegro as a saint by Christians and Muslims alike, he now rests in the monastery of Shen Jon near Elbassan in Central Albania

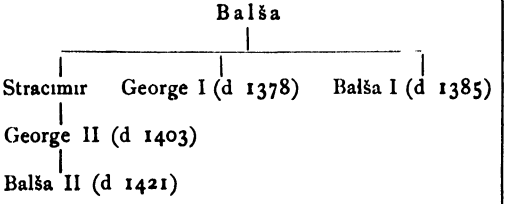
In the years that followed, Byzantium, after the Bulgars, its opponents for centuries, had been finally disposed of by the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonos in 1018, being again in possession of the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, enforced its suzerainty to the northwest also Diocli a under three able rulers not only survived this danger but attained an importance never reached by Montenegro itself in its best days Prince Stephan Voyislav — it is not known in what relationship he stood to John Vladimir — in spite of great opposition from the Byzantines (1036—1042) obtained Travunia (see above), Zachlumia adjoining it (on the central and lower Narenta), almost the whole Adriatic coast between the Narenta and Boyana along with Cattaro and Antivari as well as Northern Albania with Skutari and established the still existing Latin bishopric in Antivari, out of political hostility to Byzantinism His son Michael was the first to take the title of king, the choice of his son Constantine Bodin as Bulgar Czar by rebels in Macedonia (1073) ended however in a — temporary — humiliation of Diocli a Michael and Bodin, who succeeded his father presumably in 1082, made an alliance with the Normans in Italy and supported Robert Guiscard in his fighting in the west of the Balkan peninsula (1081—1085) with Alexius I Comnenus Bodin succeeded at the same time in extending his rule over Bosnia also (then practically only the territory on the lower course of the Bosna, the Vrbas and the Narenta) and Serbia or Raszia (in the modern north and eastern Montenegro, the sandjak of Novi Pazar, S W Serbia and S E Bosnia) The kingdom of Diocli a attained its greatest extent with the conquests of Stephan Voyislav — but only for a brief period Bodin's good fortune faded away After the restoration of Byzantine rule on the Adriatic, reprisals were begun (1085—1094) under the personal direction of the emperor Alexius The king was defeated, the links that bound the various parts of his kingdom together were loosened and quarrels broke out within the royal family itself In 1096 Bodin could still receive Crusaders in his capital Skutari Provencals under Raymond of Toulouse, who had marched through Dalmatia and probably through the Zeta valley (cf above) and were making for Durazzo in order to reach Constantinople from there by the old Via Egnatia After this we have no certain information about him and his successors All that is certain is that Diocli a was driven from the coast and out of Northern Albania by the Byzantines and became tributary to them, while Serbia, which had hitherto been politically insignificant in comparison, began to expand at the expense of Diocli a under the Grand Župan Vlkan, Bodin's governor, and his successors, especially after the Byzantine empire fell steadily into decline from 1180 onwards The Grand Zupan Stephan Nemanya, a native of Diocli a, deprived it of the former possessions of Diocli a in Northern Albania and on the coast from the eastern shore of Lake Skutari to Cattaro, disposed of the last Diocli an prince Michael in 1189, and united his territory with Serbia From the xiith century the old name of the country was replaced by that of the river Zeta (Latin Zenta, Genta)

III Under Nemanya's dynasty Zeta (with Northern Albania and the coast) remained for 170 years under Serbia and was frequently governed by princes, repeatedly by heirs to the throne Widows of kings also had estates on this sunny strip of coast A benefactress of the land as a builder was Helena (d 1314), the French wife of Stephan Uroš I (1243—1276) She had the towns on Lake Skutari restored, which had suffered severely from the Mongol storm which in 1242 had swept southwards along the Adriatic, and built and repaired numerous churches and monasteries in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory around the Lake and on the coast which was under the bishops of Antivari and numerous suffragan bishops, including also the great Benedictine Abbey of Ss Sergius and Bacchus on the Boyana (now the ruins of Kisha e Shirjit), at which there was an important trading centre with much visited animal markets St Sava (d 1236) created an Eastern Greek bishopric for the Zeta on the island of Prevlaka on the Gulf of Cattaro, the land also had many well endowed monasteries of this creed on the islands in the Lake Skutari (like Vranyina), and what fertile soil existed elsewhere belonged for the most part to monasteries in Serbia, on Athos and in Jerusalem, granted by the, in this respect, extravagant Serbian ruler The population received a considerable admixture, now completely absorbed, by the immigration of Wallachians and Albanians

A grave danger to Serbia was the power of the nobles, which had increased out of all proportion as a result of the constant feuds in the royal family When after the death of the Czar Stephan Dušan (d 1355) a general collapse of the great but only loosely knit state began, the centrifugal forces led in Zeta also (1360) to the formation once more of an independent principality by the brothers Stracimir, George and Balša, sons of Balša, a nobleman of Wallachian origin, to whom the government of the country was entrusted

IV The break-up of Serbia took place just at the time when the Ottomans were vigorously extending their power in the Balkan peninsula Their victories at Čirmen on the Marica (1371) and at Kosovo ("field of the blackbird", 1389) destroyed the independence of the petty Serbian states in Macedonia and reduced Serbia itself to the district of the Morava, where it however not only maintained itself till 1459 but, as a result of the Turkish defeat at the hands of the Mongols at Angora (1402), was able for a time to rise to considerable power again In spite of the danger which threatened Zeta also, George and Balša exhausted their strength in continual feuds with their neighbours over pieces of land, and in the reign of George II the turbulent nobles, among whom the most prominent were the Crnoyević or Gyuraševi ć between Budna, Cattaro and the lower Moraca, broke the kingdom up into little baronies The result was that when the Ottomans under Khair al Din entered Albania from Macedonia, Balša in 1385 lost a battle and his life north of Valona, and George II after fighting with varying

fortune, realising his own weakness, handed over his Albanian possessions in the south and east of Lake Skutari as far as Tuzi (S E of Podgorica) for an annual pension of 1,000 ducats (1396) to Venice, who thus became till 1479 the southern defender of Zeta against the Ottomans George retained Dulcigno, Antivari and Budna for himself as well as the lands west and north of Lake Skutari



But even this reduced territory found no peace Under Balša II, the last of his warlike but unimportant house, two long and trying wars with Venice were fought during the second, the prince died (1421) and left his lands to the despot (Duke) of Serbia, Stephan Lazarević, who lost Dulcigno to the republic

V The second period of Serbian rule very soon alienated the sympathy with which it was at first received and had to fight increasing difficulties caused by the influential Crnoyevic (see above) In addition there was an inroad by the Turks in 1430 and the demands of Venice The latter took Antivari and Budua and appointed the woiwod Stephan Crnoyevic its salaried governor in the little mountain country now quite cut off from the coast, he (1455) induced the people to take the oath of fealty to the republic in the island monastery of Vranyina (cf above) The end of Serbia (1459) seemed to secure Venice complete possession of the lands round Lake Skutari, but soon afterwards the Ottomans surrounded this land on all sides, for the conquest of Bosnia (1463) was followed (1466) by the annexation of the Herzegovina and of the present Northern Montenegro as far as Nikšic, which then belonged to it

Like Stephan Crnoyevic (d 1465) his son Ivan (1465—1490) who called himself Gospodar Zetski (lord of Zeta), was also a vassal of Venice, who gave him so little support in the wars with Muhammad II over Upper Albania that, after the evacuation of Skutari (1479), he had to fly to Italy, and Zeta was occupied by the Turks, which was the beginning of their long rule here The contest for the throne after the Sultān's death (1481) induced Ivan to return and renew the struggle, which however ended in 1482 with the recognition of Turkish suzerainty His youngest son Staniša, a hostage in Constantinople, adopted Islām in 1485, and took the name Skender Beg Ivan, also called Ivan Beg — his country was also known as Ivanbegovina — resided in Cetinje where he built a small monastery in 1484—1485, to which the Eastern Greek bishop of Zeta (see above) moved The state suffered from the great independence of the tribes, who had strong separatist tendencies, like the Nyegušı, Biyelice, Ozrinici, and Ćeklići, each formed a political entity with a well-defined territory, its own chief chosen for life, courts, tribal and family feuds, blood vengeance, etc , institutions which survived in Montenegro down to the xixth century and existed in the north Albanian highlands until quite recently

Not even the greatest submissiveness earned for Ivan's elder sons, at constant enmity with one another, the goodwill of the Turks George (1490–1496) who introduced the printing-press into Cetinje and in 1493–95 printed beautiful Cyrillic ecclesiastical works, died in Asia Minor in exile Stephan (1496—1499) was interned in Skutari, where he is said to have ended his days as a monk On the other hand in 1514, a separate sandjak with capital Žablyak (to the north of Lake Skutari) was created for the Muslim Staniša Skender Beg Crnoyević out of Zeta, which had been incorporated in the sandjak of Skutari The latter did not deny his descent, he was also tolerant in matters of religion, used his Slav mother-tongue in his correspondence and was in regular communication with Venice, although their relations were occasionally overclouded, in Venice Božidar Vuković of Podgorica (d 1540) and others from 1519 printed Cyrillic ecclesiastical works Skender Beg's title Sandžak Crnogorski naturalised the name Crna Gora for the country, which we find as early as 1435 and as Montenegro in 1496 for the highlands above Cattaro In 1528 all notices of this remarkable Montenegrin Turkish ruler cease Crna Gora again becomes a kādilīk of the sandjak of Skutari

Montenegro under Turkey, under the unassuming ecclesiastical suzerainty of the bishop or Vladika of Cetinje chosen by the tribal chiefs, formed five nāhiyas or districts in the shape of a small triangle between Cattaro, Podgorica and the N W end of Lake Skutari, which in 1614 contained 90 villages with 3,524 houses and 8,027 men capable of bearing arms, of whom however only 1,000 had guns The poll-tax was readily paid and they shared in the wars of the Porte against Venice and in suppressing rebellions in the adjoining lands, such as the closely related Brda, which had much more desire for independence This long stereotyped monotony did not change till 1688 when the Montenegrins with the Vladika Visarion placed themselves under the protection of Venice, whose lands marched with those of the Turks, and who since the failure of the siege of Venice had been fighting with the Turks from 1684 to the peace of Carlowitz (1699) After the failure of his first attacks Sulaimān Pasha, Sandjak of Skutari, as a punishment destroyed Cetinje in 1692 with the support of a number of Montenegrin tribes

VI The process of liberation thus begun found vigorous support in the warlike Vladika Danilo I Petrovic Nyeguš (1697—1735) [1]) after whom the dignity of bishop became hereditary in the family, and its holder gradually increased his importance at the expense of the tribal chiefs In 1711 an embassy from Peter the Great introduced relations with Russia, which however were only occasionally of benefit to the land Even in the joint war on the Porte which immediately followed, Montenegro was left in the lurch at the peace of the Pruth (1711) The protection which fugitive Montenegrins found in Dalmatia was used in 1714 as a pretext by Turkey for declaring war on Venice In the same year Nu'mān Pasha Koprulu laid waste Montenegro entirely, Cetinje which had been rebuilt in 1704 being once more destroyed As a result of the peace of Passarowitz (1718) more peaceful conditions

1) The story that all Muhammadans in Montenegro who would not be baptised or leave the country were put to death as partisans of Turkey on Christmas Eve 1707 is however a patriotic fable.

began to prevail except for the almost daily guerilla fighting on the frontiers Danilo took advantage of the peace to build up the country again after the overthrow of the Turkish administration, with the help of Venetian subsidies, so far as the poverty and the intractable nature of the people permitted In 1724 Cetinje was rebuilt

Under his incapable successor Sava Petrovic Nyeguš (1735—1782), there was a complete relapse into the previous barbarism no authority, clan and blood feuds, murders No one dared to leave his house unarmed The whole people lived by murder and robbery In addition there were secret conspiracies with the Turks against their own countrymen, abject appeals to Venice and journeys of appeal to St Petersburg, notably that of the able but powerless episcopal coadjutor Vasiliye (d 1766)

In the general distress the Vladika only thought of enriching himself Some relief was afforded Montenegro in 1767 by the south Slav Ščepan Mali (Little Stephen), the Lažni (false) Czar, who was accepted as the Czar Peter III murdered in 1762, and received such general recognition, out of respect for Russia, that in spite of his unmasking by the mission of prince Yuryi Volodimirovič Dolgorukiy (1769), he was tolerated by Russia also until he was murdered by a servant in 1773 Able, unselfish, strict and just, he restored for a time unwonted order and security

There was no considerable war with Turkey for a long period All the more serious then were the relations with the suzerain in the reign of Peter I the Saint (1782—1830) The hereditary wazīr of Skutari, Kara Mahmūd Pāšhā Bushatli, taking advantage of tribal feuds, laid waste the whole country in 1785, forced it to pay the poll-tax again and burned down Cetinje During the Austro-Russo-Turkish war of 1787—1792, there were only trifling encounters, for which in 1795 Kara Mahmūd Pāšhā again threatened serious reprisals He was however defeated in 1796 at Slatina and later killed in the great battle of Kruse, his head was long preserved as a trophy in Cetinje, in keeping with the Montenegrin head hunting custom which had become a regular practice in war The consequence was that the tribes of Biyelopavlići and Piperi, in the Brda east of the Zeta valley, joined Montenegro

A welcome and more profitable change were the wars of 1806 - 1808 and 1813—1814 in alliance first with the inhabitants of the Bocche di Cattaro and the Russians, later with the English against the French, who had occupied Dalmatia under General Marmont after the peace of Pressburg (1805) Numerous ruins stretching as far as Ragusa still testify to the thirst of the Montenegrins for destruction and plunder even on Christian soil

Peter I, a cultured ecclesiastic educated in Russia, full of good intentions, endeavoured throughout his life by legislative (1798 and 1803) and personal effort to unite his people, raise their moral tone and avert distress by introducing the potato, but in spite of great patience he met with bitter hostility, contributed to also by Russia which, only after being appealed to for a long time, in 1799 granted 1 000 ducats a year for public purposes but did not pay it regularly

The first ruler over the Montenegrins, Gospodar Crnogorski i Brdski, was Peter II (1830—51), a highly gifted man of the world, bishop only in name, one of the greatest of Serbian poets and also of unbending vigour which did not hesitate at severe punishments and death sentences The Radonyic family which claimed secular (*guvei nadur*) power for itself had to leave the country Supported by Russia from 1837 by a grant of 9,000 ducats yearly and occasional gifts of grain, and on this account more highly esteemed by his covetous countrymen, he concentrated the government in his own hands The powers of the tribal chiefs were restricted A senate of 12 regularly paid members under the presidency of the Vladika henceforth formed the supreme governing body and court of justice its authority was enforced by well-paid troops stationed throughout the country, the *Gvardiya*, in addition to whom the head of the state had a bodyguard, *Peryanici* The building of the first public school and a small state printing press in the capital, the purchase of two cannons and the building of a powder mill, show the small scale of the state but mark the desire for progress The innovations, and still more poverty and a great increase of population, as in earlier times led to the emigration of numerous families to Serbia and Russia

Foreign politics were mainly characterised by troubles on the Austrian frontier, continual fighting, celebrated in song, with the neighbouring Muhammadans, especially in the Herzegovina, which was then ruled by ʿAlī Pāšhā Rizvanbegovic (d 1851) as a practically independent sovereign, under whom Smail Aga Čengic (d 1840) distinguished himself in the fighting

VII Centralisation and reforms generally formed the programme of the next two reigns, which was firmly and successfully carried through in spite of much opposition Under Danilo II (1852—60) the clan system was dealt a shattering blow, when the chiefs were replaced by captains of princely birth and legislation regulated by the code of 1855 His accession however marks the close of a period in as much as a hereditary secular power now replaced a theocracy Danilo renounced his spiritual rank and with the approval of Russia and Austria had himself proclaimed Knyaz i Gospodar Crne Gore i Brda The attempt of the Porte to obtain by force under Serdar Ekrem ʿOmar Pāšhā in 1852—1853 recognition of her suzerainty thus threatened was vigorously opposed by Austria after giving ample assistance in 1853 through Feldmarschalleutnant Count Leiningen's mission to Constantinople During the Crimean War (1853—1856) Danilo remained neutral to the discontent of his people On the other hand, he became involved in a war in 1858 because he supported the rebels in the Herzegovina, this ended in the defeat of the Turks in the valley of Grahovo (north of Risano) and in an enlargement of Montenegrin territory in 1859 In 1860 the ruler, who had previously had to put down conspiracies, some led by relatives, was murdered in Cattaro by a Montenegrin emigrant

His able nephew Nikola I (1860—1918, d March 1, 1921) who had been educated in Trieste and in France, son of the doughty Woiwod Mirko (d 1867), completed the building of the state By long steady work, first as an absolute and from 1905 as a constitutional ruler, and by very skilfully managing foreign relations, he created out of the ill-famed, unfertile, rocky little country a kingdom which was enlarged by the addition

of fertile valleys with its own sea coast, good communications and post routes, a busy economic life, modest prosperity increased by emigration to America, more law abiding and secure since the institution of the civil code of 1888, with a good system of education and a well organised soldiery with modern equipment to be reckoned with in Balkan questions Relationship by marriage, notably with the courts of Russia and Italy, gave reflected glory to the pretty little capital of Cetinje which had also become a centre of culture, 1910 crowned the work by raising Montenegro to be a kingdom

While interested great powers, notably Russia, gave grants of money, arms, munitions, etc , which were readily accepted and also requested, this development was conducted mainly at the expense of Turkey, with whom three wars were waged at longer intervals in addition to minor friction in 1869—1870, 1872, 1874—1875, 1895, 1898, 1911, 1912 The first (1862), a combined attack by Derwish Pāshā from the north and Serdar Ekrem ʿOmar Pāshā from the south in the Zeta valley as a reprisal for the support given to the rising led by Luka Vukalovic in the eastern Herzegovina, forced Nikola by the threat to Cetinje to conclude an unsuccessful peace in Skutari The second war was declared in 1876 by Montenegro in alliance with Serbia in order to profit by the new insurrection in the Herzegovina which had begun in the summer of 1875 in Nevesinye His victory over Muktar Pāshā at Vrbica and at Bileca and the defeat of Serbs were followed by a truce and the intervention of Russia in 1877 Sulaimān Pāshā succeeded at heavy cost in fighting his way out of the Herzegovina through the Zeta valley into Albania, but in 1877 Nikola took Niksic and Antivari and in 1878 Dulcigno The Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878, Articles 26—33) recognised the independence of Montenegro and granted it, after cutting down very much the terms of the preliminary peace of San Stefano, a broad ring of land around the original land of Montenegro with Antivari, Nikšic, Banyani, Piva, Kolašin, Spuž, Podgorica, Žablyak and the district of Gusinye The latter, as a result of the opposition of the Albanians, was exchanged for Dulcigno in 1880 The area was increased from 4,366 to 9,080 square kilometres with over 200,000 inhabitants, including 12,500 Catholic Albanians, there was on the other hand a considerable emigration of Muslims from the new territories

The third war with Turkey was the first Balkan War, which Montenegro began on Oct 8, 1912, before its allies, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, but while the sandjak of Novi Pazar and Upper Albania were easily occupied, Skutari, the main objective, was only taken after a long siege and with the help of treachery on April 23, 1913 After the allies had quarrelled among themselves, Montenegro also took part in the second Balkan War against Bulgaria By the peace of Bukarest (Aug 10, 1913) it received the south-western half of the sandjak of Novi Pazar (with Plyevye, Biyelo Polye and Berane), the greater part of the Metohia plain (with Peć and Gyakova), the valley of Gusinye and lands round Lake Skutari, increasing its area by 5,937 square kilometres to 15,017 square kilometres, with 437,000 inhabitants

In the Great War, king Nikola reluctantly declared war on Austria-Hungary on Aug 5, 1914 After the capture of the Lovćen (see above) the Montenegrins laid down their arms unconditionally on Jan 16, 1916 and the country, which had gone back a great deal since 1912, was administered by an Austrian military general-gouvernment The king went first to Italy, then to France, never to return again, for after the War he was deposed along with his sons on Nov 29, 1918 by an assembly in Podgorica on the charge of treachery

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(C PATSCH)

MOORS, a rather vague name still applied in the XIXth century to certain elements in the Muslim town population of various countries and especially to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean ports of North Africa The word, presumably of Phoenician origin, corresponds to the ancient local name of the natives of Barbary reproduced by the Romans as *Μαῦροι*, *Mauri* and by the Greeks as *Μαυρούσιοι* (Strabo, VII 825) The term *Mauri* used by the Romans in a general way for the Berbers passed into Spain in the form *Moro*, and it was by the name of Moros that the people of the Iberian peninsula throughout the whole period of Muslim rule knew the Arab conquerors and arabicised Berbers who had come to settle in Spain from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar The name Moros passed into various European languages French *Maures*, English *Moors*, German *Mauren* At the time of the "Reconquista" the name Moriscos was applied in Spain to these Muslims (usually crypto-Muslims) who had remained in the country until their final expulsion in 1610 The Moriscos went mainly to North Africa, where they were known to the natives as *Andalus* while Christian travellers gave them the general name of Moors

In modern times the Moors to the European were therefore the urban population of the North African ports, irrespective of the proportion of immigrants from Spain Since then the word has been generally used with the meaning Muslim of the towns of the western end of the Mediterranean (cf such expressions in "Moorish bath", "Moorish coffee" etc)

The name Moors has also been given to the Arab or Berber peoples, pure or mixed with negro blood, who live to the north in the Senegal in the province to which the French now give the ancient name of Mauritania (see below), and to the offspring of the marriages of Arabs from South Arabia and Cingalese who form an important Muslim colony in Ceylon (c 200,000)

(E LÉVI PROVENÇAI)

The land of the Moors is MAURITANIA or Mauretania This name which has been derived either from a Phoenician word *Mauharim* "the Westerns" or with more probability from the name of a tribe living before the Christian era in North Africa, was applied in ancient times to northern Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana) and to the north west of Algeria (Caesarean Mauretania) At a later date, by extending the application, Europeans have given the general name of Moors to the Arabo-Berber peoples of Mediterranean and Saharan Africa Then gradually they came to distinguish out of this mass the groups with which they came more frequently into contact (Tripolitans, Tunisians, Algerians, Moroccans), so that the name Moors came to be limited to the people of Spanish (Muslim), Jewish or Turkish origin of North Africa and particularly to the nomads of the western Sahara, who traverse what Ahmad al-Shinḳīṭī (in *al-Wasiṭ*, Cairo 1329 A H) calls the "land of Shinḳīṭī", from the name of its chief village, this country is bounded, says the author, by the Atlantic Ocean, the valley of the Sāḳiat al-Hamrā', the plain of Ibn Haiba (plain of the Brākna) on the right bank of the Senegal and by the two towns of Walāta and Na'ma (Nema), if, like him, we take into account all inhabited areas, we ought to extend it to the east as far as the meridian of Timbuktu

Mauritania, which now forms one of the eight colonies of French West Africa, is only a part of this vast area It lies to the north of the Senegal between this river, the Atlantic Ocean and the marigot of Karakoro, to the north and east, a frontier settled by agreements separates it from the Spanish Sahara (June 27, 1900, Oct 3, 1904, Nov 27, 1912) and from the territories of the south of Algeria (agreement of June 7, 1905) and from the French Sūdān (decree of 23rd April, 1913) It has an area of 835,000 square kilometres, 289,000 inhabitants, the density of population being 0 34

Except for the banks of the Senegal, the country is steppe or desert, and only suitable for stock rearing To be brief, it is a military frontier district depending on the north the more favoured lands of the Senegal rather than a country suitable for development by colonisation

I GEOGRAPHY

A semi-circular range of hills of no great height, worn by erosion but often difficult of access, starts as it were out of the ocean to the south of the Rio de Oro and reaches the middle course of the Senegal after running round the contours of an ancient gulf of the quaternary period The Adrār Tmar and the Tāgant separated by the depression of the Khat form as it were the cornerstones of this system and are continued to the north-west in the "petrified sea" (a plain scattered over with rocky islets) of the Tiris and by the arêtes of the Adrār Sutuf, to the south by the Rgaiba and Asaba

The interior of this gulf consists almost entirely of sands, brought from the desert by the predominating north east winds The dunes in the south are all fixed and are called "dead", in the north they are "alive" and constantly changing Like the other dunes of the western Sahara they run in the direction of the wind, N E–S W, and are separated from one another by contours of firmer soil along which traffic can go

The Shamamah is a plain, formed of lands of alluvial origin, along the lower Senegal and as such particularly suitable for cultivation, as we go up the river it is known as Litama and then as Gidimaka Other plains, those of the Brākna and the Gorgol, are more remote from the river, they contain permanent pools of water to which their girdles of high trees gave a characteristic appearance (*tāmurt*) To the north of the Shamamah and the land of the Brākna stretches a series of dunes among which may be mentioned those of Amatlish The couloir of the Inshiri continued by that of the Amsaiga separates the latter from the similar ranges, the Akshar and the Azefal, which stretch to the Tiris, they are difficult to cross, but between them the Tijirit supplies an easy route Beyond to the north-west, the Tasiast and the Swīḥel al-Abyad are great plains of denudation

On their convex face, the Adrār and Tāgant are prolonged to the north in the massif of the Kudiat Ijjel and by that of the Zemmur, separated by the Tizel-kaf, towards the north-east by the cliffs of the Dhar Adrār and the Hank and by the plateau of the Eglab, which stretches to the

great sand-dunes of the Igidi, to the east by the Dhar Tishit which runs to Walata Between these lines of rock, great ridges of moving dunes make passage difficult but provide good pasturage for the flocks, these are from north to south, the Erg al-Hamami, the Makteir, the Waran, the Adafer and the Aukar Lastly, to the north of all these masses of sand, the Ghallaman, Karet and Yetti are "tanezrufts" without water, of hard and flat soil, which run as far as the Hammada of the Dra

The coast consists of dunes and plateaux with numerous *sebkhas* or salt lakes There is usually a large sand-bar, nevertheless the sea, which is very rich in fish, gives a livelihood to a population of fishermen

The Sahara in the proper sense of the word hardly extends beyond a line marked by Cape Timiris, Mejriya (Moudjeria), the northern bank of the Tāgant (depression of Khat), the southern margin of the Adafer and Walata It is especially dry on both sides of the Adrār to the west in the region of Port Etienne and in the dunes bordering on the Timis, and especially to the east where to the north of Walata, the Mraya, Djuf and the western part of the Erg Shesh, still almost unknown, form a waterless no man's-land, this district is visited only by antelopes, gazelles and ostriches, and by the Nmadi, hunters who can manage to go for days without water and live like their game on green stuffs

To the south of the line above given, the steppe gradually changes to forest as we near the river The climate is very hot, the influence of the sea is not felt beyond a score of miles inland Subtropical rains fall as far as the north of the Adrār

II POPULATION

At the earliest period to which the chronicles and native traditions go back, Mauritania seems to have been peopled by negroes Later, in the course of centuries, it received various immigrations of Berbers, especially Sanhādja and Zanata, Arabs and probably also of Jews The Sanhādja came first, certainly before the Hidjra, later the development of Trans-Saharan commerce brought to the few towns that had been built, merchants of varied origin (Arabs, Berbers, Zanāta, Nafūsa, Lwāta, Nafzāwa, etc), at different periods also, Jews came there to seek refuge from persecutions, the last of which drove them out of Tuāt at the end of the xv^th^ century, lastly the Arabs belonging to the Ma'ḳil group in their turn invaded the country from the xv^th^ century onwards, bringing with them more Zanāta or driving them in front of them

The Jews have been completely absorbed into the Berbers (they form, it is believed, the foundation of the caste of smiths, *ma'allemīn*) or into the Fula, so that it is not possible to estimate their numbers at the present day The negroes, who have been gradually driven towards the river, are now represented by approximately 36,000 Tuculors (Takrūr), 21,600 Sarakole and 13,000 Wolof, Fula and Bambara The Arabo-Berber Moors number about 216,000

III HISTORY

a Prehistory Such researches as have been made in Mauritania, notably in the Adrār and in the Aukar, have revealed there, as throughout the Sahara, the existence of important prehistoric sites, if it is not possible to date them, they are at least evidence of a very early population whose utensils seem to connect them with the negroes These conclusions are further confirmed by the native chronicles and traditions, and perhaps we ought to connect with these remote inhabitants of the country the *Bafur*, to whom the Moors attribute the creation of the palm-groves of the Adrār and who are said to have built a town, the "city of the dogs", on the site of the present Azuggi, ten miles N W of Atar What seems probable in any case is that these black Mauritanians were more or less subjects of the first kingdoms known to the southwest of the desert that of Takrūr, which ruled Senegalese Futa, that of Ghana, the capital of which was on the site of the modern Kumbi, 100 miles S W of Walata and that of Diara which succeeded them and ruled the whole of the western Sūdān To the north, the lands of the negroes no doubt marched with the lands in which the Sanhādja and Znāga Berbers led a nomadic life in the south of Morocco

b The Sanhādja invasion We do not know at what date the Sanhādja invaded Mauritania, but it was certainly a very early one It is possible that expeditions by the Arab emirs to al-Maghrib al-Aksa, beginning in the latter years of the seventh century, which marked the first contact of the Sanhādja with Islām, may have driven them to the south but their first incursions into the Timis, into the Adrār and to the Tāgant were probably much earlier Their conquest of the country, it is true, seems to have been fairly slow and it was not, it appears, till the xi^th^ century that they succeeded in reaching the banks of the Senegal for the first time

c The first Sanhādja kingdom At the beginning of the ninth century, a certain number of Sanhadja tribes (among them the Lemtūna, the Guddāla and the Beni Wāret) occupied the Adrār, with their advanced posts in the Tāgant, and made raids into the Hawd (Hodh) against the negro Soninke empire of Ghana The Lemtūna supplied them with chiefs at this time, and one of them, Tilutan (d in 836 or 837), succeeded in imposing his authority on all the Berbers and making twenty negro kings pay tribute to him The chief towns of his dominion were Azuggi and especially Audaghust, forty miles N E of the site of the modern Kifah (Kiffa) Audaghust seems to have been founded in the seventh century by the Soninke and its fame as a centre of trans-Saharan trade brought it a large foreign population, already in part converted to Islām Berbers of different branches and Arabs In spite of this brilliant start, this Lemtūna dynasty lasted only a short time and disappeared in 919 Each tribe then led an independent existence and the emperors of Ghana were able to extend their power towards the Tāgant and to take Audaghust at the end of the tenth century

d The second Sanhādja kingdom Towards 1020, the chiefs of the various Sanhādja tribes agreed to combine again as in the time of Tilutan and thus to resist the encroachments of the Soninke The power was placed in the hands of a Lemtūnī called Tarsina, who seems to have been the first really Muslim Znāgī ruler He went to Mecca and his enthusiasm as a new convert led him to a holy war on the negroes, in which he lost his life (1023) His son-in-law Yahyā b

Ibrāhīm of the tribe of the Guddāla succeeded him, according to the custom which made the supreme command go to the two tribes alternately Like Tarsīna, he was a zealot and on returning from the pilgrimage, he brought from Morocco a holy man, ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn, to whom he entrusted the task of educating his brothers, who were still very ignorant of the principles of Islām The saint was at first well received by the Sanhādja and he made them build the town of Aiet-nenna near the site of the modern Tishit But soon his commands appeared too difficult for the nomads, who rebelled against him He sought refuge with his disciples in a *ribāt* or fortified monastery on an island in the ocean (sometimes identified with Tidra) and they were henceforth known as the *al Murābitūn* (the men of the *ribāṭ*), a word which has been corrupted in Europe to Almoravids under which name they have become famous

e The Almoravids Their reputation for sanctity spread very rapidly and attracted many disciples to them When ʿAbd Allāh had gathered around him a sufficiently large body of men, he led them against their rebellious brethren and against the negroes In a few years they subdued the whole of the western Sahara, from Tafilalt and the Dra to the Senegal In 1050, Yahyā b Ibrāhīm died, and Yahyā b ʿUmar, chief of the Lemtūna, became the political head of the confederation, ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn remaining the religious chief While the first recaptured and plundered Audaghust, the second attempted the conquest of the Maghrib But soon they were both slain, Yahyā in a rising in the Adrar in which the negroes of the Takrūr tried in vain to help him, and ʿAbd Allāh in fighting the Barghawāta heretics of the plains of Morocco Abū Bakr, brother of Yahyā, was then for some time supreme chief of the Almoravids, then to gratify his ambitious nephew Yūsuf b Tāshfīn he handed over to him his conquests in North Africa, keeping only to himself the sovereignty of the south He devoted himself to a holy war against the negroes and to their conversion to Islām He succeeded in driving them back towards the river and in taking Ghana in 1076 and the capital of the Takrūr in 1080, extending his teaching, the tradition says, as far as the lands of a Mandingo prince of the Upper Niger He was slain in the Tāgant in 1087 and his death marked the break up of the Sanhādja confederation in Mauritania, each tribe regained its independence

f The Tashumsha and the negro reaction Between this date and the end of the xivth century we know very little of the history of Mauritania We only suspect that the influence of the negro kingdom of Mali must have extended up to the Adrār and Tāgant and that a new Marabout Berber element formed by the Tashumsha of Sūs, came and settled in the country

The Tashumsha seem to have at first taken up the mantle of the Almoravids and to have made themselves the champions of the *djihād* against the negroes But after a few successes, they were driven back from the region of the river and fell back upon the Tiris and Adrār, where they gave up fighting and devoted themselves to study and religious devotions The successes of the negroes then became serious Wolofs, Soninkes and Tuculors recaptured a whole part of Mauritania and might perhaps have succeeded in subjecting the Berbers, who were exhausted by their campaigns of conquest in the Mediterranean region, if the coming of the Maʿkil Arabs had not checked them

g The Maʿkil invasion It is not possible to date this new invasion exactly, it is, however, certain that it was not a single effort It went on almost down to the nineteenth century with little groups filtering into the Sanhādja encampments and at length submerging them

Setting out from Egypt, the Maʿkil passed along the northern border of the desert and reached the Ocean to the south of Morocco in the first half of the xiiith century They then entered the service of the Marīnid rulers of Fās, who used them to keep in subjection the provinces beyond the Atlas and to collect taxes These undisciplined nomads very soon took advantage of their privileged position Measures had to be taken against their brigandage and their threats to overrun Morocco, and military expeditions were sent against them Either as a result of these reprisals, or because they were called in by the Sanhādja to help them against the negroes, or because a year of drought drove them in search of new pasturage, some of them, belonging to the confederation of the Dwi Hasan or Beni Hasan, went down towards Mauritania But the chronicles do not say why In any case, having helped to drive the negroes back towards the river, supported by the Zanāta Kunta who came from Tuāt at the same time as the first of them, they reduced to vassalage the Sanhādja of Upper Mauritania (Ijjel and Zemmūr) in the xvth century, Western Mauritania, Wadan and Tāgant in the xviith and the Adrār and Lower Mauritania in the xviiith century Throughout the long period from the xvth century to the present day, we find the authority in the hands of a certain number of Udāya tribes the Ulād Rizg, the Mghāfra Ulād Mbārk, the Brākna, the Trārza and the Ulād Yahyā b ʿUthmān Other Beni Hasan also went south, but barely reached Mauritania The Ulād Dlim have always remained in the desert zone and the Brābish seem to have passed some years a little to the north of the Senegal before migrating to the region of Timbuktu

h The Maʿkil and the Sultāns of Morocco From their first sojourn in the south of Morocco, these Maʿkil long retained the character of Makhzen tribes, under the Saʿdians and ʿAlawis, many of them supplied contingents to the *gīsh* tribes This status gave their migration southwards the appearance of a conquest in name of the Sultāns This was no doubt the legal justification of the tribute which they exacted from the conquered Beduins, it also explains why the rulers of Fās or Marrākesh sometimes claimed as theirs the territory of Mauritania, why they sent several expeditions there in the xviith and xviiith centuries, why they granted investiture to certain chiefs and lastly why the author of *al Wasīt*, after consulting several learned men, thought that the "land of Shingīt" should be included with the Maghrib and not with the Sūdān

i The Sanhādja reaction Whatever was the actual success of the Arab conquests in Mauritania, it were not effected without violent reaction on the part of the Sanhādja The poverty of the Tashumsha, the negro danger and the looseness of links between the various bodies of invaders facilitated the settlement of the early Arab invaders But the tyranny of the Maʿkil towards the Berbers

brought them in the xviiith century to such desperation that a general rising broke out in the form of an attempted restoration of the Almoravids led by Nāsir al Dīn, a marabout descendant of the Lemtūna This individual, who camped in western Mauritania, first preached a holy war there against the negroes, being sure of re-uniting the various contingents against the traditional enemy Then having given the troops sufficient training in a campaign which brought them across the river to plunder the left bank, he turned openly against the Arabs This was the celebrated "War of Babbah", in the course of which the Arabs were held in check for thirty years, but in the end quarrels within the Sanhādja ranks destroyed their strength and in 1674 the defeat at Tīn Yefdad doomed them to vassalage

In much the same way in 1745 the Ideïshilli Berbers of the Adrār had to bow before the Maʿkil and at the end of the xixth century we find them again rising against the Arab amīr and assassinating him Finally in the Tāgant, the Sanhādja Iduʿaïsh well led by their chief Muhammad Shein regained their independence at the end of the xviiith century They almost succeeded in seizing the Adrār in 1892, drove the Zanāta Kunta out of the Tāgant and extended their power to the Senegal, under the able rule of amīrs who are still reigning and claim to be true descendants of the Almoravids

j The rule of the amirs All over, from the xviiith century, the political situation of the tribes became stabilised, and regular little nomad states seem to have been formed, usually under Arab chiefs Thus we now find the dynasty of the Ulād Ahmad b Daman ruling among the Trārza with distinguished sovereigns like ʿAlī Shandura (1703–1727) who, supported by Sultān Mawlāi Ismaʿīl, delivered his tribe from Brākna domination, and especially Muhammad al-Habīb (1827–1860) whose long reign is marked by the first Moorish resistance to European penetration Among the Brākna also, the Ulād ʿAbd Allāh amirs played a preponderating role after the war of Babbah and their possessions extended from the Tāgant to the Ocean Later, and particularly from the xixth century, their power declined, in spite of the brilliant reign of Ahmaddu I (1818—1841), and their desperate resistance to the advance of the French caused them to disappear from the political scene In Adrār the Ulād Yahyā b ʿUthmān also furnished great leaders Ahmad uld Muhammad (1871—1891) who was able to keep his turbulent subjects at peace with their neighbours and who tried to develop trans-Saharan commerce, and Ahmad uld Sīdi Ahmad (1891—1899) who by his military successes earned the title of "amīr of war" Lastly in the person of Bakar uld Sweid Ahmad, a descendant of Muhammad Shein, the Tāgant produced the greatest Moorish ruler of the xixth century

The rule of these amīrs was continually beset with great difficulties, produced by their rivalries, the lack of discipline, rebellion and intrigues among their subjects, by the warlike raids of the negroes, and particularly by the efforts of Europeans to establish their rule on the Atlantic coast and on the banks of the river

k European rivalries on the coast of Mauritania It was in the first half of the xvth century that the Portuguese visited the coast of Mauritania and the north of the Senegal for the first time At the instigation of the Infante Henry the Navigator, expeditions followed which brought back slaves, gold and gums After João Fernandez had gone to Wadan in the eastern Adrār, where he spent some months among the Sanhādja in 1446, a permanent settlement was founded in 1448 on the island of Arguin, which afforded excellent conditions of security From there the Portuguese endeavoured to extend their power into the interior and to command the great caravan routes which led from the Sūdān to Morocco, to them are attributed the fortresses, now in ruins, near Wadan and at Azuggi But if it is certain that for a short time they extended their relations as far as the capital of the negro empire of Mali on the Upper Niger, it seems that they did not own factories for any length of time except on the coast

The trade of Arguin flourished for two centuries in the hands of the Portuguese, then of the Spaniards and it extended as far as Lower Mauritania through Portendik (corruption of "Port d'Addi" from the name of an emīr of Trārza), a not very good roadstead where barter was carried on The French at a later date established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal (1626), the Dutch at war with Spain took Arguin in 1638, which the English took from them in 1665 and a struggle for influence began among these three nations which lasted for a century Arguin and Portendik continually changed hands, while France developed her trade along the Senegal by building factories Finally the Treaty of Versailles (Sept 3, 1783) recognised her exclusive sovereignty over the Atlantic coast from Cape Blanc to the mouth of the Salum The wars at the beginning of the xixth century brought the English back there for a time, and it was only in 1817, three years after the treaty of Paris, that France definitely took possession of the country Arguin and Portendik had in the meantime been almost completely ruined as a result of these vicissitudes

l The French conquest Down to 1857 England retained the right to trade at Portendik, which allowed the Trārza chiefs and in particular Muhammad al-Habīb to play off against one another the two nations who seemed to threaten her independence, and thus to gain a footing on the left bank of the Senegal The position of the Europeans with regard to the natives was however difficult and trade with them was permitted only on payment of heavy customs dues It was only in 1854 with the appointment of Faidherbe as governor of Senegal that a more vigorous policy was introduced into Lower mauritania In four years he reduced Walo on the left bank to submission and drove the Moors out of it and forced the emīrs of Trārza and Brākna to sign a treaty, which if it did not abolish the customs, at least recognised that France had a right of suzerainty over the peoples living near the river and guaranteed freedom of trade there

For nearly fifty years, these treaties were respected and the Moorish chiefs, too much occupied in maintaining peace among their subjects and in defending themselves from the intrigues of pretenders, no longer thought of coming into conflict with French troops, commercial agreements were made which extended as far as with the Iduʿaïsh of the Tāgant and one treaty was even made with the emīr of the Adrār This period also saw a great deal of exploration of the interior, after

Mungo Park (1795—1796), Caillié (1825), Caille (1843) and Panet (1850), Vincent, Bu al-Mugdad, Bonnel, Aliun Sal, Mage, Fulcrand, Aube, Soleillet, Quiroga and Cervera, Douls, Soller, Fabeit, Donnet, Blanchet, Gruvel and Chudeau contributed to our knowledge of this country and prepared the way for its occupation

In the last years of the XIXth century the troubles of which Lower Mauritania was the centre finally had repercussions on the trading centres on the river which became daily more serious The insecurity hampered commerce and in proportion as the memory of the vigorous policy of Faidherbe became obliterated, maraudeis ravaged the country down to the left bank of the river, right into the administered country The conquest of Mauritania had to be planned in order to protect effectively the colony of Senegal and with this object an endeavour was made to use the influence of the marabouts, tired of a perpetual warfare, of which too often they bore the expense The diplomatic action of M Coppolani, Commissaire Général of the government since 1902, judiciously supported by police operations, brought about the occupation of the Trārza country in 1903, of the Brakna country in 1904 and of the Tāgant in 1905

This rapid advance, however, was checked before the anti-foreign propaganda of a marabout of the Hawd, Mā' al 'Aīnīn, son of Muhammad Fādil, who after spending a long period in Upper Mauritania, had been settled for some years at Smara near Sagiat al-Hamrā' His prestige as a magician, supported by the veneration shown him by the Moroccan sultāns, was not long in winning him the support of the greater number of the Moorish tribes and especially of those of the Adrār, the emir of which had been brought up in his entourage At his instigation, Coppolani was assassinated and a cousin of the Sultān Mawlāi Idrīs came to lead the *ǧihād* in Mauritania A success gained by him at Nyamilan led to nothing, but on the return of a delegation of Moorish chiefs who had gone to seek help from the sovereign of Morocco, a general offensive was begun against the French troops (1908) To put an end to an agitation which threatened to become dangerous, Colonel Gouraud conquered the Adrār in 1909 and his victory was completed in 1910 by the death of Mā' al-'Aīnīn and in 1912 by the capture of Tishit and joining up with the troops of the Hawd The conquest of Mauritania by the French was thus practically completed The march of el-Heiba, son of Mā' al-'Aīnīn, on Marrākesh in 1912 revived some inclination to rebel among the Moors, but the destruction of Smara in 1913 checked this, and France now only had to secure the protection of her colony from raiders from the Sahara

IV SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The negroes are settled agriculturists who have their villages mainly in the Shamamah and the Gorgol and in the main they belong rather to Senegal than to Mauritania

The Moors have a few villages (the principal are Atar, Shingiti, Wadan, Tijigja, Tishit) with palm groves and a few farms in the Adrār, the Tāgant and the Dhar They are great nomads who live under cone-shaped tents of camel skin and follow the rainfall with their flocks Those who wander in the zone of the steppes oscillate between the river and the desert, except the Trārza of western Mauritania, who, on account of the dryness of their country, move over a much greater area and sometimes even reach Tiris and Adrār Sutuf The people of the Adrār go down as far as Tāgant, and on the north at one time were in contact with the Tekna of the south of Morocco around the Sagiat al-Hamrā' Their supply of meat is very scanty and it is not an exaggeration when Psichari calls them "the most wretched of mankind"

Their groups have been much gradated by the constant influx of Moroccans Before French rule, the *Hasan*, pure Arabs, formed the noble and warrior class who protected the encampments and lived by cattle-rearing and marauding The *Zwaya* or marabouts, generally Sanhādja or Zanāta Berbers, paid an annual sum called *ghafer* to the Hasan for their security, they were likewise breeders of cattle, but also included among them merchants and men of letters who were regular travelling universities, the more or less open practice of sorcery served them as a means of defence against the exactions of the Hasan The *Znāga* or tributaries (*lahma*), Sanhādja Berbers, were the exploited The feudal dues which they paid to the Arabs (*horma*) did not always exempt them from periodical payments to the marabouts nor from arbitrary sums levied upon them by one or the other They were in part agriculturists The *Haratin*, freed slaves, formed tribes of serfs, usually better treated than the preceding Finally the Hasan and the marabouts owned numerous slaves in which they did a busy trade On the fringe of all these groups, the *Ma'llemin*, the griots (*iggaun*) and the *Nmadi* were respectively the workmen, poets and singers and hunters who supplied the encampments of eastern Mauritania with meat

The barriers between these castes were in theory rigid A certain number of marabouts, however, and even of Znāgas succeeded in escaping from Arab tutelage, like the Idu'aish of the Tāgant, and devoted themselves to the adventurous life of the Nmadi hunter (*geimer*) just as "penitent" Hasan sometimes adopted the pious life of the Zwaya (*Tiyab*)

French administration has left this traditional organisation intact, only suppressing slavery, it has, however, checked the abuses of the Hasan by putting a stop almost everywhere to the payment of the hormas and ghafers

Economic Life Mauritania has only one port, Port-Etienne, on the peninsula of Cape Blanc, it is, however, only a fishing centre The course of the Senegal is used as far as Podor in the dry season, as far as Bakel in the winter months No road has yet been made, but the important points are linked up by automobile or caravan services The telephone is in use only in the south, but its place is taken by the wireless, which connects Mauritania with Dakar, Casablanca, Agadir, Bamako and Timbuktu

The principal source of wealth of the country is stock-breeding 51,000 camels, 3,800 horses, 239,000 cattle, 2,000,000 goats and sheep, 66,000 asses The abundant game (antelope, gazelle, ostriches, guinea fowl and bustards) supplies further food for the inhabitants Among agricultural products, special mention may be made of the date-palms in the north (3,000 tons of date a year), along the river and in a few favoured valleys of

the plateaus, millet, rice, maize, wheat and barley In the south gum is a traditional article of export (1,250—2,500 tons a year)

The natural resources of the country have hardly been investigated as yet We may mention, however, the salt of the Sebkhet Ijjel, which has for long supplied the caravans to the south, along the coast a few salt-pans are worked by the Moors The annual export is 4,700 tons

Industry is in a very rudimentary stage and confined almost entirely to the manufacture of leather goods which form the equipment of the cameleer and the furniture of his tent Fishing supplies the encampments near the coast

A certain number of caravans transport merchandise from the north to the south along the coast and through the Adrār and Tāgant to the trading centres on the river and the Sūdān They take with them animals, gums, salt, dates, ostrich feathers, skins and leather, and bring back cloth, arms, powder, candles, sugar, tea, spices and cereals, and supply the markets of Atar, Shingiti, Wadan and Tijigja As a result of the insecurity in the desert there is no longer any regular trans-Saharan trade

V POLITICAL LIFE

The negroes are ruled by their village headmen and chiefs of districts The Moors are grouped in tribes under the authority of a shaikh assisted by a council of notables or *djemā'a* Sometimes several tribes are combined in a hereditary amīrate, the ruler of which surrounds himself with a regular court generally recruited from among the Znāga or Harātīn The shaikh or amīr is practically all-powerful, only the right to judge in civil matters is not completely his, the kādīs exercise it The amīr further reserves to himself a kind of right to supervise their judgments through the intermediary of his private kādī who forms a court of appeal

The French administration has been superimposed on this traditional organisation A Lieutenant-Governor, residing at St Louis, on the right bank of the river, is the head of the colony and is assisted by a military commandant, an inspector of administrative affairs, a secretary for military and political affairs, a secretary for finance and a department of public works The local administration carried out by administrators or officers is divided into eight districts (Trārza, Brākna, Gorgol, Gidimaka, Assaba, Tāgant, Adrār and Baie du Lévrier) and seventeen sub-divisions or administrative posts It controls the native administrative and judicial organization

The Moors pay the Kur'ānic taxes (zakāt and 'ashur) from which their riding-camels and gums alone are exempt The negroes pay a poll-tax and a tax on cattle Indirect contributions are paid by the markets, the salt-pans, the carrying of arms, the exploitation of the woods and ferries The Budget for Mauritania for 1930 was 14,623,000 francs

VI LANGUAGE

The language spoken in Mauritania is Arabic, the *hasania* or language of the *beidān*, the "whites" Some 7,000 Znāga in the south have retained a Berber dialect related to that of the dialects of southern Morocco At Wadan and Tishit, the language *azair* (Azer) which is a form of Soninke is now spoken only by a few individuals Lastly the negroes of the river have retained their own language

VII RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

History does not tell us what was the religion of the Sanhādja before their conversion to Islām, we can only think that they had to some extent been influenced by a monotheistic faith like Judaism or even Christianity Their first contact with Islām probably dates from 'Ukba b Nāfi''s expedition to the south of Morocco (681), but it is certain that their real conversion was much later and can hardly have been earlier than the energetic proselytising campaign of 'Abd Allāh b Yāsin

At the present day all the inhabitants of Mauritania are Muslims of the Mālikī rite, but many of them and more particularly the warriors and the Nmadi have only a very superficial acquaintance with their religion and take little interest in it, superstitions and sorcery further corrupt their Islām almost everywhere, revealing the primitive state of the people and negro influence Islām is not really known and practised, except among the tribes of marabouts, among the latter, a mystical tradition and a fairly advanced culture have always made themselves felt and for this reason they play in Moorish society the part of a kind of sacerdotal body such as is found nowhere else in the Muslim world of the west This is no doubt a remote consequence of the Almoravid movement, revived for a time in the war of Babbah, and of the peculiar situation of these Muslim nomads, who have here long been the advance-guard of the white race, face to face with the negro fetish-worshippers of the Senegal and Sūdān Perhaps, like Renan and Psichari, we ought also to give credit to the influence of *religiosite* of the desert In any case in thus assuming a kind of sacred character and surrounding it with a magic prestige, certain Berbers have had a regular revenge of their amour propre on the pride of race of the Arab invaders and have opposed to their tyranny and brigandage a defensive weapon which has not been without effect

The principal brotherhoods of Mauritania are those of the Tidjānīya and of the Kādirīya, their influence extends into the lands of the negroes The first are represented by the Ida u 'Alī of the Trārza, of the Tāgant and of the Adrār, who claim to be shorfā' and say they came from Tabelbala at the beginning of the xivth century Since the early years of the xixth century they have been connected with the branch of the Tidjānīya in Fās The second are much more numerous and influential, they have several branches, that of the Bekkāya dates from the xvth—xvith centuries and is represented from the bend of the Niger to the Tāgant and Adrār by the tribe of the Kunta About a century ago it received fresh impulse in a new "path" and its autonomy in Lower Mauritania was secured by the great prestige of the Shaikh Sidiya, of the Ulud Biri (d 1924) We may also mention the branch of the Fādilīya, founded in the early years of the xixth century, which enjoyed particular fame some 20 years ago under the direction of Mā' al-'Ainīn and his brother the Shaikh Sa'd Bū These two branches have lost their importance since the deaths of these famous individuals Lastly the Kādirīya are still represented by the some 600 members of the

Ghudfiya brotherhood, whose practices are regarded as heretical by the other Muslims

Shingiṭi, benefiting by its situation on the routes of the caravans which came from western Morocco or Sebkhet Ijjel down to the Hawd or the Senegal was at one period an intellectual centre, the reputation of which extended to all the western Sahara and to the Sūdān We see this in the fact that it was able to give its name to all the Moorish tribes (*Shenāgiṭa*) and to the territory in which they led their nomadic life and that the tradition of the country makes it one of the "seven holy cities" of Islām It has now lost its old prestige In the xvith century the fame of the medersas of Timbuktu must have offered serious competition to it At the present day Shingiti is seriously threatened by the sands of the Waran and its trade is much reduced Atar is assuming an increasing importance, the insecurity and eccentric development of North Africa and the Sūdān have led to the almost complete disappearance of the trans-Saharan trade by which it lived and in particular, as is natural in a land of nomads, it has been rather under tents and particularly in the marabout encampments of western Mauritania that intellectual culture has developed Universities have been created there where the teaching of the Kur'ān, theology, law, grammar and logic still flourishes Some of them have known outbursts of glory under famous teachers, who have sometimes created schools of mystic initiation, like those directed by the Shaikh Sidiya, Mā' al-'Ainīn or Sa'd Bū or like that of the Ahl Muhammad Sālem, which is a kind of university in the Tiris which produces almost all the jurists of Mauritania

A whole original literature has been able to develop Kur'ānic matter, Hadīth, law according to Sidi Khalīl and his commentators, are its essential elements, with the doctrines of the Sūfis and their mysticism But historical studies have also had and still have their eager followers, especially among the tribe of the Ulād Daman (Trārza) Lastly poetry is held in honour among all the tribes, warrior and marabout alike, and supports a whole caste of troubadours, the griots, who enjoy the favour of the courts of the emīrs

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(F DE LA CHAPELLE)

MORĀDĀBĀD (Murāddābād), a district in the Rohilkhand division of the United Provinces of India and also the chief town in it The district has an area of about 2,300 square miles and a population of 1,200,000 of whom over 420,000 are Muhammadans Nothing is known of the early history of the district In the Muhammadan period it was successively ruled by the Sultāns of Dehlī, from whom it was occasionally taken by the Sultāns of Djawnpūr, the Moghuls, the Rohillas, and the Nawābs of Oudh until it was ceded to the British in 1801

Morādābād is the principal town in the district, it is situated on the Delhi-Bareilly road and on the main line of the Oudh-Rohilkhand railway It has a population of 75,000 of whom over half are Muslims The town is a Moghul foundation of the second quarter of the xviith century Its founder was Rustam Khān who also built the Djāmi' Masdjid, as an inscription testifies, in 1632 The town takes its name from Murād Bakhsh, son of Shāh Djahān It rapidly ousted Sambhal from its place as the chief town of the district Its industries are flourishing (chiefly textiles and brass work) It was a mint of the Moghul Emperors and also of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī during his invasion of India in 1760 Sambhal is a very ancient site but has lost much of the importance it possessed in mediaeval times It has an old mosque, an interesting example of Pathan architecture which has even been claimed as a converted Hindu temple It is said to have been built by Bābur but it is undoubtedly earlier Amroha is the great Muhammadan centre of the district, the majority of its population being Shaikhs and Saiyids The chief saint of the Saiyids is Sharaf al-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, a descendant of the tenth Imām, who came here about 1300 His tomb is still shown here The Djāmi' Masdjid is a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in the reign of Kaikubād It is much visited by pilgrims, mainly Hindus who seek relief from mental diseases through the power of Sadr al Dīn, a former *mu'adhdhin* of the mosque, whose virtues are still believed to be efficacious There are over a hundred other mosques in the town

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(J ALLAN)

MOREA is the usual name in mediaeval and modern times for the peninsula of the Peloponnesus which was regarded in ancient times as the citadel of Greece The name Morea is first found in 1111 A D in the subscription to fol 143r of the Greek manuscript Brit Mus Add

28816 (cf M Vogel—Y Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p 28, 466, and also *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*, ix 72) Originally the name Morea did not apply to the whole Peloponnesus but only to the outer mountains of Ichthya and the lands around them as well as the whole district of Elis Reliable references show us that even in the xivth century the place-name Morea was equivalent to Elis, later the name became gradually extended to the whole Peloponnesus and with this meaning it is still used not only by the Greeks but also by other peoples of east and west

Alongside of the original form Morea (ὁ Μορέας, with synesis Μορείας, Μοριὰς) we find other divergent forms in Greek literature ἡ Ἀμουρέα, ἡ Ἀμούρεα, ὁ Ἀμέρεας, ὁ Μορίας, ὁ Μορία, ἡ Μόρα, ἡ Μορέα In eastern sources of the mediaeval and modern period along with the predominant form *Amorea* (mainly in Latin Italian documents of the xiiith—xivth century), *Amoree* (particularly in documents of the xvth—xvith century), *la Morea* (properly Italian), *la Moree* (French) we also find *Amouree*, *la Mouree* (in French documents as early as the xiiith century) The origin of all these forms is to be traced to an inaccurate separation of the article from the noun *la Morea–Amorea*

In Muhammadan texts we find seven main forms of the name Morea = Peloponnesus *Lamureia*, *Lamoreia*, *Almora*, *al-Mora*, *Moria*, *Mora* and *Moreh* The first five are properly Arabic, the last Arabic Turkish There are however Arabic texts, which have the old classical name of the peninsula although with certain variants (cf below)

As to the derivation of the name Morea, it has puzzled students greatly for centuries Some scholars of the xvith century wanted to connect the name with Moors (Ital *Mori*) These were said to have settled in the Peloponnesus at one time This derivation of the place-name, which has even been adopted by modern scholars, agrees neither with historical tradition nor with philological laws At one time the suggestion put forward by Emerson (*History of Modern Greece*, i 60) and adopted by Fallmerayer found many supporters it connected Morea with the Slav word *more* = sea This view has been challenged by Kopitar (*Wiener Jahrbucher der Litteratur*, i [1830], 111—120) and again by Zinkeisen and Hopf as decidedly "misleading and fanciful" and rejected by several later Greek and Slavonic scholars At the present day it is generally thought that Morea is derived from the Greek word μορέα = "mulberry-tree", as Prof G N Hatzidakis (in the periodical Ἀθηνᾶ, vol v, 1894, p 230, 401, 549, Γλωσσολογικαί Μελέται, Athens 1900, p 29 *sqq*) has brilliantly shown on the basis of philological arguments In Elis where — as already mentioned — the name Morea, now applied to the whole of the Peloponnesus for some centuries, first appeared, the planting of the fields with mulberry-trees is said to have been very common in the middle ages These trees were indispensable for the silk industry which was at one time very flourishing in the Peloponnesus and no less in Patras Authors of the Empire (Pliny, *Hist nat*, xix 4, Pausanias, vii 5, 2, vi 26, 4, vii 21, 7) also tell us that Elis in those days produced βύσσον, i e a material related to silk In any case, as early as the xvith century, the Greeks thought that the place-name Morea was connected with the mulberry-tree This is evident for example from Joh Leunclavius (*Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, 1596, p 63) "Nomen ipsum (= Moreas) derivant Graeci nunc ab arbore *moro* quod tota regione scilicet arbor haec frequens est"

In the mediaeval Muslim writers there is a confusion between *Amureia* = Amorion in Phrygia and *Iamureia* = Moreas, Peleponnesus But *Ammure(i)a* [or *Amure(i)a*, *Amuri(i)a*, *Amori(i)a* etc] in Abu 'l-Kāsim Firdawsī can only be Amorion, which used to be described as the capital and "eye of the kingdom" of the Rūm In the geographical tables of Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (middle of the xiiith century) and of Ulugh Beg, Amureia should rather be identified with Amorion than with Morea = Peloponnesus (cf P Karolidis, in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* [Ἐπετηρίς] *der Universitat Athen*, iii 1909, p 288—297, A Hantzis, in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*, ix, 1931, p 65 *sqq*) In the little map by the Arab Idrisi, of the year 1192 A D, *Belobūnes* = Peloponnesus is given (i e the old classical name of the peninsula) On the other hand, we find *Moria* = Morea = Peloponnesus (i e its mediaeval and modern name) in the Arabic geographical table of the Paris MS 2214, which is supposed to contain the cosmography of Ibn Saʿid of the year 1276 A D based for the most part on Idrīsī (1154 A D, cf K Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, i, Stuttgart 1926)

The Muhammadan peoples really only became acquainted with the Morea in the xiiith century A D Hellenistic culture was long extinct there and Christianity had become predominant At the end of the fourth century (395 A D), Alaric had laid almost the whole of the Morea waste and destroyed many towns and sanctuaries famed in ancient times About two centuries later, c 589 A D, the Avars (a Turkish nomadic people) allied with Slav tribes are said to have invaded the Morea and settled permanently It should be expressly noted that it is only late and tendencious sources which tell us this What scholars of the xixth century put forward as a historical fact, namely that an independent Avar or Avar-Slav Kingdom, intractable to Byzantine or Greek Christian influence, existed in the western half of the Morea for 218 years (589—807), must be relegated to the realms of fable (cf E Curtius, *Peloponnes*, i, Gotha 1851, p 86) It is certain, however, that considerable ethnological changes took place in the middle ages in the Morea In the viiith century in the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine V (741—775), if not earlier, numerous Slav tribes had pushed their way into the Morea, which had been much depopulated from 746 by a terrible pestilence This epidemic had also made great gaps in the population of Constantinople, which Constantine V is said to have endeavoured to fill with people from the Morea, this imperial edict must have further contributed to reduce the Greek element in the peninsula It may be assumed that the Slavs who at this time were settling mainly in Arcadia and Messenia, Elis and Laconia, sought and found new homes in the Morea, which had been favoured by nature with a milder climate, not only as hostile robber hordes but also as peaceful colonists from the north

According to Schafarik (*Slavische Altertumer*, German transl by Wuttke, vol ii, p 192), the spread of the Slavs over the Morea can be fixed

between 746 and 799 Nevertheless there can be no question of a complete slavisation of the country nor of a complete annihilation of the Greek element in it — as Fallmerayer and his followers hold The immigrant Slavs in Greece proper cannot have been very numerous They were really nomad herdsmen and peasants, who settled here and there in the open country Their level of culture much have been very low On the other hand, the Hellenic element in Greece proper and no less in the Morea had always had control of the coasts and of the towns and fortresses in the interior, and it was moreover strong enough as regards culture to assert itself through the centuries and even to leave its mark on the foreign Slavs The Slav settlers often caused trouble to the Byzantine government, so that the latter found themselves forced to send expeditions against them For example in 783 A D the Athenian empress Irene ordered the Patriarch Staurakios to punish the Slav tribes of the Morea and the rest of the mainland of Greece He appears to have had numerous troops at his command and was able to carry out his task satisfactorily in a few months He subdued the Slavs and forced them to pay an annual tribute to the imperial treasury He returned to Constantinople with many prisoners and considerable booty and celebrated a triumph in the Hippodrome there

After some time, the Slavs again rose in the Morea against Byzantine authority They became a great danger and even threatened the towns on the coast Supported by Saracens from Africa, the Slavs in 807 (805 by another reckoning) blockaded Patras from the land The citizens of this important town defended themselves bravely in spite of a shortage of provisions, water and other supplies When the help sought from the imperial strategos in Corinth did not come, the citizens of Patras made a vigorous sortie They put the enemy to flight and drove them far from their town Greek superstition seems to have ascribed the victory won at Patras over the Slav hordes to St Andrew, the patron saint of the town Nothing is recorded of the fate of the Saracen allies of the Slav besiegers of Patras It is supposed that it was they who ravaged not only Patras but also Rhodes and other islands by the caliph's order in 807 A D With the defeat at Patras the strength of the Slavs of the Morea was broken It is true that they again and again attempted to win their independence of the Byzantines by force of arms but without success In 850 A D , the doughty Byzantine general Theoktistos Bryennios subdued all the Slav districts of the Morea as far as the mountains on the Taggetos and Parnon, where two rebel Slav tribes, the Ezerites and Melinges, had settled These two tribes survived longest, sometimes as vassals of the Byzantines and sometimes as their open enemies As early as the ninth century A D began the conversions of the Slavs to Christianity to which is due also their gradual hellenisation The intermixture of the Greek Moreotes (Turk Moralis) with the Slavs undoubtedly contributed considerably to the former process

The Normans in Sicily in the following period disturbed not only the coasts of the mainland of Greece but also the interior of various Balkan provinces of the Byzantine empire The Norman king Roger II in his campaign in 1146 against Greece sailed round the Morea and occupied without a blow — after successfully storming the strongly fortified Malvasia — Corinth, celebrated for and prosperous from its trade and industries It was for this same king, that the Arab Idrīsī composed his *Nuzhat al-Mushtāk*, finished about 1153 A D According to this work, Morea (*Belbonesh*), a flourishing and prosperous island of the Mediterranean, had 13 large and important towns, many citadels or fortified places and villages Of the towns of the Morea Idrīsī mentions the following among others Corinth, "a large and populous city", Batia (= Patras), "situated on a promontory", has a "famous" church (of the apostle St Andrew), Arcadia (= the ancient Kyparissia), "a large and thickly populated town", whose harbour is visited by many ships, Irouda (= Navarino) with "a very commodious harbour", Motonia (= Modon, q v), "a fortified town", it was protected by a fort which commanded the sea, Coronia (= Koron), "a little town" with a citadel commanding the sea, el Kedemona (= Lacedaemonia, the mediaeval Sparta), "a flourishing and important town, six miles from the sea", Maliassa (= Monembasia, Malvasia), "a town defended by a very high citadel commanding the sea, from which the island of Crete can be seen", Argho (= Argos), "a famous place and beautiful country", Anaboli (= Nauplia, Napoli de Romania) According to Idrīsī, Morea (the extent of which he puts at 1,000 miles) is connected with the mainland "only by an isthmus, the length of which is six miles" (= Hexamilion, cf below) Only small ships could be taken through the isthmus from the Gulf of Corinth into that of Saron, ships of larger size had to sail all round the peninsula of Morea The confusion in Idrīsī between the promontary of Malea and Tainaron is not peculiar in mediaeval works Idrīsī's statements are not based to any extent on his own observations (cf *Geographie d'Edrisi*, transl by A Jaubert, ii , 1840, p 122 and also Th I uc Fc Tafel, *De provinciis regni byzantini liber secundus Europa*, Tubingen 1845, p 27 *sqq*)

We get much and varied information supplementing the Arab geographer's account of the Morea from various xiith century sources, e g the *Travels* of Benjamin of Tudela (d 1173) who starting from Saragossa visited the Greek east and other lands in order to become acquainted with the Jewish diaspora

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the resulting division of the Byzantine empire, which had now collapsed, had a great influence on the future of the Morea Boniface of Montferrat in 1204 founded the kingdom of Thessalonica in Macedonia which he took in exchange for Asia Minor allotted to him by treaty By a comparatively slight effort he and his followers were able from Thessalonica to conquer within a year a great part of the mainland of Greece as well as the Morea Two knights, William of Champlitte, Count of Champagne, and Godfrey of Villehardouin the younger, may be regarded as the men who brought the Morea under Frankish rule When William of Champlitte had to leave the Morea in 1209, Godfrey of Villehardouin continued the work of conquest alone and organised the Frankish administration of the country which was henceforth known as the principality of Achaia to Europeans Soon after the Frankish occupation of the country, it was reorganised on western lines But the feudal system did not find

its way into the Morea only after 1204 It had already existed in the country in the time of the Comneni

The Frankish rulers built new citadels and forts in the plains and on the mountains, most of which survived into the period of Turkish rule A number of fiefs which were formed by the Franks in 1205 became after the middle of the xvth century hereditary possessions of the Ottomans

It must also be pointed out that the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade had secured important trading centres and depots on the Morea The Republic in this way acquired the province of Lacedaemonia, Kalabryta, Modon and Patras, and in the case of the last two seaports, some of the surrounding country including the possessions of a number of distinguished families of the Byzantine aristocracy During this period, Venice succeeded in extending her territory and commercial influence and privileges further in the Morea and even in taking possession of the whole of it (cf below) The fourth prince of Achaia (Morea), William of Villehardouin (1245—1278), the second son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, had vigorously completed the conquest of the country In 1245 he forced Monembasia, which had so far remained independent in alliance with the Greek kings of Nicaea, to capitulate under certain conditions The same ruler also conquered a number of Morean tribes who had shown themselves hostile to Frankish rule and who played a prominent part in later times when the Turks occupied the country To keep in check the wild tribes of Zaconia and Laconia, William II of Villehardouin in 1249 built near the ancient Sparta, on a hill jutting out in front of the Taygetos, Mysithra (Mystra), the fortress of the same name A Frankish Byzantine town soon grew up around this fortress which became a centre of art and classical studies The town of Mystra was destined to be the capital of the later despots of the Morea, and even in the period of Turkish rule it did not completely lose its old importance Frankish rule in the Morea, which reached its zenith under William II, was destined to suffer a severe reverse within his reign In October 1259 a fierce battle was fought between Castoria and Monastiri (Pelagonia) at Longos Vorilla In this battle fought the armies of the Despot of Epirus Michael Angelos and of the king of Nicaea and later Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos As a result of treachery on the part of an illegitimate son of the despot Michael Angelos, the Sebastokrator Johannes, the troops and allies of the former suffered a reverse Even William II of Villehardouin sought safety in flight only to be shortly afterwards enticed from his hiding-place and captured He was not released till 1262, after taking the oath of vassalage to the Byzantine emperor and ceding him four important fortresses of the Morea Mystra, Maina, Geraki and Monembasia, as well as a considerable part of Laconia The Byzantines thus gained important bases in S E Morea from which they were able to reconquer the whole peninsula, which was all the more necessary as William II of Villehardouin only kept his pledge of fealty for a short time

Relations between the Muslim peoples and the Morea now became closer At the end of 1262 the Sebastokrator Constantine, a step-brother of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos, landed in the Morea at the head of a large army which consisted mainly of Macedonians and Turks This step-brother of the Emperor came to the Morea as administrator of the Byzantine lands there and occupied all the citadels which William of Villehardouin had been forced to cede in order to secure his release The Byzantine governor took up his residence in Mystra Soon afterwards open war broke out between the Franks and Byzantines To strengthen the latter there landed at Monembasia in the spring of 1263 a new Turkish army corps of 5,000 (according to others 3,000) mercenaries in the service of Michael VIII Palaeologos, led by two men named Malik and Shalik We have no accurate record of the origin and descent of these Turkish chiefs who, so far as we know, were the first to appear in the Morea They must have been either Saldjūks or Turks of other descent who had no shame about selling their services to Christian rulers The Turkish mercenaries under Malik and Shalik contributed greatly to the successes which the Sebastokrator Constantine gained over the Franks at the beginning of 1263 Along with Greeks, mainly from Zaconia and other provinces of the east, Slavs from the Morea, Dasmuls (of Greek-Frankish descent), the Turkish mercenaries attacked from Laconia Flis, which was the capital of the Frankish principality The bands of Malik and Shalik then pressed into the highlands of Skorta Here they ravaged at their will With the approval of the Sebastokrator Constantine, they plundered the country, carried off and slaughtered the cattle In these circumstances the Skortinians were forced to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor and to operate with his army against the Franks Constantine's army, composed of so many different racial stocks, occupied the market town of Veligosti (near Megalopolis) and burned it, without however being able to take its citadel, they then conquered Kalabryta and burned the famous Latin monastery of Isova But soon afterwards they suffered a terrible defeat not far from Olympia

In the spring of the year following (1264), the Sebastokrator Constantine continued the war on the Franks He had no success and also quarrelled with his Turkish allies, whose pay was six months in arrears Malik and Shalik at once left him with their men for this reason and retreated undisturbed to the district of Karytaina Constantine tried to win them over again but they went to William of Villehardouin who accepted their assistance There upon Malik and Shalik with their followers went over to the camp of the, as they thought, generous Frankish leader in the conviction that the latter would keep his word By the accession to the Franks of this Turkish force, the tide was turned in their favour The Turkish chiefs who were inspired by an ardent desire to avenge themselves in battle on their false employers, now advised William II of Villehardouin's knights to meet the imperial Byzantine army on the frontiers of Messenia and Arcadia While the Frankish-Turkish army was going through the pass of Makryplagi (between Megalopolis and Kalamata, i e the line of the modern railway), they were attacked by an ambush of the Byzantine army, whose leader was no longer the Sebastokrator Constantine but the strategos Alexius Phylis, Makrenos and Alexius Kabellarius Twice the vanguard of the Frankish-Turkish force led by Anselm de Toucy had to give way before the numerous Byzantines who occupied the heights of the pass of Makryplagi, but finally they won the

hotly contested summit of the pass, from which they ousted the enemy The Turks under Malik and Shalik followed up and completed the victory The leaders of the army so disastrously defeated sought refuge in the neighbouring caves of Gaidiki where they were besieged by the Turks The latter took the caves and led their occupants prisoners to William II of Villehardouin The latter thereupon ordered the Turks to raid and plunder the districts of Morea previously occupied by the Byzantines, notably the districts of Zaconia, Helos, Vatika and Monembasia

After the battle in the Makryplagi pass came the news that Skortinians had again taken up arms against the Franks and stormed the fortress of Buchelet (Araklovon) and Karytaina As the valiant Godfrey Brunères, Baron of Karytaina, who had always been able to keep the turbulent Skortinians in check, was no longer in the Morea, William II of Villehardouin ordered the Turkish leader Malik and his men to go to Skorta to put down the rising Terrified by the ravages and cruelties of the Turkish mercenaries, the surviving Skortinians submitted to the Prince of the Morea and begged for mercy which was granted them

The *Chronicle of the Morea*, which has survived in four languages (Greek, French, Catalan and Italian), is the only source which tells us of the activities of the Turkish mercenaries in the Morea (1262—1265) The same *Chronicle* adds that the Turks in 1265 sought permission to leave the Morea and to be allowed to return to their Asiatic home Malik took his leave in the friendliest fashion from the Prince of the Morea and began his journey home The *Chronicle* however specially mentions that individual Turks preferred to settle in the Morea They were baptised and married morean women About the first half of the xivth century, there were still descendants of Malik's followers there, baptised Turks settled in Elis It is natural to think that the modern villages in N W Morea of Maliki (Demos Vuprasion) and Turkochori (= "village of the Turks", Demos Tritaias) owe their names to the Turkish settlers in the time of William II of Villehardouin This prince gave two of Malik's followers who remained in the Morea the rank of knighthood and even granted them fiefs According to the Catalan version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Malik himself married a noble Frankish lady, a widow, through the intermediary of William II of Villehardouin It is a historical fact that Turkish-Moreote relations date from the second half of the xiiith century After the death of William II in 1278 we find a reference to estates which this prince had given to his Turkish allies and which were occupied about 1280 by the soldiers of Galerano d'Ivry, who acted for a time as governor of the Morea for Charles of Naples and Sicily Charles I and his immediate successors in rule over the Morea had not infrequently Turkish warriors in their service From the beginning of the xivth century it not infrequently happened that Muhammadan pirates from Asia Minor raided and plundered the coastlands of the Morea Sometimes they had allies of the Christian faith, notably Catalans

About the middle of the xivth century, an important change took place in the administration of the Byzantine possessions in the Morea The Emperor Johannes Kantakuzenos in 1349 created an appanage for his second son out of these lands which he called the despotate of Mystra and which lasted till the Ottoman conquest (1349—1380) In this period fell the rule of the first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos the second son of the Emperor He assisted the Franks of the Morea to ward off the Turkish attacks, which had reduced the once flourishing Corinth and the country round to such misery that the Corinthians in 1358 were forced to send an urgent appeal for assistance to their sovereign, the titular Emperor of Constantinople and prince of Achaia, Robert II The latter gave a ready ear to their appeal On April 23, 1358, he gave the Florentine Grand Seneschal Niccolo Acciajoli and his descendants the extensive district of Corinth as a hereditary barony The princely family of the Acciajoli survived in the Morea and on the mainland of Greece for two centuries, during which they had much to do with Muslim peoples A series of circumstances, including the irruptions of the Turks as early as the middle of the xivth century and the advance of the Ottomans, whose strength was steadily increasing, brought numerous Albanians to Greece The first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos, had them settled in various deserted regions where they became distinguished as warriors, agriculturists and as huntsmen Thus we find them in Arcadia and Laconia where they seem to have come in large numbers Later another 10,000 Albanian families were peacefully settled by another despot of Mystra, namely Theodoros I Palaeologos (1384—1407), son of the Byzantine Emperor John V According to reliable sources, these 10,000 families left Thessaly and Acarnania with their cattle and goods and chattels on account of the Turkish raids and for other reasons and reached the isthmus There they pitched their camp and sent messengers to Theodore I with the request that they might be allowed to settle in his Morean territory Theodore I acceded to their request and allowed them to spread over a considerable portion of the Morea The story of G Bosio (*Dell' istoria della Sacra Religione et illustrissima Militia di S. Gio Gerosolimitano*, vol II, Rome 1594 p 126–129) to the effect that the Turks had occupied Patras by 1378 and conquered the Morea shortly before must be relegated to the realm of fable About this time, there were again great changes in the Morea The Company of Navarre, which in 1380 had entered the service of the titular Emperor Jacob de Baux of Constantinople and prince of Achaia and were seeking their fortune on Greek soil, became after the death of the Emperor in Tarso in 1383 absolute masters of a great part of the Morea In 1386 the Company made Captain Pierre de St Exupery (Bordo of S Superan) their leader The latter was able to extend his power and influence in the Morea by inciting the Turks and also the Greek archons against Theodore I During the period 1396–1402 he even bore the title of hereditary prince of Achaia (which was given him instead of money by king Ladislaus of Naples) Sometime before, a vigorous and enterprising Florentine, Nerio I Acciajoli (Sept 29, 1394), had been playing an important part on the mainland of Greece This man, a nephew of the Niccolo I Acciajoli, already mentioned, had acquired considerable territory in the Morea, partly by inheritance and partly by purchase

Shortly before his death he attained the height of his glory when he was appointed by king

Ladislaus of Naples as hereditary Duke of Athens and the lands belonging to it In 1389 the Venetians occupied the important fortress of Nauplion and set about the conquest of Argos The despot of Mystra, Theodoros I Palaeologos, the son-in-law of Nerio I Acciajoli, at his father-in law's instigation anticipated the Venetians and occupied Argos As a result, hostilities broke out among the Christian states, which could end only to the advantage of the Turks The despot of Mystra replied to the demands of Venice to give up Argos by saying he could only do so with the Sultān's approval Later the Venetians joined up with the Navarrese Through treachery Bordo of S Superan succeeded in taking Nerio I Acciajoli prisoner on Sept 10, 1389 The latter remained for nearly a year in the hands of the leader of the Navarrese but in the end obtained his freedom

An epoch making event was the great battle on the field of the blackbird (June 15, 1389) at Pristina, which decided Turkish rule for centuries in the Balkans A Turkish army appeared in the Morea at the end of 1392 under Ewrenos Beg in order to aid, at their request, the Navarrese against the despot of Mystra The Turks thereupon occupied a number of strongholds in the peninsula Nerio I Acciajoli, who had been appointed governor of the Morea, now pledged himself to pay tribute to Sultān Bāyazīd and to be his vassal After the death of Nerio I Acciajoli, a fatal quarrel broke out between his sons-in-law Theodore I of Mystra and Charles Tocco, during which the Turks won important successes on the mainland of Greece The fear of the danger from the Turks probably induced Charles Tocco and Theodore I to make up their quarrel After long negotiations with the Greek national party in Athens, who hated the Latins, Turkish forces under the Pasha Timurtash entered Attica from Thessaly At the end of 1394 or in the first seven weeks of 1395, the Venetians occupied Athens including the Acropolis, after driving back the Turkish besiegers Theodoros prepared to advance against the Turks on the isthmus The latter, however, defeated on Sept 28, 1396 at Nicopolis the flower of the chivalry of Hungary, Germany, and France and thus laid the foundations for their dominion over the lands below the Danube Bāyazīd thereupon decided to attack the remnants of the Byzantine empire as well as the little principalities of the mainland of Greece He therefore sent his generals Yaʿkūb, Pasha of Rumelia, and the already mentioned Ewrenos Beg with an army of 50,000 men to cross the isthmus again Yaʿkūb occupied Argos, Ewrenos Beg at the same time fell upon the Venetian possessions in Messenia The prince of Achaia, Bordo of S Superan, and Theodoros I of Mystra found themselves forced as a result of the Turkish successes to pay tribute to the Porte Laden with incalculable booty the armies of Yaʿḳūb Pasha and Ewrenos Beg returned across the isthmus and in 1397 even occupied Athens for a brief period In addition to Greek sources, Turkish writers record that the "city of the wise", as Athens is frequently called in Muslim works, was taken by Sultān Bāyazīd's men (cf J H Mordtmann, in *Byzant-Neugriech Jahrb*, IV [1923], 346 *sqq*) As a result of his troubles, especially the Turkish raids, Theodoros I of Mystra became utterly tired of his position He therefore resolved to sell his towns and citadels to the knights of St John of Rhodes, who after negotiations readily purchased Corinth, Kalabryta and Mystra in the years 1400—1402 But they could not establish themselves permanently in the Morea, for the Greek national party in the country, especially in Mystra, rebelled against the sale, which the Sultān, the suzerain of Theodoros of Mystra, also declined to recognise Theodoros therefore cancelled the sale and compensated the knights partly in money and partly by ceding the county of Salona and the barony of Zituni Theodoros I had been able to take these lands from the Ottomans after their defeat at Angora in 1402

Sultān Sulaimān I (1403—1411) abandoned any claim to suzerainty over the Morea At this time the influence and power of the Venetian colonies in the Morea were increasing In 1407 the Venetians occupied Lepanto In the following year, they seized Patras and the country round it and from these two strongholds which lay opposite one another, the so called little Dardanelles, they were able to keep in check the Turkish pirates who made the Gulf of Corinth unsafe At an earlier date, the Albanian family of Spata had settled in Lepanto and had occasionally made common cause with the Turks Patras at this time was ruled by the archbishop Stephan Zaccaria in name of the Pope As he suffered a great deal from the Turks, he pledged the town and the country round it with the Venetians The latter also occupied the seaport of Astros in Zaconia They restored the fortifications of Nauplia and other strongholds in their possession The Republic of St Mark in 1406 and 1411 concluded treaties with Sultān Sulaimān I, by virtue of which they secured their colonies in the Morea and the East generally But in the reign of Murād II (1421—1451) danger again threatened from the Turks The Venetians were however able to take the necessary measures for the defence of their possessions in the Morea In the districts of Nauplia and Argos as well as in their flourishing Messenian colonies they settled numerous Albanians who loved fighting In Corinth and Attica also the Albanians were welcomed by the Acciajoli The Albanian element was therefore very strongly represented in the Morea in the first half of the xvth century, later they spread to the islands around the Morea In the wars of the Greeks and Venetians against the Ottomans, the Albanians frequently distinguished themselves, on the other hand, their morals left much to be desired To this day we still can find descendants of these Albanian colonists in the Morea and in the adjoining territories

After the battle of Angora, at the time when Frankish power in the Morea was declining, the Byzantines vigorously resumed their efforts to reconquer the whole peninsula Theodoros I of Mystra had previously wanted, with Venetian support, to erect on the isthmus a great bulwark against the Turks which would make access to the Morea impossible for them Manuel II Palaeologos again took up Theodoros's plan and began to put it into execution with vigour Not far from Corinth on the isthmus, which was usually called "Hexamilion" in the middle ages, he built a wall 24 stadia long from sea to sea with castles at each end and in the middle and no less than 153 strong towers[1] besides deep ditches The building material was taken from older walls and defences In the course of 25 days (April 8—May 3, 1415), i e at a most rapid rate, the great wall was completed which, like the

isthmus itself, was called "Hexamilion", the greatest hopes were built upon it, but they soon proved deceitful The Turks usually called the wall *Gez-mehissar* In 1416, Manuel II left the Morea after reimposing his suzerainty upon the prince of Achaia Centurione II Zaccaria and humbling several Greek and Albanian archons, some of whom he carried off with him to Constantinople

The peaceful relations which had existed between the Byzantines and the Ottomans under Sulaimān I and Bāyazīd suddenly ceased when Murād II ascended the throne In 1423 he ordered the celebrated Pasha Turakhān to clear up the small states With an army of 25,000 men, which was joined by the Duke of Attica Antonio I as the Sultān's vassal, Turakhān set out from Thessaly to obey his master's orders The celebrated Hexamilion wall proved an insufficient bulwark against the onslaught of the Janissaries Turakhān had the most of it destroyed and advanced into the Morea The despot Theodoros II of Mystra could scarcely have checked the Ottoman flood which swept into his land, plundering and murdering Mystra, Lontari, Gardiki (on the Makryplagi pass) and other Byzantine and Latin towns fell into Turakhān's hands But he suffered one serious reverse The Moreotes caught a portion of his army in the pass of Ionsari, where they were victorious and took much booty or, to be more accurate, recaptured their own property In the Arcadian town of Tavia (the modern Dawia, on the road from Tripolitza to Wytina), the Albanians assembled and chose one of themselves as their leader and decided to attack Turakhān on his way back from the south In the battle that followed, the Albanians did not stand their ground but fled Turakhān pursued them and slew many besides taking some 800 prisoners These he put to death and, according to the Turkish practice, built towers of their skulls Heavily laden with plunder, Turakhān returned soon afterwards across the isthmus to Thessaly He had however in 1423 not yet completed Murād's order to subdue the Christian states of the Morea

Soon after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, Manuel II Palaeologos besought Murād II for peace and concluded a treaty with him, by which the despot of Mystra was to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 hyperpyra to the Sultān and further to declare his readiness to give up the Hexamilion wall Venice, whose colonies in the Morea had suffered much from Turakhān's raid in 1423 and were continually troubled by Muslim pirates, recommended all the Christian powers interested to form a united front This appeal for unity, however, fell on deaf ears The various Christian rulers of the Morea quarrelled among themselves in spite of the critical times and even took up arms against one another The Albanian inhabitants followed their own inclinations entirely and even began separatist movements of a political nature

It is remarkable that the Greek political consciousness was strengthened in the Morea in this period of political confusion Mystra became the centre of a kind of renaissance and a centre of learning and study of classical antiquity In this period there appeared in the Morea a great scholar who was a philosopher of the Platonic school and also a fervent patriot of radical tendencies in social and political reforms He was Georgios Gemistos or as he called himself "Plethon" His teaching was of a mystical nature It was directed against Christianity, indeed against every positive religion His followers who are said to have been numerous, formed a secret society Plethon (d between Feb 1449 and July 1450) had also lived in Brussa where he had as a teacher a Jew named Elissaios, who rejected Christianity, Judaism and Islām as the positive religions In the reign of Sultān Bāyazīd, he was burned at the stake as a heretic about 1390 It is supposed that the teaching of Plethon and the secret society thus formed was suggested by a similar school of thought in old Turkey, that of the "akhis" (cf Fr Taeschner, in *Isl*, xviii [1929], 236—243, *Islamica*, iv [1929], 1 *sqq*, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*, viii [1929—1930], 100—113 and Nikos A Bees, *ibid*, vii [1928—1929], 237) Plethon's works were disseminated not only in the Christian west and Greek east but also among the Turks The MS Enderum 1896 in the library of the Top Kapu Serai contains an Arabic translation of a fragment of Plethon's chief work *Nomo* This translation is said to have been made by order of Sultān Mehmed II and is anonymous (cf Ahmad Zekī Pasha, *Sur une Traduction de Yemistos [Plethon]*, in *Bull de l'Inst d'Egypte*)

The son and successor of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II, Johannes Palaeologos (1425—1448), concluded a treaty with Murād II The Turkish danger now threatened the Morea more seriously than ever Since Nov 1427 the despot Constantine Palaeologos had been ruling there Alongside of this vigorous, enterprising and self-sacrificing ruler (afterwards Byzantine emperor), we find at this time also his brothers Thomas and Demetrius as princes in the Morea They had less ability and strength of character and facilitated the conquest of the peninsula by the Turks The three brothers, especially Constantine, succeeded in bringing the whole Morea except the Venetian colonies under Greek rule, but there was no unity among them In 1429—1430 Constantine took Patras, which at this time was held by the archbishop and clerical prince Pandolf Malatesta as a vassal of Murād II The Sultān protested but Constantine was able to dispose of the claims of the Sultān and his advisers by a skilful ambassador This envoy was Georgios Phrantzes, whose chronicle is an exceedingly important source for Greek and Turkish history in the xvth century In 1431 Turakhān again reached the northern frontier of the Morea to destroy the Hexamilion wall a second time, for it had been restored by the Palaeologos The first care of Constantine who now ruled over the greater part of the Morea and cherished ambitious plans, had been to restore the defences of the isthmus His aim was to unite the Morea with the mainland of Greece and if possible to found a Greek national state In the west a new league had been formed against the Turks by Pope Eugenius IV, Venice and Hungary At the same time the rising of the Albanians under Skandarbeg roused a strong feeling against the Turks and encouraged the Christians Constantine Palaeologos who at the request of the Pope, Venice and Hungary had joined their league against the Ottomans in 1444, crossed the isthmus with a well equipped army to invade the mainland of Greece He had considerable success He forced the Duke of Athens Nerio II Acciajoli, who was a vassal of the Sultān, to recognise his suzerainty and to pay an annual tribute He occupied many towns (including Thebes, Livadia, Zituni and Lidoriki) and encouraged the Christians of the Pindus to take up arms against

the Turks of the Thessalian plain An Albanian clan settled in Phthiotis, whose autonomy had been recognised by the Sultān, joined the victorious Palaeologos The latter also occupied the little town of Witrinitza (on the Gulf of Corinth) which the Turks had ceded to the Venetians He installed a chief of the Pindus Wallachians who lived in Panar (at the foot of the Ithome mountains)

The battle of Barna (Nov 10, 1444) brought a change in the Balkans which was fateful also for the Morea The Turks reinforced once again turned their attention to the south Nerio II Acciajoli of Athens found favour with Murād II after most humbly promising to be his vassal and to pay the usual tribute In order to save their colonies in the Morea, the Venetians also made a treaty of peace with the Turks soon after the battle of Barna It thus came about that the Palaeologoi were left to face the Turkish onslaught quite isolated, a danger which they apparently did not clearly realise After Nerio II Acciajoli had again recognised Turkish suzerainty, Constantine Palaeologos with a large force invaded Attica and besieged Athens The consequence was that Nerio II Acciajoli turned for assistance to Murād II The latter demanded that Constantine should evacuate not only Attica but also all the Turkish territory which Constantine had seized in the course of 1444 on the mainland of Greece and in southern Thessaly Constantine replied to Murād II through his ambassadors that he would keep the lands he had won Murād II was furious at this manly attitude of Constantine II Incited by Nerio II and Turakhān, the Sultān resolved on a campaign into the Morea By his command powerful Turkish forces were assembled in 1446 at Serres in Macedonia from Europe and Asia Constantine Palaeologos and his brother Thomas also raised a very large army for that time which was assembled on the isthmus In the winter of 1446, Sultān Murād II led his army from Macedonia to the isthmus, without meeting opposition He encamped at Mingiae (the modern Μυίγες) and began to get his artillery and other arms ready On his able picked staff was the experienced old Turakhān who, as already mentioned, had been twice in the Morea and therefore knew the country and the people According to the historian Chalcocondyles (ed Darké, II 114), Sultān Murād's camp on the isthmus was the best organised that had ever been known A bloody battle developed for the gateway to the Morea The Turks with their artillery bombarded the Hexamilion wall for days A Serbian Janissary succeeded in leaping over the wall under the eyes of the Sultān and others followed him The defenders so far as they were not killed by the Janissaries took to flight in a panic The wall was thus in the hands of the Turks, who entered the Morea either through the gates or through the breaches their guns had made In the *Chronicle* of Georgios Phrantzes the date of the capture of the Hexamilion wall, the "last bulwark of liberty in Greece", is given as Dec 10, 1446 The *Chronicum breve* of Joannicinus Cartanus gives Dec 14, 1446, a date which has been accepted as correct by most modern historians

The brothers Constantine and Thomas endeavoured to collect the scattered and flying troops, but in vain The brothers therefore fled into the interior of the Morea Sulṭān Murād II ordered Turakhān to pursue the Palaeologoi with 1,000 men and he himself with his army marched along the south coast of the Gulf of Corinth towards Patras He burned the lower town, laid waste the country as far as Clarentza and then turned eastwards to Corinth In the meanwhile Turakhān had returned from his pursuit of the Palaeologoi with much booty and many prisoners The Palaeologoi now began to negotiate for peace with the Sultān They declared themselves ready to cede the lands in Greece proper and in Thessaly which they had acquired in 1444 and to pay an annual tribute On these conditions the Sultān left them in possession of their lands in the Morea The Emperor John VIII Palaeologos died on Oct 3, 1448, and on Jan 6, 1449 his brother Constantine, the despot of the Morea, was solemnly hailed as Byzantine Emperor in the Metropolitan church in Mystra Of course he ascended the throne with the permission of Murād II, whose tributary he was An event of importance in the history of the world soon afterwards took place on the Bosporus On May 29, 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the valiant Constantine died defending the city and thus the line of Byzantine emperors came to an end When his brothers Thomas and Demetrius heard of the fall of Constantinople they sent envoys to Muhammad II asking to be allowed to retain their lands in the Morea, on payment of the usual tribute After many humiliations, their request was granted them The remainder of the period of Palaeologoi rule was a brief one and their authority only nominal In 1453 30,000 Albanians in the Morea rebelled against the Palaeologoi In July 1454 Venice sent Vettore Capello to the Morea, to settle certain business of the republic and at the same time to make peace between the Palaeologoi and the Albanians But their effort failed In the meantime Muhammad II had ordered Turakhān's second son ʿOmar to intervene in the Morea on behalf of the Palaeologoi (end of 1453) He succeeded in putting down the Albanians The Palaeologoi were now able to enjoy their lands as vassals of the Sultān For a few years they paid their tribute regularly, then they refused it with various excuses At the same time they endeavoured to form alliances with western rulers against the Turks, a thing to which the Sultān could not remain indifferent

The rule of the Palaeologoi was gradually approaching its end The west scarcely troubled itself about the brothers of the last Byzantine emperor, who were not united and yet had to gather their last forces against the Turks When a fleet belonging to the Pope Callixtus III appeared in the Aegean, Thomas Palaeologos took courage and announced his refusal of tribute to Muhammad II Already the latter had received no tribute from the Palaeologoi for the past three years in spite of repeated warnings He therefore thought it was time to settle matters himself in the Morea and to teach his rebellious vassals a lesson In the middle of May 1458, Muhammad II came to the Morea with a large army, laid siege to Tarsus, a village in two parts N W of Nemea and N E of the Lake of Pheneos, and forced it to capitulate The citadel of Rupeli in Arcadia, to which many Greeks had fled with their women and children, surrendered after two days' stubborn defence Muhammad II turned from Arcadia to N W Morea Patras, the headquarters of Thomas Palaeologos, was abandoned

by its citizens The garrison left in its citadel did not dare to offer resistance The Sultān treated the town of Patras very generously By July 1458 Muhammad II had reached Corinth after taking Bostitza (Aegion) on the way On Aug 6, 1458, its commanders left the citadel to negotiate its surrender with the Sultān The loss of Corinth to the Turks seriously alarmed the Palaeologoi The negotiations for peace, which were now begun, were conducted by Mathaios Asanis The Sultān then made peace with the despots of Morea but the price was a high one In the beginning of the autumn of 1458, Muhammad II left the Morea to return to the north via Athens, which shortly before had passed into his hands The sources do not agree regarding his activity in the Morea in this year As a rule, Muhammad's campaign in the Morea in 1458 is regarded, by modern historians also, as one of destruction It is true, he was generous to the people of Patras and left the Corinthians unharmed after taking their city He carried off however a large number of Christians to Constantinople and its neighbourhood These settled there as artisans and peasants and formed the productive element in the capital of the Ottoman empire

In the year 1458 Muhammad II for administrative purposes combined his possessions in the Morea with Thessaly and placed the newly constituted province under the governorship of Turakhān's son ʿOmar The Sultān had hardly left the country when the Palaeologoi again began to stir up trouble Muhammad therefore deprived ʿOmar of his office in Thessaly and the Morea and decided to go in person to the Morea again in order to be done with the Palaeologoi once and for all and make the whole peninsula a Turkish province Demetrius Palaeologos was not the man who could defend and save Mystra He did shut himself up in the citadel with the intention of defending it, but very soon surrendered it to the Turks Demetrius after many adventures died as the monk Dorotheos in Adrianople in 1470 (cf Th Spandugino, *I Commentari di de l'Origine de' principi Turchi*, Florence 1551, p 43 *sq*) After disposing of Demetrius, the Sultān turned his attention to his brother Thomas After the Turks had occupied Mystra he had not dared to do anything to defend his lands He was rather seeking to leave a way open to escape from the Morea, if necessary One town after the other fell almost without resistance into the hands of the Ottomans Thomas Palaeologos embarked with his family at Porto Longo (at Navarino) for Corfu, which he reached on July 28, 1460 but went on 3 months later to Rome where he died on May 12, 1465 After the disappearance of his chief opponents, Muhammad II continued his victorious march from Messenia to Northern Morea He left the Morea towards the end of summer 1460 The plan which he had decided on when he entered the Morea, was practically carried through Except for a few places, the peninsula was now Turkish territory Zaganos Pasha was installed as governor of the Morea by the Sultān and entrusted with the reorganisation of the peninsula, which had become much depopulated and was a great deal poorer economically In 1458 and again in 1460 Muhammad II combined the Morea with Thessaly for administrative purposes This union was later dissolved As early as the xvth century we already find the Morea a sandjak by itself with 109 ziamets and 342 timar Down to about 1570, the residence of the governor was by turns in Corinth, Londari or Mystra, then in Nauplion and in 1786—1821 in Tropolitza (cf below) The division of the country under Turkish rule, usual from the middle of the xviith century, into 22 or 25 provinces or beyliks is partly suggested by nature and partly a survival of the older Byzantine organisation

There is no doubt that the Turks introduced their own feudal system after their occupation of the Morea The Turkish-Muslim element in the country was thus able to expand Even during the first period of Turkish rule (1458—1687), other factors contributed to this, like the immigration into the Morea of Muslims from other parts of the Ottoman empire, the conversion of Christian Moreotes to Islām, the carrying off of Christian women into Turkish harems, etc While in the north of the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, countless Christians had adopted Islām either voluntarily or under compulsion, the Christian element in the Morea at the time of the Turkish conquest was morally strong enough to remain in the mass faithful to the Christian religion Comparatively few Moreotes became Muslims, and these were principally Albanians, who always adopted Islām more readily (cf thereon C Jirelek, *Studien zur Geschichte und Geographie Albaniens im Mittelalter*, Budapest 1916) As in Asia Minor, Bosnia, Crete etc, so in the Morea also members of the nobility and middle classes, especially those of Frankish origin, had adopted Islām in order to retain possession of their estates There were also in the Morea crypto-Christians, as well as people whose Islām was very superficial These were usually called *murdat* (impure) in the Morea These superficial Muslims, who continued to retain much that related to Christian worship, lived mainly in what is now the province of Olympia and were almost all exterminated during the Greek War of Liberation (cf the articles by Photios Chrysanthopoulos-Photakos in the Athens periodical Εβδομάς, vol II, 1886, p 1) The Barduniots were also for the most part superficially Muslims As to the survival of the Greek Moreote element, there are theories current in modern literature which can hardly be right It is said for example that Sultān Muhammad II's ordinance regulating the relations of the Christian subjects to the Ottoman empire benefitted also the Christian Moreotes But it is wrong to credit Muhammad II with any such ordinance (cf Fr Giese, in *Isl*, XIX, 1931, p 264 *sqq*) It is however a historical fact that the Greek Orthodox Church contributed a great deal to maintain the Christian element in the Morea as in the East generally The Christian clergy of the Morea were frequently able to maintain a privileged attitude towards the Turkish officials and thus to further the interests of their co-religionists The Christian Moreotes were also often cleverly able to avoid having their children taken by the Turks for the Janissaries The Christians of the Morea held this, the "blood tax", to be the greatest degradation they suffered under the Turkish yoke and a dreadful disgrace to their race After the death of Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent (1566), the lot of the Christian Moreotes gradually became worse Ownerless lands were confiscated by the Sultān and given to his soldiers or allotted to the mosques as *wakfs* or given to private individuals as gifts During the

long period of Turkish rule in the Morea, the largest and best part of the land was in Turkish hands As a rule, Christians were not allowed to own large estates The peasants had to pay over annually the fifth of the produce of the land and pay all kinds of annual taxes, were never sure of their property nor even of their wives and children, and suffered unspeakably in every way from arbitrary Turkish rule

In view of the abuses of the Turkish authorities, the Christian Moreote preferred to abandon the fertile regions and retire to barren lands and into the mountains, where he could breathe more freely and more easily escape the despotism of his rulers and shape his course of life a little more pleasantly We thus find that within the period 1460—1821 the mountains of the Morea were predominantly inhabited by Christians Of the factors which contributed to the survival of Greek culture in the Morea during Turkish rule special stress must be laid on the political concessions which were made to them by the Ottomans These lay mainly in the freedom to govern their own communities Greek local government, as we find it during Turkish rule, is said to have been a continuation of old Greek institutions In the period from 1715 to 1821, if not earlier, the freedom of the Greek community was not infrequently limited by the Turkish authorities They interfered indirectly in the appointment of local officials and made propaganda for their favourites It even happened that the Kodjabashis, through the influence of the Turks, were not only appointed for a number of years, but were also able to hand down their offices to children and grandchildren Undoubtedly, those Moreotes were better off who lived in towns or villages which were allotted to the sacred places of Islām or to members of the Ottoman imperial family The town of Dimitzana in Gortynia for example was originally a *wakf* of Mecca under the protection of the Sultan's mother

The peace between their Turkish rulers and Christians could only be external In the Morea also there were the so-called "Klefts" who would not submit to the existing government and took up arms against it Against them the Turks used the Armatoli force, a gendarmerie of Christians organised on military lines In the period from 1715–1821 the Turks for the security of the country built watchhouses (*derbent*) in which a garrison was stationed to watch those who passed, especially at the passes The Derbenekia (*kučuk derbent*) between Corinth and Argos and the Derbenia of Lontari, the passes between Arcadia and Messenia (Makriplagi, cf above) were all very important The Mainotes in their wild mountains felt little of the Turkish yoke which weighed heavily on the rest of the Morea The Mainote tribes who were distinguished for their valour, were from 1460 to 1821 in constant rebellion against every foreign power The Porte found itself forced to recognise officially the independence of Maina, in return for which the Mainotes were to pay tribute, but did not always do so Although the Christians in the Morea were exempt from military service, the warlike spirit which they had so often displayed in the Frankish period continued to survive An eloquent testimony to their love of freedom was the fact that they continually took up arms against their Turkish oppressors, sometimes alone, sometimes with allies

For a long period after the year 1460, when Sultān Muhammad II had made the greater part of the Morea a province of his empire, this land became the scene of desperate fighting between Turks and Venetians, in which the latter had the majority of the Christian population on their side The great champion of the Christians, Skanderbeg [q v], the leader of the Venetian mercenaries, died in 1468 Two years later, Turkish rule over Euboea was firmly established and they could record further successes in the Morea

In the spring of 1499 a new war between Venice and Turkey broke out On Aug 29–30, 1499, Lepanto had to surrender to the Turks In 1500 Sultān Bāyazīd II ordered Yaʿkub Pasha to blockade Modon with his fleet, while he himself set out by land from Constantinople with a well-equipped army for the Morea On Aug 9, 1500 (according to Hādjdjī Khalīfa on 14th Muharram 916), Modon [q v] fell after a long siege in the presence of the Sultān Bāyazid II turned the cathedrals at Modon and Koron into mosques and offered up thanks in them and gave these towns to Mecca as *wakf*s He then paid attention to the defences of the newly acquired towns and to the repopulation of Modon In 1502–1503 Venice concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey in which she surrendered her Messenian colonies and also Maina, which had in the meanwhile been taken by a son of Krokondilos Kladas in name of the Republic In 1532 the Morea became the scene of notable battles The emperor Charles V had decided to intervene in the Morea A considerable fleet assembled in Messina in June 1532 The Pope and the Knights of St John, the Genoese and the Sicilians also showed a readiness to join in the expedition, the leader of which was the Genoese Andreas Doria (Turkish Andrevinius) After repeated and costly attacks, the allies succeeded in taking a considerable part of the lower town of Koron The Turks who had retired into the citadel of Koron were forced to capitulate From Koron Andreas Doria turned his attention to Patras, which also capitulated He then returned with rich booty Sulaimān I, who was now on the throne, gave the sandjak of the Morea to Muhammad Beg, a son of Yahyā Pasha and commissioned him to reconquer the fortresses taken by Andreas Doria Sulaimān I declared war on Venice in 1537 Kāsim Pasha, the sandjak-beg of the Morea, was commissioned to conquer the Venetian colonies in the Morea Nūr al-Dīn Barbarossa had inflicted several defeats on Venice in her colonies, and she had besides every reason to complain of her allies, the Pope Paul III and the Emperor Charles V In the summer of 1540 Venice made peace with Sulaimān I in order to save what was left of her possessions The majority of the Venetian colonies in the East, including Nauplion and Monembasia, was the price paid The Turks endeavoured to populate once more their new possessions in the Morea About 1550, there were about 42,000 Christian families in the whole Morea We know nothing definite of the Muslim population at this time It may be assumed however that, then as later, Muslims were in a minority Even when Ottoman power was at its height, the oppressed Moreotes, always desirous of liberty, rose against their oppressors In the xviiith century the lot of the Christians in the Morea is said to have been unbearable Two Turkish sources of the xviiith century are of considerable importance for the history of the Morea These are the "Survey of

the World" (*Ḏjihān-numā*) of Hādjdjī Khalīfa (d Oct 1657) and the Travels (*Siyāhet-nāme*) of Ewliyā Celebī, who visited the Morea in 1668 and 1670 There is no fuller work on the Morea than the latter among Muslim sources Ewliyā Čelebī's narrative was based on personal observation and enquiry and is distinguished by a vividness of description and to some extent by a tendency to exaggerate In the treatment of the Morea, given in his vol viii, it is hardly possible to trace his literary sources What he tells us about Muslim buildings and religious orders is of importance, and his account of the Christians is also of value He naturally takes the Ottoman point of view (cf Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāhat-nāmesi*, vol viii, Stambul 1928, Fr Babinger, *G O W*, p 219 *sqq*, Fr Taeschner, in *Isl*, vol xviii, 1928, p 299 *sqq*) When Ewliyā Čelebī visited the Morea, various Muslim orders and corporations had settled there They included *futuwwa* brotherhoods, dervish orders, some of which were anti-Islāmic, and Shīʿī Bektashīye The existence of such brotherhoods, which were widely disseminated in the Greek east from the xvth century, can be proved for the Morea as late as 1828 (cf F W Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vols i—ii, Oxford 1929)

At the end of 1683 another coalition against the Porte was formed by Venice, Poland, Germany, Russia and the Pope Francesco Morosini was appointed by his government to begin operations against the Turks as speedily as possible He was given command of the allied naval forces After 42 days of fighting by land and sea, Koron was stormed by Morosini In the period from the late summer of 1685 to July 1686 Morosini, Count Otto Wilhelm von Konigsmark and Hannibal von Degenfeld took from the Turks Old and New Navarino, Kalamata, Modon, Zarnata, Passava, Celefa and Vitilo as well as other fortified places in southern Morea The Serʿasker Ismāʿīl Pasha was defeated in several battles and had to retire to the interior of the Morea Hasan Pāshā, who was in Maina, negotiated with Morosini and surrendered voluntarily The Turkish garrisons of many towns, on the other hand, offered a desperate resistance It cost the Venetians and their allies much time and heavy sacrifices to take Nauplion The capture of the latter contributed a great deal to increase their confidence By the end of 1687 Morea up to Monembasia was Venetian Continual Turkish raids, however, continued to disturb the security of the peninsula By the peace of Carlowitz (Jan 26, 1699), the Porte had to cede the Morea to Venice The seas of the Morea and of the mainland of Greece were now open to Turkey as well as to Venice For the last period of Venetian rule in the Morea (1669—1715 or 1718), the reader may be referred to L Ranke, *Zur venetianischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1878, p 277—361 The services of Venice to the peninsula in the period 1688—1714 must not be underestimated, especially as she had found it at a very low level

The occupation of the Morea by the Venetians now attracted the attention of western scholars to the celebrated peninsula The Turkish empire, which had been able to profit a good deal by the troubles in Europe at the beginning of the xviiith century, resolved at the end of 1714 to reconquer the Morea Many Greeks felt that the Venetians had not respected their rights in religious and family matters, were hostile to their own government and even wanted the Turks back again (cf De la Montray, *Voyage*, vol i, p 462) Except for a few larger towns which offered a resistance, the land was easily taken by the Turks and so the Morea once again became Turkish The history of this conquest was written by several contemporary writers

The peace of Passarowitz (June 10, 1718) ceded Morea finally to the Turks We are most fully informed about their rule from 1718 to 1821 The extant sources, especially in Greek, enable us to study the period to the smallest detail After 1715 many Christians again adopted Islām A census taken in 1720 gave 60,000 male Christians of 11 years of age and over The Muhammadan inhabitants are said to have been in the minority at this time On the other hand, the Turkish element increased in the period 1769—1780 while the number of Christians diminished considerably, as did the total number of the population From 1715 to ca 1780 the Morea was governed by a Pasha, the Moriowalesi, who had three *tughs* and the title of *wazīr*, his period of office was indefinite He was usually assisted by two other Pashas, who were under him and were granted two *tughs* A change was made in 1780 From this date to 1821 the government of the Morea was no longer given to a particular Pasha but to a simple *muhaṣṣil* of the Porte, who was however given the title of Pashā The higher offices were held by a *mukabeledjī*, a *defterkehaya* and a Christian dragoman Under the official system of administrative divisions, the Morea was divided into 22 districts In this period Christian local autonomy gained more strength After the many disappointments they had suffered from the western powers, the Moreotes now looked to Russia to liberate them from the Turkish yoke From the time of Peter the Great the bonds between Greeks and Russians had been growing stronger In the middle of the xviiith century, Russian propaganda increased very much among the Orthodox of the Balkans Under Catherine II, the Russians easily succeeded, with the help of Greek agents, in stirring up Greek notables and clergy in the Morea to rebel against the Turks Among these the most distinguished was the influential and wealthy Panayotis Mpenakis of Kalamata This secret propaganda did not escape the Turks By 1767—1768 the Christians were preparing for rebellion On Oct 15, 1768, Turkey declared war on Russia Russian fleets, whose equipment left much to be desired, appeared in the Mediterranean On Feb 17, 1770, Theodoros Orloff landed at Vitylo and received a warm welcome from the Mainotes, but as the ships had neither sufficient men, guns or munitions, the first enthusiasm of the Greeks soon died down On July 21, 1774, a treaty of peace was concluded at Kučük Kainardji between Russia and Turkey Full religious liberty and other concessions were granted to the Christian subjects of the Turks About three months later, the Porte granted a general amnesty to the Christians of the Morea and resolved to clear the land of Albanian bandits After 1770 the Porte had confiscated a number of Christian estates in the Morea and granted them to mosques and ʿimārets By the treaties of Küčük Kainardji and Kainali Kanak (10th March 1779), the Turks now promised to return these or to compensate their owners, but the promises were not kept Nevertheless, the Moreote

Christians benefited considerably by the treaties between Russia and Turkey, this was not however the case with the treaties later concluded (June 10, 1783 and Dec 29, 1791) The right given the Christians of the Morea to trade under the Russian flag contributed to their economic expansion in the period 1775—1821 Intellectual relations between western Europe and the Greeks of the Morea became closer and closer after 1790 A new generation grew up among the Greeks of the Morea and other provinces Since the peace of Paris of 1815, the Moreotes and other Greeks had become convinced that only their own efforts could relieve them of the Turkish yoke Careful preparations were made in anticipation of the right moment In the spring of 1821 open rebellion broke out among the Greeks of the Morea, when the Turkish governor Khurshīd Pāshā was besieging the rebel ʿAlī Pāshā at Yanina Soon after the beginning of the rising, in which a prominent part was played by Theodoros Kolokotronis of a famous Kleft family, the Moreotes were masters of the lowlands and even occupied several strongholds At the end of 1824 however, the Porte commissioned Ibrāhīm Pāshā, the adopted son of Mehmed ʿAlī of Egypt, to put down the Greek rising Ibrāhīm Pāshā landed his forces in Messenia He was able to restore Turkish rule over most of the Morea, but he failed to put down the Greek rebellion In the meanwhile, philhellenism had made progress in Europe and America, and it thus came about that the cabinets of Europe began to take an interest in the question of Greek freedom On July 6, 1827, England, France and Russia concluded a treaty in London, by which the Morea and other parts of the Greek mainland were to form an independent principality but to pay tribute to the Porte The Turks insisted on their point of view and declined the intercession of the great powers as regards the rebel Greeks On Oct 20, 1827, the combined fleets of the above mentioned powers destroyed the Turko Egyptian fleet at Navarin On Jan 18, 1828, Johannes Kapodistrias came to Nauplion, having been elected President of the Greek Free State by the National Assembly at Troezene On Aug 6, 1828, England concluded a treaty with Mehmed ʿAlī of Egypt for the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian troops French troops, led by General N J Maison, soon afterwards landed in Messenia by order of Charles X to drive the Turko Egyptian troops out of the Morea In the autumn of 1828 Ibrāhīm Pāshā withdrew to Egypt after turning the Morea into a heap of ruins during his $3^1/_2$ years in the Peninsula After long diplomatic negotiations, much quarrelling among the great powers and disagreement between the Moreotes and the other Greeks, Prince Otto, the second son of the philhellene Ludwig of Bavaria, landed at Nauplion on Feb 6, 1833 as the first king of Greece Henceforth the Morea formed a part of the kingdom of Greece During the rising of 1821—1827 and later, many Moreote Muslims adopted Christianity To this day, many buildings and inscriptions and especially place names recall the days when the Morea was under the Crescent

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(Nikos A Bees) [Βέης]

MORISCOS, (Moriscoes), the name given in Spain to the Muslims who remained in the country after the capture of Granada by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, on Jan 2, 1492 and the dethronement of the last ruler of the Nasrid dynasty

It is mainly from Spanish sources that we learn the history of the Morescoes down to their final expulsion from Spain Arabic texts relating to them are very rare the only record at all detailed is that of the Maghribī al-Makkarī, a contemporary of the exodus of the Morescoes, in his *Nafh al-Ṭīb*

In proportion as the Spanish "reconquest" proceeded, groups of Muslims gradually increasing in

number found themselves under Christian rule These Muslims for the most part remained attached to their religion and the largest bodies of them were in Aragon and the district of Valencia, they kept up relations with their co-religionists of the kingdom of Granada But the latter were suddenly placed in the same position with the fall of the capital of the Nasrid kingdom The treaty for the capitulation of Granada contained, it is true, a large number of clauses safeguarding the liberty and property of Muslims, granting freedom for their beliefs and for the practice of the Muslim religion But these clauses were not long respected and very soon attempts were made to convert the people of Granada under the stimulus of the Cardinal de Cisneros and the Archbishop Hernando of Talavera Cisneros in particular began his work in 1499 he tried persuasion at first, then he tried to withdraw from circulation by burning them as many Arabic books as possible dealing with different branches of Muslim learning His efforts did produce a few voluntary converts, but also caused a rising which began in Granada itself in the Albaicin quarter (*al Baiyāzīn*) and soon spread throughout the hilly country of Alpujarras (*al-Bushārāt*, q v) between the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and the Mediterranean, and spread to the towns of Almeria, Baza and Guadix and the Serranía of Ronda The result was in 1501 the promulgation of a law which gave Muslims a choice between leaving Spain and adopting Christianity It does not seem however to have been strictly applied and the Morescoes of the kingdom of Granada, retiring to the mountains, enjoyed practical independence for over half a century

But this first edict brought about the conversion of the majority of the Muslims of Castille As to the Morescoes of Aragon, in spite of a few restrictions on their status they were not much disturbed and orders were given to this effect to the Inquisition Nevertheless in the early years of the XVIth century we find the Muslims of Albarracín, Teruel and Manises being converted en masse The reaction became stronger, encouraged by Joan the Foolish, then by Charles I In 1526 the Moriescoes of Valencia received their order of expulsion The situation remained somewhat confused down to 1556, a date at which a series of vexatious measures were decided upon in Madrid and began to be applied against the Morescoes who still remained in Spain the use of the Arabic language was forbidden them, it was in any case losing ground daily, even among the communities which remained Muslim, they were also ordered to abandon their worship, their costume and to modify their manner of life This time the Morescoes of Granada and Alpujarras did not hesitate to rebel openly The rising once again started in the Albaicin of Granada in 1568 and spread to the mountains, it was at first led by an individual named Ibn Umaiya, the Abenhumaiya of the Spanish chroniclers and afterwards by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbō (Abenaboo) It took costly expeditions to put down this movement, and the war lasted for several years, conducted successively by the Marquis of Mondéjar and Don John of Austria

The final decree of expulsion was not issued by Philip II although he had the intention of doing so in 1582 It was Philip III who signed it in 1609 and in this and the following years, a large number of Morescoes — estimated at half a million — had to cross the sea without hope of returning Islām was definitely uprooted from Iberian soil

According to the Arab authors, the great exodus at the beginning of the XVIIth century was a most cruel hardship for the Morescoes A large number died on their enforced journey Many went to France, from which they tried to reach Muslim lands A few colonies of Muslims from Spain settled in Egypt and Constantinople But the majority went direct from Spanish ports to North Africa, their nearest refuge, where they were known as *Andalus* and where they were not always welcomed, at least in Morocco, with open arms The principal settlements were those at Salé and Rabāt on the one hand and Tetwān on the other, where their descendants still form the most prosperous and most industrious section of the population The *Andalus* of the seaports of the Atlantic coast of Morocco soon began to devote themselves to piracy the celebrated Moroccan corsairs were almost all Morescoes, who had retained the use of the Spanish language On the other hand, the Moroccan Sultāns organised corps of picked troops from the *Andalus* and they played a prominent part under the Saʿdians, especially in the conquest of the Sūdān There was also very soon a large colony of Morescoes in Fās In Algeria, a number settled in the towns of Tlemcen, Oran and Algiers At Tunis they were well received by the Dey ʿUthmān they settled together in two quarters which took their name (cf TUNIS, IV , p 886) Those who had not been town-dwellers settled in little villages which soon became prosperous and still have a characteristic Spanish look Such are the villages of Solimān, Grombālia, Djedeida, Zaghwan, Teburba, Testur and Galʿet el Andles (*Kalʿat al-Andalus*)

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MOROCCO, a country and Muslim state of northern Africa The name (Spanish *Marruecos*, French *Maroc*) is a corruption of Marrākush, the largest town in southern Morocco [see the article MARRĀKUSH]

1 Geography

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary, it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Aḳsā of the Arab geographers [see the article MAGHRIB] Lying between 5° and 15° W longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 square kilometres On the North it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the West by the Atlantic and on the South by the Sahara On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side, for a length of 80 miles, from the mouth of the Wādī Kīs to Thenyet al-Ṣāsī

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa it is chiefly oriented to the West It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary, it is nevertheless a continental country The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population, the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances The geological structure is somewhat complicated Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains The chains are two in number, the Rīf and the Atlas The Rīf is the continuation from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar of the Baetican Cordillera [cf RĪF] The Atlas chain forms the backbone of Morocco It breaks into the High Atlas oriented West-North-East, linked by the volcanic massif of Ṣirwā to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the South-West to the North-East, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rīf, from which it is separated by the corridor of Tāzā [see the article ATLAS] From these different chains stretch plateaux Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded, others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Wādī Tensīft to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebū, the corridor of Tāzā, the plain of the lower Muluya) The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Hawz of Marrākush) and disappears in the heart of the middle Atlas

Climate The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil) This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country, the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer, only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest (5°7 at Mogador and 10° at Rabat) In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity Brought by the West and S-W winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from North to South (Tangier 32 inches, Casablanca 16 inches) It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer The interior is not so well served The rains diminish in quantity from West to East The mountain massifs always form an exception They condense the moisture in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the summer Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rīf The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Zaʿīr and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Maʿmūra) The thuya and the arganier (a tree peculiar to the S-W of Morocco) are already more disseminated Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state But, as the rain-fall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of Western Morocco and practically the whole of Eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *hammāda* [see ṢAHARĀ]', although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation

Hydrography The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa Wādīs (weds) are here more numerous, their courses are longer and their volume larger A number of them even deserve the name of rivers The waters flow in three different

directions towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important They can be divided into three groups those of the North (Lūkkos and Sebū), those of the centre (Bū Ragrag and Umm al-Rabīʿ), and those of the South (Tensift and Sūs) The Lūkkos drains the districts of the Gharb, the Sebū, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zarhūn, and the southern slope of the Rīf On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely It is even navigable in its lower course The Bū Ragrag and the Umm al-Rabīʿ run for a part of their course through the Central Plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta" The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation The Tensīft, to the North of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the South, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of Northern Africa The watercourses of the Sahara (Wād Gīr, Wād Zīz, Wād Darʿa) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand The Darʿa alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course [see the article DARʿA] As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods The Muluya alone forms an exception It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population We may distinguish six such regions Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebū, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara

Northern Morocco Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rīf properly so-called which are to the North-West continued in the "domes" of the Djebāla as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the South East and the West form the transition into the adjoining countries The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds The Rīf, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without Arab influence has scarcely grazed it The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultāns as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the Rīfans find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their resources They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes Towns are represented only by Shafsāwān and Wazzān, religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla Towards the South-East, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Muluya The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salwān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life Towards the West the low-lying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the North to the South between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Kasr al-Kabīr [q v] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Tarache [see the articles TĪTTĀWĪN, CEUTA, TANGIER, al-ʿARĀʾISH]

The valley of the Sebū The valley of the Sebū lies between the Rīf, the Middle Atlas, Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value The Sebū links up the whole of it Through its tributary the Innāwan, the valley of which leads to the pass of Tāzā, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy The mountain masses there (Zerhūn, Zālagh, mountains of Gerwān) offer no inseparable obstacles to communication The high plains of Sāʾis and Meknes are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shrārda and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebū The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebū and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains, fruit trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains, the *merdja*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebū, in its lower course are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebū a centre of intensive settlement The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there All types of habitation are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry) The country villages, douars of "nuwālas" in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing Mawlāi Idrīs is the sacred city of Morocco, Sefrū on the borders of the plain of Sāʾis and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers Fās and Meknes are among the great cities of Morocco

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco It has resisted all the usual

causes of decline From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebū has been bitterly contested Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco Their political significance and role in history cor responds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value

Central Morocco Between the valley of the Sebū, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta It includes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian paenoplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Hawz The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkāla, Shāwīya) to a width of 50 miles To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity The *tīrs* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bū Ragrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable The land of the Dukkāla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Azemmūr, Safi, Mogador [q v], benefit by the richness of the hinterland The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebū opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences

The interior is much more broken The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000–2 500 feet The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Za'īr and Zayān, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Rahāmna These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabī' overlook on the west side the lowlying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the S E to the plain of Tādlā This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tādlā and the Hawz of Marrākush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djbīlāt in the north and the hills of the Shiyādma in the west The economic value of this inner region is very unequal On the mountains of the north the rains and streams support forests and the natives devote themselves to cattle-rearing The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation is barely possible The Tādlā is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains The plain of the Hawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger An ingenious system of irrigation has transformed the country round Marrākush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population (100 to the square kilometre) Comparatively large towns (Amīsmīz, Demnāt, Tāmaslūhet) and especially Marrakush [q v] have been enabled to rise and prosper Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebū, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross The Zayān, the Za'īr, the Zemmūr, over whom the authority of the Makhzen has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fās and Marrākush These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms

The region of the Atlas In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebū and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sūs and the Wādī Dar'a Moister and colder, the Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas Both however are great watersheds From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebū, Gīgū, Umm Rabī', Wādī 'l 'Abīd), from the High Atlas the Tasā'ut and the Tensift The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor The high mountains offer little to support mankind Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*dīr*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Hāha, Shiyādma) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wādis or scattered along the valleys There is nothing approaching a town in size These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berāber in the Middle Atlas and Shluh in the High Atlas) The customs and institutions peculiar to this people [cf BERBERS] have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa In particular their political organisation is still most rudimentary municipal republics administered by a *djamā'a* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the

central power, the authority of the Makhzen over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas they have retained to the present day almost complete independence Even the most vigorous sultāns have never succeeded in forcing them into obedience for any length of time

Eastern Morocco Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the Central Maghrib of which it has the distinctive characteristics In it, as in Oranie, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet The upper valley of the Muluya separates them from the Middle Atlas The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *gūr*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the shott [q v] Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep The valley of the Muluya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Benī Snāssen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awlād Mansūr, on the coast, of the Trifa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end) The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character, only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well watered soil lends itself to cultivation The nomads come here to procure grain But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary Udjda [q v] which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a march for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains Down to the French occupation the country was left to anarchy and disorder

The Moroccan Sahara The Moroccan Sahara is the N W corner of the Sahara There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [cf SAHARĀ²] Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man In the plain of Sūs [q v] shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow The Darʿa, Zīz and Gīr are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of Tāfilālt [q v] The richness — only relative it is true — of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*hammāda*) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux, others are permanently settled on the Sūs, in the high valleys and in the oases Sūs contains numerous villages and even towns (Āgādīr, Tiznīt, Tārūdānt), the oases have a settled population in the *ḳṣūr* Those of Tāfilālt, Tamgrūt, Bū Dnib and Figīg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tāfilālt where considerable groups of Arab *shorfā* have been long established in the midst of Berber populations But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tāfilālt, the people of this region have frequently escaped Sharīfan authority

Begun in the last years of the xixth century, methodically pursued since the French occupation, the scientific exploration of Morocco is not yet completed From the results so far attained one thing is clear the lack of uniformity in the country Thus its geography may explain to some extent the historical development of the country

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II History

Morocco before Islām Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [q v]

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the xiiith century B C of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones In the middle of the fifth century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebū Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania or Marusia, extending along both banks of the Muluya

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A D The region to the east of the Muluya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania The lands stretching from the Muluya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco On the Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Bū Ragrag, and in the interior to the massif of the Zarhūn The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rif, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome It was the same with the Sahara The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A D advanced as far as the wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of ten thousand men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle Sala, Zarhūn, Tingis With the exception of Volubilis, the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, methodically excavated in recent years, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast They were Lixus and Tingis raised to the rank of "*coloniae*", and Ceuta They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the fifth century Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A D conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent The Byzantines, who in the sixth century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghomāra on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāta [q v] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebū, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Masmūda, on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebū to the Sūs, the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Dar'a, the Lamta and Lamtūna on the left bank of the Dar'a These Berbers were all of Sanhādja stock, some professed Christianity or Judaism but the majority still followed the old nature worship The Arab conquest brought them a new religion Islām

The Introduction of Islām The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of the viith century A D Tradition relates that Sidi 'Okba, the founder of Kairawān, in 684—685 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b Nusair [q v] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrikiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the natives He succeeded without much trouble Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islām and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain They were not long, however, in

rising against the Arabs Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 740 on the call of the porter Maisāra [q v] The rebellion was both religious and political in character With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islām, the Berbers adopted Khārid̲jī doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their equalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebū (742) and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy Berber principalities were organised in the Rīf [see SIDJILMĀSA], in the west, the Barg̲hawāta [q v] recognised the authority of a certain Sālih, founder of a rival religion to Islām, who had composed a Kur'ān, that is a sacred book, in Berber None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule

It looked for a time as if the Idrīsid dynasty [q v] were to play this part Idrīs I and his successor Idrīs II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemsen Ardent champions of Islām, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islām is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their ʿAlid origin, they fought the Khārid̲jīs with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idrīs I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idrīs II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [q v] which he had founded The building of this city had enduring results It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrīsid power

The Idrīsids indeed rapidly declined The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya and the Umaiyads of Spain, who during the tenth century A D disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib With the assistance of the Miknāsa, the Umaiyads in the end remained masters of the country They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [q v], whose chief Zīrī b ʿAtīya, abandoning the cause of the Umaiyads, seized Fās where his descendants ruled for three quarters of a century

The Almoravids and the Almohads The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came [cf ALMORAVIDS] After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, then established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b Tashfīn founded Marrākush [q v] in 1062, these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them Fās, Tangier, the Rīf, Oran and Ténès fell before them The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāta and Banū Ifren disappeared In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b Tashfīn became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain Summoned by the Muslim emīrs who were threatened by the king of Castille, Yūsuf b Tashfīn checked the Christian advance at Zallāka (1086), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant In contact with Andalusian civilization, the Saharans rapidly became decadent The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed, they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*mud̲jassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Masmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the leadership of Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al Mu'min entered into the struggle against the Almoravids

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see ALMOHADS and ʿABD AL MU'MIN] In seven years (1139—1146 A D) ʿAbd al-Mu'min conquered all Morocco, Sid̲jilmāsa, Oran, Tlemsen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands Next came the turn of Sale, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands Even in Africa, the Hammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545—546 (1151—1152) A few years later (554—555 = 1159—1160) a new expedition led ʿAbd al-Mu'min into Ifrīkiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily who had occupied it some time before Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilization, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself Further it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element the Arab ʿAbd al-Mu'min, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the Central Maghrib and Ifrīkiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign to one another to last long united The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides In the first half of the XIIIth century A D, the Almohad empire broke up Ifrīkiya and the Central Maghrib recovered their independence, local dynasties set up in Tunis (Hafsids) and Tlemsen (ʿAbd al Wādids) The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of ʿAbd al-Mu'min who were replaced by the Merīnids [q v]

The Merīnids Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Muluya, the Banū Merīn had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco After the death of the caliph al-Saʿīd, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yahyā (1243—1258) seized Fās, Meknes, Rabat and Sidjilmāsa The capture of Marrākush (1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yahyā, marked the final triumph of the Merīnids Heirs of the Almohads, the first Merīnids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the ʿAbd al-Wādids They were successful when Tlemsen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultān Abu 'l-Hasan (1337 A D) Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure At the end of barely a year, Abu 'l-Hasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrīkiya, the Hafsids returned to Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādids to Tlemsen, while the sultān's own son Abū ʿInān rose against him in Morocco Attaining to power, Abū ʿInān renewed his father's efforts He re occupied Tlemsen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (1360 A D) The Hafsids and ʿAbd al Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life The Merinid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Merinids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islām in the Maghrib The cult of Mawlāi Idrīs in the XIVth and particularly the XVth century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Merinid period The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib The university of al Karawiyīn attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world Fās, which the Merinids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and madrasas It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive Merīnid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere The accession of each sultān was an occasion for outbreaks The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either among the Arabs or the Berbers Powerless in the interior, the sultāns were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the Central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks The Merinids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 1465, after the assassination of the sultān by an Idrīsid sharīf The Banū Wattās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 1470, had themselves a wretched existence Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rīf, the Gharb and in Darʿa and Sūs The sultāns were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islām Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib In 1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 1465 al Kasr al-Saghīr, in 1471 Tangiers They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Asīlā and Anfā (Casablanca, q v) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast In the early years of the XVIth century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agādīr) and Mazagan [q v] and took by force of arms Safi and Azemmūr [q v] Holding all places of importance except Larache [see AL-ʿARĀ'ISH] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawiya, Hāha, Dukkāla), forced the natives to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their douars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also The latter completed the *reconquista* by the taking of Granada (1492) Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabīr (1507) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemsen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment This renaissance of Islām in the XVth and XVIth centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrīsid period The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Sūfī teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods in which the adepts of these doctrines were organized It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers The *bahlūl* or the charlatan, who had always been an object of public consideration, became readily identified with the shaikh, the possessor of the *baraka* Co-operating with one another, these pious individuals became the religious leaders of the people of Morocco They strengthened orthodoxy, excited the zeal of the faithful, preached the holy war, and led the defenders of the faith into battle The ascendancy

which they exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their zāwiyas, made them independent of the sultān They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islām owing to lack of energy and also of means The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature, it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Sa'dian shorfā took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit

The Sharīfian dynasties A The Sa'dians [q v] The Sa'dian shorfā benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants, real or presumed, of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet Coming from Arabia at the end of the XIVth century and settling in the valley of the wādī Dar'a, while another branch of the family settled at Tāfilālt (Hasanī or 'Alid shorfā), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz In 1511, the sharif of Tāgmādāret, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Ahmad al-A'radj and Muhammad al-Mahdī, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the Umm al Rabī' The intervention of the Merīnid sultān in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall being hastened Muhammad al-Mahdī took Fās in 1550, the foiling of an attempt to restore the Merīnids in 1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Sa'dians

The coming of the Sa'dians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco Muhammad al-Mahdī and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Kasr al-Kabīr in 1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese Ahmad al-Mansūr (1578—1610) occupied Timbuktu [q v] and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao For half a century the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sūdān, from the banks of the Senegal as far as Bornū The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultān to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākush with magnificent monuments

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the makhzen [q v] The early Sa'dians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south To these al Mansūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemsen and Udjda driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest These *shrāga*, as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the makhzen provided the sultān with the means of preserving order and levying taxes, it was thus the essential instrument of sharīfian government and tended to become the government itself

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis The Sa'dians very soon found this out The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Mansūr broke out again on his death The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another One of them, Zaidān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire Larache was occupied by the Spaniards, Fās cast off sharīfian authority The Andalus of Rabat and Salé [q v], enriched by their piracy, formed an independent republic Finally the Sa'dians, although they had owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al Mahdī and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the sharīfian authority Sūs was in the control of one of them, Sīdī 'Alī, Tāfilālt was under the Hasanī shorfā, the Gharb under al-'Aiyāshī, leader of the "volunteers of the faith" In the centre, the power of the marabout of Dilā' (a zāwiya on the upper course of the Wādī 'l-'Abīd) increased Muhammad al-Hādjdj, their leader, victorious over the Sa'dians and over al-'Aiyāshī, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Muluya Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Sa'dians now held only Mairākush and its immediate environs The last representative of the dynasty died in 1660, assassinated by the shaikh of the tribe of Shabbānāt

B The Hasanī Shorfā The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Hasanī Shorfā The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in Tāfilālt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco One of them, Mawlāi Muhammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the Dilā'is His successor Mawlāi al-Rashīd (1660–1672) was more successful He took Fās, disposed of Ghailān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the Gharb, destroyed the zāwiya of Dilā', reconquered Marrākush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the sharīfian empire Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them They therefore sought to attract to their side the sharīfian families They heaped favours on the shorfā of Wazzān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers

The work begun by Mawlāi al-Rashīd was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismā'īl (1672–1729) During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākush and Sūs with him While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will To the makhzen formed by the Shrāga and Ūdāya he added a body of black slaves, the 'Abīd al-Bukhārī (Būākher), the property

of the sultān, their children were specially trained for military service The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men The sultān was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Muluya Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in kasbas built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication The notables whom the sultān had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances forced their tribesmen to live in peace The *bilād al-makhzen*, i e the country where tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlāi Ismāʿīl to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast He recaptured al Mahdiya, Larache, Asīlā, and Tangier, evacuated by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ḳṣūr* of southern Oran The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Muluya continued to be the boundary of the sharīfian empire In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlāi Ismāʿīl is nevertheless the great figure of the Hasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultāns have set themselves to the present day Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i e an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign The processes of administration were in no way altered, the sharīf enforced obedience by drastic executions, he squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknes [q v], the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the natives and of Christian slaves

On the death of Mawlāi Ismāʿīl, a reaction set in For thirty years his sons fought with one another The real masters of the situation were the ʿAbīd who made and unmade sultāns as they pleased One of them, Mawlāi ʿAbd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the ʿAbīd, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin The authority of the sharifs emerged much weakened from it

Mawlāi Muhammad (1757—1792) succeeded, however, in restoring it Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismāʿīl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of Mogador [q v] in 1764 Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration It also remained in a perpetual turmoil Under Mawlāi Yazīd (1792—1794) the country was once more handed over to anarchy Mawlāi Slīmān (Sulaimān) (1794—1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the middle Atlas, in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels This rebelliousness caused the sultān much misgiving, he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans His successors followed his example Down to the end of the xix^th^ century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Merinids and Saʿdians and even in the early days of the Hasanī sharīfs In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultāns had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāi Slimān and had no more success than he in overcoming them

For half a century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing The regions remote from the centre, Rīf, Tāfīlālt, Figīg, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the makhzen In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrākush, forcing the sultāns when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat The empire broke up more and more Mawlāi al-Hasan (1873—1894) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse His reign resembled that of Mawlāi Ismāʿīl At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down kasbas He re-established order in the region of Udjda, forced the people of Sūs to recognise his ḳāʾids, reduced to obedience the Zaʿīr and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the makhzen country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuāt But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again

Morocco and the Christian powers The situation was the more critical that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultāns had not been able to break every link with Europe They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the „presidios" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria [q v] The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the sharīfs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco ʿAbd al-Kādir [q v] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the makhzen This hostile

attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844 The sharīfian army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded The moderation of France alone enabled the makhzen to come fairly well out of this unfortunate escapade Henceforth the relations between France and Morocco remained peaceful, although the impotence of the sharīfian government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the B Snāssen campaign (1859) and the wādī Gīr expedition (1870) Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons decided also to resort to arms The campaign of 1859—1860, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco The treaty of Tetwān (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals To pay this debt, the sharīfian government had to raise a loan in London on the security of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners For the first time foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire The breach thus made was continually enlarged The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control European ambitions were not dissimulated In order to protect itself against them, the makhzen tried to play one off against the other and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance Mawlāi al-Hasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Bā Ahmad, who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlāi al-Hasan's successor, displayed no less skill Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait, France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901 —1902, Spain appealed to her "historic rights", Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigrants

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate Such a position could not last The imprudences of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz precipitated the crisis The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *tartīb* disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost Rebellion broke out everywhere A pretender, the *rūgī* Bū Hamāra, rose in the region of Tāzā and routed an army sent against him It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the makhzen against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded France hastened to propose to the sultān a plan for reforming the sharīfian administration The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation On March 31, 1905, William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sultān On the advice of the German representative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib The conference met at Algeciras (Jan 15—April 7, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sultān, the territorial integrity and economic freedom of Morocco It did not, however, settle the Moroccan question The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Udjda and Casablanca in 1907 The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the Shawīya to the great benefit of the natives themselves The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwān and a number of strategic points

During this period war broke out between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his brother Mawlāi ʿAbd al-Hafīz, proclaimed sultān at Marrākush and then at Fās Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algeciras, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of sharīfian territory The Franco Moroccan agreements of March 4, 1910, and the Hispano Moroccan of Nov 19 of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the makhzen should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace within its frontiers This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in Sept 1908 A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of Feb 8, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the denouement The sultān's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors, the exactions of the sharīfian agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fās, Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing, the sultān appealed to the French They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sultān but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sultān and any occupation of new territory Vigorously commanded by General

Moinier, the military operations had the desired effect Fās was relieved on May 21, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Kasr Germany, feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and sent a warship to Agādīr This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of Nov 4, 1911 put an end to the dispute Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultān accepted by the treaty of March 30, 1912 This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultān, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the sharīfian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultān, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion"

The French protectorate now extends over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoys by the agreement of Nov 27, 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military point of view, while Tangier and its environs form an international zone, the status of which is not yet definitely regulated

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the sharīf, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms This could only be attained by a considerable effort The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis The *bilād al-makhzen* was almost non existent France had to conquer Morocco for the sultān The name of Marechal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco, like that of Bugeaud in the history of the conquest of Algeria Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the makhzen, the task was further complicated by events abroad Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fās, Meknes, Marrākush and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Tāzā corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sūs were crushed The War finished, the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Muluya) Three years of difficult fighting (1921—1924) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i e those regions of economic, political or military importance The Rīfan offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved A Rīfan chief, ʿAbd al Karīm, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards and forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fās The resistance of the posts echelonned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities Checked in the autumn, the Rīfan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain At the moment of writing, the conquest may be regarded as completed only a few tribes of the Central Atlas and of the oases of the Sahara have not yet been reached by the French, but their reduction is only a matter of time

The administrative reorganisation has kept pace with the pacification The old machinery has been retained but submitted to a control which guarantees the natives against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the makhzen Technical services have been created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life The remarkable results obtained in all fields have been facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital Morocco seemed condemned to vegetate Now it is being completely transformed A new epoch is beginning, very different from any that have preceded it

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(G YVER)

III POPULATION

a Total population and density It is difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco The attempts made at a census in recent years in the parts subject to the sharīfian makhzen enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country and corroborate for most districts the estimates made by European travellers before the establishment of the French protectorate But the parts of the sharīfian empire still outside the authority of the makhzen and those whose southern boundaries are not exactly known have not been seriously investigated from this point of view, and until they have been scientifically studied it will not be possible to estimate the total population of Morocco to within a few hundred thousands

The total usually given is 5,000,000, of whom a tenth, 500,000, are in the zone of the Spanish protectorate This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Djbāla in the north and the Great Atlas in the south Gharb, Shāwīya, Tādlā, Dukkāla and ʿAbda The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil The population of this region is estimated at two fifths of the total The mountainous regions, Djbāla, Rif, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia, in another mountainous region of North Africa As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the Wādī Gīr, the Wādī Zīz (Tāfilālt) and the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited

b Elements of the population The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see the separate article on them As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII LANGUAGES) The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Djbāla, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber

1 Berbers Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco in the north the Rīfans and the Benī Znāsen, in the centre the Znāga (Sanhādja) and the Brāber (*Barābir*), who form the population of the Middle Atlas, the third group is that of the Shlūh [cf the article SHILLUH] who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sūs In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Djbāla, arabicised Berbers, to the N W of Fās, and the Harātīn (plur of the Arabic *harṭānī*), who seem to be regarded as an intermixture of Berbers and Sūdānese and form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases

2 Arabs The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country Down to the xiiith century A D, the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber, it was the great Almohad ruler ʿAbd al Muʾmin [q v] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilālī Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Ifrīḳiya, these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Merīnid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabicised it Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the

plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups the Banū Hilāl [q v] and the Maʿḳil The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Muluya as well as the lands south of the Atlas The Banū Hilāl occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco

3 Jews There are about 150,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns There are also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas They also form the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Debdū and Demnāt [q v] The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaicised Berbers The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the xvith century The former call themselves *phlishtim* (Palestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrants, who are practically all settled in the towns of the coast and are rapidly becoming europeanised

4 Miscellaneous elements The negroes, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of negroes and Berbers has produced the Haratīn Finally the negroes of the Sūdān, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Saʿdian Sultān Ahmad al-Mansūr [q v]

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times Cordovans banished by al-Hakam I at the beginning of the third century A H after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the "Reconquista"

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (renegades, who had adopted Islām, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sultāns have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople

IV Social and Economic Life

a Country The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled, this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers, there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search of pasture for their flocks, are nomads There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Muluya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Benī Gil, between Bergent and Figīg, on the other side of the Atlas, the Ait Seddrāt, the Ait Djallāl, the Īdā-ū-Blāl, the Ait-ū-Mrībet, lastly to the south of the Darʿa (Dra) country, the Rgiba, the Shkārna and the Awlād Dlīm As to the semi nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Rhāmna and the Shyādma, in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society

Nevertheless Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population

The type of dwelling varies with the district In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled thatch or a flat flat roof In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *nuwwāla* In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area or *ksūr* (sg *kṣar*, from the class *kaṣr*), these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town life The villages are called duar (*duwwār*) in the plains, and *dshar* in the mountains In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling

b Town Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*hadarīya*) These are Fās, Rabat-Sale and Tetwan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the xvth century onwards The population of the non *hadarīya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised This is the case with Udjda and Mazagan (country Beduins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills) Marrākush and Meknes owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharīfian dynasties, both of Beduin origin, they are *makhzanīya* towns in which the standard of civilisation does not reach the refinement of the *ḥaḍarīya* Spanish towns The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially Lastly in the mountains,

little towns like Shefshāwen, Wazzān, Sefrū, Debdū, Demnāt owe their existence to political reasons The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the XVIth century Demnāt and Debdū are mainly Jewish towns As to Sefrū, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Asaïlā), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfā, Azemmūr, Agādīr In the interior, al Kasr al-Kabīr (el Ksar, Spanish spelling Alcazarquivir), Tāzā, Tārūdānt Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e g Nakūr and Bādis on the Mediterranean, Tīt to the south of Mazagan, the two Aghmāt and Ïnmallal to the south of Marrākush and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and Leo Africanus

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *kasaba* (pop *kaṣba*) which is the seat of authority Under the protection of the citadel lies the *mellāh* or Jewish quarter All around spreads the town proper or *mdīna* with its great mosque, markets and *kaisariya* [q v] It is surrounded by a rampart (*sūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character The town itself is divided into quarters (*hauma*) with streets (*zanka*), alleys (*darb*) and squares (*rahba*)

c Economic Life The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who form at least four fifths of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit-trees They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars) The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses In the oases of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land

The rural industries are very primitive They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets The Berbers of Sūs show a certain aptitude at metal working (arms and jewels) Sūs no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Sa'dians

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*sūk*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held It is in the *sūk* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns Cereals are preserved in siloes (*matmūra*), in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified storehouses, which belong to the community and are called *āgādīr*

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated Each trade, which originally formed a gild (*hanṭa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name In it the articles are made and sold The stocks are kept in the fonduks (Ar *fondak*) which correspond to the khān and wakālah of the east Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *rahba* The monopolies of exporting (*sāka*) corn and hides established by the sultāns at the end of the XIXth century have now been abolished Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography* The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fās in the Middle Ages is still very valuable

The Jews, who devote themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), also play an important part as brokers The citizens of Fās, who have a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports

The Berbers of Sūs like to settle in the towns as grocers (*bakkāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country Since the war of 1914—1918 a large number of them have migrated to France as labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns

V Political Organisation

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultān whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-makhzen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-ṣaiba*) As a rule, the makhzen territory included the towns, valleys and plains The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign For further details cf the article MAKHZEN

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*kabila*) Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word, this is the case with the Ghumāra in the north, the Hāha, the Dukkāla, the Shāwīya in the south The tribe is subdivided into sections (*rub'*, *khums*, *fakhdha*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses

The tribes who own the sultān's sway are governed by a *kā'id* appointed by the makhzen His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order He has under his command a *shaikh* for each section under whom are the *mukaddam* of the sub-sections

For the distinction between *makhzen*, *djaish* (vulg *gīsh*) and *nā'iba* tribes see the article MAKHZEN

In the tribes not subject to the makhzen, political activity is confined to the *djamā'a*, i e an assembly of men able to bear arms The *djamā'a* deals with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political It administers justice following local custom (Arabic *'urf*, Berber *izref*) It elects a *shaikh* (Berber *amghār*) who is only an agent to carry out its decisions Alongside of the *djamā'a* of the tribe, there are *djamā'as* of the sections and sub-sections but their powers are limited

All the tribes of the *bilād al-saiba* are divided into opposing factions or *laff* When a tribe of

a certain *laff* is attacked, those neighbouring tribes who belong to the same faction take up arms and come to its assistance

In the towns, the makhzen is represented by a governor whose official title is *kā'id* but in certain large towns he is often called *bāshā* The title of *'āmil* has been sometimes given to the governor of Udjda The *kā'id* of the town, generally speaking, has the same powers as the *kā'id* of the tribe and acts as judge in case of any violation of the law He has an assistant or *khalīfa* Alongside of him, the *muhtasib* supervises the corporations, fixes their average prices and looks after public morals

The *kā'id* has under his orders the *mukaddam* of the quarter and his police (*mkhāznīya*) carrying out his instructions Among the officials sent by the makhzen to each town may also be mentioned the *nādir* or inspector of endowments (*hubūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*wakil al-ghurabā'*, popularly *bū-mwāreth* = *abu 'l-mawārith*), the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amīn al-mustafād*) Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs are collected by officials called *umanā'* (sg *amīn*)

Justice is administered by the *kā'id* or by the *kādī*, as the case may be The latter deals with questions of personal law, official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *'udūl* In technical cases he appeals to experts master masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*mwālin en-nadar*, *arbāb et turka*, *fallāh*, *baitār*) The legal opinions (*fatwā*) given by eminent jurists on the same question being often contradictory, the Sharīfian government has recently created a court of appeal (*madjlis al-isti'nāf*) at Rabat

Landed property takes a number of different forms In the first place, there are the state-domains, they are either managed directly by the makhzen (crown-lands) or they are allotted to *gīsh*-tribes in return for the military service for which they are liable, others of these lands may be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*zahīr* or *tanfīdha*)

The *hubūs* lands may be urban or rural In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *meftāh* and *gzā* (class Ar *djazā'*) In the country, the *hubūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe, they are called common lands (*blād al-djmā'a*)

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkīya*)

The old Muslim imposts (*zakāt* and *'ushr*) have recently been merged into a single tax, the *tertīb* In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maks*), unpopular with the people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*darība*) In addition to these, the main taxes, there is the *hadīya* or present offered to the sultān on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals The *djizya* or poll-tax paid by non Muslims and the *nā'iba* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished

VI Religious Life

a The Berbers before Islām For lack of documents it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco, before their conversion to Islām and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country, that we can guess what the primitive religion was The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship On animistic practices surviving in modern Islām in Morocco see below *d* Islām in Modern Morocco

b Conversion to Islām At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings, but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them The two earliest invasions, that of 'Ukba b Nāfi' in 640 and that of Mūsā b Nusair in 711, could result only in a very partial and superficial islāmisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country Islām, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors, but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdād by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjīs [q v and the article AL-SUFRĪYA] The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islām, with their own prophets and Kur'āns After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maisara [q v], which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawāta recognised as their prophet one of their number, Sālih b Tarīf, who gave them a religion and a Kur'ān in the Berber language This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the xiiith century This Barghawāta movement was the most lasting, we also note that which was created by Hā-Mīm (d 313 A H) among the Ghumāra, near Tetwan

In spite of these reactions, Islām, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawāta and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*mudjassimūn*) Almo-

ravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islām in Morocco Till then, Islām had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islām at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [q v], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads [q v] or "preachers of *tawhīd*" [q v]

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b Anas [q v] which it still follows

c Evolution of Moroccan Islām From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islām rapidly acquired features of its own Islām, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the Christians of the Peninsula The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back Islām in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *djihād*, became an active principle It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful, in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point Sharīfism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islām in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the makhzen

Before the Marīnids, Islām had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted, it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islām to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasa*), the first of these (*Madrasat al Saffārīn*) was founded in 679 (1280) by the Sultān Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary [cf FĀS] The immediate successors of the Marīnids, the Banū Wattās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants — more or less authentic — claimed the title of sharīf and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence The power of the Idrīsid *shorfā* was soon reinforced by that of other shorfā descended from ʿAlī through al-Hasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of sharīfs in Morocco, the Idrīsid and the ʿAlid To the latter belong the two Sharīfan dynasties, the Saʿdian and Fīlālī, the latter still in power From the moment of their accession to the throne, the influence of the shorfā on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant

The phenomenon of sharīfism is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [cf the article ṬARĪKA] Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Hudjdjādj, Māghirīyūn, Amghārīyūn), it is only as a result of al Djazūlī's (q v, d 1645 A D) campaign in favour of a *djihād* against the Portuguese, that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to day, first coming into existence

d Islām in Modern Morocco Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Bnī Znāsen, in eastern Morocco, Bdādwa, in the Gharb, not far from al-Ksar al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnīs and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awzāʿī It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion The Bedouins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims The Djbāla, however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Kurʾānic studies are very much in favour with them, it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [cf SHARṬ] It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village

In spite of the great distance they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo), the importance of these colonies had even induced the Sultān ʿAbd al-Azīz to appoint a Moroccan consul, *amīn al-Maghāriba*, for Egypt

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islām (*ʿīd kabīr* and *ʿīd ṣaghīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mūlūd*, class *mawlid*) and that of ʿĀshūrāʾ (10th Muharram) The *mūlūd*, established in Morocco by the Marinids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet, this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islām a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous Tidjānīya, Darkāwa, Taiyibīya Tuhāma, Kattānīya [q v] etc But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well to do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, in which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanish practices and sanguinary displays Such are the Djilāla, the ʿIsāwa, the Hmādsha, the Dghūghīya Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members ex-

clusively from a particular class of society, thus the *rmā* (class *rumāt*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the Gnāwa, a negro brotherhood All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*walī*)

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islām, which found itself obliged to tolerate it There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *sayyid* whose tomb is marked by a *kubba* (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*hawṭ*) which surrounds their tombs

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*baraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*madjdhūb*), the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc The warrior in the holy war (*djihād, ribāt*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified — hence his name of *murābiṭ* (pop *mrābet* — French and English "marabout") But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *djihād* in their lifetime *Murābiṭ* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco *walī*, *sayyid*, *sālih* But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *baraka* of their ancestor Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram* The names of great saints have *mawlāy* prefixed, the others the title *sidī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lālla*

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated — modest though they are (*makām*, *khalwa*) — was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdād, ʿAbd al Kādir al Gilānī, popularly called al-Djilālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlāy Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, patron of the Djbāla, buried on the Djabal al ʿAlam, Mawlāy Abū Salhām, in the Gharb, Mawlāy Abu 'l Shitā' al-Khammār (Mawlāy Būshshtā), in the north of Fās, Sidī Muhammad b ʿIsā, patron of Meknès and founder of the brotherhood of the ʿIsāwa, Mawlāy Abū Shuʿaib (Būshʿib), at Azemmūr, Mawlāy Abū Ya azzā (Būʿazzā), in the Tādlā, Sidī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al Sabtī (Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbès), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush All these and others less famous are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with later

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs e g those of the Rabbī ʿAmrān in Azjen, near Wazzān and of Rabbī Ben Zmīro at Safi On the other hand, the Jews of Morocco show a special reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*hurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum, among the best known are the *hurm* of Mawlāy Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlay ʿAbd al-Salām b Mashīsh in the mountains of the northwest These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint They are exempt from state taxes, more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultān The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb, this is the *ziyāra* In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mūsem* (class Ar *mawsim*), a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *sayyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guesthouse, is called the *zāwiya* It is superintended by a *mukaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra* The *zāwiya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants They are called *ʿazīb* and the tenants are called *ʿazzāb* These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*hubūs*) from pious private individuals

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *zāwiyas* may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence The latter is however also very important The great Moroccan zāwiyas are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islām in the country Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time shorfā, which further increases their material privileges The descendants of a saint who was not a sharīf try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the shorfā are very numerous in Morocco A Moroccan *zāwiya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry, it is also in the majority of cases a body of shorfā and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood The *zāwiya* itself may have offshoots Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *zāwiya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and sharīfism thus form three special aspects of Islām in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is diffi-

cult to study them separately For a detailed account of the principal families of *shorfā* in Morocco of genuine sharīf origin or simply marabouts see the article SHORFĀ Here we shall only mention the principal ones whose origin is considered authentic by the Moroccan genealogists They are descended from al-Hasan and ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil through the latter's three sons, Idrīs, Muhammad al Nafs al Zakīya and Mūsā al-Djawn The descendants of Idrīs or Idrīsids, are subdivided into Djūtīyūn (Shabihīyūn, ʿImrānīyūn, Tālibīyūn, Ghālibīyūn), Dabbāghiyūn, Kattānīyūn, ʿAlamīyūn (descendants of Mawlāi ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, buried on the Djabal al-ʿAlam, whence their name, and are themselves divided into Shafshāwanīyūn, Raisūnīyūn, Rahmānīyūn and Lihyānīyūn) The descendants of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakīya are the shorfā of Sidjilmāsa or Fīlāla (Filāliyūn, *nisba* from Tāfilālt), i e those of the reigning Sharīfian dynasty, lastly, the descendants of Mūsā al Djawn are the shorfā Kādirīyūn, who take their name from the great saint of Islām ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Gilānī We also find in Morocco, but in small numbers, Husaimid shorfā, also descended from ʿAlī through al-Husain, the brother of al Hasan, these are the shorfā called Sikillīyūn and ʿIrāķīyūn, who came from Andalus The great marabout families are that of the Nāsirīya from Tāmgrūt in Darʿa, the Sharkāwa [q v] in Tādlā, the Darkāwa and Wāzzānīyūn to the northwest of Fās The shorfā Wāzzānīyūn (sharifs of Wezzān), whose chief is also head of the great brotherhood of the Taiyibīya-Tuhāma (cf above), have for long played a considerable part in politics and have been the object of particular attention from the makhzen Even more than the other representatives of the great marabout families, they have in fact rendered great services to the central power by using for its benefit the great moral and political influence which they possess among that part of the population, which is lukewarm or hostile to the makhzen They have mediated in the most successful fashion between the sultān and the unsubjected body of the people

The shorfā are thus at the head of Moroccan society Some have assumed the power, others are the auxiliaries of the ruler, who in return shows them great deference We shall see that they have occupied a very high place in the intellectual life of Morocco since the end of the middle ages Lastly sharifism, an important social factor, has been able still further to strengthen itself by the support which maraboutism has brought it, by incorporating itself in it, and the religious brotherhoods which very frequently spring directly from it

e Survivals of Berber cults The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islām, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns In the large cities like Fās, the great saiyids venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin, these are Sīdi 'l-Mukhfī (Rev the Hidden One), Sīdī Amsa 'l-Khair (Rev Good Evening) or Sīdī Kādī Hādja (the reverend gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salwat al-Anfās* (cf E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, p 383 *infra*) The humble, often anonymous *khalwas*, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islām Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks These cults are now being seriously studied and the results will perhaps enable us to reconstruct without too great risk of error, the type of religion practised by the Berbers before the introduction into their land of the three great monotheistic religions

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāi Yaʿkūb in Morocco, who always has a *kubba* beside thermal springs whose curative virtues are recognised

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islām may be found everywhere in Morocco, they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now beginning to be well known They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islāmic practices Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans, it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change January is *yennāir* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)* The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *hāgūza*, the festival of the summer solstice (*ʿansra*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco, are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islām They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest), rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *baraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers like Biarnay and Westermarck have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islām, thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāi Būshshtā', nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *istiskā'*

It is also in the worship of spirits (*djinnī*, pop *djinn*, plur *djnūn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islāmic stamp associated with quite profane rites This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns

particularly by women The djinns are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islām, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them, they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islām into Morocco

Bibliography For the general bibliography of Morocco down to 1891 cf R L Playfair and R Brown, *A Bibliography of Morocco from the earliest times to the end of 1891*, London 1893 A very complete annual bibliography of Morocco has been given since 1921 in *Hesperis*, publ by the *Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines de Rabat* (bibliography begun by MM P de Cenival and C Funck-Brentano) Cf also the learned and the popular periodicals dealing with Morocco, *Archives Marocaines*, *Archives Berberes*, *Hesperis*, *l'Afrique française*, *France Maroc*, *Bulletin de l'Enseignement public au Maroc*, also the monographs of the *Section Sociologique du Maroc* entitled *Villes et tribus du Maroc* — Here we shall only give in alphabetical order the essential works dealing with sections iii, iv, v and vi, E Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907, H Basset, *Essai sur la litterature des Berberes*, Algiers 1920, do, *Le Culte des Grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920, do and E Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une necropole merinide*, Paris 1923 (iv, legends and cultes), A Bel, *Coup d'œil sur l'Islam en Berberie*, Parts 1920, A Bernard, *Le Maroc*[6], Paris 1921, do and P Moussard, *Arabophones et berberophones au Maroc*, in *Annales de Geographie*, Paris 1924, p 267—282, S Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord africaines*, Paris 1924, J Bourrilly and E Laoust, *Stèles funeraires marocaines*, Paris 1927, R Brunel, *Essai sur la confrerie religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926, L Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigenes à Rabat et Sale*, Paris 1921, Budgett Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, do, *The Moors*, London 1902, do, *Life in Morocco*, London 1905, O Depont and J Coppolani, *Les confreries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1867, E Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islam maghribin*, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, do, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, do, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, do, *En tribu*, Paris 1914, J Drummond Hay, *Le Maroc et ses tribus nomades*, Paris 1844, J Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885, de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc (1883—1884)*, Paris 1888, Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam Fes*, Paris 1905, M Gaudefroy-Demombynes and L Mercier, *Manuel d'arabe marocain*, Paris n d (introduction), J Goulven, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Sale*, Paris 1927, G Hardy and L Brunot, *L'enfant marocain*, Paris 1925, L Justinard, *Les Chleuh de la banlieue de Paris*, in *Revue Etudes Islamiques*, Paris 1928, p 477—480, E Laoust, *Mots et choses berberes*, Paris 1920, do, *Noms et cerémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hesperis*, Paris 1921, N Larras, *La population du Maroc*, in *la Géographie*, Paris 1906, p 337—348, Doctoresse Légey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, do, *Contes et legendes populaires du Maroc*, Paris 1926, A R de Lens, *Pratiques des Harems marocains*, Paris 1925, E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, do, *Notes d'hagiographie marocaine*, Paris 1920, G Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI*ème *au XIV*ème *siecles*, Paris 1913, L Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premieres annees du XVI*ème *siecle*, *Tableau geographique d'après Léon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906, do, *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants au Maroc*, Paris 1925, E Michaux-Bellaire, *Maroc*, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pedagogie*, Paris 1911, p 1230—1240, do, *Les Confreries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923, do, *Conferences* (*A M*, vol xxviii), Paris 1928, do, in *Archives Marocaines*, *passim*, I Milliot, *Les terres collectives au Maroc*, Paris 1922, do, *Demembrements du Habous*, Paris 1918, E Montet, *Les confreries religieuses de l'Islam marocain*, Paris 1902, do, *Le culte des saints dans l'Afrique du Nord et plus specialement au Maroc*, Genova 1909, A Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran Paris 1895—1899, S Nouvel, *Nomades et sedentaires au Maroc*, Paris 1919, P Odinot, *Le monde marocain*, Paris 1926, M L Ortega, *Los Hebreos en Marruecos*, Madrid 1919, V Piquet, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1920, do, *Le peuple marocain*, Paris 1925, Quedenfeldt, *Division et repartition de la population berbere au Maroc* (transl Simon), Algiers 1904, P Ricard, *Maroc* (Guides Bleus), Paris 1919, *Rif et Jbâla*, Paris 1926, G Salmon, in *Archives marocaines*, *passim*, de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, *Missions au Maroc* (*1904—1905*), Paris 1910, N Slouchz, *Etude sur l'histoire des Juifs au Maroc*, Paris 1905, do, *Hebraeo-Phéniciens et Judeo Berberes*, Paris 1908, Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrica*, Stuttgart 1923, T H Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1904, E Westermark, *Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco*, Rome 1899 (XIIème Congres Int Or, vol iii, part 1, p 151—178), do, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (Fr transl by J Arin, *Les ceremonies du mariage au Maroc*, Paris 1921), do, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926

(E LÉVI PROVENÇAL and G S COLIN)

VII LINGUISTIC SURVEY

Two languages are spoken in Morocco Berber and dialects of Arabic Berber is the oldest language attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used, as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the viith and viiith centuries But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banū Hilāl and of the Sulaim (xiith century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber, it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there With the exception of the region of the Jbāla to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are at the present day almost completely Arabic speaking

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[3] (p 162) L Massignon gives a proportion of 60 % of Berber speakers (3,200,000 to 2,200,000) A Bernard

thinks this exaggerated and reduces it to 40 % (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, p 278)

A Berber

1 Berber dialects According to the works of E Destaing, the Berber dialects of Morocco can be divided into two main groups

The first is the northern group which includes the dialects of the Rīf, those of the Bni Znāsen and of the Berber speaking tribes of the neighbourhood and those of the Ait Seghrūshshen, Marmūsha, Ait Warain etc to the north of the Middle Atlas These dialects are characterised phonetically by their strong tendency to spirantisation of the dentals and palatals In comparing these dialects with those which in Algeria the natives call *Znātiya*, E Destaing has been led to describe the group as the group of Zanāta dialects

The second or southern group includes, according to the same author, the remainder of the Berber dialects of Morocco, he distinguishes two sub-groups

a that of the *Tamazight*, the dialect spoken by the Brāber of the Central Atlas, from the vicinity of Meknes to the edge of the Great Atlas, the dialects of the north are also distinguished from those of the south It is with this sub group that we should connect the dialect of the Sanhādja d-es-Srāir, an important highland confederation to the northeast of Fās, and perhaps also the language of the sections of the Ghumāra who still speak Berber

b Sub-group of the *Tashelhīt*, the dialect once spoken by the Masmūda of the Great Atlas and by the Shlūh (usual French orthography *Chleuhs*) of Sūs and the Anti-Atlas

The three groups of Moroccan Berber dialects seem to correspond very exactly to the three main ethnic divisions of the Berbers of the country Zanāta in the N E, Sanhādja Zanaga in the centre and Masmūda in the south Going back to the old division of the Berbers given by Ibn Khaldūn, E Destaing proposes to make the first group correspond to the Butr tribes and the two others to the Barānis tribes

For the bibliography of Berber studies see the list of works given by E Laoust at the beginning of his *Mots et Choses Berberes*, Paris 1920, p xvii, since that date see the Moroccan bibliography annually published by *Hesperis* A map showing the division of Morocco between Arabic and Berber is given in the articles by A Bernard and P Moussard, *Arabophones and Berberophones au Maroc* (in *Annales Soc Geogr*, vol 33, Paris 1924) For the north, there is a more accurate map by R Montagne and Pennes published at the end of the *Manuel de berbère marocain* (*dialecte rifain*) by Justinard (Paris 1926)

There is no evidence of the existence of another language before Berber in Morocco Very few of those "Libyan" inscriptions have been found which, although they are not yet read, are admitted to be in old Berber, one was found in the Roman ruins of Tamuda, a few miles S W of Tetwān, and is preserved in the museum of the latter town Other Libyan inscriptions have been found in the region of Petitjean

The earliest evidence of the use of Berber in Morocco is given by the *Geography* of al Bakrī (xith century) who says that the prophet Hā-Mīm, killed in 927 A D, had given the Berbers a Kur'ān written "in their own language" This can only refer to their Berber speech, the same author tells us that the Baraghwāta had also a Berber Kur'ān from their prophet Sālih (d in 750) For the beginning of the Almohad period, a passage in *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p 67, says that at this time Berber was spoken on the Umm Rabī^{c} It is in the same work that we find the earliest recorded phrases in Moroccan Berber (*Tashelhīt* dialect) transcribed in Arabic characters (cf p 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 67, 117)

Ibn Khaldūn seems to have been the first to interest himself in the creation of a scientific system of transliteration of Berber into Arabic characters Using certain graphic methods used by specialists in *tadjwīd*, he invented compound characters to render sounds peculiar to Berber (*g*, *z* [*z* emphatic] and *ȝ*) Unfortunately Ibn Khaldūn, who in his *Mukaddima* gives interesting chapters on the urban and Beduin Arabic dialects, does not seem to have devoted any attention to the Berber language, one of the few passages to be noted in his book, as far as Morocco is concerned, is his reference to the existence of Berber speaking peoples among the Sanhādja tribes settled in the valley of the Waigha and around the fortress of Amargū (cf *Histoire des Berberes*, ed de Slane, text, 1, p 273, l 11) For the beginning of the xvith century, Leo Africanus (p 28) gives us more detailed information The five Berber ethnic groups (Sanhādja, Masmūda, Zanāta, Hawwāra and Ghumāra) have a special language which they call *aquel amarig* (= *awal amazigh*), i e "noble language" (cf the present name of the *Tamazight* dialect) (ed Schefer, 1) Berber was still the language of a part of the Ghumāra, for, he says, Arabic is used by almost all the people (*op cit*, 1 29) It even looks as if the Shāwiya ("Soava") of the Lāmasnā still spoke Berber ("African language") like all the other Shāwiya of North Africa with the exception of some who lived to the south of Tunis (*op cit*, 1, p 83)

We have to come down to the Danish Consul G Host, in the xviiith century, to find the first Moroccan Berber vocabulary collected from a *tāleb* of "Lamenart", a place probably in the region of Agadir (cf *Efterretninger om Marokos og Fez*, Copenhagen 1779, p 128—133)

2 Berber literature of Morocco Although Berber was the language of the Moroccan dynasties who followed between the Idrīsids and the Sa^{c}dians, it does not seem that, contrary to what was done in Egypt for the Turkish of the Mamlūks, Berber was made the subject of grammatical studies in Morocco, nor that it was used for the purpose of literary expression A passage in the *Kirtās* recalls the fact that khutbas were pronounced in Berber in the great mosque of Fās but the text of them has not been preserved The celebrated Almohad reformer Ibn Tūmart is said to have composed in Berber theological and legal treatises which have now disappeared The Berber Kur'āns of the Ghumāra and Baraghwāta have also disappeared although al-Bakrī has fortunately preserved some extracts in an Arabic translation The only texts which we now have are translations of or commentaries on religious works of the type of the *Risāla* of al Kairawānī or of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, all these Berber texts come without exception from Sūs, whether because this region

had a more advanced culture or its dialect with a more occlusive consonant system and clearer vowel system was better suited than others for transcription in the Arabic alphabet The Moroccan Berbers have a large stock of fables, legends, songs of love, war and work etc , many of which have already been collected by French and German students of Berber (on Berber literature, written and oral cf Henri Basset, *Essai sur la litterature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920)

Among Arab authors the Berber language is *ʿadjamīya*, the non-Arab language, *barbarīya*, Berber, *raṭāna*, "jargon", in the *Documents inedits d'histoire almohade* we several times come across the expression *al lisān al gharbī*, "the Moroccan language" In Moroccan Arabic, Berber is usually called *esh shelha*

B Arabic

The Arabic dialects The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages first in the eighth century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the xiith at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Yaʿkūb al-Mansūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political It was the language of religion and law From the towns Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al Idrīsī (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text p 79, transl p 90) already notes that in the xiith century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yūsuf, Fandalāwa, Bahlūl, Zawāwa, Maggāsa, Ghaiyata and Salālgūn) spoke Arabic

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabicisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur of *jeblī*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza It was surrounded by a cordon of towns Nakūr, Bādis, Tīgisās, Tetwān, Ceuta, al Kasr al Saghir, Tangier, Azila, al-Kasr al-Kabīr, Basra, Azdjen, Banū Tāwudā, Walili, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region, besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādis, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa, it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised The process was further favoured by several other factors 1 the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Kurʾānic culture, 2 the settlement almost everywhere in the xth century among the Jbāla of Idrīsid sharīfs who, driven from Fās by Mūsā b Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknāsī, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture, 3 the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabicised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia, 4 lastly the rebellions and civil wars which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the rising at Cordova (in 814) down to the xvith century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of Tetwān, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished

a Urban dialects, *b* highland dialects, *c* Beduin dialects, and we may add *d* the Jewish dialects

a Urban dialects In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects" There are towns like Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador (and to a certain degree Miknās and Marrākush) the population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetwān, Taza, al-Kasr al-Kabīr, Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects Miknās and Marrākush have been influenced by the Beduin elements introduced by the *makhzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals It is interesting to note the case of Azemmūr where the old town (Azemmūr al Hadar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawlāy Abū Shuʿaib (*vulgo* Bū Shʿaib), uses a Berber dialect The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (*ts*) of *tāʾ*, the frequent attenuation of *kāf* to *hamza* In Fās, *b*, *m*, *k*, *g* and *djim* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "solars", the simple *djim* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian ژ), but when it is geminated, it gives *jj* in Fās and *dj* in Tangier The *rāʾ* is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *ɣ*

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *ketbetto* "she has written it" for *ketbet* + *o*, and the use of an invariable relative *di* representing the old dialectal *dhū* Tangier and Tetwān have a preposition *n-*, "to" which is used before nouns (*n ed dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns To translate "of", Marrākush uses *t-*, the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs *ashku* "because", *hellı* "only"

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative *ka-* in the north, *ta-* in the south Fās uses one almost as much as the other

b Highland dialects These are at least as well known as those of the towns In 1920 I published notes on that of the Tsūl and the

Brānes in the north of Taza, in 1922, E Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha, since then I have had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Hōzmar (near Tetwān), of the Mestāsa (near Bādes) and of the Ghzāwa (near Shafshāwan)

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin the Ghumāra, the old inhabitants, and the Sanhādja, the invaders In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries, but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects

1 The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshāwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumāra, 2 the southern dialects, from Wazzān to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes first, the Sanhādja tribes of the valley of the Wargha Sanhādja of the Central Wargha, Sanhādja of the Sun and of the Shade, of Mosbāh and of Gheddo, secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanāta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza Mernīsa, Brānes, Tsūl, Maghrāwa and Meknāsa It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanāta and Sanhādja peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest, the Sanhādja of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumāra We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes 1 an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumāra and that of the Sanhādja-Zanāta, 2 the non-identity of the Berber substrata

To the two main groups Ghumāra and Sanhādja-Zanāta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south the highlanders of the region of Sefrū to the south of Fās (Bhālil, Bni Yāzgha etc), and the Ghiyyāta to the south of Taza, they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fās-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the xiith century we know from al-Idrīsī

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post palatal occlusives. We find the interdentals *th* and *dh*, which do not represent the classical interdentals, *tā'-thā'* and *dāl-dhāl* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated, but after a vowel we have *th* and *dh* *bent* "daughter", plur *bnāth*, after a vowel also *kāf* is pronounced as a spirant like the *χ* of modern Greek The representative of the group ظ-ض of the classical language is usually *d*, sometimes hardened to *t*, but among the Ghumāra we have *dh* (= emphatic *dhāl*) The sound *tsh* is fairly common The short vowels are commoner than in the towns, many of the short vowels *ĭ* and *ŭ* of the classical language are preserved, this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects *ĭR*¹ *R*² *uR*³ and a few *ĭR*¹ *R*² *ĭR*³

As to morphology, the fem personal suffixes *-a* (< *-hā*) and pl *-em* (< *-hum*) are characteristic they are the complement of the series begun by the masc *-u*, *-o* (< *-hu*) Among the northern Jbāla we find the use of a suffix *-esh* making the plural it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-āyen* *shahrāyen* "two months", *yiddāh* "his hands" The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d* The classical construct state (*idāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the 2nd pers com and of the 3rd pers fem of the aorist are *de-* (and not *te-*) *dekteb* "thou writest, she writes" The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *mefʿāl* *mebyāʿ* "sold", *mehwās* "filled up" Finally we may note a few traces of a passive of the form *fʿāl yefʿāl kbāṭ* "to be taken" As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fā* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic

Just as the urban dialects of Morocco may be linked with a number of urban dialects of Algeria, so have the highland dialects of Morocco correspondents in the latter country W Marçais, who is the first to have isolated and described this group of Maghribī dialects and prefers to use the name of "parlers villageois" for them, classes along with the dialects of the Moroccan Jbāla two other similar groups, also characterised by the defacement of the Arabic consonant system (liquidation, affrication, spirantisation), by the use of turns of syntax and structural forms taken from Berber and by the juxtaposition in the vocabulary of Arabic elements sometimes strangely archaic and very abundant Berber elements These are firstly the Oran group of the Tiāra in the country which extends from Lalla Maghnīya to the sea, a mountainous country traversed by the roads connecting Tlemcen, the capital of the Banū ʿAbd al Wād, with the ports of Hunain and Arshgūn It is with the dialects of the Trāra that the dialects of these Moroccan Jbāla show most agreement

The second group, which differs more, is that of the highland dialects of Eastern Kabylia, a mountainous region of the department of Constantine, traversed by the roads connecting Constantine with the ports of Djidjelli and Collo, this was also the old habitat of the Kutāma, whom their support of the Fātimid movement must have caused to be rapidly arabicised Alongside of these three groups of highland dialects (Jbāla, Trāra, Eastern Kabylia), W Marçais classes a fourth in the villages of the Tunisian Sāhel, which lie in the coast zone traversed by the roads which connect Kairawān with the ports of Sūs, Mahdīya and Monastir These Tunisian dialects, of which that of Takrūna, studied by W Marçais, is a specimen, are however much arabicised and hardly seem to have been subjected in their phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary to the profound

Berber influences which characterise the first three groups

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Bedouin group It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political These facts added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbāla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills, perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language W Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim (cf W Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, vol i, preface, p xxviii)

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Bedouin group are the following

— loss of the classical interdentals,
— pronunciation of *kāf* as *k* or *hamza* (and not *g* as among the Beduins),
— tendency to the syllabic grouping $R^1\ R^2\ e\ R^3$, when R^2 is not a laryngal nor a sonant,
— rarity of the construct state,
— suffix of the 3rd pers masc sing in *-u*, *-o* (and not *-ah*, as among the Beduins),
— relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl ed-dār dyāl ī*, "my house",
— diminutive of $R^1\ R^2\ e\ R^3$ becomes $R^1\ R^2$ *iyye* R^3 *kliyyeb*, "little dog",
— diminutive of adjectives of the types $R^1\ R^2\ e\ R^3$ (< class *afʿal*) and $R^1\ R^2\ ī\ R^3$ becomes $R^1\ R^2\ ī\ R^2\ e\ R^3$ *hmimer*, "a little red", *kbīber*, "a little large",
— plural of the adjectives $R^1\ R^2\ e\ R^3$ (< class *afʿal*) becomes $R^1\ ū\ R^2\ e\ R^3$ *kōhal*, "black" (plur),
— reductions of the plurals $C^1\ C^2\ ā\ C^3\ ī\ C^4$ to $C^1\ C^2\ ā\ C^3\ e\ C^4$ *mfātah*, "keys",
— use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present *ka-* or *ṭa* in the towns and *la-*, *ka-*, *a-* in the hills,
— in the singular of the perfect, the feminine person is in general used for the masculine e g *ktebti*, "thou hast written" (m), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ktebtiu*, "you have written"
— in the vocabulary, *shhāl*, "how much?", *dāba*, "now", *lkā* (*rka*, *kka*), "to do", are characteristic,
— in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular *yebkāu*, "they remain", *yebkīu*, "they weep"

c Beduin dialects These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Mulūya, the plateaus of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād Ghīr, Wād Zīz etc), they are still little known, only that of the Hawwāra of Sūs has been studied, but only in Europe and from authorities who had already travelled a good deal elsewhere That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ūlād Bū ʿAzīz, Ūlād Fredj), have myself examined it corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ūlād Brāhīm of Saida (Oranie) on which W Marçais has written a monograph There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Bedouin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism, should those of the Maʿkil perhaps be separated from those of the Banū Hilāl? Perhaps a distinction should also be made between the dialects of the purely Arab tribes and those of the Atlantic regions where powerful Berber tribes (Hāha, Ragrāga, Dukkāla, Baraghwāta) have been arabicised and more or less submerged by the Bedouins It should be remembered that in the historical period the latter have been infinitely less stable than the tribes of Berber origin (speaking Arabic or Berber), whether because they were taken to form the *gīsh*, which guards each large towns (environs of Fās, Meknes, Rabat-Sale and Marrākush) or because they were transported far from their original homes as a measure of repression (case of the Shrārda), the Arab tribes of the Atlantic plains have become much broken up and mixed The Bedouin dialects which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact Bnī Gil, Mhāya, Dhwī Mnīʿ, Ūlād Djrīr etc In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects firstly the *kāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *kāf maʿkūda*), and it is already this pronunciation which for Ibn Khaldūn characterises the Bedouin dialects of his time The *thāʾ*, *dhāl* and *dād zāʾ* are retained with their interdental value The short vowels are indistinct the sound *ĭ* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *e* Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of *u* character, which is developed after *k*, *g*, *kh* and *gh* placed before a consonant or an *ā*, e g *kŭbār*, "great" (plur), *ɣŭʿed*, "he sits down", *khŭrāfa*, "tale", *ghŭzāl*, "gazelle", *shkwāra*, "saddle bag", *ṛugʷāg*, "thin" (plur), a similar sound is found after *bb*, *ff*, *mm* and *kk*, *gg*, *kk*, *kh-kh*, e g *lughrubbʷa*, "the crows", *nuffʷākha*, "a blow", *rummʷān*, "pomegranate", *sukkwār*, "sugar", *shukkwa*, "piece (of cloth)", *nukhkhʷāl*, "sound", by analogy the combinations *mw* and *fw* when the *w* corresponds to a classical *wāw*, are reduced to *mm* and *ff*, e g *lemmʷīdaʿ*, "the (little) place", *leffwād*, "the entrails"

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms *yekteb*, "he writes", plur *yekketbu*, *meghgheṛbi*, "Moroccan", *mukkahla*, "musket", *beggerti*, "my cow"

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers masc is *-ah* The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *ntāʿ* or *tāʿ*, from the classical *matāʿ*, according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *ntāʿt* (*tāʿt*) or *ntāuʿ* (*tāuʿ*)

It does not seem that the Beduin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong *glū yéglū*, from the verb *glā* "to fry", *nsū-yensū*, from the verb *nsā* "to forget"

We may also note the use of a preposition *lī-*, "to" *gāl-līna*, "he told us"

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Beduin dialects *dār-ıdīr*, "to make, do", *ba ıbı*, "to wish", *yemta*, "when", *yāmes*, "yesterday", *dha ı wek*, *dhurk*, "now", from the classical *dha'l-wakt* We may add the particle *wāsh* used to indicate interrogation *wāsh sheft flān* ?, "have you seen so and so ?" and the phrase *ma tlā-sh ıdjı*, "he no longer comes"

d Jewish dialects The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish, many have also learned Arabic for business reasons Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *forasteros* (Span "foreigners"), according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic, but in the towns their dialects have not yet been studied They have a literature in an Arabic dialect written in Hebrew characters (and called, certainly wrongly Judaeo Arabic) *piyyutim*, songs at family festivals (cf Tadjouri, in *Hesperis*, III, 1923, p 408—420), satirical songs and songs dealing with real happenings, some of these texts have been printed at Fās and Constantine, a newspaper written in an Arabic dialect and printed in Hebrew characters called *al-Hurrīya* "The Liberty" has been published at Tangier for a number of years

e Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i e Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known The results of the examination are very meagre the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesmal, this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabicised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic, only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbāla country

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Beduin dialects and are still found in Berber A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative, but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata

Certainly Berber is the scheme *ta- — -t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-bennaī-t*, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (*ta hrāmī-t*, "roguery"), it is however curious to note that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e g *ḫā ın Kaddūr*, "Kaddūr's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *-ın*

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Beduin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools), they have often retained in Arabic the Berber pseudo-article *a-*, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also, alongside of the singular in *a-*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a—ān* also retained It is curious by the way but intelligible to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with the Berber article These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the Jbāla still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e g *a-hfır*, "ditch", plur *a-hefrān*, in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *a-blāt*, at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form *a-skīf*, "the sultān's boat" and *a tāy*, "tea"

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the Makhzen *afrāg*, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultān's camp", *agdāl*, "a pasture reserved for the sultān's animals", *azfel*, "lash to punish the guilty", *mezwār*, "syndic (*nakıb*) of the sharīfs"

The Beduin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects, their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains

Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Beduins, they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of *kāf* as *g* The Beduin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture, but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow

Some words, which are used in the urban and highland dialects as well as by the Beduin dialects but are unknown to the Spanish and Maltese dialects, are perhaps of "Hilālī" origin, the principal seem to be *ʿaud*, "horse", *hallūf*, "boar" and *shāf-ıshūf*, "to see"

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of European loanwords They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods, but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin

These "European" loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which

has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas The Beduin dialects have escaped these influences (cf 1 Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibericas y latinas usadas entre los Mozarabes*, Madrid 1888, 2 Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnworter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918, 3 G S Colin, *Etymologies magribines*, in *Hesperis* [1926 and 1927], 4 A Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* [chap II, III and *Excurs*], Leipzig 1917)

Between the two extremes marked by the most conservative Beduin dialects and the most characteristic highland dialects lies a whole gamut of intermediate varieties, which are in the transitional stages, they include the highland dialects whose characteristic features have been reduced through contact with the plains of the southern periphery of the massif of the Jbāla, as well as certain dialects of Beduin type used in the Atlantic plains, notably in the non-*hadrīya* towns "But however extensive and deep may have been the interpenetration of the two types, it has not abolished their fundamental unlikeness" (W Marçais)

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Beduin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature the forms sing *n—*, plur *n—u* in the first persons of the aorist Now this fact is attested in the XIIth century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i e in languages from which Hilālī influence is clearly excluded, it is also found in Maltese, it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables, this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects, but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it

It is in the *Documents inedits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic [use of *bāsh*, "in order that", *mtā*ᶜ, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n—* (sing), *n—u* (plur)], but we have to wait till D de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf French transl, Paris 1636, p 241, 323, 339) Mouette, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabesque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf *Relation de la Captivite* , Paris 1683, pp 330—362) The first grammatical notes were collected by Host (cf *Efterretninger* , 1779, ch 8, p 202—210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op cit*, p. 128—133) It is to Fr de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects, the dialect which he deals with is that of Tangier (*Grammatica linguae mauro arabicae*, Vindobonae 1800) Since then, there have been a number of studies for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p 207—213, for later works see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L Brunot (now in the press)

2 Literature of the Arabic dialects Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical The only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished the first extending down to the beginning of the Saᶜdian dynasty, the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Mukaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidīyāt*) of which numerous collections exist in manuscript Leo Africanus (ed Schefer, II, p 130) says that under the Marinids, poets used to compose verses in "vulgar African" on the Mawlid and also on erotic subjects These poems were recited in the presence of the sultān, who gave prizes to the winners of the competition From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco, these were collected and classified by al Hāᵓik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetwān All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Kuzmān (XIIth century) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *zadjal*, which had this in common with the *muwashshah* that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based like the classical metre on the quantity long or short of the syllables, but the *zadjal* differed from the *muwashshah* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable as in Latin and the use of the Spanish dialect

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse (as in French) and by the use of a special language called *melhūn*, a kind of κοινή adapted to literary purposes, based on the Moroccan dialect but influenced partially by the Beduin dialects, it seems moreover that this poetry is of Beduin origin and it was under the beduinising dynasties of the Saᶜdians and ᶜAlawids that it arose and flourished

The first known author of a *kasīda* written in *melhūn* appears in the XVIth century he was Abū Fāris ᶜAbd al ᶜAzīz al Maghrāwī, who was one of the poets of the Saᶜdian Sultān al-Mansūr al Dhahabī (1578–1602) His fame is still great and is preserved in the proverb *Kull twil khāwī, ghēr en-nekhla u lmeghrāwī* „Nothing that is long is of interest except the palm-tree and al-Maghrāwī" Other poets followed him It was at this time that the saint ᶜAbd al Rahmān al-Madjdhūb al Dukkālī (d in 1569) wrote his mystic *rubāᶜiyyāt*, but many of the verses now attributed to him are apocryphal After these we have the poets from Tlemsen, an important centre of *melhūn* poetry, first Saᶜīd b ᶜAbd Allāh al Mindāsī al-Tilimsānī, author of the celebrated *ᶜAkīkiya*, who left his native town to live at the court of the first ᶜAlawid Sultāns Muhammad b al-Sharif (d in 1664) and al-Rashīd (d in 1672), a pupil of al-Mindāsī, Ahmad b al-Turaikī, banished from Tlemsen in 1672 by the Turks, also came to settle in Morocco among the Bni Znāsen But we have to come down to the XVIIIth and especially the XIXth century for the coming of a whole school of poets writing in *melhūn* The three principal centres of literary activity were Fās, Meknes and

Marrākush The subjects treated are most varied love poems, mystic, erotic and satirical (discussion between a white woman and a negress, between a townswoman and a Beduin woman etc), political (on the occasion of the French conquest and the establishment of the protectorate), didactic (manufacture of powder, target-shooting, falconry) poems or burlesques (parodies of khutbas declaimed by the students at their fêtes)

Among the numerous authors we may mention Si Muhammad b Sulaimān, Si al-Tihāmī al-Madaghrī, al-Gandūz, al-Hunsh, we owe humorous kasidas to Si al-Madanī al-'Iurkumānī of Marrākush, Si Kaddūr al-'Alamī buried at Meknes specialised in mystical and ethical poetry The Darkāwī Muhammad al-Hairāk of Tetwān (d 1845) also wrote mystical kasīdas in *melhūn* which are collected at the end of the lithographed edition of his *Dīwān* (Tunis 1331, Fās, n d) At the beginning of the xxth century, al-Sa'dānī of Fās was composing political kasīdas

Melhūn poetry has completely replaced poetry in the Spanish dialect, it constitutes a very vigorous branch of literature, much in favour with all classes of society, we frequently find almost illiterate authors, and people say that their talent is a poetic gift given by God (*mawhūb*), on the other hand, even the rulers have not disdained this popular poetry and one of the last 'Alawid Sultāns, Mawlāy 'Abd al-Hafiz, wrote numerous kasīdas in *melhūn* which have been collected in a *Dīwān* lithographed at Fās

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs [cf A Fischer, *Das Liederbuch eines marokkanischen Sangers*, Leipzig 1918, C Sonneck, *Chants arabes du Maghreb*, Paris 1902 (Nrs 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 74, 84, 85, 88, 89, 94–97, 115 and 116 are Moroccan), E Lévi-Provençal, *Un chant populaire religieux du Djebal Marocain*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1918, H de Castries, *Les gnomes de Sidy Abd er Rahman el-Medjedoub*, Paris 1896, on the poetry *melhūn* in general, cf Abū 'Alī al-Ghawthi, *Kashf al-Kinā' 'an Ālāt al-Simā'*, Algiers 1904, p 49—93, S Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord africaines*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children), L Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hesperis*, 1928 (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject)

III Other Languages A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered

a Classical Arabic, the official language is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences, it is never the language of conversation But as religious studies are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the Jbāla (Kur'ānic studies and especially *kirā'āt*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect by the educated classes The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels of the classical language, as a result of the process of elongation, e g classical *dahīr*, plur *dahā'ir*, "decree of the sultān", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *dāhīr*, whence a dialect plural *dwāhar* Several Kur'ānic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs *bellāti* "guilty" (taken from Kur'ān vi 153), *b-et-tāwīl* "slowly", lit "in commenting on", *wa kīla* "perhaps" Morocco, as a whole being little arabicised, seems incapable of borrowing a part of the classical vocabulary and adapting it to its own dialect Its borrowings from classical Arabic almost always look like borrowings from a foreign language

b Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the xvth century and especially in the xvith took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetwān and Rabat-Sale Mouette, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic, his remark is probably true only of the towns already mentioned The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islāmic culture Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology

c At the present day, in the palace of the sultān, many servants of both sexes still speak Sūdānese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages, one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables

(Georgfs S Colin)

VIII Intellectual Life

More especially since the end of the middle ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of Muslim civilisation From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state with well-defined frontiers that it began to show independence in this respect also The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the xiiith century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islāmic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of *'ilm*, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islām the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the xixth century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim east, has never interested the west

The characteristic feature of this culture, which

is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging In this country, where only a few years ago tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same It has already been remarked that the Moroccan *fakīh* of to-day, whether he be magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharīfian government, possesses the same stock of knowledge as a *fakīh* of the periods of the Marīnids or Sa'dians The same instruction has been given him and by the same methods He has received first of all an elementary education in the Kur'ānic school [see MAKTAB], he has learned the Kur'ān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar Next he became a student (*tālib*), and the *ṭalab al-'ilm*, which he studied, is governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones He first of all studied the "mother works" (*ummahāt*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Murshid al-Mu'in* of Ibn 'Āshir and the *Adjurrumīya*) It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharh*) or glosses (*hāshiya*) on works (*matn*) of established reputation and exclusively Islāmic in character The whole trend of his studies is toward a better knowledge of theology and law

The result is that in most cases in Morocco men of learning are almost entirely jurists and that they differentiate between purely Islāmic sciences (*'ulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*) with some contempt for the latter We understand also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Kur'ān and the Sunna, theology, law and *usūl*

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the Kairawānīs (*Djāmi' al-Kaṛawīyin*) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain But it is from the Marīnid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the xivth century Not only did the Marīnid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or madrasas (in Morocco *medersa*) around the Djāmi' al-Karawīyin and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day In the Marīnid period, madrasas were also multiplied outside Fās Meknes, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns

In addition to the part played by the madrasas, there was the activity of the zāwiyas, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and sharīfism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Morocco in the xvith century The *zāwiyas*, religious centres, headquarters of the *djihād*, naturally became centres of teaching At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the zāwiyas, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous, e g the zāwiya of al-Dilā' in the Middle Atlas, the zāwiya of Tāmgrūt in the land of Da'ra and the zāwiya of Wazzān in the north The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shorfā*, who taught in the mother-house of their order

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islāmic and profane sciences

It was not till the Muslim west adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *'ilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribi students down to the xiiith century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course The east did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later At this period, besides, the islāmisation and arabicisation of the Berber masses was still too recent Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b Ismā'īl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary, the famous reformer Ibn Tūmart [q v], creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risāla* or *'akīda* on his teaching, the kādī 'Iyād [q v], born at Ceuta in 476 (1083), d at Marrākush in 544 (1149), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kitāb al Shifā'* and the *Mashārik al-Anwār* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Madārik*

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable The best known are for *kirā'āt* Ibn Barrī (eighth century A H), Ibn Fakhkhār (ninth century), the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghāzī († 919), 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Kādī († 1082), 'Abd al-Rahmān b Idrīs Mandjra († 1179), Muhammad b 'Abd al-Salām al-Fāsī († 1214), for *hadīth* Yahyā al Sarrādj († 808), Sukkain al-'Āsimī († 956), Ridwān al-Djinwī († 991), Muhammad b Kāsim al Kassār († 1012), Idrīs al-'Irākī († 1228), for *fikh* Abu 'l Hasan al-Sughaiyir, commentator of the *Mudawwana*, al Djazūlī [q v] and Ahmad Zarrūk (ninth century) commentators of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zaid al-Kairawānī, al-Wansharīsī († 995), al-Mandjūr († 995), Ibn 'Āshir († 1040), Maiyāra († 1072), for phi-lology al Makkūdī († 807), Ibn Zakrī († 899) Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann, *G A L* or in Bencheneb's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Idjāza* of 'Abd al Kādir al-Fāsī Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries, but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character None of

them can claim any great originality and purely literary dīwāns are rare Poetry, as a rule — when it is not didactic (*urdjūza*) —, is religious or mystic At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very lurid, of their patrons

It is at the courts also, especially from the XIVth century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it Those which date from the Middle Ages are however much the best The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion

The early historians of Morocco — if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much — are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, Abū Bakr al-Baidhāk al-Sanhādjī, the interest of whose memoirs contrasts strikingly with many later chroniclers Alongside of the work of al-Baidhāk may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al Kattān and of ʿAbd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī as of high value But it was in the Marīnid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn ʿIdhārī, a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al Mughrib*, that of Ibn Abī Zarʿ, author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawd al Kirtās*, Ibn Marzūk, author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultān Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī, Ibn al-Ahmar of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawdat al-Nisrīn* Under the Saʿdians, the principal historians were al-Fishtālī, al-Ifrānī, author of the *Nuzhat al-Hādī*, finally under the ʿAlawids, al-Zayyānī and Akensūs

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *rihlas* or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place Nevertheless, the geographer al Idrīsī [q v] and the great traveller Ibn Battūta were of Moroccan origin

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable The collections of *manākib* [q v] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *shorfā* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history All these biographies have been surveyed in E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa* The most notable biographers down to the middle of the XIXth century are Ibn ʿAskar, author of the *Dawhat al Nāshir*, Ibn al-Kādī, author of the *Durrat al-Hidjāl* and the *Djadhwat al-Iktibās*, the historian al Ifrānī, author of the *Safwāt man intashar*, and al-Kādirī, author of the *Nashr al-Mathānī* and the *Iltikāt al-Durar*

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the XIVth century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Almoravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bādja (Avenpace), Ibn Tufail and the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultāns several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works The chief were, in the Saʿdian period Abū Muhammad al-Kāsim al Wazīr al Ghassānī, in the ʿAlawid period Ibn Shukrūn, ʿAbd al Wahhāb Adarrāk, Ahmad al-Daraʿī, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAzzūz al Marrākushī, Ahmad Ibn al-Hādjdj and ʿAbd al Salām al ʿAlamī Finally two famous Moroccans studied the exact science of the XIIIth century Abū ʿAlī al-Hasan b ʿUmar al Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Ahmad Ibn al Bannāʾ, to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy

At the end of the XIXth century, the reign of Mawlāī al Hasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al Anfās* of Ahmad b Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [q v], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Ahmad b Khālid al-Nāsirī al-Salawī [q v] entitled *Kitāb al-Istiksā li Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aksā*

The establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco and the remarkable spread of French civilisation in the large towns have already profoundly modified the intellectual ideals of the younger generation in Morocco It is however still too early to foretell the orientation that Arabic literature will take in this country in the years to come

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MORÓN, Arab MAWZŪR, a little town in the south of Spain, on the right bank of the Guadaira and at the foot of the Sierra de Morón to the S W of Cordova and S E of Seville It was in the Muslim period the capital of a *kūra*

or district and an agricultural centre with numerous olive groves At the beginning of the tenth century, it was one of the centres of resistance of the famous rebel ʿUmar b Hafsūn, its citadel was taken by the troops of ʿAbd al Rahmān III in 311 (923) In the next century during the period of the petty kingdoms of the *reyes taifas*, Moión was the capital of a little Berber dynasty, the Banū Dammar, Abādīs from the region of Gabes in Tunisia The first member of the dynasty to declare his independence in 433 (1041) was Muhammad b Nūh, his father Nūh b Abī Tarīd had lived at Morón from 1013 without actually recognising the government of Cordova Muhammad b Nūh soon excited the jealousy of the ʿAbbādid of Seville al-Muʿtadid who made an attempt on his life He died in 449 (1057) His son Manād ʿImād al Dawla, who succeeded him, was soon besieged in Morón by al Muʿtadid and in return for life and liberty surrendered the town in 458 (1066) Moión and its territory were annexed to the kingdom of Seville and henceforth shared the fate of the capital

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(E Lévi Provençal)

MOROS [See Moors]

MOSTAGANEM (Mustaghānim), a coast town in Algeria, eight miles E of the mouth of the Shelif (5′ E long [Greenwich]) does not occupy the site of any known ancient town There is no natural harbour here, two capes, not particularly well marked (Kharuba and Salamander), leave vessels without protection against winds from the north and west It is therefore not as a port that al-Bakrī (xiᵗʰ century) mentions Mostaganem for the first time He describes it as a town situated "not far from the sea" (it is less than a mile away) living on the produce of its rich territory, notably the cotton plantations From this time onwards it was surrounded by a wall which strengthened its natural defences The old town occupies a triangular plateau formed by the sharp bend of the ʿAin Sefra and the wall runs along the top of the ravine On the point of this natural stronghold, the Almoravid Yūsuf b Tāshfīn is said to have built in 1082 a fortress which was later called Burdj al-Mahāl, from the name of one of the tribes of the neighbourhood, and is now a prison Like the other towns of the coast, Nedroma or Algiers, Mostaganem was probably given a small Almoravid garrison Thus strengthened, the town would serve as a place of refuge against an attack from the sea and one could keep at a distance the Berber tribes of the hinterland, who belonged for the most part to the Maghrāwa confederation It must thus have developed to some extent In the middle of the xiiᵗʰ century, Idrīsī tells us that it had bazaars and baths, he emphasises the abundance of the water which irrigated the gardens and orchards and drove mills

The name of Mostaganem does not figure in history throughout all this period when the Almohads in theory held the central Maghrib The decline of the Almohads enabled the Maghrāwa to become completely masters of the country In 1267 and 1271 the Zaiyānid sultān of Tlemsen Yaghmorāsān reduced these turbulent tribes and incorporated their lands in the empire which he had founded In 680 (1281) he entrusted the government of Mostaganem to one of his cousins, al-Zāʾim b Yahyā, a descendant of one of the collateral branches of the family of the Banū Zaiyan, in spite of the lack of confidence he had in those relatives whom he had deprived of the throne These fears proved well founded Al-Zāʾim, having roused the Maghrāwa to rebel, declared himself independent Yaghmorāsān had to march on Mostaganem, he blockaded the town strictly and the rebel surrendered after obtaining permission to cross to Spain

Like all the coast region, Mostaganem in 735 or 736 (1335—1336) passed to the Merīnid Abu 'l-Hasan, who was engaged in the siege of Tlemsen In 742 (1340) the victorious sultān built a mosque in Mostaganem We have an inscription attesting this foundation of the interregnum of the Moroccan princes Regained by the sultāns of Tlemsen, the town suffered disastrously from their weakness The Sowaid Arabs of the great Zoghba confederation became undisputed masters of the whole district Mostaganem led a precarious existence Leo Africanus at the beginning of the xviᵗʰ century says that it occupied only a third of its former area He credits it with 1,500 hearths, however, tells us of the weavers and of the roadstead to which ships from Europe came He says the river runs "through the city", which shows that in addition to the old stronghold on the left bank there were now quarters on the right bank In the Turkish period we know of two suburbs Tidjīt (the New) and Matmor (the Silo) In 1516 Khair al-Dīn [q v] considerably strengthened its defences Shaw at the beginning of the xviiiᵗʰ century speaks of the citadel (the Fort of the East ?) which, built on a height, commanded the town and vicinity In 1830 the garrison consisted of some hundreds of Turks and Kuloghlis The French took them into their service and put them under the command of the Kāʾid Ibrāhīm Distrusting the loyalty of the latter and thinking he had an agreement with the Medjāher, an unsubdued tribe of the neighbourhood, General Desmichels occupied the town in 1833 The troops whom he stationed there were attacked by ʿAbd al Kādir The vexatious results of the treaty signed by Desmichels with the Emīr forced Clauzel to retake Mostaganem (1835) Under Bugeaud, Mostaganem became the point of disembarkation and the centre of operations against ʿAbd al Kādir It was there that in 1847 the first battalion of Algerian Tirailleurs (Turcos) was raised, and the town has since been an important centre for recruiting native troops

Mostaganem has developed considerably since the early days of the French occupation, it has now over 27,000 inhabitants Its harbour, which owes nothing to nature, has been improved by two jetties which still afford only a rather mediocre shelter to shipping

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1837, p 111, Shaw, *Travels through Barbary*², London 1757, A Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fès*, appendix to reprint from *JA* 1919, p 390, R. Basset, *Melanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, p 103—106, Pellissier de Reynaud, *Annales algeriennes*, Paris–Algiers 1854, vol 1, *Tableau de la situation des etablissements français*, 1837, 1838, Ch Cockempot, *Le traite Desmichels* (*Publications de la Faculte des lettres d'Alger*), Paris 1924 — On the dialect of the native fishermen cf L Brunot, *La Mer dans les traditions et les industries à Rabat et Sale*, Paris 1920 (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MOSTAR, the capital of the Herzegovina in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, one hundred miles S W of Sarayevo, on the Sarayevo–(Mostar–) Dubrovnik railway By the new (Oct 3, 1929) division of Jugoslavia into nine banats, Mostar passed to the coast banat, the capital of which is Split (Spalato) The picturesque town lies two hundred feet above sea-level on both banks of the Neretva (Narenta) between the slopes of the Podvelež and the Hum The old quarters of the town (Konak, Čarshya etc) are in the east, the new in the west In 1929, the number of inhabitants was 18,038 (in 1921 a little more 18,176) Mostar covers an area of 16 square kilometres, has 2,916 houses, 33 mosques, 2 Serbian Orthodox and one Roman Catholic church Mostar has a district muftī and a sharī'at judge (*kādī*) Its trade is considerable as is its production of fruit, wine and tobacco The climate is warm and windy

In the time of the Roman empire, there was a colony in the plain of Mostar, which was destroyed during the period of migrations In the centuries following, the immigrant Slavs conquered the Zahumlye district with its capital Blagay (near the modern Mostar) According to the Dalmatian writers Orbini and Luccari (both at the beginning of the xviith century), the new town of Mostar was founded in 1440 by Radivoy Gost, a vassal of Stefan Vukčic Kosača, afterwards Duke of St Sava In historical documents the earliest mention is in 1452 of the two forts on the Neretva bridge (*do castelli al ponte de Neretua*), the name of the town itself is not found till 1499

It was only after the Turkish conquest of the Herzegovina (1483, cf v Hammer, *G O R* ², 1 628), which resulted in the decline of Blagay that the new settlement began to develop rapidly, first as an important strategic point in the Neretva valley, then as a prosperous commercial town in addition Since it grew up around a wooden bridge, it was called simply *Most* (bridge), *Mostici* or *Mostar*, properly *Mostari* (plur, "the bridgers") This "place of the bridge" was by 1522 the residence of the Turkish sandjakbeg of the Herzegovina, who had previously lived in Foča According to Hādjdjī Khalīfa, the crossing of the Neretva was exceedingly dangerous the wooden bridge, being on chains, had no piers and swung so that "one only crossed it in fear of death" The inhabitants therefore petitioned Sultān Sulaimān to have a stone one built in its place The architect sent by the Sultān, the celebrated Sinān [q v], is said to have declared it impossible to build a bridge at this spot, whereupon a local architect built the fine bridge which crosses the river in a single bold arch, thirty yards in length and sixty feet high This is said to have been done in 974 (1566—1567) The two Turkish chronograms given by Ewliyā Čelebī قدرت كمرى and ال كحدكى كوبرى دن كچرر سلام actually give this date This bridge not only gave Mostar its name but formed its chief sight, as it still is The French traveller A Poullet in 1658 says that its "*fabrique est plus hardie, sans comparaison, & des plus d'etendue que n'est pas celle de Realte à Venise, quoy qu'elle y sort estimee vne merueille*" (cf *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* (hereafter quoted as *Gl z m*), xx [1908], 49) A modern traveller regards the old bridge at Mostar as the finest in the whole world (R Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichslanden Bilder und Skizzen aus B und der H* [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912], p 31) In his earlier book on Mostar he describes this bridge as a "crescent in stone" The building of the bridge was often ascribed to the Romans and indeed its foundations perhaps date from them but the modern bridge undoubtedly dates from the Turkish period and "is the work of Dalmatio-Italian architects" (J de Asboth, *An official tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* [London 1890], p 257)

Ewliyā Čelebī visited Mostar in 1075 (1664—1665) and gives in his diary a number of details about the town, e g that it has fifty-three *mahallas*, three thousand and forty solidly built houses of stone, three hundred and fifty shops and forty-five mosques Of the latter he mentions eight by name 1 Old mosque in the Čarshya, built in 878 (1473), 2 Hādjdjī Mehmedbeg mosque, built in 965 (1557), 3 Masdjid of Hādjdjī 'Alīāghā in the Čarshya, built in 1016 (1607), 4 Defterdār-pasha mosque, built in 1017 (1608), 5 Koskī (قوصقى) Mehmedpasha mosque, built in 1027 (1617), 6 Ibrāhīmāghā, built in 1044 (1634), 7 Rūznāmedjī Ibrāhim-Efendi-mosque and 8 Hādjdjī 'Alī mosque For the two latter mosques neither the chronogram nor the year of building is given The finest and largest of all is the mosque of Hādjdjī Mehmed Bey, which is usually called "Karagyozbegova džamiya" The monograph, quoted below, by Peez gives the names of twenty seven mosques and twenty-six vakufs (*wakf*) and in each case he mentions whether their foundation records are preserved or not

It the course of the xviith and xviiith century Mostar was several times threatened by Venetian troops (1652, 1693, 1717) At a late date (1763), the Herzegovina was incorporated in the wilāyet of Bosnia and Mostar was only the residence of the musellim This lasted till 1832, when the land was again made a wilāyet and Mostar became the headquarters of the newly appointed Herzegovinian wazīr 'Alī Pasha Rizvanbegovic

During the Turkish period Mostar produced a number of men of note in Turkish and Muslim literature and learning Of poets we may note 1 Diyā'ī (d 972 = 1564), 2 Derwīsh Pasha (Bayezidagić, 1599 and in 1601 governor of Bosnia), 3 his son Ahmedbeg Sabūhī and 4 Ahmed Rushdī (born 1047 = 1637) The following learned men were natives of Mostar 1 'Alī Dede b Mustafā (d 1007 = 1598), 2 Mustafā Aiyūbīzāde, called Sheyuyo (d 1119 = 1707), Muftī of Mostar, commentator of various works, 3 Ahmed Efendi Mostārī (Mostarac, d 1190 = 1776), whose fetwās (*Fetāwā-i Ahmed*) were very popular in Bosnia, and 4 Mustafā Ṣidkī (Karabeg), Muftī of Mostar (murdered

in 1878), whose comprehensive *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Mirʾāt al-Uṣūl* was printed in Sarajevo (1316)

A few days after the murder of the last-named, Mostar was taken without resistance by the Austrian troops (Aug 5, 1878) and on Oct 5, 1908, annexed to the Danube monarchy, in which it remained till 1918 During these forty years (1878–1918) Mostar was frequently the centre of Muslim (and of Serbian Orthodox) opposition to the government In Mostar originated also the Muslim agitation for autonomy in religious affairs (cf 1, p 760), which went on for ten years (1899—1909) The leader of the movement, ʿAlī Fehmī Džabić, the then muftī of Mostar, had to escape to Constantinople at the end of January 1902, where he was appointed professor of Arabic literature in the University, in which capacity he published among other things his book *Husn al-Ṣaḥāba fī Sharḥ Asḥʿār al Ṣaḥāba* (Constantinople 1324) In connection with the struggle for religious autonomy, there was published (from 1906) the Muslim political paper *Musāwāt* (in spite of its Arabic title written in the Serbo Croat language) Shortly before the World War, a Muslim family paper *Biser* ("Pearl") (from 1912) was started in Mostar and a *Muslimanska biblioteka* (Muslim Library) which attained thirty volumes

Since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, Mostar has belonged to Jugoslavia

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MŌṢUL (AL-MAWṢIL), the capital of Diyār-Rabīʿa [q v] on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the ancient Niniveh

Whether the town already existed in antiquity is unknown E Herzfeld (*Archäol Reise*, ii 207, 259) has suggested that Xenophon's Μέσπιλα reproduces its old name and that we should read *Μέσπιλα (= *Mawṣil*), but against this view we have the simple fact that this town lay on the east bank of the Tigris (F H Weissbach in Pauly Wissowa, *R E*, xv, col 1164)

The Muslims placed the foundation of the town in mythical antiquity and ascribed it to Rēwand b Bēwarāsp Adjdahāk According to another tradition, its earlier name was Khawlān The Persian satrap of Mōsul bore the title Būdh-Ardashīrānshāh, so that the official name of the town was Būdh-Ardashīr (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p 87, Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 208) Lastly Bar Bahlūl says that an old Persian king gave it the name Bih-Hormez-Kowādh (G Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syr Akten pers Martyr*, p 178)

As the metropolis of the diocese of Āthūr, Mōsul took the place of Nineveh whither Christianity had penetrated by the beginning of the second century A D Rabban Īshōʿ-yahbh called Bar Kūsrā about 570 A D founded on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Nineveh a monastery (still called Mār Īshʿyā) around which Khusraw II built many buildings This settlement is probably the fortress mentioned in the Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi as Hesnā ʿEbhrāyā (according to Herzfeld, "citadel on the opposite bank") (Noldeke, *S B Ak Wien*, cxxviii, fasc ix, 1893, p 20, Sachau, *Chronik von Arbela*, chap iv, p 48, 1, Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 208) which later was developed into a town by the Arabs (*Chronicle of Seʿert*, at the end)

After the taking of Nineveh by ʿUtba b Farkad (20 = 641) in the reign of ʿOmar b al-Khattāb, the Arabs crossed the Tigris whereupon the garrison of the fortress on the west bank surrendered on promising to pay the poll-tax and obtained permission to go where they pleased Under the same caliph, ʿUtba was dismissed from his post as commander of Mōsul and Harthama b ʿArfadja al Bārikī succeeded him The latter settled Arabs in houses of their own, then allotted them lands and made Mōsul a camp city (*miṣr*) in which he also built a Friday Mosque (al Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 332) According to al-Wākidī, ʿAbd al-Malik (65—86) appointed his son Saʿīd as governor of al Mawṣil while he put his brother Muhammad over Armīniya and al-Djazīra According to al-Muʿāfa b Tāʾūs on the other hand, Muhammad was also governor of Ādharbāidjān und al-Mawṣil, and his chief of police Ibn Ṭalīd paved the town and built a wall round it (al-Balādhurī, *op cit*) His son Marwān II is also described as a builder and extender of the town, he is said to have organized its administration and built roads, walls and a bridge of boats over the Tigris (Ibn Fakīh, ed de Goeje, p 128, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 682—684) The foundation of a Friday Mosque was also ascribed to him Mōsul became under him the capital of the province of al-Djazīra

After Mutawakkil's death the Khāridjī Musāwir seized a part of the territory of Mōsul and made al Hadītha his headquarters The then governor of Mōsul, the Khuzayī ʿAkaba b Muhammad, was deposed by the Taghlibī Aiyūb b Ahmad who put his own son Hasan in his place Soon afterwards the ʿAzdī ʿAbd Allāh b Sulaimān became the governor of al-Mawṣil The Khāridjīs took the town from him and Musāwir entered into possession of it Muʿtamid appointed the Turkish general Asātagīn governor of the town, but in Djumādā I 259 the latter sent his son Azkūtagīn there as his

deputy The latter was soon driven out by the citizens of the town who chose Yahyā b Sulaimān as their ruler

Haitham b ʿAbd Allāh whom Asātagīn then sent to Mōsul had to return after achieving nothing The Taghlibī Ishāḳ b Aiyūb whom Asātagīn sent with 20,000 men against Mōsul, among whom was Hamdān b Hamdūn, entered Mōsul after winning a battle, but was soon driven out again

In 261 the Taghlibī Khidar b Ahmad and in 267 Ishāk b Kundādj was appointed governor of Mōsul by Muʿtamid A year after Ishāḳ's death, his son Muhammad sent Hārūn b Sulaimān to Mōsul (279), when he was driven out by the inhabitants he asked the Banū Shaibān for assistance and they besieged the town with him The inhabitants led by Hārūn b ʿAbd Allāh and Hamdān b Hamdūn after an initial victory were surprised and defeated by the Shaibānis, shortly afterwards Muhammad b Ishāk was deposed by the Kurd ʿAlī b Dāwūd

When Muʿtadid became caliph in 279, Hamdān (the grandfather of Saif al-Dawla) managed to make himself very popular with him at first, but in 282 he rebelled in Mōsul When an army was sent by the caliph against him under Wasīf and Nasi, he escaped while his son Husain surrendered The citadel of Mōsul was stormed and destroyed and Hamdān soon afterwards was captured and thrown into prison Nasr was then ordered to collect tribute in Mōsul and thus came into conflict with the followers of the Khārid̲jī Hārūn, Hārūn was defeated and fled into the desert In place of Tuk tamīr, who was imprisoned, the Caliph appointed Hasan b ʿAlī governor of Mōsul and sent against Hārūn, the main cause of the strife, the Hamdānid Husain who took him prisoner in 283 The family thus regained the caliph's favour

When after the subjection of the Khārid̲jīs, raiding Kurds began to disturb the country round Mōsul, Muktafī again gave a Hamdānid, namely Husain's brother Abu 'l Haid̲jāʾ ʿAbd Allāh, the task of bringing them to book, as the latter could rely on the assistance of the Taghlibīs settled around Mōsul, to whom the Hamdānids belonged Abu 'l-Haid̲jāʾ came to Mōsul in the beginning of Muharram 293 and in the following year subdued the Kurds whose leader Muhammad b Bilāl submitted and came to live in Mōsul

From this time the Hamdānids [q v] ruled Mōsul, first as governors for the caliph, then from 317 (Nāsir al-Dawla Hasan) as sovereign rulers

The ʿUkailids who followed them (386—489) belonged to the tribe of the Banū Kaʿb Their kingdom, founded by Husām al Dawla al-Mukallad, whose independence was recognised by the Būyids, extended as far as Tāʾūk (Dakūkā), al-Madāʾin and Kūfa In 489 (1095—1096) Mōsul passed to the Saldj̲ūks

The town developed considerably under the Atābeg ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī who put an end to Saldj̲ūḳ rule in 521 (1127—1128) Mōsul, which was for the most part in ruins was given splendid buildings by him, the fortifications were restored and flourishing gardens surrounded the town Under one of his successors, ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I, Mōsul was twice unsuccessfully besieged by Saladin (1182 and 1185 A D), after the conclusion of peace ʿIzz al Dīn however found himself forced to recognise Saladin as his suzerain

The town was at this time defended by a strong citadel and a double wall, the towers of which were washed on the east side by the Tigris To the south lay a great suburb, laid out by the vizier Mud̲jāhid al Dīn Kāʾimāz (d 595) From 607 his son Badr al-Dīn Luʾlu' [q v] ruled over Mōsul first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631 as an independent ruler In 642 he submitted to Hūlāgū and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that Mōsul was spared the usual sacking When however his son Malik Sālih Ismāʿīl joined Baibars against the Mongols the town was plundered in 660 (1261—1262), the ruler himself fell in battle (van Berchem, *Festschrift f Th Noldeke*, 1906, p 197 *sqq*)

The Mongol dynasty of the Djalāʾir succeeded the Ilkhāns in Baghdād and Sultān Shaikh Uwais in 766 (1364—1365) incorporated Mōsul in his kingdom The world conqueror Timūr not only spared Mōsul but gave rich endowments to the tombs of Nabī Yūnus and Nabī Djirdjis, to which he made a pilgrimage, and restored the bridge of boats between Mōsul and these holy places

The Turkoman dynasty of the Aḳ Koyūnlū whose founder Bahāʾ al Dīn Karā ʿOthmān had been appointed governor of Diyār Bakr by Timūr, was followed about 920 (1514—1515) by the Persian Safawids After long fighting the Ottomans in 1047 (1637—1638) finally took the town from them In 1077 (1667) it was visited by a serious earthquake, in 1156 (1743) besieged by Nādir Shāh Afshār and heroically defended by Christians and Muslims It was then under a Pasha of the local family of the ʿAbd al-Djalīl who had ruled the town for a long period, fairly independent of the Porte In the XIXth century Mōsul was an unimportant provincial town of the Turkish empire After the World War the wilāyet of Mōsul after long negotiations was placed in the mandated territory of ʿIrāk The town has now about 70—90,000 inhabitants

The Arab geographers compare its plan to a headcloth (*tailasān*), i e to an elongated rectangle Ibn Hawkal who visited Mōsul in 358 (968–969), describes it as a beautiful town with fertile surroundings The population in his time consisted mainly of Kurds According to al Makdisī (c 375 = 985—686), the town was very beautifully built Its plan was in the form of a semi circle The citadel was called *al-Murabbaʿa* and stood where the Nahr Zubaida canal joined the Tigris (now Ičkalʿa or Bāsh Tābiya?, cf Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 209) Within its walls were a Wednesday market (*Sūḳ al-Arbaʿāʾ*) after which it was sometimes called The Friday Mosque built by Marwān stood on an eminence not far from the Tigris to which steps led up The streets in the market were for the most part roofed over Al-Makdisi (*op cit*, p 136) gives the eight main streets of the town (discussed in Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 209) The castle of the caliph (*Kasr al-Khalifa*) stood on the east bank, half a mile from the town and commanded Niniveh, in the time of al Makdisī it was already in ruins, through which the Nahr al-Khawsar flowed

Ibn Djubair visited Mōsul on 22nd–26th Safar 580 (June 4—8, 1184) Shortly before, Nūr al Dīn had built a new Friday Mosque on the market-place At the highest point in the town was the citadel (now Bāsh Tābiya), it was known as *al-Hadbāʾ* "the hunch-backed" and perhaps as the synonymous *al-Dafaʾā* (G Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus*

syr Akten pers Märtyr, p 178 *sq*, E Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 210), and according to al Kazwīnī was surrounded by a deep ditch and high walls The city walls which had strong towers ran down to the river and along its bank A broad highway (*shārī*ᶜ) connected the upper and lower towns (the north-south road called *Darb Dair al-Aᶜlā*ʾ) In front of the walls suburbs stretched into the distance with many smaller mosques, inns and baths The hospital (*māristān*) was celebrated and the great covered market (*kaisarīya*)

Most houses in Mōsul were built of tufa or marble (from the Djebel Maklūb east of the town) and had domed roofs (Yākūt, *op cit*) Later Mōsul was given a third Friday Mosque which commanded the Tigris and was perhaps the building admired by Hamd Allāh al Mustawfī (c 740 A H)

The site of the ancient Nineveh (Arabic *Ninawai*) was in al Makdisī's time called Tall al-Tawba and was said to be the place where the prophet Yūnis stayed when he wished to convert the people of Nineveh There was a mosque there around which the Hamdānid Nāsir al Dawla built hostels for pilgrims Half a mile away was the healing spring of ᶜAin Yūnis with a mosque beside it, perhaps also the Shadjarat al-Yaktīn, said to be planted by the Prophet himself The tomb of Nabī Djirdjīs, who according to Muslim legend had suffered martyrdom in Mōsul (cf 1, p 1046 *sq*), was in the east town, also that of Nabī Shith (Seth, cf Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 206 *sq*)

Mōsul takes its name from the fact that a number of arms of the river there combine to form a single stream The town lies close beside the Tigris on a spur of the western steppe-plateau which juts out into the alluvial plain of the river Close beside its walls are quarries in which the plaster for the buildings and for the mortar is obtained The site of the town, almost three square kilometres in area enclosed by the already mentioned wall and the Tigris, slopes from the old fortress gradually to the south To the southeast stretch, as in the middle ages, the suburbs surrounded by fertile plains A little above the spot where the wall joins the river on the south-east is the bridge of boats All the old buildings and even the court of the Great Mosque lie, according to E Herzfeld's investigations, below the level of the streets in which the accumulation of mounds of debris from houses is a result of a thousand years of continuous occupation

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(E Honigmann)

MOZARABS, the name given in the middle ages to those Christians who lived in districts under Muslim rule and bore the stamp of Spanish Moorish culture The word comes from the Arabic *mustaᶜrib*, the meaning of which is exactly that of the Spanish *mozárabe*, the Arabic form itself is found in documents in the archives of mediaeval Spain

We know that in principle at the time of conquest the new subjects of the Muslim conquerors could either adopt Islām or continue to profess their own faith, in the latter case falling into the category of tributaries (*dhimmī*, q v) The early Arab rulers of Spain showed considerable tolerance in this connection and the treaties of capitulation were definite on this point, at least if we may judge by one of them of which the text has been preserved and which was concluded between the Visigoth Theodemir, lord of the district of Murcia [q v], and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b Mūsā b Nusair This attitude of Spanish Islām to the Christians hardly altered in the centuries following until the coming of the Almoravids and Almohads It is true there were occasional anti-Christian reactions under the first Umayads which found vent in persecution But these persecutions seem to have been dictated by political considerations rather than by the fanaticism of individual rulers The Christian communities of the large towns were the most active nurseries of the nationalist movements which broke out in Spain mainly in the ninth century Among the most important we may mention that led by the Mozarab ᶜOmar b Hafsūn [q v], which passed far beyond the limits of a purely religious movement At Cordova in particular a few illuminati had to be sent to the scaffold because they insulted the religion of the Prophet The Muslim judges seem to have sentenced them to the supreme penalty with considerable reluctance and the central authorities took the initiative in summoning a council, so that the church itself put a stop to the demonstrations of certain mystics like Eulogio and Alvaro

In any case in the tenth century the Mozarabs of the caliphate were living in harmony with all classes of Muslim society and were themselves considerably influenced by Arab culture They spoke Arabic, just as the Muslims spoke the Romance language, and were acquainted with Islāmic literature The reciprocal influences were therefore considerable and were to continue so till the end of the middle ages

As regards administration, the Christian communities of Muslim Spain under the Umayads were under the direct authority of officials chosen by themselves from their own number and appointed with the approval of the Muslim authorities Their head, who is sometimes given the Latin title of *defensor* or *protector*, was most frequently called Count (*Comes*, Sp *Conde*, Ar *kūmis*) The taxes which the Christians had to pay were collected by an agent called *exceptor* To settle their differences they had a special judge (Ar *kādī ʾl-naṣārā* or *kādī ʾlᶜadjam*, Lat *censor*) who administered the Visigothic code (*Liber Judicum*, later the *Fuero Juzgo*)

The Christian communities of Cordova and Seville were among the most important but were less important than that of Toledo, which was during the caliphate the residence of the metropolitan (*maṭrān*) of Spain The clergy were under bishops (*uskuf*) Public worship was celebrated

in the churches, there were monasteries (*dair*) with monks (*rāhib*) in the neighbourhood of the larger towns for example that of Armilāt (Guadimellato) near Cordova

The history of the Mozarabs of Spain is of course closely connected with the political history of Islām in Spain and with the "reconquista" But its development is mainly interesting as throwing light on the peculiar culture of Moorish Spain which remained alive even after the fall of Muslim power The recent publication of a considerable number of documents from the archives of the cathedral of Toledo mainly of the xiith and xiiith centuries enables us to estimate how great was the arabicisation of all classes in reconquered Spain, which we find influencing civil, military and economic institutions and even ecclesiastical ritual (Mozarab rite) It is similarly to the Mozarab communities and their representatives who went to the north of the Peninsula that we must attribute the origin of a special art, Mozarab art, directly derived from Cordovan art and characterized by almost regular use of the horse-shoe arch and the vault

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

MSHATTĀ, a ruined palace in Transjordania

Description of the building The ruins of al-Mshattā (the winter camp) lie east of the Jordan about 130 miles south of Damascus and 25 east of the northern shore of the Dead Sea, near the Darb al-Hadjdj, the pilgrims' road from Damascus to Medīna and Mecca It consists of a rectangular outer wall, defended by towers at the corners, each side being 157 yards long The entrance gateway is in the centre of the south side and is flanked by two pentagonal half-towers rising out of an octagonal base, across which runs as far as the next round towers the long frieze 16 feet high and over 45 yards long, which has for the most part been taken to Berlin and which made Mshattā a world-famous monument of early Muslim architecture and decorative art and a much discussed centre of interest in Oriental archaeology The building of the whole area within the wall was planned in three sections of which however only the central one was carried through, at least in part This again is divided into three parts the entrance area, the central rectangular open court and the royal residence The plan by B Schulz (cf *Jahrbuch d preuss Kunstsammlungen*, vol xxv, 1904) shows a gateway and an entrance hall, both of which were intended to be vaulted, and a series of surrounding rooms, of which the oblong room to the right of the entrance has been said by Herzfeld and others to be a mosque because it has a niche in it which is taken to be a mihrāb Only the foundations of the walls of this part however are still standing In the large quadrangular court on the western side is a waterbasin built of brick and traces of a second one mentioned by Tristram on the opposite side, so that Schulz thought there were originally intended to be four for the sake of symmetry The palace consists of a great hall with three aisles, a domed chamber and the living rooms at the sides The walls are about five feet high, of blocks of limestone and above that of brick (21 × 21 and 27 × 27, 65 cm thick) The rooms at the sides to the left and right of the great hall with its three aisles, are all barrel-vaulted, the smaller vaultings still exist and, like the relieving arches of the doors, are remarkable for their pointed arches Schulz was able with certainty to reconstruct the façade which had fallen and was still lying on the ground It consisted of three round arches on pillars corresponding to the three aisles The hall was divided into three sections by pillars of which a few shafts and a Corinthian capital with painting and remains of gilding have been found Holes and gutters at the bases and on the shafts suggested to Schulz that the columns had originally been taken from another building and used again here The horizontal termination of the façade also shows that this hall was intended to have a flat, and not a basilical roof, or actually had one To give it its height the two supporting rows of pillars had a second story of pillars placed upon them, an arrangement usual in Syrian architecture also The quadrangular hall of audience and ceremonial, entered from the oblong hall by a second door, was covered by a dome and three half domes of brick, all of which have collapsed Dovetailing on the inside of the surrounding wall shows that it was intended to build on to the sides of the palace dwellings for soldiers and other retainers On the evidence of these projections from the wall, Schulz has prepared his reconstruction of the plan of these wings The quadrangular surrounding walls with the round towers had barely been half built when the half-finished work was stopped The principal motive of the great frieze at the part of the wall containing the main gateway is a zigzag pattern in high relief which forms 44 half triangles These triangular areas are, wherever the frieze was finished, thickly covered with tendrils in low relief In the centres of the pairs of interlocking perpendicular and suspended triangles, bosses are set in high relief decorated with acanthus rosettes The socket of the frieze is in the form of a modified Attic base consisting of a plinth and two toruses The border which frames the frieze at the sides and above consists of a leaf kyma at the foot and a second larger crowning it According to Schulz's photograph, before the frieze was removed, the half left of the door up to the main border was finished but the right half only up to half height the of the frieze

The patterns of foliage in the fields of the triangles show great variety Here we follow the scheme of the official publication in the *Jahrb*

d preuss Kunstsammlungen, xxv (1904), pl viii The triangles A and B have within circles vines with birds picking grapes, in the apex of triangle A there is also a Chinese fabulous animal with a human head such as was very popular in Chinese sepulchral plastic art In C the circles are interlaced and lotus flowers appear in addition to the vine-tendrils In D—I the vines which are here more realistic grow out of vases which are flanked by lions and winged griffins, buffaloes, panthers, lynxes and gazelles also relieve the foliage In triangle J the tendrils grow straight out of the ground, this area also has the remarkable addition of men picking the grapes Triangle I is the first right of the door and is the last to contain animals The areas of the triangles of the right half show a quite different style M—T have, it is true, still vines but of the greatest, lace-like delicacy and closeness of pattern which varies from triangle to triangle U and V lastly are filled with palm-leaves and cone-shaped figures instead of vines and crowned with spirals

Form and purpose of the building The plan is that of a *hīra*, i e the Arab type of camp, reproduced in building materials, and so called after the Lakhmid capital, with the prince's tent or house on the central axis just as is described by Masʿūdī in his account of Sāmarrā (cf E Herzfeld, *Erster vorlaufiger Bericht uber die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, p 39 *sq*) Mshattā, Ukhaidir and Sāmarrā are descendants of this eastern type of palace Just as the form could only be recognised as typical after the examination of Ukhaidir in the ʿIrāk and by the excavation of Sāmarrā, so it was the investigations of H Lammens that first elucidated the purpose of these buildings (*La Bâdia et La Hira sous les Omeiades*, in *M F O B*, iv) Following Lammens, Herzfeld explained Mshattā as a *bādiya* [q v], i e a country palace which was built in the form of a *hira* for an Umaiyad as an occasional residence

History of exploration, bibliography and date After its first discovery by H B Tristram in 1872, Mshattā was explained by his archaeological adviser J Fergusson as a Sāsānian palace, built by Khusraw II after his conquest of Syria in 614 A D It found a place in literature with this description in Tristram's *The Land of Moab* (London 1873) It was not till about the end of the century that Mshattā became a subject of archaeological study and discussion when it was visited in 1898 by A Musil and soon afterwards examined by R E Brünnow and A v Domaszewski and published in their *Provincia Arabia* (1904–1909) In the meanwhile the Prussian expedition sent to take it down under B Schulz had already been there and the Berlin publication by Schulz and Strzygowski appeared in the *Jahrb d preuss Kunsts*, 1904 To Professor Strzygowski is due the credit of having urged W Bode to bring the façade to Berlin Thanks to the interest displayed by the Emperor William II in the plan and his friendly relations with Sultān ʿAbd al Hamīd, the latter, with the traditional generosity of an Oriental despot, gave the German Emperor a present of this ornament of the desert As a result of his study of the architecture and decoration, Strzygowski dated Mshattā between 400 and 600 A D M v Berchem with Clermont-Ganneau and Dussaud decided on historical grounds for the Lakhmid dating, i e that it was built as early as the fourth century A D (*Aux pays de Moab et d'Edom*, iv, J S, 1909, p 401—408) while Brünnow and Musil assumed a Ghassānid origin On the other hand in his review of Strzygowski (*Z A*, xix, 1905—1906, p 419 *sqq* and *Islamstudien*, p 276 *sqq*), C H Becker championed the Umaiyad dating, which E Herzfeld in his *Genesis der islam Kunst und das Mshattaproblem* (*Isl*, i, 1910, p 27–63 and 105—144) supported with evidence from the history of art, and was strengthened by the appearance at the same time in *M F O B*, iv, 1910, p 91—112 of H Lammens' study *Bâdia et Hira* This Umaiyad dating Herzfeld tried to make more convincing in his *Mshattâ, Hîra und Bâdiya* (*Jb d preuss Ksts*, 1921) and finally crowned his work with the discovery of an inscription drawn up by Walīd II himself recording repairs done by him, Walīd II was murdered after a year's reign (126 = 743 -744) and work on the building was not completed This attribution found further support in a story quoted by H Lammens (in *J A*, 1915) from Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ, according to which Walīd II was murdered by a man named Ibrāhīm while building a "town" in the desert, which was to bear his name Lammens identifies this town with Mshattā Recently the Syrian desert palaces were again thoroughly investigated by the two fathers and teachers of the École Biblique St Étienne in Jerusalem, Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission Arch en Arabie III Les chateaux Arabes de Qoseir Amra, Haraneh et Tûba*, 2 vols, Paris 1922) As regards Tūba and Mshattā the two students came to the same conclusion as earlier scholars, namely that they belong to the same period As it seemed to them impossible to attribute them to the Umaiyad period, they attributed them to the pre-Islāmic period, as both buildings were left unfinished, they must have been built towards the end of a dynasty or kingdom The discovery of idols at Mshatta also, they said, prevented its being attributed to the Umaiyad period (cf Diez, *Die Kunst d islamischen Volker*, 11th ed, 1926, p 153)

Establishment of the Umaiyad date of Mshattā The archaeological material at Strzygowski's disposal when he wrote on Mshattā in 1904 was still insufficient for the proper appreciation of the historical position It was not yet possible to have a complete conception of Umaiyad art Herzfeld who knew the lands in question by long residence and frequent travels was able six years later to approach the problem from much more solid premises The most important monument from which deductions could be drawn was the Mihrāb of the Djāmiʿ al-Khāssakī, discovered by Sarre and Herzfeld in the meanwhile in Baghdād, which must be either pre- or early ʿAbbāsid, and the decoration of which formed a parallel to that of Mshattā (*Isl*, i 33 *sq* and plate i) The explanation of the niche in the chamber right of the gateway as a *mihrāb* had to be decisively rejected and indeed less emphasis had been laid on it by Herzfeld than by superficial writers on the question for whom the "mihrāb" meant an easy proof of their point Schulz had previously ascertained on the spot that this niche is not a mihrāb, and a study of the plan and Schulz's measurements shows a piece of masonry jutting 65 cm out of the wall, containing a niche 1 62 m broad and 1 48 deep The fact that the mihrāb is never in a projection from the wall (an exception

would prove nothing) as well as the breadth of the niche which would be exceptional, even in very large mosques of late date (such a depth is hardly ever found anywhere), prove that this can only be a tribunal niche or something of the kind Kaṣr al-Tūba has in its south wall four similar semi-circular apse-like niches about 10 feet broad, which surely no Muslim archaeologist would claim as miḥrābs Mshattā, however, does not require such illusive evidence to prove its Umaiyad date The conclusive proofs are found in the variety of material used and architectural styles, in the application of the principles of the minor arts to the decoration of buildings, already noticed but not correctly interpreted by Strzygowski, and the variety of styles in the areas of the triangles which fall into four groups

The combination of ʿIrāk brickwork with Syrian stonework in the royal residence proves the co-operation of different groups of workmen working on the system of conscription which was revived by the Umaiyads The construction of the brick arches is also ʿIrākian in form and, besides, they are pointed arches which were unknown before the beginning of the seventh century, so that it is impossible to put the date before 600 A D It was only in the early Muslim period that their use spread We find Syrian torus profiles on the basilical building and North Mesopotamian profiles on the frieze The pillars in the basilical hall are taken from older buildings as was the custom wherever possible in the early Muslim period In the pre-Muhammadan period neither wooden braces in the arches nor material from older buildings were used (Herzfeld)

On the significance of the decorative façade we may add a little to Strzygowski's and Herzfeld's observations Two points were hardly touched on in the previous discussion that the frieze is to be considered and understood only as the basis of a great façade which was planned but was never finished, and the origin of this system of decoration from Persian textile art, which alone could supply the foundation for it and explain the sudden appearance of this completely new world hitherto unknown in architectural ornamentation The façade proper planned above this architectural border would have contained a pattern on a much larger scale just as we see on carpets The thousandfold opposed groups of animals still to be found on Russian carpets and textiles influenced from Persia and the Caucasus of the XVIIIth—XIXth centuries and the zigzag friezes filled with tendrils each with a cypress (in place of a rosette) in the centre show the popularity and wide distribution and permanence of this motive When it was taken over for architectural decoration, the popular textilised forms, however, were translated into the traditional forms of the art of the land and time This explains the different stylistic execution of the same plan by the stone-masons

This historic breach with tradition, this surprising control over a differently oriented artistic tendency presupposes a radical change and reorganisation of society and outlook An artistic creed so perfect and complete in itself cannot possibly be explained by the ambition of some upstart of a desert sheikh but it presupposes in addition to enormous wealth and far-reaching power a highly trained artistic sense, which was only possible at the time of the Umaiyad Court and actually existed there, as we know from many sources Only a passionate builder and lover of architecture could visualise such a work and only at a court filled with scholars, poets and artists from all countries could the plans for it be drawn up This illuminating emancipation from the Hellenistic façade with its pillared niches is only to be explained as the expression of a new outlook rooted in religion and proudly conscious of its quite different ideals, as was the case with young Islām For the first time, the new teaching was here given artistic expression, in a design on a figured ground, which was to develop into the frieze of inscriptions on the *Īwān* in Khārgird in the XIth century (cf Diez, *Churanische Baudenkmaler*, Pl 18/2)

Bibliography given in the article

(E DIEZ)

MU'ADHDHIN [See MASDJID, I, II, 4 and ADHĀN]

AL-**MU'AIYAD** [See HISHĀM II]

AL MALIK AL **MU'AIYAD** SAIF AL-DIN, Shaikh al-Maḥmūdī (so called after his first owner) al-Khāsskī (member of the bodyguard), a Circassian by birth, was brought as a slave to Cairo and purchased by the Atābeg Barkūk When the latter became Sultān in 784 (1382) he gave him his freedom, put him in the corps of pages (*djamdār*, q v), moved him to the corps of cup-bearers (*sāḳī*, q v) and later appointed him to the bodyguard (*khāṣṣḳī*, whence his nickname) Barkūk's son, Nāsir Faradj [q v], on his accession in 801 (1399) appointed him emīr of a thousand and in the following year governor of Tripoli He served as a troop commander in the battle of Damascus against Tīmūr, was taken prisoner, soon after his release again became governor of Tripoli and later of Damascus The reign of Sultān Faradj was a period of uninterrupted fighting between the Sultān and his governors and Shaikh was always in the midst of intrigues, often he was on the Sultān's side, more often in rebellion against him His relations with his rival, the powerful governor Newrūz, were similar Finally the Sultān succumbed to the emīrs, was deposed and put to death, the caliph ʿAbbās b Muhammad al-Mustaʿīn succeeded him in 815 (1412) The governor Shaikh who was in Cairo at the time, was appointed first minister (*niẓām al-mulk*) and retained power by filling all available offices with his followers A rebellion of the Egyptian Beduins gave a pretext for deposing the Sultān al Mustaʿīn The emīrs demanded that a man of vigour should occupy the throne and in Shaʿbān of the same year chose Shaikh as Sultān While he encountered no difficulties in Egypt, the governors of the Syrian provinces refused to recognise him He had himself to go to Syria to bring them to reason He gradually succeeded in taking one after the other prisoner, and after he had executed his chief enemy Newrūz his throne was secure The last rebellion in 818 (1415) he put down with comparative ease

The defeat of the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd in 804 (1402) by Tīmūr and the civil strife in the Mamlūk kingdom had been utilised by the neighbouring rulers in the buffer-states between Egypt and the Ottoman empire to capture a number of towns and fortresses in southern Asia Minor up to a line Larenda-Abulustain Darenda, which had previously been under Mamlūk rule Sultān Shaikh regarded it as his duty to recapture these fortresses and again force these former vassals to recognise

his suzerainty in order to give his kingdom the necessary strength to resist its enemy, the Ottoman Sulṭān, and to protect the northern frontiers against the plundering raids of the Turkomans The first campaign took place in 820 (1418) because, in spite of repeated demands, the prince Muhammad b ʿAlī of the house of Karamān would not surrender the town of Tarsūs, which he had taken, although he was ready to recognise the Sultān's suzerainty on the coins and in the khutba The Sultān set out from Cairo, receiving in Syria envoys from the families of Dhu 'l Ghādir, Karamān and Ramadān, who brought the submission of their chiefs Malatiya, Abulustain, Darenda and Tarsūs were successively occupied, then Behesnā, Kahtā and Karkār west of the Euphrates, the citadels of the two last named were besieged, but the siege was raised when the commanders recognised the suzerainty of the Sultān In the following year, a dangerous enemy of the Sultān, Karā Yūsuf, chief of the Black Sheep, invaded Northern Syria in his pursuit of Karā Yelek, chief of the White Sheep (both called after their banners), plundered the towns in the N E of the Mamlūk empire but then returned to Baghdād The Sultān's successes were rendered useless by his return to Egypt, as the Syrian governors did not succeed in retaking the citadels The Sultān therefore sent his son Ibrāhīm with a strong army to Asia Minor The latter reached Kaisarīya, appointed friendly chiefs as governors, while several hostile chiefs were taken prisoners and put to death and others slain in their flight Ibrāhīm himself returned to Cairo in triumph but died there in 823 (1421) to the great grief of his father (the story that the latter poisoned him out of jealousy of his fame is absurd) Karā Yūsuf was threatening the eastern frontier, but he had to turn his attention to his enemies, a rebellious son and Timūr's grandson Shāh Rukh, and at the end of the year he was poisoned The Sultān himself had suffered for years from an affection of the foot, his illness (probably inflammation) became so serious that he could scarcely leave his bed He had installed his eighteen months' old son as his successor and three of his emīrs formed a kind of regency His death took place on the 8th Muharram 828 (Jan 14, 1427) His kingdom was secure, the frontiers consolidated, but at home there was a lack of order Beduins were plundering the country and Alexandria was not infrequently exposed to attacks from the sea by Frankish pirates Offices were freely sold and the people suffered much from the extortions of the officials From time to time the Sultān deprived high officials of the profits of their extortions or imposed severe punishments on them Taxes oppressed the country The Sultān himself was brave and to the end of his life fulfilled his duties as a ruler in spite of his painful affliction — he had frequently to be carried Although he led a life of pomp and gave popular entertainments, fireworks and feasts with great splendour, he was outwardly a pious and humble Muslim, who in times of famine and pestilence took part in prayers in the penitential garb of the Sūfīs on the bare ground and like a pious Muslim observed a three days' fast in times of drought He was harsh on Jews and Christians, dismissed them from government offices where they had clerical and administrative posts, and punished them in addition The old strict regulations about dress were again enforced and all kinds of humiliations heaped on the "unbelievers"

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(M SOBERNHEIM)

AL MU'AIYAD FI 'L-DĪN, ABŪ NASR HIBAT ALLĀH B ABĪ ʿIMRĀN MŪSĀ B DĀWŪD AL SHĪRĀZĪ, a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* of high rank, d 470 (1087) At the beginning of his mission al-Mu'aiyad propagated the Ismāʿīlī doctrine in the East, especially in Shīrāz He succeeded in converting the Buwaihid amīr Abū Kālīdjār [q v], but on account of opposition at home he went to Baghdād and Mawsil, and thence to Cairo, where he was received after some time at the court of al-Mustansir bi 'llāh [q v] He now became chief *dāʿī* and *bāb* of the Imām, and was probably in relations with the other great *dāʿī* Nāsir-i Khusraw [q v] Al-Mu'aiyad was sent in command of an army to help al-Basāsīrī [q v] against the Turkmens With his assistance al Basāsīrī inflicted a severe defeat on the Turkmens at Sindjār, took Baghdād, and read the *khutba* in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph Al-Mu'aiyad was also in direct communication with the leaders of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Yaman In addition to his capacities as a general he was possessed of great literary ability and a poet of no mean talent His *dīwān*, which consists of panegyrics on the Fāṭimid Imāms al-Mustansir and al Zāhir, deals partly with philosophical subjects Another important work, *al-Madjālis*, contains 800 "assemblies", dealing with different theological and philosophical questions, including his correspondence with the poet philosopher Abu 'l ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī [q v] on the subject of vegetarianism (see D S Margoliouth, in *JRAS* [1902], 289 *sqq*) His autobiographical work, *al-Sīra*, gives a detailed account of his mission in Shīrāz and his admission to the court of al-Mustansir, and is carried down to 451 (1059) Besides being one of the few autobiographies in Arabic literature, it is of considerable interest for the history of the Buwaihids and their relations with the Fāṭimids The MSS of these works are preserved in some collections of Ismāʿīlī works in Yaman and India

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MU'AIYAD-ZĀDE, ʿABD AL-RAHMĀN ČELEBĪ, an important Ottoman theologian and legist Born in 860 (1456) in Amasia of the family of Mu'aiyad-zāde (his father ʿAlī was one of the three sons of Diwrikli zāde Shams al Dīn Mu'aiyad Čelebī [d 851 = 1447], Shaikh of the Yaʿkūb Pasha Zāwiyesi in Amasia), he became, as a young student of theology, acquainted with prince Bāyazīd, the younger son of Sultān Mehmed al-Fātih and afterwards Sultān, who had been appointed wālī of Amasia as a seven year old boy, and became a member of his circle It is to this period that his relations with the famous poetess Mihrī Khatun [q v] belong The relations between the gifted youth and the prince who was about 9 years older than he (born 854 = 1447), became so intimate that Mu'aiyad soon became the in-

separable comrade of Bāyazīd When Sulṭān Mehmed heard from various sources, especially from a complaint in verse by Halīmī Luṭf Allāh, Kādī of Sīwās, who had been gravely insulted by the entourage of the prince, of alleged abuses at the prince's court, especially the orgies of drug taking (*mukeyyefāt bersh*, *afiyūn*, *maʿdjūn*), he sent a commission of enquiry which arrived in Amasia when the prince was with Muʾaiyad on a pleasure trip to Ladik The result of the enquiry was the issue of an order for the execution of the two chief culprits, one of whom was Muʾaiyad (this *hukm-i sherīf* is given in Ferīdūn, *Medjmūʿa-i Munsheʾāt*, Constantinople 1274², i 270—271) From a note by Muʾaiyad in a book bought by him during his stay in Ladik in Rabīʿ I 882 (June 1477) (the *Zīdj* of Shems al-Dīn) the date is exactly fixed (the date in Ferīdūn should therefore be altered from 884 to 883, cf Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasia Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1927, iii, 230 note 1) Muʾaiyad, receiving timely warning of the fate threatening him, escaped from Amasia, provided with everything necessary by Bāyazīd, and after a short stay in Halab went to Shīrāz, where he completed his theological studies under the celebrated Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī

When Muʾaiyad returned home, on hearing of Bāyazīd's accession, he received an *idjāza* (teacher's diploma) from Dawwānī In 887 (1482) he reached Amasia where his father had died three months earlier After staying six weeks here he went to Constantinople where his extensive learning soon gained him a reputation among the theologians Bāyazīd appointed him *muderris* at the Kalender khāne-medrese in Constantinople In 891 (1486) Muʾaiyad married the daughter of the famous legist Muslih al-Dīn Kastellānī (Mawlāna Kestellī) who was the last Kādī-ʿasker general of the Turkish empire and after the reforms by which this office was divided became Kādī-ʿasker of Rumelia Muʾaiyad had a brilliant career in 899 (1494) he became Kādī of Adrianople, in 907 (1501) Kādī-ʿasker of Anatolia, in 910 (1504—1505) Kādī-ʿasker of Rumelia and head of all the ʿulamāʾ In 917 (1511) the Janissaries who had taken the part of prince Selīm plundered his house because his sympathies were with Ahmad, the favourite son of Bāyazīd He himself was dismissed by the now senile Sultān under pressure from the Janissaries Selīm I soon after his accession recalled however him to his old office as he saw in him the right man to carry through the important duties of a Kādī-ʿasker Selīm took him with him on his campaign to Persia against Shāh Ismāʿīl But on the way back Muʾaiyad was deprived of his office in Čoban Kopru, as symptoms of a mental breakdown had begun to show themselves (920 = 1514) He died in 922 (1516) in Constantinople and was buried in Eyyūb

Muʾaiyad wrote a number of treatises on law and theology especially on Kurʾānic exegesis Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 227 and Brusalī Mehmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmanlī Muʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, i 355, give a list of his works that survive in MS Under the nom-de plume of Khātemī, Muʾaiyad also wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish His great service to Turkish literature lies however less in his own original work than in the magnificent liberality with which he encouraged rising young talent, like the poets Nedjātī and Zātī, the historians Kemāl-Pasha-Zāde and Muhyī al-Dīn Meḥmed, the jurist Abu 'l-Suʿūd and others Muʾaiyad was also famed as a calligraphist He was the first Ottoman to form a private library of over 7,000 volumes, a huge figure for the time

Bibliography In addition to the works already quoted Tāshköprüzāde, *Shakāʾik i nuʿmāniye*, Constantinople 1269, p 308—311, transl into German by Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p 191—194, 86, Sehī, *Hesht bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p 27—28, Laṭīfī, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1314, p 238, Habīb, *Khatt u Khaṭṭātān*, Constantinople 1306, p 116, M Shemʿī, *ʿIlāweli ethmār el-Tewārīkh*, Constantinople 1295, p 165, Thureiya, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii 310, Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv 30, 70—71, Hammer, *G O D*, i 305, Gibb, *H O P*, ii 29—31 (Th Menzel)

MU'AIYID AL-DAWLA, Abū Mansūr Būye b Rukn al-Dawla, Būyid governor born in Djumādā II 330 (= February–March 942), died in Djurdjān in Shaʿbān 373 (January–February 984) See the article Fakhr al-Dawla

AL MU'AKHKHIR [See Allāh, II]

AL-MUʿAMMĀ, anagram, sometimes charade, a kind of enigma propounded in verse and rarely in prose, its meaning is made "blind" or obscure with the object of misleading the wits and the eye It is formed by designating one or more words by various allusions to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misinterpretation or inversion (*kalb*) Very frequently no notice is taken of the vowels or of letters only connected with the spelling Good taste is the rule

There are several varieties of *muʿammā* which will be found enumerated in the works given in the *Bibliography*

The invention of the *muʿammā* is attributed to Khalīl b Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to ʿAlī b Abī Tālib

The following is an example of a *muʿammā* on the name Aḥmad *Awwaluhu thālithu tuffāhatin, wa-rābiʿu 'l tuffāhi thānīhī Wa awwal al miski lahū thālithun, wa-ākhiru 'l-wardi li bākīhī*, "Its first is the third of [the word] *tuffāha* (apple) = A, and the fourth of [the word] *tuffāh* (apples) is its second = H, and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M, and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D"

Here is a Persian example on the word *satīk Nām i butam ān māh tirāzī, haft ast bihārisiy u tāzī*, "The name of my idol, this [woman] fair as the moon, is seven in Persian and Arabic" The word *satīk* divided into two, gives *sat* or *sitt* which in Arabic means "six" and *ik* or *yek* which in Persian means "one", whence we have 6 + 1 = 7

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min Aʿyān al-Masāʾil, Cairo 1316, p 108, Muhammad b Kais al-Rāzī, *al Muʿdjam fī Maʿāyīr Aṣḥāʿr al-ʿAdjam*, ed Mīrzā Muhammad and Browne, Leyden 1901, p 397, al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Constantinople 1307, p 150, Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetor et prosodie des lang des musul de l'Or*, Paris 1873, p 165 (MOH BENCHENEB)

MUʿAṬṬILA [See TAʿṬĪL]

MUʿĀWAḌA (A), barter, exchange

1 Muʿāwada, barter, is historically an early form of the exchange of commodities between two parties and the predecessor of buying and selling (*baiʿ*, Roman law *emptio-venditio*) In course of time sale developed out of exchange when, with the coming of money, a sum was given in place of the goods which the other party had to give in return In Muslim law we find the following four kinds of sale

a Exchange of one thing for another This is the primitive method of exchange (*muʿāwada*) Exchange is a transaction in kind Payment takes place "hand upon hand" (*yadan bi-yadin*)

b Exchange of a thing for a definite sum (*thaman*) By *thaman* (gold or silver) a sum of money is meant Here we have a sale in the proper sense of the word (cf BAIʿ)

c Exchange of one definite sum (*thaman*) for another, this is the case of gold or silver being exchanged for each or one another This is called *ṣarf* (*q v*, money-changing)

d Exchange of a claim (*dain*, debt) for a definite sum The main business under this head is the *salam* or *salaf* [q v]

2 Muʿāwada is a subdivision of the form of agreement called *ṣulh* [q v] According to Ibn al Kāsim's definition, p 338, and other *fukahāʾ* such an agreement is either *sulh al ibrāʾ*, reduction of debt (not wiping it out) or *sulh al-muʿāwada*, exchange of debts Ibn al Kāsim thus defines the latter "And the exchange i e the composition is the ceding of one's right to a third e g when some one claims a house or a part of it and he allows this claim and concludes an agreement with him by which the debt is paid in some definite thing e g clothes" In this case the creditor instead of the thing claimed by him which the debtor is unwilling to give up takes another to wipe out the disputed debt An agreement may also be made about a legal claim instead of a thing The following is a practical illustration Zaid has a legal claim against ʿAmr ʿAmr raises a claim against Zaid Each of them abandons his claim in *ṣulh al-muʿāwada* and the demands are cancelled

3 Lastly Muʿāwada is a technical term in the general Muslim law of contract, on which there is so far no comprehensive study taking full account of the sources A contract (*ʿakd*) may be based on onesided or mutual obligation (*contractus unilateralis* or *bilateralis*) The latter form, which is the basis for mutual obligations, claim and counter-claim, is called *muʿāwada* in Muslim law Examples of contract of this sort are those of sale, lease, marriage etc

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MUʿĀWIYA, the first Umaiyad caliph, son of Abū Sufyān [q v] and Hind [q v], was born in Mecca in the first decade of the seventh century A D Under the training of his father, the most influential personage in, if not the actual leader of the merchant republic of Mecca, he had an opportunity to be initiated into the principles of government as the Meccans understood it Converted to Islām in the year of the *fath* or surrender of Mecca, he made himself useful to the Prophet in the capacity of secretary Here he gained an insight into the workings of the new regime and learned to know the men with whom he was later to work or struggle the autocratic ʿOmar, the presumptuous ʿAlī, a whole crowd of ambitious people, like Talha, Zubair and ʿĀʾisha, sometimes redoubtable for their talents and capacity for intrigue, like ʿAmr b al-Ās [q v] and Mughira b Shuʿba [q v] This dual training early matured the young Muʿāwiya who was remarkably gifted, and prepared him from the first for his high destiny

In the caliphate of Abū Bakr he was sent to the conquest of Syria as second in command to his brother Yazīd, in this new field he displayed an astonishing activity and distinguished himself by military successes, like the taking of Caesarea and other cities of the Phoenician coast On the premature death of Yazīd, he took his place as governor of Damascus In ʿOmar's reign, with the advance of Arab arms, he added to this office the governorships of the other provinces of Syria ʿOthmān, who was related to him, confirmed him in these offices and still further increased his authority Muʿāwiya gained the attachment of those under him and established in Syria during the twenty years of his governorship a model province, the best organized, and with the best disciplined troops of the young empire Not having been able to prevent the assassination of ʿOthmān, he was able cleverly to take upon himself the task of avenging him This was to lead him to the caliphate and bring him into open conflict with ʿAlī Delaying his attack, he let his rival use up his forces and lose his prestige in civil strife and in sterile conflicts with the dissenters (ʿOthmānīya, q v) and others, who accused him of complicity in the murder of his predecessor The indecisive battle of Siffīn [q v] resulted in the arbitration of Adhroh [q v] In pronouncing that ʿAlī should lose the caliphate, the verdict restored to Muʿāwiya liberty of movement He had won over ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs to his side and at once used this valuable supporter for the conquest of Egypt Encouraged by his military and diplomatic successes, he allowed his troops to proclaim him caliph and continuously harassed the provinces that still recognised ʿAlī Ibn Muldjam's crime removed the last obstacle separating him from the throne Muʿāwiya profited by it to inaugurate his reign in Jerusalem To him the title of caliph merely meant official recognition of a fait accompli, the result of twenty years of labour and devotion to those under his governorship in Syria To law-abiding men, he alone seemed capable of putting an end to the anarchy in which the empire had been struggling for more than ten years In the course of a rapid campaign in the ʿIrāk in 41 (661), he acquired from Hasan b ʿAlī a definite renunciation of his family's claims The submission of the provinces to the east of the Tigris restored the unity of the caliphate This

year is known as the year of reunion (*al-ǧamāʿa*)

One man continued to sustain in Persia the flag of the ʿAlids, Ziyād b Abīhi [q v] Muʿāwiya won him over by *istilḥāk*, a procedure by which he recognised him as his half-brother, son of Abū Sufyān This bold stroke secured him the support of the ablest governor of the caliphate, a worthy rival of ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs and Mughīra b Shuʿba, already supporters of the caliph Against the combination of these four brains all the plots hatched by the anti-Umaiyad opposition were to come to nothing On the death of Mughīra, Ziyād added the governorship of Kūfa to his own of Basra and for eight years ruled the whole of the eastern provinces By his ability and loyalty, Ziyād showed himself most worthy of the confidence placed in him Freed from anxiety about this half of the empire, Muʿāwiya devoted his energies to the pacification and development of the prosperity of other parts of his vast empire and to removing the traces of the long struggle from which it had emerged He organised the Arab navy while his lieutenants actively pursued the work of foreign conquest He took Cyprus and Rhodes and on two occasions his son Yazīd closely blockaded Constantinople His great work was the creation of the Syrian army of troops blindly devoted to their sovereign It formed the great military reserve of the empire for his successors, an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers and leaders He was able to keep it in training by annual invasions of Byzantine territory razzias on a large scale rather than campaigns with a definite plan of conquest By thus keeping the enemy engaged at home, he managed to defend his own frontiers very efficaciously Taken at a disadvantage during his tense struggle with ʿAlī by an invasion of the Mardaites [q v], he did not hesitate to purchase the withdrawal of these adventurers from the emperor If after his elevation to the caliphate he rarely left Damascus — henceforth the official capital — to lead his armies in person, he nevertheless was still the "real organiser of victory" He saw to the comfort and equipment of the troops, doubled their pay and saw that they were paid with a regularity hitherto unknown His rival ʿAlī said that on the call of Muʿāwiya the Syrian army "would take the field without demanding pay, not two or three times a year only, wherever it pleased its leaders to take them" His intuition everywhere chose the ablest administrators, the best leaders among the Kuraish and other tribes. To the names already mentioned we may add those of Dahhāk b Kais, Abu 'l-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, Muslim b ʿUkba, Busr b. Abī Artāt, Habīb b Maslama [q v] By the help of enormous subsidies and by his magnanimity he was able to keep the members of the Prophet's family, the ʿAlids and the Hāshimīs, quiet Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Djaʿfar, ʿAḳīl, the brother, and "the two Hasans", *al-Ḥasanān*, the sons of ʿAlī He used the business experience of the Sardjūnids to organise the financial administration This fiscal reform gave him the resources required to maintain his armies, carry out desirable public works and pay the subsidies necessary to secure the success of his plans He continuously interested himself in agriculture He paid special attention to the development of the province least favoured by nature, the Ḥiḏjāz His example, which was copied by his relations and most influential contemporaries, brought this region a century of prosperity under the Umaiyads such as it was never to see again In the lands of Medīna and Mecca and Ṭāʾif, Muʿāwiya carried out great irrigation schemes, sank wells and built dams

In Syria he strengthened his authority by a close alliance with the fellow-tribesmen of his Kalbī wife Maisūn [q v] and through them with the other tribes of Kudāʿa and those from the Yemen, these groups formed the bulk of the Arab population of Syria It was on these foundations that the hegemony exercised by Syria throughout the Umaiyad period was built and consolidated His policy towards Christians was a tolerant one Lastly, he endeavoured to train his son Yazīd to be an heir capable of continuing his traditions of government, by checking certain tendencies of his well endowed but impetuous nature with its fondness for pleasure Seeing his end approaching, he skilfully succeeded in getting Yazīd recognised as his successor, first of all in Syria and then in other provinces These difficult negotiations were the last of his political successes Muʿāwiya was now entering on the twentieth year of his caliphate, in 60 (Oct 679) and probably was in the 80th year of a life which had been marked by constant success By the year 3 or 4 — contrary to the assertion of Ibn Duraid (*Kitāb al-Ištiḳāḳ*, p 256) — he must have reached manhood, for four years later he was secretary to the Prophet In the course of the forty years of his public career, no serious check ever interrupted his progress After the abdication of Ḥasan b ʿAlī, he had "reigned without a rival, without losing any of the conquests of Islām Neither ʿAbd al Malik, nor Mansūr, nor Hārūn al-Rashīd earned this praise, unique in the annals of Islām" (Dhahabī) He died at Damascus in the month of Radjab of the year 60 (April 680) and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr where his tomb still survives Before his death he entrusted the regency to Dahhāk b Kais and to Muslim b ʿUkba until Yazīd should return from Anatolia Companion and secretary of the Prophet, brother of Umm Habība [q v], "the mother of the believers", these claims have not preserved him from the hatred of the Shīʿīs and the official maledictions pronounced by certain ʿAbbāsid caliphs More tolerant to his memory than to that of his son Yazīd, orthodoxy generally agrees to recognise his right to the respect which is due to the Ṣaḥābīs The Syrians long cherished the memory of his glorious reign and even beyond the bounds of Syria he had partisans among the Hanbalīs, called *ghulāt*, the enthusiasts for Muʿāwiya

II Muʿāwiya's policy In the historical and anecdotal literature of the Arabs there are few collections which do not devote a paragraph to Muʿāwiya's "wise mildness and complete self-control" (Wellhausen), qualities which the Arabs include under the term *ḥilm* By this supreme virtue they claim to recognise the true statesman The Sufyānid sovereign is said to have owed the great success of his career to it "Muʿāwiya's *ḥilm*" thus became proverbial A somewhat mixed virtue, essentially opportunist in character, it may be combined with astuteness, or the less scrupulous forms of diplomacy In our hero this quality has been found even in the most difficult trials inflicted on his amour-propre His smiling imperturbility was able to disarm the proudest of his adversaries, who were then completely won over by his generosity With the golden chains of pensions

and rich gifts the ruler was able to hold in leash his most intractable enemies When his friends expressed surprise at the vastness of certain donations, he would reply "a war costs infinitely more" This was his favourite method of dealing with the ʿAlids and Hāshimids He has been unjustly accused of having introduced the custom of publicly cursing the name of ʿAlī from the pulpit of the mosque There is no certain evidence of this practice before the time of the Marwānids

The collateral branches of the Umaiyad family supplied him with distinguished assistants He was careful not to bring the more ambitious of them too much to the front or to leave them too long in one office He was studious to inculcate into all his relations the feeling that they must stand by one another and that this consisted in the blind execution of his orders The Umaiyads formed his natural supporters He could not do without them But the unsettled problem, of the dynastic succession made him distrustful of relatives called upon to share the responsibilities of power He did not fail to keep a close watch over them With men like Ibn ʿĀmir, Saʿīd b al-ʿĀs, Marwān b al Hakam [q v], of remarkable gifts and considerable influence, who did not conceal their aspirations, he came to terms in a way that effectually discouraged them from following the dictates of their ambitions As to the sons of the Caliph ʿOthmān, they seemed to him too insignificant to cause him any disquiet On the other hand, Marwān and Saʿīd were appointed to succeed one another at about regular intervals in the government of the Hidjāz, the cradle of Islām and of the ruling family Muʿāwiya was unwilling to give them time to create in such an important centre a position for themselves and connections which might have compromised the future of the dynasty Ultimately he decided to replace these two relatives by a nephew of his own, now almost grown up, the Sufyānid Walīd b ʿUtba [q v] In the important governorship of the ʿIrāk, which controlled the eastern provinces, Muʿāwiya showed his preference for Thakafī officials, Mughira, Ziyād and the latter's son ʿUbaid Allāh He appreciated the devotion of these men, who came from the shrewd society in Tāʾif, suspected by the other Umaiyad families, compelled to rely on their sovereign, the author of their fortunes For a moment, the extraordinary promotion of Ziyād and the confidence the Caliph showed in him suggested that he had him in view as his successor In this attitude to his relatives, the interests of the dynasty surpassed all other considerations The heir presumptive was young Muʿāwiya wanted to save his Umaiyad cousins from the temptation to set up as rivals of his successor The first step was to do Yazīd rather a bad turn If, instead of the inexperienced Walīd, Muʿāwiya had retained or restored for another period of office in the governorship of the Hidjāz the energetic Marwān, there is no reason to think that this would not have turned the incautious Husain from the hopeless exploit of Karbalāʾ

In the traditional view Muʿāwiya appears as the perfect type of Arab ruler When writers, jurists, encyclopaedists and compilers of anthologies have to quote a trait or a saying illustrating kingship, or the conduct of states, they rarely hesitate to credit it to our hero This unanimity which reflects so much to his credit has been transformed into censure by orthodoxy Muʿāwiya is reproached with having transformed the *khilāfat*, the vicariate of the Prophet, into *mulk*, into a temporal sovereignty, with having, if we may use the term, secularized the supreme power, really a purely lay one, in the heart of Islām This criticism is an attempt to throw odium on Muʿāwiya while in reality it calls attention to his great merit In him the ruler, "the king", i e the organizer and administrator, appear very distinctly while they are difficult to find in his predecessors, painfully fighting against the outbursts of Beduin anarchy This transformation of the patriarchal power had begun with ʿOmar who was the first to realise the necessity for it and attempted to realize it Muʿāwiya endeavoured to hasten its evolution towards more effective centralization, an extension of the powers and personal authority of the sovereign To secure for the latter the advantages of external pomp, the prestige given by formalities, he gave more ceremony to the hitherto democratic appearance of the caliph at the Friday services He appeared in the *minbar* or pulpit, surrounded by a *shorta* or guard — ʿAlī had already had one — and remained seated while delivering his address, the *khutba* Some have thought to see in this attitude a sign of pride This is to forget the primitive nature of the minbar as the seat of the ruler, the sovereign's throne, before it became of liturgical significance as the pulpit of the mosque, after the latter had become a building for religious worship This charge of *mulk* was also intended to render suspect the sincerity of the faith of the Sufyānid monarch But austerity characterised his morals and private life He was a good father and a devoted husband We find him conscientiously performing his religious duties and dying at length a good Muslim

The chroniclers unanimously find in the complex character of Muʿāwiya another trait besides *hilm* political finesse, what the Arabs call *dāhiya* To be credited with this it was necessary to have in addition to diplomatic skill, a remarkable gift of eloquence, force of decision, a resourceful nature and a conscience broad enough not to shrink from the use of trickery Muʿāwiya was reckoned among the five best Kuraish orators of his time He was fond of saying "I have won more success with the tongue than Ziyād (b Abīhi) with the sword" Arab writers prefer to attribute these successes to the Machiavellian nature of the sovereign He is said never to have shrunk from recourse to violence or the use of poison when he wished to get rid of troublesome adversaries To support this charge the cases of ʿAbd al Rahmān b Khālid, Hasan b ʿAlī and Ashtar b Mālik [q v] are quoted But each of the examples is capable of a more natural explanation We would readily put Muʿāwiya in the category of those statesmen to whom useless crime is naturally repugnant, too wise to allow themselves to be tempted by violent solutions but not scrupulous enough to hesitate in such an extremity, if reasons of state seemed to advise it One of his successors, ʿAbd al-Malik, called him "the cunning (*mudāhin*) caliph" The pleasure loving son of ʿAlī, ruined by his easy life, forgotten and retired to Medina, did not deserve to be feared The two other individuals above mentioned died by accident or were victims of private vengeance

The poets, the "journalists" of the period, had an undoubted influence on their contemporaries This influence the sovereign succeeded in controlling

and subjecting to dynastic interests Himself very susceptible to the charms of verse, he would have liked to see poetry confine itself to developing patriotism, and renouncing satire which was a source of dissension among the tribes The restorer of *ǧamāʿa*, national unity, felt more than anyone the necessity for this concord to heal the wounds caused by anarchy Powerless to prevent the incursions of poetasters into the field of politics he endeavoured to win them over to his side by gifts and the use of tact To win them over was to have "a good press", and at the same time gain their tribes to the cause of order, for the tribes usually agreed with the ideas spread by their bards He exploited his son Yazīd's relations and friendships with the poets to compromise them in favour of the Umayyads and make them less amenable to the advances of the reactionary parties He paid for their panegyrics, he took them under his protection whenever their lack of discipline brought them into trouble with the local authorities He did not hesitate to shut his eyes to some of their poetical outbursts, which seem to compromise the reputation of his own hearth, under the ʿAbbāsids such audacity would have meant death He further left it to these indiscreet auxiliaries to deal with abuses by officials and found in them a useful check on arbitrary exercise of authority by his lieutenants It was at the same time a satisfaction of their amour-propre, allowed to the vanity of these rhapsodists, who were courted by all parties and intoxicated by the terror which their wit inspired In return for this toleration, he was able to get less disinterested services from them He imposed on them the duty of preparing public opinion in favour of the *baiʿa*, the recognition, of Yazīd as heir-apparent To accustom the Arabs to this step so repulsive to their democratic instincts, to give the caliph leisure to calculate its chances of success, there was nothing so useful as the intervention of these heralds with their echoing phrases It enabled the government to remain discreetly in the background, ready to come out at the opportune moment

The biased Masʿūdī himself cannot help admiring the pliant ease of Muʿāwiya's policy, "his great generosity to his subjects and the benefits which he heaped upon them, winning their sympathy and seducing their hearts with such skill that they put him before their kinsmen and natural affections" Firmness in administration, skill in managing men according to their rank, cordiality, these are some of the qualities credited by this historian, the friend of ʿAlī, to the successful rival of Fātima's husband

Let us now deal with the charges brought against him by orthodoxy With the object of making them more readily accepted, the indictment is carefully put in the mouth of the austere Hasan al-Basrī "Muʿāwiya committed four crimes — one of them alone would suffice to cover him with dishonour — he abandoned the nation to men of no repute, deprived it without consulting it (by the *baiʿa* of Yazīd) of the control of its destinies and that in the life-time (i e to the detriment) of numerous Companions and virtuous individuals He chose as his successor an incorrigible drunkard, robed in silk and playing the harp He adopted Ziyād Lastly he condemned Hudjr b ʿAdī [q v] to death" The impartial historian will have little difficulty in clearing the sovereign from these charges, which reveal his political flair, his instinct for rulership which raised him high above the prejudices of his contemporaries The measures for which he is blamed secured the caliphate twenty years of peace and prosperity, the longest period it ever knew

To sum up, Muʿāwiya appears in the series of Muslim rulers as one of the most attractive individuals and one of all round ability In him the Arabs see the very incarnation of sovereignty In the opinion of Masʿūdī his successors at best could only try to copy him without being able to equal him In spite of their little liking for the able Sufyānid, the Marwānids frequently appealed to his traditions and the methods of government inaugurated by him He was, beyond doubt, the least oriental and the most modern of the rulers of Islām He did not disdain public opinion One must be grateful to him for not having believed in the power of force alone in the management of men, for not having sought to reestablish, as the ʿAbbāsids were to do, the old Asiatic autocracies, for having preferred that his subjects should become voluntarily attached to him by winning their sympathies, for proclaiming that "the world is more surely led by the tongue than by the sword" This conviction led him to adopt several institutions of Bedouin democracy — such as the *wufūd*, deputations from the provinces and the principal tribes — to consult the views of such assemblies on as many occasions as possible, to associate them openly with public business by recognising their right of remonstrance The astuteness of the sovereign knew how to direct these manifestations of the old individualism of the nomads and to bring them to cooperate with his designs To quote the comparison of the Byzantine historians, he appeared as a *πρωτοσύμβουλος* in the midst of his *σύμβολοι*, in the deliberations of his Syrian parliament, he posed as *primus inter pares* He was gradually able to advance the political education of his subjects and to control the signs of lack of discipline He was never perturbed by their criticisms nor by the satires of the poets "I do not trouble" he said "about words so long as they do not lead to deeds" These liberal principles became restricted under the Marwānids and disappeared with the coming of power of the absolute monarchy of the ʿAbbāsids

As is frequently the case with men who have grown old in politics, a long period of power — he exercised it without interruption for 40 years — had made him a sceptic This benevolent scepticism was revealed in a knowing smile when, with eyes half closed, he used to listen without missing a word to the petitions and recriminations of his visitors and pretended to be taken in by their customary excesses From his youth, passed in the cosmopolitan city of Mecca, then in Medīna in the very mixed society of the Companions, he had been in too close contact with his contemporaries to be under any illusions about their disinterestedness He had not to invent, but no one managed better than he, that instrument of government, the *taʾlīf al-kulūb*, the rallying of hearts, an ingenious euphemism of the Kurʾān, meaning the art of purchasing hesitating adherents Other caliphs surpassed him in courage, in outward austerity, *zuhd*, in love of knowledge and other qualities that dazzle the eyes of the multitude No one possessed to such a degree as Muʿāwiya the gifts of the founder of an empire vision,

energy and promptitude in action, breadth of view, logical thinking, absence of antiquated prejudices, skill in adapting the prestige and ceremonial of his position to Arab taste, ability to use men and to deal tactfully with their prejudices so as not to offend them directly This rare combination of qualities enabled him to extract order out of the chaos of Bedouin anarchy If we endeavour to appreciate fairly Muʿāwiya's work with its inevitable deficiencies, one must take into account the intractable material on which he had to work and the resistance opposed by the inveterate individualism of the nomads He succeeded not only in disciplining them but also in transforming them into conquerors, able to rule over peoples of superior culture, heirs to the oldest civilisations

For achieving this result, the son of Muhammad's old opponent has deserved well of Islām In the list of those responsible for this great revolution his name should come after that of the Prophet beside the name of the caliph ʿOmar Orthodox tradition likes to exalt the latter and present him as the second founder of Islām Of European writers, Sprenger and von Kremer have popularised this view In it we may recognise the reply of the schools of the Ḥiḏjāz to the ʿIrāk legend woven round the memory of ʿAlī To their work we owe the fantastic proportions assumed by the personality of ʿOmar, it absorbs not only Abū Bakr, but even throws its shadow upon the Prophet ʿOmar is brought into the origin of all religious and administrative institutions, especially of all those that cannot decently be credited to the author of the Kurʾān This exaggerated admiration of the Ḥiḏjāz was to provoke the protestations of theʿAbbāsids The counterblast of Shiʿa tradition was to place ʿAlī alongside of ʿOmar to direct him and if necessary to correct him The indisputable merits of the second caliph lie elsewhere In the midst of the terrible confusion that resulted from the conquests he was able to maintain the unity and cohesion of the empire, immeasurably enlarged, to bring the Arabs intoxicated with success under comparative control Closely watched, harassed by the selfish claims of his Medinese senate and its disturbing element formed by the redoubtable group of the "ten *mubashshara*" or "the chosen" and the oldest friends of the Master, he succeeded in neutralising their restless activities, their due passion for intriguing and in exploiting their greed and mutual jealousies In the provinces the generals and governors showed an obedience scarcely less intermittent ʿOmar had frequently to resign himself to approving by *sanatio in radice* in order not to lose touch with such undisciplined auxiliaries and to remind all of the existence of the vicariate of the Prophet The day on which he thought of a more effective centralization, of a less ideal systematization, assassination brutally delivered him from his error The same fate was to overtake ʿOthmān, when under pressure from the Umaiyads, he took up his predecessor's programme where it had been interrupted With ʿAlī the caliphate relapsed into chaos and lost a quarter of a century of progress on the way to reorganization One province alone formed an exception, Syria, which had been governed since its creation by the Umaiyads

But for the intervention of Muʿāwiya and his able lieutenants, the ʿAmrs, Ziyāds and Marwāns, the Muslim empire would have been transformed — like the ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān — into an arena to which the Arabs came to settle their petty tribal quarrels Once on the throne, the Sufyānid worked to extend gradually to the rest of the caliphate the methods of government which had secured the prosperity of Syria Encouraged by the results obtained in this country, he set himself to discipline the other Bedouins who, according to the idea ascribed to ʿOmar, formed the "substance of Islām" From this *rudis indigestaque moles*, this rebellious mass, gradually broken in by the influence of Syria, fashioned by teachers trained in his school, the first Syrian caliph recruited soldiers, then formed from them the cadres of a regular army wonderful troops always ready to play their double part, the *ḏjihād* abroad, and at home the maintenance, against any threat from within, of the *ḏjamāʿa*, the unity of the empire Muʿāwiya succeeded in impressing on these descendants of caravan-leaders of Arabia, nomads, all obstinate landsmen, the importance of the mastery of the seas Arab thalassocracy dates from this period Forced to use primitive institutions, the *sunna*, tradition, sanctioned by the Prophet and the Medina caliphs, he endeavoured to turn them to the needs of a great empire He managed at least to suppress the anarchical working of the *shūrā* by regulating the dynastic succession He organised the finances, he began by revising and reducing the enormous pensions granted by preceding governments without regard to services rendered to the state Down to his time the central treasury of the caliphate had been supplied by intermittent and always unwilling contributions extorted from the provinces Muʿāwiya endeavoured to settle the amount to be paid by each province and to regularise its collection Under him the treasury ceased to be a relief fund which the conquerors claimed to use as they pleased His predecessors had had to empty it periodically to secure assistance or neutrality important for the success of their policy Hitherto "*māl al muslimīn*, the collective property of the Muslims", the treasury now became *māl Allāh*, the treasury of the state, intended to cover general expenses, to secure the representation and the defence of the empire These reforms made Muʿāwiya the first sovereign, *malik*, of Islām, the first ruler to enjoy a definite authority, independent, unlike his predecessors, of the anarchic good-will of his subjects, and no longer at the mercy of an oligarchy interested in the maintenance of old abuses The Medinese vicariate which developed from the triumvirate, could not long survive this coup d'état, this drastic solution of the problem of the succession to the Prophet Before Muʿāwiya, the caliphate had only had a nominal existence For this figment, the son of Abū Sufyān substituted a reality, he created the Arab state a creation seen darkly by ʿOmar without having been brought to realisation

Bibliography We refer the reader to our *Etudes sur le regne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwia I*, following our *Califat de Yazid I* (reprint from *MFOB*, i—iii) The references are there given One may also with advantage consult G Levi della Vida, *Il califfato di ʿAli secondo il Kitāb ansāb al-asrāf di al Balāḏuri*, in *RSO*, vi 427—507, our *Ziād ibn Abihi, vice-roi de l'Irāq, lieutenant de Moʿāwia I* (extract from the same periodical, iv)

(H LAMMENS)

MUʿĀWIYA B ʿUBAID ALLĀH [See ABŪ ʿUBAID ALLĀH]

AL-**MUʿAWWIḎHATĀNI**, name of sūras cxiii and cxiv, taken from the opening words "Say, I take refuge with " The term *al-muʿawwiḏhāt* occurs also, it denotes these sūras together with sūra cxii — The muʿawwiḏhatāni belong to those parts of the Kurʾān which are frequently recited (after every *salāt* Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv 155, before going to sleep Bukhārī, *Daʿawāt*, bāb 12, in order to avert the evil eye Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Paisley and London 1899, p 259, chapter Superstitions)

AL-**MUʿAẔẔAM** [See TŪRĀNSHĀH]

AL-MALIK AL-**MUʿAẔẔAM** SHARAF AL-DĪN ʿĪSĀ B MALIK AL-ʿĀDIL B AIYŪB was born in 576 (1180) In 597 (1200) he became governor for his father al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [q v] in Damascus and next year was besieged by Saladin's sons Ẓāhir and Afdal in course of the dispute about the succession between them and ʿĀdil ʿĀdil came as far as Nāblus with his army but could not relieve Damascus so that its fall was imminent Then a quarrel broke out between the brothers as to who was to get Damascus The majority of the emīrs in the army made peace with ʿĀdil and the siege was raised in the course of the year ʿĀdil was recognised as the head of the Aiyūbids and ʿĪsā continued to govern Damascus and the lands going with it as far as the Egyptian frontier for his father When ʿĀdil died in 615 (1216) he had the inhabitants swear fealty to him but recognised his older brother Kāmil as suzerain in the Friday *khuṭba* He was, like his brothers, on fairly good terms with the Crusaders, but at the decisive moment he joined forces with his brothers against them and it is not least due to him, as the most important Aiyūbid leader of the period, that the Crusaders had to withdraw from Damietta in 618 (1221) His desire to seize central Syria (Hims and Hamāt) was not fulfilled as Kāmil threatened him with war when he attacked these towns ʿĪsā therefore made an alliance in 623 (1226) with the Khʷārizm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn and mentioned him as suzerain in the Friday prayer instead of his brother He thus felt strong enough to turn away the Emperor Frederick II's ambassador in this year while Kāmil, who did not feel too secure, negotiated with him It did not however come to fighting between the two brothers as both feared the intervention of Frederick II But before the latter set out for the Holy Land, ʿĪsā died on 1st Ḏhu 'l-Ḥiḍḍja 624 (Nov 12, 1227) in Damascus of dysentery Had he lived longer, Frederick II would probably not have taken Jerusalem It was ʿĪsā's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāwūd who succeeded in regaining Jerusalem for the Muslims ʿĪsā's rule stretched from south of Hims beyond Jerusalem to al-ʿArīsh on the Egyptian frontier In addition to his military ability, he is celebrated as a friend of poetry and letters and he is also said to have been an author himself Unlike the other Aiyūbids, he followed the school of Abū Ḥanīfa

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, N⁰ 526 (transl de Slane, ii 428 *sqq*), Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, in *Recueil des historiens orientaux des croisades*, i (s index), Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in *Recueil*, ii (s index), Masʿūdī, ʿ*Ukd al-Djumʿān, op cit*, and also Rohricht, *Geschichte des Konigreichs Jerusalem* (s index)

(M SOBERNHEIM)

MUBĀH [See SHARIʿA]

MUBAIYIḌA [See AL-MUḲANNAʿ]

MUBALLIGH [See MASDJID, I, D, e and H, 4]

MUBĀRAK GHĀZĪ, an Indian saint In all parts of the Sundarbun, the Muhammadan woodcutters invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles In the 24 Parganas it is Mubārak Ghāzī who, in the Eastern parts of the Delta goes by the name of Zindah Ghāzī, the living warrior Mubārak Ghāzī is said to have been a *fakīr* (mendicant) who reclaimed the jungle tracts along the left bank of the river Hoogly Every village has an altar dedicated to him and no one enters the forest nor do any of the boat's crew, who might sail through the districts, pass without first making offerings at one of these shrines The fakīrs in these dangerous forests, who claim to be lineally descended from the Ghāzī, indicate with pieces of wood called *sang* the precise limits within which the forest has to be felled Mubārak Ghāzī, so the legend goes, came to Bengal when Raḍja Matak ruled over the Sundarbun The saint happened to have a dispute with the chief, who thought himself to be in the right, upon which the latter agreed to give his only daughter Shushila in marriage to the former, should his own opinion be proved wrong This the Ghāzī succeeded in doing and won his bride in consequence Since no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so obedient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express desire Before entering a jungle or sailing through the narrow channels whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muhammadans, raise little mounds of earth and on them make offerings of rice, plantains, and sweet meats to Mubārak Ghāzī, after which they fearlessly cut the brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is borrowed from Hindus to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen and woodcutters

Bibliography Ward, *Hindus*, iii 186, Major R Smyth, *Statistical and Geographical Report of the twenty-four Pergunnahs Districts*, 1857

(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUBĀRAK SHĀH, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN, the second king of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Khiḍr Khān, the first king, and succeeded his father on May 22, 1421 The limits of his kingdom were then restricted to a few districts of Hindūstān proper and Multān, and he was obliged to desist from an attempt to establish his authority in the Panḍjāb by the necessity for relieving Gwalior, menaced by Hūshang of Mālwa, who raised the siege and met him, but after an indecisive action came to terms and retired to Mālwa From 1425 to 1427 he was engaged in attempting to restore order in Mewāt, and received the formal submission of the rāḍjās of Gwalior and Čandwār (Fīrūzābād), but Muhammad Khān Awhadī of Bayāna, whom he had taken prisoner, escaped and took refuge in Mewāt, and the work there was to do again Muhammad Awhadī, on being hard pressed in Bayāna, fled to Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djawnpūr, and as the latter marched against Kālpī, Mubārak marched to meet him Ibrāhīm, who had been plundering Mubārak's dominions, avoided a conflict for some time, but on April 2, 1428, the armies met near Čandwār and Ibrāhīm, though not decisively defeated, retired

the next day to Djawnpūr Mubārak then collected revenue in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and retired by way of Bayāna, which was evacuated by Muhammad Awhadī, who had returned thither For the rest of the year his officers were engaged in restoring order in the Pandjāb, ravaged by Djasrath the Khokar, and he in a similar task in Mewāt, and in collecting revenue by force In 1430 Fūlād Turkbača successfully defied the royal authority in Bhātinda, and in 1431 a rebellion broke out in Multān and had no sooner been suppressed than Djasrath renewed his activity in the Pandjāb The chronicle of the rest of the reign is a record of rebellions in the Pandjāb, Multān, Sāmāna, Mewāt, Bayāna, Gwalior, Ṭidjāra and Itāwa, and a rebel captured Lāhor and attacked Dīpālpūr Lāhor was eventually recovered, but the whole country remained in a disturbed condition

War broke out between Ibrāhīm of Djawnpūr and Hūshang of Mālwa in connection with Kālpī, the suzerainty over which belonged to neither and was claimed by both, and Mubārak, marching thither, turned aside to inspect Mubārakābād which he was building, and then, on February 19, 1434, he was assassinated at the instance of Sarwar al-Mulk, whom he had dismissed from the post of minister in the preceding year

Bibliography Muhammad Kāsim Firishta, *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and translation by Lt Col G S A Ranking, *Tabakāt i Akbarī* and translation by B Dé (both in the *Bibl Ind Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), Yahyā b Ahmad, *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, rare in MS, but reproduced by the authorities cited above

(T W Haig)

MUBĀRIR AL DĪN [Muhammad b al-Muzaffaz]

AL MUBARRAD, Abu 'l-'Abbās Muhammad b Yazīd al Thumālī al Azdī, an Arab philologist, born on the 10th Dhu 'l Hidjdja 210 (March 25, 826) in Basra, was there taught by Abū 'Omar al-Djarmī, Abū 'Othmān al-Māzinī and Abū Hātim al Sidjistānī, the pupil of Asma'ī In his early works, the *Kitāb Masā'il al Ghalat*, he criticised the *Kitāb* of Sībawaih, but only a small number of his criticisms were well founded and of these only a minority were original (al-Suyūtī, *al-Muzhir*, [1] ii 188, [2] ii 232) Later he went to Baghdād where he became a very busy teacher, among his pupils were Niftawaih, Ibn Durustawaih and Ibn Kaisān His rival for favour at court was the Kūfan Tha'lab, to whom he was far superior in ability and style, the rivalry between these two scholars seems to have been the origin of the later tradition of the opposition between the schools of Kūfa and Baghdād His epithet al-Mubarrad seems to refer to his skill in disputation, but there are a number of anecdotes explaining it in very different ways (*Muzhir* [2], ii 267, 11 *sq*, *Bughya*, p 116—117, *Irshād*, vii 137, 15 *sqq*) He died in Baghdād in Shawwāl or Dhu 'l-Ka'da 285 (Oct 898)

His chief work *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Adab* is a typical example of the work of the old philologists as developed from their teaching Without being tied down to any fixed arrangement or even aiming at cohesion in the separate chapters, it combines traditions of the Prophet, sayings of pious men, proverbs, many poems mostly of the older period, and also historical matter like the important chapter on the Khāridjīs (characteristic is the passage on p 409 in Wright's edition "In this chapter we shall mention something of everything in order by change to prevent the reader from being wearied and mix a little jest with the earnest so that heart and soul may be recuperated", similarly p 428, exceptions like the chapters on simile p 447 or on laments for the dead and consolation p 713 are rare) The important feature is the full grammatical and lexicographical commentary which he gives to every quotation The work was given its final form with numerous additions and glosses by Abu 'l-Hasan al Akhfash (d 315 = 927) Al-Batalyūsī wrote a commentary on it which has not survived (*Muzhir* [1], i 182, 8, [2] 223, 5), there is an anonymous commentary in the possession of Ismā'īl Efendi in Stambul It was first printed in Stambul in 1286, editions *The Kâmil of El-Mubarrad edited for the German Oriental Society* by W Wright, part i–12, Leipzig 1864—1892, reprinted Cairo 1308, 1323, 1324 (with extracts from Djāhiz on the margin), 1339, with two modern commentaries *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil* by al Sibā'ī al-Baiyūnī, Cairo 1341 (1923), 2 vols and *Raghbat al-'Āmil min Kitāb al-Kāmil* by Saiyid Ibn 'Alī al Marsafī (professor at al Azhar), 8 vols, Cairo 345–346 (1927–1928), *Das Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem K*, transl into German by O Rescher, Stuttgart 1922 His second collection of material, the *Kitāb al Muktadab*, met with less success, because, it is said, it had been transmitted by the heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī, it is preserved with a commentary by Sa'id b Sa'id al-Fārikī (d 391 = 1000, see Yākūt, *Irshād*, iv 240) in the Escurial manuscript [2], p 111 and in Stambul, Koprulu, N° 1507—1508 (cf Rescher, in *Z D M G*, lxiv 197 photograph in Cairo, *Fihrist* [2], ii 123) Of his numerous other works given by his biographers we only have the *Kitāb al-Ta'āsī*, Escurial [2], p 534, 1, the *Kitāb Nasab 'Adnān wa-Kahtān*, in Stambul 'Ātif Ffendi, 2003 (*M F O B*, v 491) = Welī al-Dīn, 3178 (*M F O B*, vii 108), Escurial, Casiri 1700, fol 59r—68v (s Levi Della Vida, *Les livres d'es chevaux*, Leyden 1928, p xiii), his answer to a letter from Ahmad b Wāthik on the question whether poetry is superior to eloquence, in Munich 791 and in a fragment in Berlin, Ahlw 7177 as well as the *Kitāb al-Mudhakkar wa 'l Mu'annath* as transmitted by Abū 'Alī al-Fālisī, in Damascus, Zaiyāt, p 36, N° 113, 2 His other works are only known from quotations, e g his *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyār*, which he himself quotes *Kāmil*, p 760, 4, the *Kitāb Gharīb al-Hadīth*, which Ibn al-Athīr mentions among his sources in the preface to the *Nihāya*, the *Kitāb ma 'ttafaka Lafzuhu wa 'khtalafa Ma'nāhū* (Suyūtī, *Sharh al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, p 195, 20), the *Kitāb al-Rawda*, a collection of poems by contemporary poets beginning with Abū Nuwās, *Aghānī* [1], viii 15, 20, [2] 15, 1, 26, 13, al Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Kināyāt*, p 29, 9, Ibn al-Athīr, *al Mathal al sā'ir*, p 189, 16, the *Kitāb al-I'tinān* on the causes of the poetical strife between Djarīr and Farazdak, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, i 305, 21, *Kitāb al-Sharh* (i e *Sharh Kalām al-'Arab*), *l c*, ii 193 infra

Bibliography Fihrist, p 59, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al Alibbā*, p 279—293, Ibn Khallikān, N° 608, iii 35, Zubaidī, *Tabakāt al-Nahwiyīn*, ed Krenkow, *R S O*, viii, N° 40, al-Azharī, in *M O*, 1920, p 26, Yākūt, *Irshād*, vii 137—143, Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, S 116, al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-Djanān*, ii 210—213, Flügel,

Die gramm Schulen, p 93, Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschr d Araber*, p 80, C Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 108, Rescher, *Abriss*, II 149 (C BROCKELMANN)

AL-MUBARRAZ, a fortress on the Persian Gulf, about a mile north of al-Hufhūf, surrounded by open villages and date palm-groves The population of the fortress and of the hamlets that belong to it is given, sometimes at 10,000, sometimes at 30,000

Bibliography C Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, VIII/1 (Berlin 1846), p 574, VIII/2 (Berlin 1847) p 524 (ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MUBDI' [See ALLĀH, II]

AL-MUḌĀDJI', name of sūra XXXII, which is also called *al-saḏida* or *al-ḏjuruz*

MUḌAR [See RABI'A]

MUḌĀRI', the twelfth metre in Arabic prosody, which is very rarely used Theoretically each of its hemistichs consists of three feet (*mafā'ilun fā'ilātun mafā'ilun*), in practice the third foot is lacking

It has one *'arūd* and one *darb* only *mafā'ilun fā'ilātun mafā'ilun fā'ilātun Mafā'ilun* however must become *mafā'ilu* The first *mafā'ilun* may lose its *ma*, in that case the form is *fā'ilu* (= *maf'ūlu*) and *fā'ilu* (M BENCHENEB)

AL-MUDAWWANA [See SAHNŪN]

AL-MUDDATHTHIR, title of sūra LXXIV

AL-MUDHILL [See ALLĀH II]

MUDĪR, title of the governors of the Egyptian provinces, called *mudīriya* The use of the word *mudīr* in this meaning is no doubt of Turkish origin The office was created by Muhammad 'Alī, when, shortly after 1813, he reorganised the administrative division of Egypt, instituting seven *mudīriyas*, this number has been changed several times [s KHEDIVE] At the present day there are 14 *mudīriyas* The chief task of the *mudīr* is the controlling of the agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates, viz the *ma'mūr*, who administers a *markaz* and the *nāzir* who controls the *kism* which is again a subdivision of the *markaz* Under Sa'īd Pasha the office of *mudīr* was temporarily abolished with a view to preventing oppression Until that time they had been without exception Turks, but under Ismā'īl Pasha, when the function was instituted again, this high administrative position was opened also to native Egyptians

Bibliography A B Clot Bey, *Aperçu Géneral sur l'Egypte*, Brussels 1840, II 172 *sqq*, A von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, II 8, Ilyās al-Ayyūbī, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr fī 'Ahd al-Khadīw Ismā'īl Basha*, Cairo 1341, I 62 *sqq*, J Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, p 130 (J H KRAMERS)

AL-MUDJĀDILA, title of sūra LVIII

AL-MUDJĀHĪD [See RASŪLIDS]

MUDJASSIMA [See TASHBĪH]

MUDJAWWAZA [See TURBAN, IV 890b *sq*]

AL-MUDJĪB [See ALLĀH II]

MUDJĪR AL-DĪN [See AL-OLAIMI]

MU'DJIZA (A), part act IV of *'-dj-z*, lit "the overwhelming", has become the technical term for miracle It does not occur in the Kur'ān, which denies miracles in connection with Muḥammad, whereas it emphasizes his "signs", *āyāt*, i e. verses of the Kur'ān, cf the art KORAN Even in later literature Muhammad's chief miracle is the Kur'ān (cf Abū Nu'aim, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, p 74) Mu'djiza and *āya* have become synonyms, they denote the miracles performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles The term *karāma* [q v] is used in connection with the saints, it differs from mu'djiza in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by Allāh to a saint

Miracles of Apostles and Prophets, especially those of Muhammad, occur in the *sīra* and in *hadīth* Yet in this literature the term mu'djiza is still lacking, as it is in the oldest forms of the creed The *Fikh Akbar*, II, art 16, mentions the *āyāt* of the prophets and the *karāmāt* of the saints Mu'djiza occurs in the creed of Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Nasafī (ed Cureton, p 4, ed Taftāzānī, p 165) "And He has fortified them (the apostles) by miracles contradicting the usual course of things"

Taftāzānī explains it in this way A thing deviating from the usual course of things, appearing at the hands of him who pretends to be a prophet, as a challenge to those who deny this, of such a nature that it makes it impossible for them to produce the like of it It is Allāh's testimony to the sincerity of His apostles

A very complete and systematic description occurs in al Īdjī's *Mawākif* He gives the following definition of mu'djiza It is meant to prove the sincerity of him who pretends to be an apostle of Allāh Further he enumerates the following conditions 1 It must be an act of Allāh, 2 it must be contrary to the usual course of things, 3 contradiction to it must be impossible, 4 it must happen at the hands of him who pretends to be an apostle, so that it appears as a confirmation of his sincerity, 5 it must be in conformity with his announcement of it, the miracle itself must not be a disavowal of his claim (*da'wā*), 7 it must follow on his *da'wā*

Further, according to al-Īdjī, the miracle happens in this way that Allāh produces it at the hands of him whose sincerity He wishes to show, in order to realise His will, viz the salvation of men through the preaching of His apostle Finally, as to its effect, it produces, in accordance with Allāh's custom, in those who witness it, the conviction of the apostle's being sincere

Bibliography Abū Hanīfa, *Fikh Akbar* with the commentary of 'Alī b Sultān Muhammad al-Kārī, Cairo 1327, p 69, Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh b Ahmad al Nasafī, *'Umda*, ed Cureton, p 15 *sqq*, Abū Hafs Nasafī, ed Taftāzānī, Constantinople 1313, p 165—167, Muḥammad A'lā al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāhāt al-Funūn*, Calcutta 1862, p 975 *sqq*, Abū Nu'aim Ahmad b 'Abd Allāh al-Isbahānī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, Haidarābād 1320 (A J WENSINCK)

MUDJTAHID [See IDJTIHĀD]

MUDJTATHTH, the fourteenth metre in Arabic prosody, has theoretically three feet, consisting of two successive *fā'ilātun* in every hemistich, in practice there are two feet only

It has one *'arūd*, and one *darb* only *mustaf'ilun fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun fā'ilātūn* The foot *fā'ilātun* of the *darb* and also, though seldom, that of the *'arūd*, may become *fa'ilātun*, on condition that *mustaf'ilun* retains its *n*, it loses its *n* when *mustaf'ilun* loses its *s*

Mu'staf'ilun loses its *s*, when the preceding *fā'ilātun* retains its *n*, it also loses its *n*, when *fā'ilātun* following it, does not become *fa'ilātun* (MOH. BENCHENEB)

AL-**MUFAḌḌAL** B MUḤAMMAD B YAʿLĀ B ʿĀMIR B SĀLIM B AL-RAMMĀL AL-ḌABBĪ, an Arabic philologist of the Kūfan school By birth he was a free born Arab, the date of his birth is not known His father was a recognised authority on the events in the wars of the Arabs on the frontiers of Khurāsān in 30—90 A H (quoted in Tabarī's *Annals*) It is possible that his son was born in this region As a partisan of the house of ʿAlī he took part in the rising against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mansūr led by Ibrāhīm b ʿAbd Allāh [q v], brother of *al-Nafs al-zakīya* The rising was put down and Ibrāhīm killed, al Mufaddal was taken prisoner but pardoned by the caliph and appointed tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, and in his train he visited Khurāsān He then worked in Kūfa as a philologist and teacher, among his pupils was his stepson al-Aʿrābī The date of his death is variously given, the *Fihrist* does not give it at all while others give 164, 168 or 170

al-Mufaddal, like his contemporary Ḥammād [q v], bore the epithet and title of honour *al-Rāwiya*, and was regarded as an authority on the poetry of the Ḏjāhilīya In contrast to Ḥammād, he is celebrated for the reliability of his transmission In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* there are several stories illustrating this fact While Ḥammād was reproached with having inserted verses which he had himself composed into the work of the prominent poets of the Ḏjāhilīya, al-Mufaddal is praised for handing down the old poetry pure and unfalsified There was, of course, a great rivalry between the two *rāwīs* which also finds expression in the stories of the *Aghānī* al-Mufaddal is reported to have said that the influence of Ḥammād on Arabic poetry had been most disastrous, to a degree which could never be made good again To the question how this was and whether Ḥammād had made mistakes in the attribution of the poems or linguistic errors, he replied if that were all, it could be made good, but he had done worse than this Since he was such an authority on the old poets, he was able himself to write verses in their style and he had inserted such verses of his own composition in genuine old *kasīdas* so that now only very good critics of the old poetry could recognise them (cf *Aghānī*, v 172 and Yākūt, *Irshād*, vii 171) It is also recorded that al Mufaḍḍal once in the presence of the caliph caught Ḥammād passing off verses of his own as the work of Zuhair b Abī Sulmā The *kaṣīda* which Ḥammād was reciting began with *daʿ dhā*, and on the caliph asking for the missing *nasīb* he added several *nasīb* verses al-Mufaddal however said quite rightly that there had probably been a *nasīb* before the surviving verses, but no one any longer knew it Ḥammād was thereupon forced to confess his forgery It is interesting to learn that, as is recorded in this passage of the *Aghānī*, Ḥammād was rewarded for his recitation but the sum given to al-Mufaddal was considerably greater al-Mufaddal was given his reward, not only for his knowledge, but also for his fidelity and honesty in transmission (cf *Aghānī*, *loc cit* and Yākūt, *loc cit*)

al-Mufaddal worked in different fields of Arabic philology He was considered an authority on rare Arabic expressions, celebrated as a grammarian and was also an authority on genealogy and on the Arab battles (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*) He wrote a number of books a *Kitāb al-ʿAmthāl* (on proverbs), a *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* (on metres), a *Kitāb Maʿna 'l-Shiʿr* (on the meanings of poems) and a dictionary *Kitāb al Alfāẓ* His principal work, however, is a collection of old Arabic *kasīdas* called the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, which he compiled for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī Al-Mufaddal himself is said to have given another story of the origin of this anthology, which is one of the most valuable Arabic collections When on one occasion Ibrāhīm b ʿAbd Allāh was in hiding in his house, he brought him some books to read at his request Ibrāhīm marked a number of poems and these he collected in one volume because Ibrāhīm was a good critic of the old poetry This collection was later called the *Ikhtiyār al-Mufaḍḍal* (cf Flugel, *Gramm Schulen*, p 144, note 1)

The *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* contains 126 poems, some complete *kaṣīdas* of many verses, some fragments of small size, while in Abū Tammām's collection, the *Ḥamāsa*, only little fragments of poems or separate verses are contained The latter was compiled some fifty years later, at first it was much more popular than the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* and more frequently annotated But al-Mufaddal's anthology is of quite outstanding merit The great bulk of it is the work of pagan poets and *mukhaḍramūn*, while only 6 of the 67 poets represented were born Muslims Two of the poets whose *kasīdas* are contained in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, were Christians The poems, the date of composition of which can frequently be deduced from events mentioned in them, are in some cases very old The earliest are those attributed to Muraḳḳish the Elder, which probably belong to the first decade of the sixth century A D al-Mufaddal's anthology offers a rich selection of the old Arabic poetry, the value of which is increased by the great age of the poems preserved in it The name of its collector, who enjoyed a good reputation among his contemporaries for his reliability, also gives us a certain guarantee that we have in the poems of the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* really genuine specimens of old Arab poetry

Bibliography *Kitāb al Aghānī*, v 172 *sq* and passim, *Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p 68 *sq* , Yākūt, *Irshād al-Arīb ilā Maʿrifat al-Adīb*, ed Margoliouth, London 1926, vii 171 *sqq* , al Mufaddal al-Dabbi, *al Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed Ch Lyall, Oxford 1918, 1921, esp *Introd*, vol ii , C Brockelmann, *G A L* , i , Weimar 1898, G Flugel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p 142 *sqq* , *Die Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed H Thorbecke, Leipzig 1885

(ILSE LICHTENSTADTER)

AL-**MUFĪD** ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B MUḤAMMAD B AL-NUʿMĀN AL-ḤĀRIṮHĪ, also called IBN AL-MUʿALLIM, a distinguished Twelver scholar of Baghdād under the Būyids, was born at the end of 333 or 338 (945 or 950), and came of an old Kuraish family which, as his second epithet shows, had a reputation for scholarship, he himself became, as his epithet shows, the teacher from whom all "later students have derived advantage" While he took little active part in politics, he was a very prolific author His correspondence, usually replies to queries, came from Mawṣil, Ḏjurdjān, Dīnawar, Rakka, Khwārizm, Egypt and Tabaristān His literary connections with other leaders of the Twelvers are seen in the fact that the *Dogmatics* mentioned third below is a critical commentary on Ibn Bābūya's *Risālat al-Iʿtikādāt* (published in a collected volume, Teheran

1300) and was in turn commented on by the Baghdādī nakīb al-Sharīf al-Murtadā, the work on law and tradition given second below was also the basis upon which his pupil Shaikh Tūsī [q v] wrote as a commentary his *Tahdhīb al-Ahkām*, one of the "4 (5) books" of the Twelvers Mufīd wrote pamphlets against Djubbā'ī, Dja'far b Harb, Ibn Kullāb, Karābīsī, the Mu'tazilīs, Zaidīs, the followers of al-Hallādj, Hanbalīs, Djāhiz and the 'Uthmānīya (for other collected titles see al-Khayāt, *Kitāb al-Intisār*, p 156) The number of his writings runs to nearly 200 In addition to those preserved in European libraries, there are many other manuscripts in Shī'ī libraries, e g in Nadjaf Among them are the usual handbooks on *fikh*, on the *usūl* e g on *idjmā'*, as well as the *furū'* e g on the *hadjdj* and the law of inheritance, also treatises on fundamental philosophical conceptions such as the predicate, the state of being created etc , but it is with specifically Shī'a problems that he mainly deals Mufīd, as the titles of several of his works and his influence on later writers show, championed the enhancement of the dogma of Prophets, dealt with the question, a painful one for the Shī'is, whether Abū Tālib was a believer, with the imāmate of 'Alī and the proof that the Imāms are higher than the angels He naturally dealt also with the usual special tenets of the Twelvers, like the concealment of the Imām and the prohibition of meat butchered by the "People of the Book" He also wrote guides for pilgrims to the peculiarly Shī'ī holy places

Mufīd died on Ramadān 28, 413 (Nov 26, 1022) The nakīb al Sharīf al-Murtadā conducted the funeral service, he was buried beside Ibn Bābūye [q v] at the feet of the ninth imām Muhammad al Djawād in al Kāzimain

Bibliography His own works *al-Irshād*, Teheran 1308, *al-Mukni'a fi 'l-Fikh* (ibid), the life by al-Bahrānī is printed at the beginning, *Lu'lu'at al-Bahrain*, *Tashīh I'tikād al-Imāmīya*, ed with notes by Hibat al-Dīn in *al-Murshid*, I and II, Baghdād 1344 *sq* , Tūsī, *Fihrist*, N° 685, al-'Allāma al-Hillī Ibn al-Mutahhar, *Khulāsat al-Akwāl fī Ma'rifat al-Ridjāl*, Teheran 1312, p 255 *sq* , Astarābādī, *Manhadj al-Makāl fī Tahkīk Ahwāl al-Ridjāl*, Teheran 1304, p 317—318, Khwānsārī, *Rawdāt al-Djannāt*, Teheran 1304—1306, p 663—670, I'djāz Husain al Kentūrī, *Kashf al Hudjub wa 'l-Astār*, Calcutta 1330, N° 167, 591, 812—819, 2456—2459, 2469, 2474—2477 and *pass* , C Brockelmann, *G A L*, I 188, R Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schī'a*, Leipzig 1926, index, cf also L Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, index, W Heffening, *Das islāmische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, index (R STROTHMANN)

MUFTĪ [See FATWĀ]

MUGHAL, the name given to the dynasty of Emperors of Hindūstān founded by Bābur in 932 (1526), in virtue of the claim made by Timūr, the ancestor of the dynasty, to relationship with the family of the Mongol (Mughal) Čingiz Khān [q v] For the detailed history of the dynasty see the articles BĀBAR, HUMĀYŪN, AKBAR, DJAHĀNGĪR, SHĀH-DJAHĀN, AWRANGZĒB, and their successors

I THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒB
- *A* Military Organization
- *B* Economics and Administration

II THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

III MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

I THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒB

A Military Organization of the Mughal Empire

The army which Bābur led into India, and with which he defeated at Panīpat the army of Ibrāhīm Lodī, 100,000 strong, consisted of about 10,000 combatants, mainly cavalry, but comprising a corps of artillery and a small proportion of infantry, chiefly matchlockmen Bābur's son and successor, Humāyūn, though hampered by the virtual independence of his brother Kāmrān, governor of Kābul, who annexed the Pandjāb, and thus cut him off from the best recruiting grounds of the Muslim army in Northern India, Afghānistān, and Transoxiana, was nevertheless able to lead into the field at the battle of the Ganges, near Kanawdj, where he was defeated by Shīr Shāh, an army of 100,000 men On his return to India in 1555 he left Kābul with an army of no more than 15,000 men, and it was his son and successor, Akbar, who was the creator of the army of the empire of which he was, in fact, the founder

The empire was a military despotism The governor of a province was entitled *sipāhsālār*, or "commander-in chief", the governor of a *pargana*, or sub-district, *fawdjdār*, or "commandant", and practically all courtiers and officials, even those holding civil and judicial posts, were graded as commanders of horse Thus we find Shaikh Abu 'l-Fadl, Akbar's secretary, graded as a commander of 2,500, Rādjā Bīr Bar, court wit and Hindī poet laureate, as a commander of 1,000, Sayyid Muhammad, Mīr-i 'Adl, a judge, as a commander of 900, and Shaikh Faidī, the poet, as a commander of 400 horse A command of horse was known as *mansab* ("rank" or "dignity"), and its holder as *mansabdār* ("officer") Each of these nominally commanding from 500 to 2,500 horse was classed as an *amīr* ("noble"), and each of those nominally commanding more as *amīr-i kabīr* ("great noble") These commands were nominal, conferred merely for the purpose of regulating the rank of the official holding them, and were styled *mansab i dhāt* ("personal rank") Each of those actually exercising military authority had, in addition to his personal rank, *sawār* (horseman) rank Thus, a commander of 5,000 might be described as "commander of 5,000, with 4,000 horsemen", that is to say, one ranking as a commander of 5,000, but supposed to maintain only 4,000 horsemen In Akbar's reign, apart from the rank held by the royal princes, commands ranged from 10 up to 5,000 horsemen, but at the end of the reign two or three nobles were promoted to commands of 6,000 and 7,000 In these two high commands there was no distinction of grade, but each of the other commands was divided into three classes, viz 1 those whose *sawār* rank was equal to their personal rank, 2 those whose *sawār* rank was half, or more, of their personal rank, and 3 those whose *sawār* rank was less than half of their personal rank Thus, a commander of 5,000 with 5,000 horsemen would be in the first class of his

rank, a commander of 5,000 with 3,000 horsemen in the second, and a commander of 5,000 with 2,000 horsemen in the third A purely civil official often had no *sawār* rank, but the distinction between military and civil officials was less clearly marked than it is to day, and all officials were, in theory, soldiers The secretary, Abu 'l-Fadl, served, at least on one occasion, in the field, and Akbar once entrusted military commands in the field to his court wit and to a leading physician, with disastrous results

The lists of "commanders of horse" given in such works as the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, and the *Pādshāhnāma* are not "army lists", but graded lists of the whole establishment of public servants, civil as well as military Even where, as in the *Pādshāhnāma*, *sawār* rank is given as well as personal rank, the lists are no guide to the effective strength of the imperial army, for commanders with *sawār* rank did not maintain, and were not even expected to maintain, the number of horse indicated by that rank Thus, Shāh-Djahān issued an edict to the effect that commanders were not required to maintain more than one-third, and, in some cases, not more than one-quarter of the number of horse indicated by their *sawār* rank, and in the Balkh campaign they were not required to muster more than one-fifth of their nominal quota

The yearly salaries of "commanders of horse" ranged from Rs 350,000 a year for a commander of 7,000 down to Rs 4,000 a year for a commander of 100, but in the commands in which there were three classes the salary varied with the class Thus, in the 5,000 command an officer of the first class received Rs 250,000, an officer of the second Rs 242,500, and an officer of the third Rs 235,000 These salaries were attached to the personal rank, and were intended to enable the official to maintain his position at court or in the provinces, his household, his transport, and such horsemen as he might require for his personal service For the payment of troops actually maintained separate allowances were made

The horsemen were styled *tābīnān* ("followers" or "troops"), and the majority of them provided and maintained their own horses and arms, and, in the field, their own transport They were divided into three classes three-horsed and two-horsed men, each of whom received nearly Rs 25 a month, and one horsed men, each of whom received rather more than Rs $16^1/_2$ a month At a later date higher rates of pay than these were allowed in the Dakhan Horsemen who could not supply their own horses were styled *bārgīr*, and were the servants or followers of these who supplied them The proportion of these classes in every ten troopers was usually three three-horsed, four two-horsed, and three one-horsed troopers, or ten men and twenty horses

The payment of the contingents maintained by the *manṣabdārs* was at first provided for by the grant of *ḏjāgīrs*, or fiefs, so that the army was maintained on a feudal system, which, however, differed from the feudal system of Europe in that the fiefs were not hereditary, and the *ḏjāgīrdārs*, or fief-holders, had no proprietary rights in them A fief-holder might be transferred from one fief to another, or a portion of his fief, or even the whole of it, might be resumed In 1574 an edict was promulgated by Akbar resuming all fiefs and converting them into crown lands, the payment of the troops being provided for by orders on the treasury for payments in cash This edict caused much discontent, for the *ḏjāgīr* system was, for many reasons, far more popular than the *nakd*, or cash-payment, system Under the *nakd* system a muster-parade might at any time be made a condition precedent to the issue of a payment order, and a *ḏjāgīrdār* might reap much profit by economizing in the administration of his fief, by rack-renting the landholders, and by encroachments, but the *nakd* system furnished him with no such means of enriching himself The edict was immediately modified, and though the *nakd* system was introduced in the settled provinces of the empire, the *ḏjāgīr* system was retained in the more recently conquered provinces of Bengal, Gudjarāt, and Sind, and, after Akbar's death, was restored, in many cases, in other provinces

Another reform introduced at the same time, the *dāgh u-mahallī*, or branding regulation, was resented even more than the substitution of the *nakd* for the *ḏjāgīr* system It was seldom that *manṣabdārs* maintained their full quota of troopers, "false musters were an evil from which the Mughal army suffered, even in its most palmy days Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand, and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers" It was to check such fraudulent practices that Akbar introduced the *dāgh u mahallī* regulation, which required the preparation of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded on being passed as fit for service, and at muster-parades only these who produced branded horses were paid This system originated, apparently, with the Saldjūḳs in Transoxiana and Persia, and was introduced into India by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī in 1312, but was not enforced after his death until it was revived by Shīr Shāh in 1541 After his death it was again abandoned, and Akbar had great difficulty in reviving it, owing to the determined opposition to any measure designed to prevent public officials from enriching themselves by defrauding the state Even he was obliged to exempt commanders of 5,000, or a greater number, of horse from its operation, though these were required to parade their contingents for inspection when ordered In the later days of the empire, the regulation was not enforced, and when Burhān al-Mulk joined Muhammad Shāh at Karnāl, to meet Nādir Shāh, a historian considers it worth while to describe his contingent as *mawdjūdī na kāghazī*, that is, "actually present, not merely on paper", and later, in 1750, an officer in Bengal receiving pay for 1,700 men was said not to have been able to muster more than seventy or eighty

Besides the contingents of the princes and the *mansabdārs* there were the sovereign's personal troops His body-guard was a corps known as the *Wālāshāhī*, composed chiefly of men who had been attached to him from his youth, and had served under him as a prince Manucci refers to these as the emperor's slaves, and says that they numbered 4,000 under Awrangzīb Details of their pay are not given, but they probably received more than the troopers serving in the contingents of the *manṣabdārs* There was also a *corps d'elite* first formed by Akbar, and styled the *Ahadī* corps Abu 'l-Fadl, in a characteristically foolish passage says that they were so called because they were

fit for a "harmonious unity", whatever that may mean, but they seem to have been called *ahadī* because they enlisted singly in the personal service of the emperor, and were not brought into the service in bodies by a *manṣabdār* They stood, in rank, between the lower *manṣabdārs* and the *tābīnān*, and received nearly double the pay of the latter They may be compared to "gentlemen of the life-guard", and many were seconded from the corps in order that they might hold civil appointments The proportion of three-horsed, two-horsed, and one-horsed troopers was the same in the *Ahadī* corps as in the contingents of the *mansabdārs*

A commander of horse, whether he held a *jāgīr* or whether he drew the pay of his contingent from the treasury, made his own arrangements for its disbursement He was entitled to retain five percent of the pay of his men for himself, and pay was not always allowed for a whole year, often only for six, five, or four months Manucci, writing of the army in the reign of Awrangzīb, says, "in respect of one year's service they receive six or eight months' pay Even that is not all in coin, they are always foisted off as respects two months' pay with clothes and old raiment from the household Over and above this, there is almost always due to them the pay for two or three years' service The soldiers are obliged to borrow money at interest from the *ṣarrāfs*, or money-changers These men lend to them, it is true, but it is hardly ever without a command from the general or officer, and these latter have an understanding with them about the profit from interest, which they share between them Some times the soldiers sell their papers to these money changers, who for a note of hand for one hundred rupees will give them twenty or twenty-five It is by these and such-like extortions that these generals ruin the wretched soldier, who, unable to find other means of gaining his bread, is forced to remain on in his service Speaking generally, it is impossible for them to escape such extortions, for these disorders reign throughout all the princes' establishments If any one resigns service at his own request, they deduct two months' pay Nevertheless service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession, a common trooper was looked upon as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such were, even when illiterate, often used to the highest positions"

The infantry was, in every respect, an inferior arm With it were classed doorkeepers, watchmen, runners and spies, gladiators, wrestlers and palanquin-bearers, but the combatant branch consisted of musketeers or matchlockmen (*barkandāz*), archers, and spearmen Akbar maintained a corps of 12,000 matchlockmen, the officer in command of which was styled *dārūgha* A secretary and a treasurer kept the accounts and disbursed the pay of these troops The non-commissioned officers of the corps were graded in four classes, the first of which received $7\frac{1}{2}$, the second 7, the third $6\frac{3}{4}$, and the fourth $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a month The privates were divided into five classes, the pay of which ranged from $4\frac{3}{4}$ down to $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees a month

Besides this corps was a number of troops styled *dākhilī*, of which one-fourth were matchlockmen and three-fourth archers. These were the troops allowed to the *fawjdārs* in the *parganas* or sub-districts, to assist them in maintaining order and collecting the revenue The non commissioned officers of the matchlockmen received Rs 4 a month, and the privates Rs $3\frac{1}{2}$ each The archers were considered more efficient than the match-lockmen, for the matchlock was not an arm of rapid fire or precision, and an archer could shoot many arrows while a matchlockman was loading his matchlock Neither matchlockmen nor archers could, as a rule, face cavalry in the field, and it was not until the emperors and their vassals were brought face to face with troops armed and drilled after the European fashion that they discovered that infantry was the queen of battles, but belief in the superior efficiency of cavalry died hard

The artillery was divided into two classes, the heavy and the light Bābur had an efficient corps of artillery, and used it with great effect, but the Muslims of India were not skilled artillerists, and the heavy artillery was usually officered and partly manned by ʿUthmānlī Turks, Portuguese renegades of pure or mixed blood, and occasionally by other Europeans The light artillery consisted of field-pieces carried on bullock-carts, wall-pieces on animals' backs, and *zambūraks*, or still lighter service-guns, carried on and fired from the backs of camels The heavy artillery was drawn by strings of oxen, or, occasionally, by elephants, and, as the army gradually declined in efficiency the heavy guns increased in length and calibre until they became so heavy as hardly to be mobile, so that often they could not be dragged to their destination but were left stranded by their road A defeated army could seldom save its heavy and field artillery All that it could do was to spike the guns and leave them The ammunition was solid shot, sometimes of stone, sometimes of iron, and field guns and heavy guns in the field were sometimes loaded to the muzzle with the rough copper coin of the time, which took the place of case shot, and did great execution at close quarters The artillery also comprised a corps of rocketeers The whole of the artillery was commanded by an officer entitled *Mīr-i Ātush*, or "lord of fire" The officers were entitled *sadīwāl* ("commander of 100") corresponding to a battery commander, and *mīrdaha* (commander of 10), who had charge of a subdivision, or one gun The wall-pieces and *zambūraks*, which were numerous, account for the enormous numbers of "guns" mentioned in accounts of armies in the field

Akbar used elephants freely in battle, and brought them into the field in great numbers They usually carried archers or musketeers on their backs Their use as a fighting force was, however, soon abandoned, and would have been abandoned sooner than it was, had it not been for their imposing appearance, for it had long been established that they were more dangerous to their own side than to the enemy "To the last some elephants protected by armour were brought into the battle-field, but their use was confined almost entirely to carrying the generals or great nobles, and displaying their standards The baggage elephants were assembled in rear with those bearing the harem, the women remaining mounted on the latter during the battle, and protected by a strong force posted round them"

Under Akbar the elephants ridden by the emperor were called *khāṣṣa* ("special"), and all others were arranged in groups of ten, twenty, or thirty, called *halka* ("ring", or "circle") In later reigns the same classification was employed, but with

a more extended meaning, *khāṣṣa* then including all riding, and *halka* all baggage elephants *Manṣabdārs* from 7,000 down to 500 were required to maintain each one riding elephant, and, in addition, five baggage elephants for each Rs 2,500 of pay It appears that these elephants belonged to the emperor, and were not even made over to the *manṣabdārs* for use, except in the field In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* Abu 'l Fadl says that 'Akbar "put several *halkas* under the charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them"

The commander-in-chief of the army was the emperor himself, but at the head of the military administration was an officer entitled *Bakhshī al-Mamālik*, whose position may be described as that of adjutant general and muster master-general He was assisted by three *bakhshīs* and a number of *bitikcīs*, or clerks, and the duties of this department included enlistment, mustering, and passing the pay of both *mansabdārs* and *tābinān*, for which purpose they were obliged to see that the branding regulations, so long as they were enforced, were observed by those to whom they applied Manucci says, "twice a year the *bakhshī* holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses, and sees whether any of them are old and unfit for service In the latter case he makes the owners get rid of them and buy others" These officers remained at headquarters, and from some authorities it appears that one of them had charge of the *Wālāshāhīs*, or body guard, but the *Ahadī* corps, which was commanded by one of the great nobles, had its own *dīwān*, or paymaster and quartermaster, and its own *bakhshī*, both officers being assisted by *bitikcīs* Certificates granted by the *bakhshī* were recorded by the *wāki'a nigār*, or writer of the official diary, and were by him submitted to the *wazīr*, or minister, who, after passing them, sent them to the office of revision and record, but pay was issued on the minister's order "In addition to the *bakhshīs* at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province", their office being generally combined with that of *wāki'a-nigār*, or provincial diary-writer, and in imitation of the imperial establishments each great noble had his own *bakhshī*, who performed for him the same duties as those performed for the emperor by the imperial *bakhshīs*

It is impossible to estimate accurately the strength of the army in Akbar's reign, for the *sawār* rank of the *manṣabdārs* is not given, either in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* or in the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* He maintained 12,000 matchlockmen, and Blochmann estimates the whole strength of his army at 25,000, of which 12,000 were cavalry and the rest matchlockmen and artillery, but this seems to be much too low an estimate Humāyūn could put 100,000 cavalry into the field, and it is not likely that Akbar, with far wider dominions, would have been content, or could have ruled and extended his empire with a smaller army It seems probable that Blochmann's estimate included only the emperor's personal, or household, troops In the latter half of Shāh Djahān's reign the contingents of the princes and nobles would have numbered 425,500 if each *manṣabdār* had maintained the full quota of his *sawār* rank, but this they were not even expected to do Fortunately a fairly exact return of the strength of the army is given in the *Pādshāhnāma* There were 8,000 *manṣabdārs* of all ranks, 7,000 mounted *Ahadīs* and *barkandāz*, 200,000 cavalry, exclusive of the troops allowed to *fawdjdārs* for the maintenance of order and the collection of the revenue, and 40,000 foot matchlockmen, artillery, and rocketeers, of whom 10,000 were at headquarters and 10,000 in the provinces and the forts It is not quite clear what is meant by the mounted *barkandāz* classed with the *Ahadīs*, for *barkandāz* is the word used for a matchlockman, and horsemen certainly did not carry the cumbrous matchlock, and carbines and pistols had not been introduced, but it may be that a few men carrying a lighter musket than the ordinary matchlock were attached to the *Ahadī* corps Of the army in the reign of Awrangzīb Manucci writes, "ordinarily the king keeps fifty thousand horse in garrison besides those in movement every day, an almost equal number He has twenty thousand infantry, all Rādjpūts, out of them twelve thousand are in charge of the artillery, the rest are for guarding the royal palace, mounting sentry, *et caetera*"

The army of the Mughal emperors was not drilled Muster parades consisted merely in the troopers passing in single file before the *bakhshī*, and the nearest approach to any manœuvres was the participation of the army, or part of it, in a royal hunt, when the troops, aided by the people of the country side, acted as beaters, surrounded a large tract of country, and, day by day, closed inwards until in a small area was enclosed an enormous quantity of game, which was then slaughtered wholesale by the emperor and those who were permitted a share in the "sport" Apart from this species of hunting styled *shikār-i kamargha*, the army was never exercised in any combined movements, or drill, but the individual trooper paid great attention to the training of his body, exercising himself with all his weapons, sabre, spear, mace, battle axe, buckler, dagger, and bow and arrows The bow was considered a most effective weapon, as a horseman could shoot six times before a musketeer could fire twice The trooper also went through various exercises for strengthening his limbs and his body, both with and without apparatus, the latter consisting of dumb-bells, *mugdar*, or Indian clubs, and the *līzam*, a strong bow with a steel chain instead of a string, most effective in training these muscles employed by an archer The horses were also trained in a sort of *manège*

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(T W HAIG)

B Economics and Administration

The Mughal Empire lived mainly by agriculture The only metals available in quantity were iron and copper, both were relatively expensive, and local supplies of the latter were failing in the XVIIth century The existence of coal was unknown, and of other minerals only lime, salt, saltpetre, and, locally, building stone were largely produced The agricultural land was divided into areas known as

villages (*deh*), usually, but not always, inhabited. The villages were grouped traditionally in larger areas (*pargana*), which were usually treated as administrative units (*mahall*) Most villages, but not all, were occupied by a community of peasants, held together by the tie of common ancestry, each member of these bodies had separate possession of the land which he cultivated, but the community acted as a whole, through the headmen (*mukaddam*), in the management of the village, letting surplus land to tenants, paying the revenue and other expenses, and transacting such other business as emerged

The population was predominantly vegetarian Meat for the officials and the army was provided where required, but its supply lay outside the ordinary course of agriculture The products of the land were mainly food, cereals, millets and pulses, with, on a smaller scale, sugar, vegetables, and condiments Oilseeds were grown for local needs, opium was produced largely, and tobacco, a recent introduction, had spread rapidly through the empire, cotton and some other fibres, together with indigo and other dyes, were the chief industrial crops Holdings were usually small, and were worked largely by the peasant himself with the aid of his family and the landless labourers of the village Oxen were used for tillage, implements were few and primitive, and there was in general a scarcity of agricultural capital, necessitating prompt sales of produce at each harvest, to the peasant's loss and the middleman's gain

Handicrafts were numerous and varied, but weaving was by far the most important Cotton cloth was woven all over the empire, most of it for local consumption, but near the coasts production was directed largely to supplying oversea markets, while finer goods — muslins and prints — were carried long distances by land Most of the consuming markets were conservative, adhering closely to established styles and patterns There was thus little scope for invention, copying was safer than designing, and such developments as are recorded were the result of either patronage by wealthy amateurs, or the extension of the European demand Silk weaving was locally important in Bengal and Gudjarāt, in the latter case from imported material, jute and hemp also were only of local importance, but in the xviiith century an export trade in sacks and sacking was beginning to develop

In peaceful regions commerce was active, and, for the period, highly organised Funds were ordinarily transmitted by bills of exchange, which could be negotiated in all the principal towns, and in some centres outside the empire Merchants were, however, disinclined to carry large stocks of commodities, and preferred to utilise their funds in money-lending, the rate of interest in commercial transactions was commonly about 10 or 12 per cent, but the charge was much higher when the element of risk was great

External land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kābul and Kandahār, though there was some small traffic with Tibet By sea, Gudjarāt had old-established connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, with East Africa, and with Sumatra, Malacca and further East, on a much smaller scale Sind had relations with Persia, while Bengal dealt chiefly with the south of India and with Burma and Siam

During the xvith century all the sea routes were dominated by the Portuguese, who were concerned rather to exploit than develop, the chief extension of trade due to their efforts was the supply of cloth to Brazil and West Africa, but most of this was drawn from the Coromandel Coast, which was outside the empire until almost the end of the xviith century After "factories" (*i e* agencies) had been established at Sūrat by the English (1611) and the Dutch (1617), an important trade with western Europe grew up in indigo and calico In the middle of the century the indigo trade yielded to competition from the West Indies, while the depopulation of Gudjarāt by the famine of 1630 transferred the bulk of the calico trade to the East Coast, Sūrat remained, however, an important centre until its supersession by Bombay In the second quarter of the xviith century the Dutch, followed by the English, established factories on the Hūglī in Bengal, and trade developed in silk, saltpetre, fine calico, and muslin Towards the close of the century a change of fashions in Europe produced a great demand for muslin and prints, which was met partly by Bengal, and partly by Madras, by this time technically within the limits of the empire

The outstanding feature of all trade with India was the need for importing gold and silver India bought little beyond the industrial metals and luxury goods, but was eager to sell produce for cash, and, since Western Europe could not supply what was most in demand, the operations of the trading Companies were necessarily so organised as to direct streams of gold and silver to India from those countries which would part with them, notably, at this period, gold from China, and silver, and later gold, from Japan The seaports serving the empire were thus brought into a complex but efficient organisation, which took whatever they had to sell, supplied whatever they wanted to buy, and, so far as was possible, satisfied the demand for gold and silver

Inland transport was necessarily less efficient The Indus, the Ganges, the Djumna, and the waterways of Bengal were largely used, but the bulk of the empire depended on what were then called roads, unmetalled tracks, sometimes defined by lines of trees, with halting-places which were generally walled or otherwise defended against robbers, and usually furnished with supplies Transport was effected by carts and pack-animals, generally oxen but in some places camels Passengers travelled on horseback, in palanquins, or in carts drawn by fast oxen There were excellent arrangements for the rapid transit of letters, but these were for official use, and were not ordinarily available for private persons, who hired messengers when required, or in a few cases, clubbed together to send messengers periodically

Standards of life presented sharp contrasts The mass of the population, peasants, artisans and labourers, lived in such extreme poverty as to excite the commiseration of European visitors An almost equally low standard prevailed among the numerically important class of servants in the towns, whether freemen or slaves, who, however, enjoyed a more secure life than the rural population The middle classes, comparatively smaller in numbers than now, were thrifty and frugal, and, even when wealthy, were careful to avoid any display which might lead to exactions by officials The superior

grades of officers employed by the State were exceedingly well paid when allowance is made for the high purchasing power of money, and spent their incomes freely in extravagance and display, increased by the fact that on their death their property reverted to the treasury

The prosperity of the empire depended mainly on three factors the character of the rainfall, the degree of internal tranquillity, and the working of the revenue administration The seasonal rainfall was, as it still is, uncertain, and any serious defect resulted in insufficiency of food The difficulty of transport made it impossible to afford adequate relief on the spot, the people abandoned their homes to wander in search of food, and in contemporary narratives we read again and again of the then familiar features of deaths from starvation, cannibalism, and the sale of children into slavery Recovery from such a calamity was a slow process, and the famine which desolated Gudjarāt and the Dakhan in 1630—1631 left its mark for at least a generation Exceptionally favourable seasons might also prove calamitous, though not to the same extent There was no local market for the surplus produce, prices fell to a ruinous level, and in official regulations low prices were treated as a calamity requiring relief on the same footing as drought or hail

The dominance of the weather was inevitable, the other influences on prosperity were matters of administration Here a clear distinction must be drawn between the general and the revenue administration, a distinction denoted by the current phrase *mulkī wa-mālī* The emperor was of course supreme in both branches, and was assisted at his headquarters by four principal officers, the *Wakīl* or Prime Minister, the *Wazīr* or Revenue Minister, the *Bakhshī* (see col 629[a]), and the *Sadr*, who was in charge of Islāmic law and also administered the department dealing with charitable grants and endowments The post of *Wakīl* was not always filled, and when it was in abeyance the duties attaching to it devolved on the *Wazīr* In practice the powers of these Ministers depended on the personality of the Emperor, under Akbar or Shāh-Djahān they were definitely subordinates, while Djahāngīr's Prime Minister was at times practically the ruler of the country

The system of general administration to which the Mughals succeeded in Northern India was not highly developed The great bulk of the country was held by officers in assignment (a term explained below), the assignee was responsible for keeping the peace, and in practice had a free hand in the methods employed Under Akbar a more effective system was established, which was maintained throughout the period The empire was divided into provinces (*ṣūbah*), each of which was in charge of a Viceroy (*Sipahsālār*, *Ṣūbahdār*), who at first was responsible to the Emperor for all branches of administration, but after 1595 was relieved of revenue work Apart from the Viceroy, officers who may be described as Governors were stationed at selected places, with the duty of keeping the peace and putting down rebellion, a term which covered failure to pay the revenue due The ordinary designation of these Governors was *Fawdjdār*, but in outlying regions which were controlled by fortresses the Governor was the fortress-commander (*Kil'adār*), while in a few large assignments the assignee exercised the powers of a Governor Cities were governed by officers designated *Kotwāl*, who combined the functions of magistrate, police-commandant, municipality, and censor of morals There was no regular police force at the disposal of these officers, who were expected to employ the troops they maintained as a condition of their rank, obtaining help when their own forces were insufficient The efficiency of this organisation varied with that of the central administration, which depended mainly on the personality of the Emperor, by the close of the xviiith century it was definitely breaking down, and conditions of anarchy were spreading over the empire

It is difficult to state in precise terms the relation of this organisation to the extensive portions of the empire where internal jurisdiction remained in the hands of Hindu Chiefs, but apparently the Chief was regarded officially as assignee of his territories, and was expected to maintain order within them If he failed to do so, the Viceroy or Governor concerned might intervene, but his action would ordinarily be directed against the Chief rather than against the people

The revenue administration was controlled by the *Wazīr*, sitting in the Revenue Ministry, which was known as *Diwānī*, as opposed to *Hudūr*, or the Court, whence orders were issued by, or in the name of, the Emperor Revenue at this period meant practically Land Revenue, the Imperial Treasury had receipts from other sources — Customs, Salt, Mint, Presents, Inheritance, and, under Awrangzēb, the Capitation Tax (*djizya*) —, but, taken collectively, they were of little importance compared with the income obtained from the peasants Under the system traditional in India, and embodied in Hindu law, every person cultivating land was required to pay a share of the produce to the King, who determined, within somewhat elastic limits, the amount of the share, and who also prescribed the methods of assessment and collection The first Muslim conquerors accepted this "King's share" as the *kharādj* to which they were entitled under Islāmic law, the question of property in land was not raised, but occupants were ordinarily allowed to retain possession subject to due payment of the revenue

In the Mughal period agricultural land fell into three classes Chiefs', Reserved and Assigned The areas governed by the more important Chiefs were not assessed to revenue (*kharādj*) by the *Wazīr*, that was the privilege of the Chief, and any payments which he made to the treasury were in the nature of a tribute, determined by negotiation The treatment of the numerous smaller Chiefs is not on record, but the few facts which have survived are consistent with the view that assessment was made through them, and that they were allowed to retain a portion of the revenue in return for their services In the regions which were directly administered, certain areas of land, described as *khālisa*, were reserved to furnish the treasury with cash, and were managed by the staff employed by the Revenue Ministry, at first the local staff was under the provincial Viceroy, but in 1596 a *Dīwān* was posted to each province, to manage all revenue business directly under the Minister, and in this way emerged the dichotomy into *dīwānī* (revenue business) and *fawdjdārī* (general business) which henceforward characterised the local administration

The land not reserved for the treasury was

available for assignment Every officer appointed to the Emperor's service was entitled to an income defined in cash, which represented both his personal salary and the cost of the troops he was required to maintain For a short period in Akbar's reign, this income was paid, as well as defined, in cash, but the ordinary practice in the empire was to assign to each officer an area (*djāgīr*, *tuyūl*, or *ikṭā'*) estimated to yield as revenue the amount of his stated income, and the officer thereupon took charge of the area assigned to him, and assessed and collected the revenue in accordance, at least theoretically, with the general orders in force If the yield proved insufficient, he could claim the balance from the treasury, while he could be required to account for any excess receipts, but in practice these matters seem usually to have been adjusted by bribery, for which there was also extensive scope in securing profitable assignments, and in getting rid of those which had been squeezed dry Changes of assignment were ordinarily so frequent that an officer would have been unwise to spend money on fostering agricultural development, or do anything beyond extracting the largest income which his assignment could be made to yield The great bulk of the land was ordinarily assigned, the reserved area being one-sixth or one-seventh of the whole

The share of the peasants' produce claimed by Akbar was one-third, later, at some uncertain time in the first half of the xviith century, this figure became the minimum, with a maximum of one-half, which inevitably tended to become the standard Three principal methods of assessment were in vogue Sharing (*ghalla bakhshī*), Measurement (*paimāyish*), and Group-Assessment (*nasak*) In Sharing, the produce of each peasant was ordinarily estimated (or occasionally ascertained at harvest), and the prescribed share valued to determine the cash revenue due for that season In Measurement, a fixed charge, varying with the crop, was made on each unit of area sown, it might be fixed in either cash or produce and in the latter case it was valued at current prices Under both these systems payment in cash was the general rule, but payments in kind were permitted in some backward regions where currency was scarce In Group-Assessment, the official concerned came to terms with the headmen of the village to pay a sum fixed in cash for the year, thus avoiding the necessity of detailed assessments on individuals, this system tended to pass into Farming, when terms were made, not with the headmen, but with an outsider

Each ruler determined at his pleasure which of these methods should be employed, and in what regions Group-Assessment was the prevailing system at the time of Bābūr's conquest, and apparently was accepted by him After the expulsion of Humāyūn from India, Shēr Shāh introduced Measurement throughout his kingdom, and his methods were at first adopted by Akbar, the revenue claimed from each unit of area was at this time a stated quantity of produce, calculated to be one-third of the average yield, and, except in the tracts where payment in kind was practised, this amount of produce was commuted to cash at prices fixed officially for each season Practical difficulties arose, however, in regard to commutation, and in 1579—1580 the revenue was put definitely on a cash basis, the charge on each unit of area sown being a fixed number of *dām* (reckoned at 40 to the rupee) instead of a fixed weight of produce Schedules of cash-rates adapted to the varying productivity of different regions were now drawn up, which remained in operation during the rest of Akbar's reign At some uncertain period, probably under Djahāngīr, these schedules were discarded, and a return was made to Group-Assessment, which was the standard system in the middle of the xviith century, and survived into the British period, Sharing was now practised only in backward tracts, or in some cases where the headmen refused to pay what the assessor thought a reasonable revenue, in which case he proceeded to detailed assessment on individuals, by Sharing or by Measurement according to circumstances

Such was the history of assessment in the heart of the empire, but the outlying provinces were not brought into rigid uniformity, local conditions determining the system applied in each, while in the Dakhan provinces a distinct and elaborate system was introduced in the middle of the xviith century in order to promote recovery from the effects of war and famine

It would be futile to criticise these varying institutions, for the value of all alike depended on the spirit in which they were worked In administrative circles there was throughout the Muslim period a definite ideal of agricultural prosperity as the foundation of the State, its elements being extension of cultivation, improvement in the class of crops, and development of irrigation Against this ideal operated the urgent need for the largest immediate revenue that could be wrung from the peasants The course of the struggle cannot be traced in detail but the central fact is that by the middle of the xviith century agriculture had ceased to be an attractive career, and the peasants were deserting the land for other occupations, the resulting decline in agricultural production was the chief economic factor in the eventual collapse of the empire

The remaining branches of the administration require little description Customs duties were formally low, but their incidence was increased by arbitrary over-valuation and unauthorised payments required to secure prompt clearance of goods In the towns, civil justice was administered mainly by the *kādī*, in the country, disputes were apparently decided summarily by the executive officials Punishments for crime were summary and drastic, and were not always in accordance with Islāmic law By Indian tradition, local officials raised a large revenue for local purposes by a multitude of taxes and exactions of a most oppressive nature, these were prohibited *en masse* by Akbar, and again by Awrangzēb, but the system survived Its worst feature was the levy of transit dues on internal trade, which were a cause of constant complaint by Indians as well as foreigners

Special attention was given to the coinage, as being a recognised appanage of sovereignty Gold, silver and copper were coined, all the coins circulating at their metallic value, so that the exchange rate between different denominations fluctuated, but gold was not in general circulation The chief coin of the empire was the silver rupee, containing nearly 180 grains of almost pure silver, the principal copper coin was the *dām*, of nearly 324 grains, and there were various smaller coins of both metals

The unit of weight used in wholesale commerce

was the maund of *man*, which varied in different parts of the country In the south of India it ranged round about 25 lb, in Gudjarāt it was 33 lb, but in 1635 this was raised to 37 lb, in North India, it was 52 lb at Akbar's accession, was raised by him to 55 lb, by Djahāngīr to 66 lb, and by Shāh-Djahān to 74 lb In Bengal, it was 64 lb in the West, and 46 lb in the East All these figures are given to the nearest lb The unit for retail trade varied from place to place, but was ordinarily smaller than those which have been named Measures of capacity were not used in wholesale commerce The measure of length in the North was the *gaz* or yard, which was standardised by Akbar at about 33 inches, and by his successor at about 40 inches, but the smaller unit survived, in the South the *hāsta*, or cubit, of about 18 inches was used, in Gudjarāt the unit was about 26 inches, and in Bengal about 27 inches

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(W H Moreland)

II The decline of the Mughal empire

The decline of Mughal authority, already manifest during the reign of Awrangzēb, rapidly developed under his immediate successors Bahādur Shāh [q v] (1707—1712) was too amiable, Djahāndār Shāh [q v] (1712—1713) was too vicious, Farrukhsiyar [q v] (1713—1719) was too feeble, to revive the empire In seven bloody battles of succession, fought within six years of Awrangzēb's death, the imperial family attested its inherent lawlessness and declining power Then it became the sport of rival factions For a while the two famous Saiyid brothers, ʿAbd Allāh and Husain ʿAlī of Bārha, became the joint mayors of the palace But they were unable to conciliate the support of the Mughal nobles In 1720 Āsaf Djāh Nizām al-Mulk rose in arms Husain ʿAlī marched against him, but was murdered with the connivance of Muhammad Shāh, the emperor whom he and his brother had set up in 1719 Shortly afterwards, his brother ʿAbd Allāh was defeated, and, after lying in prison at Dihlī for two years, was poisoned When they fell, Nizām al-Mulk strove hard to restore something like the old order of administration But he was unwilling to force himself upon Muhammad Shāh as the Saiyids had forced themselves upon Farrukhsiyar When the emperor whom he had delivered refused his advice, and the favourites of the court made fun of his antiquated dress and ceremonious manners, he preferred to retire and rule the Dakhan in virtual independence Ironically enough, Mu-

hammad Shāh believed that Nizām al-Mulk had been plotting his overthrow

With Nizām al-Mulk's departure from Dihlī the last chances of a revival of the empire vanished Never did a falling state betray greater incapacity for reformation No phoenix could arise from those shameful ashes Even while Nizām al-Mulk still retained the nominal control of affairs, extraordinary incidents could occur At Dihlī itself, for example, a Hindu clerk in one of the imperial offices turned Muslim, and, when his wife and daughter refused to follow his change of faith, he laid a complaint against them, alleging that, as his daughter had not attained puberty, she was therefore of her father's religion The case offered certain technical difficulties, was at last referred to the *sadr al-ṣudūr* His treatment of the case displeased the Dihlī mob Riots arose, the recital of the *khutba* at the Djahān-numā Masdjid was interrupted, two or three Hindus were seized and circumcised To pacify the rioters, the girl was imprisoned, and, a few days later, buried with Muslim ceremonial "To cut a long story", says Kāmwar Khān who relates the incident, "she was killed, otherwise there would have been many headaches and much vexation"

Nizām al-Mulk's successors were worthy of the frivolous emperor whom they professed to serve For twelve years the imperial councils were directed by a man called Shāh ʿAbd al-Ghafūr By origin a cotton-weaver of Tatthā, he had lived both as *yogī* and *fakīr* Claiming magical powers and popularly believed to consort with djinn and devils, he was summoned to interpret the dreams of the emperor's mother This led him into the imperial service, and he contrived to accumulate in his own hand a great number of offices, producing a revenue of 5,000 rupees a day, apart from the bribes which he received, said to amount to as much more This man was pithily described as never having spent money on a good work, never having conferred a favour, and never having done a kindness He was a miser, and at his downfall (for even at Dihlī under Muhammad Shāh such qualities at last produced their natural reaction) more than a crore of rupees was found in his private hoards But the unpopularity which his character and habits naturally evoked were as nothing compared with the detestation with which his son and daughter were regarded No one in Dihlī was safe who displeased them or denied them anything that they desired

Amid such confusion and under such rulers the empire rapidly lost its cohesion The Marathās [q v], whom even Awrangzēb sought in vain to subdue, soon became the most formidable power in India On Awrangzēb's death, his successor, Bahādur Shāh, had released the Marāthā prince, Shāhū Rādjā, in the desperate hope of reestablishing through him the form, if not the substance of imperial control Shāhū Rādjā met with influential and talented support In 1708 he took possession of Satara and by the next year was generally recognised as ruler A Chitpavan Brahman, Bālādjī Wishwanāth, became his *pēshwā* or first minister, and began to develop the characteristic Marāthā policy, which was to play a part in the enfeeblement of the empire This was to put forward claims to a share (under the title of *čauth* or a quarter part) in the imperial revenues in as many provinces as possible In 1709 the Mughal governor in the Dakhan admitted this claim, and, although later governors contested it, it was again recognised by the Bārha Saiyids in 1719 In the next year Bālādjī Wishwanāth was succeeded by his son, Bādjī Rāo I, and the process was extended farther afield Particular provinces were assigned to particular officers, who were to realise the *cauth* either by collecting the amount from the provincial governor, or by plundering the country Bādjī Rāo employed Pīladjī Gāekwāṛ as his chief leader in raids in Gudjarāt, Raghudjī Bhonsla established himself at Nāgpūr, these and other leaders spread the terror of Marāthā devastations in all directions, and it was no longer possible for the provincial governors to make their annual remittances to the capital At the same time, seeing that their tenure of office was coming to depend more and more upon their own power and resources, the governors tended to become virtually independent rulers Āsaf Djāh Nizām al-Mulk in the Dakhan continued to profess himself a humble servant of the emperor, but he repelled by force of arms the persons who came with imperial *farmāns* ordering his supersession, and when he died in 1748 he was succeeded by his son In Bengal too the succession had become a matter of heredity or war But the respect which the name of the empire still enjoyed and the degradation into which the empire itself had fallen were exemplified by the large gifts sent by a new ruler for *farmāns* of investiture and the unhesitating compliance with which they were issued

The troubles bred by this internal dissolution were enhanced by those of foreign invasion In 1722 the Safawids were overthrown in Persia, and, after a short period of great confusion, the Turkmān Nādir Kulī established himself as ruler under the title of Nādir Shāh [q v] With him difficulties arose over the Kandahār frontier He was engaged in reducing the Ghilzais there to submission Thrice he sent envoys to the court of Dihlī requesting that his enemies should not receive shelter in the Mughal territory But by this time the Kābul province was falling into a like disorder with the rest The governor spent his time in prayer and hunting The money which had been regularly sent from Dihlī to bribe the hill-tribes into quietude and pay the troops ceased to be sent, partly because of the growing imperial penury, partly because it was believed that it never reached the governor but was embezzled by his patron at court Large bodies of Ghilzais therefore were able without the least difficulty to take shelter from Nādir Shāh's troops in the Mughal province, while the Mughal court foolishly supposed it was evading its difficulties by neglecting to answer Nādir Shāh's repeated demands The ineptitude of the court, therefore, rather than (as used to be supposed) any elaborate intrigue of party against party, made Nādir Shāh resolve to invade India No effective opposition could be offered in either the Kābul province or the Pandjāb In 1738 Kābul was occupied In the next year Nādir Shāh's army appeared before Dihlī The emperor went out, not to strike a blow in his own defence, but to make his humble submission Conqueror and captive then entered the city The Dihlī mob, grievously mistaking its strength, attempted to massacre the foreigners As a punishment Nādir Shāh deliberately let loose his troops for five long hours — from 9 o'clock in the morning till 2 in the afternoon — during which some 20,000 of the inhabitants are believed to

to have perished, and beyond this toll of life a great ransom was exacted, including 50 crores' worth of those wonderful jewels which earlier Mughal sovereigns had heaped up for their delight From this time onwards the annals of the Mughal empire contain nothing but dishonour Nādir Shāh fell, but Ahmad Shāh Durrānī established on the borders of India another empire and repeatedly invaded India between 1748, the year of the ignominious Muhammad Shāh's death, and 1761, the year in which he inflicted the severest defeat in all their history upon the Marāthās at Pānīpat Until the decay of the Durrānī empire in the early years of the nineteenth century, the provinces of Sind, the Pandjāb, and Kashmīr, were dependencies of the Afghān kingdom

Europeans in India — Dutch, French, and English — had observed these events with great concern Farly in the eighteenth century the Dutch had sent a great embassy to Bahādur Shāh, and a little later the English had sent one to Farrukhsiyar Both had secured far reaching *farmāns* by profuse expenditure, both had found that their *farmāns* were waste paper wherever they ran counter to the interests of local governors But it was the Frenchman Dupleix who first sought to put into practice the conclusions to be drawn from this situation Others were convinced that European force could easily establish itself in India, but he began experiments, and, in the hope of keeping the English motionless while he acted, he professed to be acting on behalf and in the name of the Mughal emperor This fiction became the traditional basis of French policy in India, and down to the end of the century Frenchmen were elaborating plans (which their failure to control the sea brought to nothing) for establishing themselves in India and expelling their rivals under cover of imperial grants With equal consistency the English adopted a political realism which squared far better with the circumstances of the time They fought and overcame Dupleix in the name of their national interests When they acquired Bengal, they carefully avoided all obligation to reestablish the imperial authority, and it appears that their acceptance of the *dīwānī* of Bengal was dictated, not by any desire to mask the reality of their power (which no one in India doubted), but by the desire to take on behalf of the East India Company something which could not be taken over by the English crown as a territorial sovereignty certainly would have been Thus it was that Prince ʿAlī Gawhar, who proclaimed himself as Shāh ʿĀlam II [q v] in 1760, on learning of of his father ʿĀlamgīr's murder by his wazīr, Ghāzī al-Dīn, first came under the protection of the English He had for some years been attacking the province of Bihār with the aid of the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh But after the battle of Baksar in 1764 he had given up the struggle, joined the English camp, and in the following year on Clive's demand bestowed on the East India Company the *dīwānī* of the provinces it held in return for an annual allowance of 26 lakhs of rupees At the same time the districts of Kora and Allāhābād were assigned to him and he proceeded to reside in the latter city Soon however, he wearied of his position of dependence, and departed to join the Marāthās, who, having recovered from their defeat at Pānīpat, were once more invading northern India On this Warren Hastings decided to hand Kora and Allāhābād over to the Nawāb Wazīr and refused to continue the payment of the 26 lakhs From this time until the close of the century he remained under the control of the Marāthās, except at such times as their internal dissensions led to the recall of their forces from the north One of their chief leaders at this time, Mahadadjī Sindhia, gradually built up a strong principality for himself, conquering the provinces of Agra and Dihlī, and becoming the emperor's real custodian So matters remained till Sindhia's defeat by the English in 1803 transferred the guardianship of Shāh ʿĀlam into the hands of the latter They carefully refrained from entering into engagements with him, but they assigned revenues for the maintenance of the imperial family, they permitted all orders issued in the city of Dihlī to run in the emperor's name, though the actual administration was conducted by an English agent, and they attempted no interference within the precincts of the palace Gradually the traditional observances broke down The Mughal emperor and the British governor general met with the ceremonial of equals The emperor's name was removed from the coinage And it had been resolved no longer to recognise the imperial title after the death of its holder, Bahādur Shāh II, when the Indian Mutiny, in which several of the imperial princes took an active part although they seem to have had little share in bringing it about, led to the formal trial and deposition of the emperor and the disappearance of the shadowy court which for a century had lingered on under the toleration of the real powers of India

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(H H Dodwell)

III Mughal architecture in India

The Mughal dynasts brought to India strong Central Asian predilections and a keen feeling for natural beauty But each in succession obeyed his own instincts, education and caprices Hence they patronised no "schools" of art, but came to employ an almost cosmopolitan body of artists, Persian, Indian, Turk and even European, who one and all had to adapt their own canons to the aesthetic moods of their employers In general the Mughals forbade any sculpture of the human form, but like the Orthodox Greek Church, were usually less rigid towards paintings of it and even fostered portraiture till it reached a high level Yet, with relatively few exceptions, the Mughal buildings were all religious, comprising mosques and tombs or shrines Hence their scope was limited, though within their limits they express the religious feelings and policies of the dynasty Even the conqueror Bābur found leisure in his brief reign of five years, 1526—1531, to build at Pānīpat the Kābul Shāh mosque, whose name commemorates at once his love of Kābul and his victory at Pānīpat in 1526 His mosque at Sambhal in Rohilkhand is marked by an ovoid dome When he required constructive work Bābur summoned pupils of Sinān, an Albanian, from Constantinople, and avoided Indian, Hindu or indigenous standards, though he must have employed Indian workmen in spite of his dis-

parageement of Indian skill and knowledge in design or architecture

Humāyūn's longer but still more chequered reign produced many buildings, of which few remain His mosque at Fathābād near Dihlī is massive and well-proportioned, recalling the Tughlaḳ or Turkish period, with domes rather more than hemispherical It is decorated with enamelled tiles in the Persian manner, apparently the earliest example of that style now extant His tomb at Dihlī, doubtless begun, as is customary among pious Easterns, during his lifetime, is of red sandstone and also Persian in style, but in it coloured tiles are replaced by white marble, of which the dome is wholly composed, the rest of the masonry being also inlaid with that material The main dome has a narrow neck, the first of its type to appear in India, the four corner cupolas, also a new feature, support domes of an earlier style

Akbar (1556—1605) was versatile in his architectures as he was in his religion In the Fort at Āgra he built the palace — one of the few secular buildings of the Mughal period which survive — called the Djahāngīrī Mahall His other buildings at Āgra were demolished by Shāh-Djahān This palace, built of red sandstone which has weathered badly, bears the impress of Akbar's vigour and originality Throughout arches are used sparingly, the horizontal style of construction being the rule Its forms also are as Hindu as its construction, but the ornamentation, carved on all flat surfaces, is of a type used by Akbar but not found in other buildings During the early part of his reign was erected at Gwalior the tomb of Muhammad Ghawth, who died in 1562 Closely resembling that of Sher Shāh at Sahsarām, it marks a considerable advance in tomb-building during the brief period that had elapsed between the erection of the two, an advance ascribed by Fergusson to the invigorating touch of Akbar's genius, but doubtless due in great measure to the skill of the Gwalior school of architects and masons who were probably Hindus The tomb is a square, 100 ft each way, exclusive of the hexagonal towers, and its chamber forms a hall, 43 ft square, with the angles cut off by pointed arches so as to form an octagon on which the dome rests Around this square building is a wide gallery, enclosed on all sides by a screen of exquisite tracery in pierced stonework with a projecting porch on each face

At Fathpur-Sīkrī, the new capital founded by Akbar where the court resided from 1569 to 1584, the emperor's eclectic phase found its fullest expression Its architecture is admirably illustrated in W E Smith's works [1]), but all its significance has not yet been explained The site was chosen because Akbar's patron saint, the Sūfī Salīm Čishtī, lived in a cave on its summit [2]) Akbar's own residence was the "House of Dreams", the Khwāb-gāh, an unpretentious structure standing on the roof of the Mahall i Khāss, which contains paintings attributed by Smith to Chinese artists and apparently depicting Buddha as Yamāntaka [1]). However this may be, the design of his throne in the Dīwān-i Khāssa massive pillar symbolizes that he sat there as a Čakravartin or ruler of the four quarters, as Havell suggests, though it is conceivable that it signified his claim to the supreme headship of his new religion, the Dīn-Illāhī But it is rash to dogmatise on the symbolism of a builder who seems to have had no settled design for the plan of his new city The Mahall i Khāss regarded by Fergusson as the original block of building at Fathpur Sīkrī, has two spacious courtyards and is larger than the Red Palace at Āgra, but its surrounding structures are inferior in richness of design and ornamentation From time to time Akbar added courts and pavilions as if to compensate for this inferiority While the Dīwān-i Khāss is square, as befits a Hall of Audience, the Daftar-Khāna or Record Office is peristylar like the one erected by Akbar at Allāhābād The Panč Mahall, a five-storeyed open pavilion with richly carved pillars, and long colonnades and walls connecting these buildings one with another, complete this group of structures The most characteristic and beautiful of his designs here are the three small buildings, the Mahall or apartment of Birbal's daughter, the house of Mariam Zamāni, mother of Djahāngīr, and the palace of the Rūmi Sultāna, Rukaiya Begam, a cousin of Akbar and his first consort Akbar's greatness however demanded more grandiose monuments The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid or cathedral mosque, erected in 1571 (the year in which he proclaimed himself the *mudjtahid* of his age and openly claimed the spiritual headship of Islām) commemorated his victories in the Dakhan (Southern India) It ranks amongst the finest ecclesiastical buildings of India According to its inscription, it was designed by Shaikh Salim Čishtī himself and modelled on the Kaᶜba Though highly ornate it betrays few or no traces of Indian influence [2]) The tomb of the Shaikh, in its courtyard, is built wholly of white marble, with windows of pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns, and a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of a design so elaborate as to be almost fantastic The other tomb in the courtyard, that of Salīm's grandson, Shaikh Islām Khān, is of sober and excellent design but eclipsed by its surroundings The Buland Darwāzah or "lofty gateway", built in 1602, commemorates Akbar's conquest of Khāndesh and dwarfs even the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid It is the grandest gateway in India and one of the loftiest in the world, its height being enhanced by its position on the brow of the hill on which Fathpur-Sikrī stands Its architect placed its portals at the back of a semi dome, which thus became its porch or portico, and its dimensions impress themselves as those of the actual portal It must be added that Akbar intended his new capital to be a school of all the arts and that he allied architecture to painting From the fragments of interior mural paintings which survive, it is clear that he employed Persian and Indian artists, who worked independently, and some idea of their technique is doubtless to be gathered from the miniatures of this period, as mural artists were also required to illustrate manuscripts

1) *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, Allāhābād, Government Press, N W P and Oudh, 1898, 4 vols and *Journal of Indian Art*, Nrs 47, 64 and 60

2) The tomb of Salīm Čishtī is described and illustrated in Smith's work cited above and in *J Indian Art*, N° 64 (vol viii, p 41 and *sqq*), 1898

1) *J Indian Art*, N° 47 (vol vi, p 66), 1894

2) For its wall-paintings see *J Indian Art*, N° 66 (vol viii, p 55), 1899

At Allāhābād, the city where Akbar was compelled by administrative duties to reside more than at his new but isolated capital, he built the pavilion of the Čālīs Sītūn or "Forty Pillars", of which only the hall survives Its plan is square, supported by eight rows of columns, eight in each row, making sixty four in all, and it is surrounded by a deep verandah of double columns, with groups of four at the angles, all surmounted by bracket capitals of the richest design

But perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings, observes Fergusson, is his tomb at Sikandra, begun in his lifetime [1]) but completed by his successor Unfortunately Djahāngīr, in his *Tūzuk* (transl A Rogers, i 152), asserts that he demolished Akbar's work and reconstructed the tomb But, seeing that the plan of the building is unique in India and has no Persian or Saracenic parallel, it is more likely that only its exterior is the work of the fastidious orthodox Djahāngīr Its original plan was modelled on the Panč Mahall, being composed of five square terraces diminishing in size as they ascend Thus the outline of the structure is pyramidal, not domical Standing in an extensive garden it is approached by a single gateway and stands on a raised platform Excluding the angle towers the lowest storey measures 320 ft each way, and on this terrace stand three more, similar in design but more ornate, each about half the height of the lowest storey or terrace Within and above the highest storey is a white marble enclosure, 157 ft square, contrasting with the red sandstone of which the rest of the structure is built The outer wall of this enclosure is entirely composed of beautiful trellis-work, and inside it is a colonnade or cloister, also of white marble, in the centre of which is placed the tomb of Akbar, resting on a platform of exquisite arabesque tracery This doubtless typifies Akbar's celestial resting-place, for below it lie his remains under a far plainer tombstone in the basement That Djahāngīr here departed from the original plan is certain According to W Finch, the tomb was to have been covered with a canopy of "curious white and speckled gold richly inwrought" What Akbar planned and what he meant to express by his design must remain a matter of conjecture Fergusson postulates a Buddhist model, and even sees in the pavilions which adorn the upper storeys reminiscences of the cells which stand on the edge of the great rock-cut rath at Māmallapuram, but these may have been intended for use as a theological college like the rooms and pavilions in the upper storey of Humāyūn's tomb He also thought that a domical chamber over the tombstone formed part of the original design, since no such royal tomb remains exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum — a dangerous generalization Havell sees in the building an Indian five-storeyed Assembly Hall, apparently a meeting-house for the royal order, the Dīn Ilāhī, the four lower pavilions (or terraces) corresponding to the four grades of the order Even Cambodian influences have been conjectured [1]) Yet it is not impossible that a Zoroastrian model was kept in view, as Akbar borrowed from that faith among others

As compared with Akbar Djahāngīr contributed little to the architectural magnificence of Mughal India At Lahore, which he made his capital, he added the Barā Khwāb-gāh or greater sleeping apartment to the Fort, and the tomb of Anārkalī was also erected in that city Near Srīnagar in Kashmīr he made the Shālīmār gardens with their summer-houses, and the fine gateway to the Sarāī at Nūrmahal near Djalandhar is also ascribed to his reign The quadrangle at Lahore was doubtless executed by Hindu artisans, as the colonnade, which surrounds three sides of its area, is supported by pillars of red sandstone with bracket capitals and carved figures of elephants, peacocks and conventional animals like those found in the Red Palace at Āgra Djahāngīr's greatest buildings were however erected at Dakka, in Eastern Bengal, where he made a new provincial capital in supersession of Gawr, but his structures there were principally built of brick, covered with stucco, only the pillars and brackets being of stone, and they have been almost destroyed by the jungle In one respect only did Djahāngīr innovate In 1600 he built the Motī Masdjid or "Pearl Mosque" at Lahore, the first of its kind in India Between Akbar's style and that of Djahāngīr little difference exists The former had used colour ornamentation at Fathpur-Sīkrī, its later buildings were richly decorated with wall-paintings, and marble mosaic was used in the Djāmi' Masdjid Djahāngīr relied still more on mosaic decoration, e g in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, but soon after its completion we find variegated marble mosaic supplemented by *pietra dura*, as in I'timād al-Dawla's tomb, and in the Tādj we still find inlay almost exclusively used Akbar had continued the use of enamelled tiles at Fathpur-Sīkrī for roofing and more sparingly for ornamentation, and they were employed by Djahāngīr at Sikandra and by Wazīr Khān, his *wazīr*, on his mosque at Lahore Indeed this mosque is only noteworthy on account of this decoration Akbar had also introduced painting on interior walls

Djahāngīr's wife Nūr Mahall or Nūr Djahān erected at Āgra the tomb of her father, I'timād al Dawla, completed in 1628 Built almost entirely of white marble, enriched with semi-precious *pietra dura* patterns, it foreshadowed the finest work of Shāh-Djahān's reign Djahāngīr's tomb, at Shāhdarā near Lahore, has little architectural merit, consisting of a vast platform 209 ft square, with a minaret at each corner The façades are decorated with white marble let into the red sandstone and the flat roof with geometrical mosaics The emperor's remains are probably buried beneath an opening in the roof so that the rain and dew of heaven might fall on his tomb, as his earliest chronicler says [2]) In brief the actual grave was hypaethral [3]),

1) This view is contested in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903—1904, p 19, but it was certainly the usual custom for a Mughal emperor, like any other good Musulman of means, to build his tomb during his lifetime The problem is fully discussed in *The Tomb of Akbar*, by E W Smith and W H Nicholls, published by the *Arch Survey of India*, Allāhābād 1908

1) Cf Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p 411

2) Muhammad Sālih Kambū, in his *Shāh-Djahān-Nāma* (also called the *Amal-i Sālih* in Elliott and Dowson's *Hist of India*, vii, p 123) cited in *Arch Survey of India, Annual Rep*, 1906—1907, p 13

3) A contrary view, that the tomb had a closed

following the precedent set by Bābur The sarcophagus is of white marble, inlaid with *pietra dura*, and it stands in an octagonal chamber 21 ft high and 20½ in diameter This chamber is enclosed in nearly solid walls of masonry, 56 ft thick on all sides, and access to it is afforded by two oblong apartments, one on each side, but it does not open into any of the forty other rooms behind the arches which surround the structure, each façade having a central arch with five smaller arches on each side

Under Shāh-Djahān (1627—1658) Mughal architecture attained its zenith One of his earliest buildings was the incomparable Tādj Mahall [q v], begun the year after the death of the empress, Arjumand Bānū Begam, entitled Mumtāz Mahall, or the "Chosen One of the Palace" For himself Shāh Djahān planned a corresponding tomb of equal magnificence on the opposite bank of the river Djamnā, but Awrangzēb did not carry out the scheme, probably because it savoured of paganism [1]) Considerable controversy has raged over the question of its architect Shāh Djahān's style was essentially Persian, with an indefinable difference of expression, and it was sharply distinguished from those of Ispahān and Constantinople by a lavish use of white marble, sumptuously decorated with *pietra dura* Coloured tiles had by now become rare Spacious grandeur was combined with feminine elegance, to which inimitable open work tracery contributed In the mosques colour was eschewed, and the finest art is found in the Pearl Mosques at Āgra and Dihlī The former was built in 1646–1653 Meanwhile Shāh-Djahān had founded Shāh-Djahānābād, the great palace near modern Dihlī, recently restored to something like its pristine beauty A Persian engineer, ʿAlī Mardān Khān, had tapped the Djamnā 6 miles above Dihlī, and his canal fed the new capital with many streams The most favoured of them was the Nahr-i Bihisht of "Stream of Paradise", which was so named by Shāh Djahān himself It fell in a cascade down a marble chute in a pavilion — the Shāh Burdj — and flowing along the terrace which bordered the Hayāt Bakhsh ("life giving") garden, it traversed the chain of stately edifices that lined the eastern wall of the Palace — the Hammām, Dīwān-i Khāss and Khwāb-gāh — silently gliding beneath the Mīzān-i Insāf ("Balance of Justice") across a sun-bathed court into the cool of the Imtiyāz Mahall or "Palace of Distinction", styled later the Rang Mahall Kalān or "Greater Colour Palace", from its elaborate painted decoration and gilding Set on a marble terrace which formerly swept from end to end of the Fort, it overhung the Djamnā whose course then flowed along the base of the red sandstone walls On the West an orchard separated it from the Dīwān-i ʿĀm Thence, still southward, it passed through the Lesser Rang Mahall, the Mumtāz Mahall and other buildings of the imperial *zanāna* Thus Dihlī combined the Mughal love of enclosed gardens, watered by running channels, with their passion for architectural beauty It preserved Bābur's love of nature, and perhaps added to it a sense of landscape which also found expression in the Mughal gardens of Kashmīr

With Awrangzēb (1659—1707) set in the period of decline, due no doubt largely to that emperor's orthodox prejudice against art, but partly also to his conscientious parsimony He declined to complete Shāh-Djahān's tomb, ostensibly on the ground of expense, but also perhaps because he regarded the scheme as savouring of paganism Yet he constructed at Benares the great mosque with its lofty graceful minarets, built a copy of the Dihlī mosque at Lahore, and at Awrangābād imitated, though on a small scale and with success, the Tādj in the tomb of his favourite wife Awrangzīb's own tomb, at Khuldābād, a hamlet just above the caves at Elūra, is mean and insignificant But some of his buildings, in spite of their incipient decadence, are the last great examples of the Mughal style His Djāmiʿ or Bādshāhī mosque at Lahore is pleasing in form, though the marble ornamentation of its great central and front façade is very inferior in detail to its prototype at Dihlī Its three domes of white marble and the imposing gateway of red sandstone and marble leading to it from the Hazūrī Bāgh are its finest features

Near Dihlī the tomb (1756) of Nawwāb Safdar Djang, Wazīr of Oudh, is a passable copy of a Humāyūn's mausoleum, but its interior is marred by indifferent plaster decoration

At Lucknow, the capital of the Nawwāb Wazīrs of Oudh, the buildings erected by that dynasty and its nobles hardly deserve to be classed as Mughal The one exception is the vast Imāmbāra, built by the fourth Nawwāb, Āsaf al-Dawla, in 1784 Conceived on a grand scale for the celebration of the Muharram according to the Shiʿa rite, its details will not bear close examination, though its solidity is impressive The buildings of the Muhammadan dynasty of Mysore (1760—1777) have still less claim to be regarded as Mughal

To conclude, the architecture of the Mughals was, like all their arts, a resultant of many forces

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roof and only an uncovered tombstone is maintained by J P Thompson in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, 1 12—30 (also W H Nicholls, in *Arch Survey of India*, *Annual Rep*, 1906—1907, p 12) But hypaethral shrines were not uncommon during the Mughal period (see H A Rose, in *Journ Panjab Hist Soc*, III 144—145, and *Glossary of Panjab Tribes and Castes*, 1 534) It is possible to reconcile the structural evidence with tradition by assuming that the tomb was originally hypaethral, but that a dome was subsequently erected over it and that Awrangzīb removed the addition in order to restore the original design but hardly, as Moorcroft states, with the intent that "his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather as a mark of his reprobation of the loose notions and licentious practices of Djahāngīr" (cf W Moorcroft and G Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, London 1841, 1 108—109)

1) For twin shrines on either side of the Indus see the account of Daira Dīn Panāh in Muzaffargarh (Punjab) District *Gazetteer*, Lahore 1910, p 71 Tavernier records this tradition in his *Travels*, Bk 1, Ch VII, but he does not add the further tradition that Shāh-Djahān's mausoleum was to have been of black marble, a rarity hardly procurable in India The Tādj was however only the central feature in a group of smaller and hardly less beautiful buildings, e g the four Saheli Burdjes, tombs of the empress' maids-of-honour, see *Arch Survey of India*, *Annual Rep*, 1903–1904, p 14 and plate III

But its essential distinction over Hindu art lay in its balanced use of purely Indian and imported technique, while it recognised the value of symbolism in its structures, it never made its arts merely a vehicle for symbols, as Hindu sculpture tended to do

Bibliography The fullest collection of material for the study of Indian architecture is to be found in the publications of the *Archaeological Survey of India* The best comprehensive works are James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, edited by James Burgess, vol ii, London 1910, Gustave Le Bon, *Les Monuments de l'Inde*, Paris 1893, Fi Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser*, Leipzig 1918, Oscar Reuther, *Indische Palaste und Wohnhauser*, Berlin 1925 A comprehensive and critical bibliography of the Muhammadan Architecture of India by K A C Creswell appeared in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol li (1922) (H A Rose)

MUGHAMMAS or according to others Mughamis, a valley near Mecca on the borders of the sacred area According to tradition, Abraha [q v] ordered his army to encamp here when he was going to attack Mecca, but was prevented from doing so as birds slew his soldiers by dropping stones on them In Mughammas is shown the tomb of the Tāʾifī Abū Righāl who died here after acting as guide to Abraha He was so hated by the Meccans for this that the custom grew up of casting stones on his grave [cf AL-DJAMRA] Whether this explanation is true or not is unknown, but in any case a verse of Hassān b Thābit (ed Hirschfeld, LXII/1) shows that in the time of the Prophet the mention of his name was sufficient to insult the Tāʾifīs The antiquity of the custom of stoning his tomb is shown by a verse of Djarīr "When al-Farazdak dies, stone him as you stone the grave of Abū Righāl"

Bibliography al-Bakrī, *Geogr Worterbuch*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 553, Ibn Hishām, ed Wüstenfeld, p 33, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 937, Azrakī, ed Wustenfeld, p 93 *sq*, Noldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser*, p 207 *sq* (Fr Buhl)

AL-MUGHĪRA B SHUʿBA, of the sept of the *Ahlāf*, a subdivision of the Thakif, further a member of the clan of the Banū Muʿattib — guardians of the sanctuary of al-Lāt — and nephew of ʿUrwa b Masʿūd [q v], companion and martyr For having attacked and plundered some travelling companions during their sleep, he was forced to leave Tāʾif, his native town, and came to Medīna to offer his services to Muhammad The latter used him to attract the Thakīf to Islām and after the submission of Tāʾif, sent him to this town to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt In the caliphate of Abū Bakr, although he never succeeded in attaining to one of the great posts which were reserved for the Kuraish, Mughīra was able to keep a position in governing circles ʿOmar, while under no illusions about his morals, appointed him governor of Basra A scandalous incident temporarily interrupted his administrative career He was accused of adultery The evidence was overwhelming instead of having him stoned, ʿOmar only dismissed him Mughīra holds in tradition the record for marriages and divorces the figures of 300, 700 and 1,000 are given In the year 21 (642), recalled to public life, he was appointed to the important governorship of Kūfa His slave Abū Luʾluʾa, who lived in Medīna, assassinated the Caliph ʿOmar Under ʿOthmān, Mughīra retired to private life In the reign of ʿAlī, he withdrew to Tāʾif to watch the course of events He went without having been invited to the conference of Adhruh [q v] In 40 (660), taking advantage of the general confusion that followed the assassination of ʿAlī, he produced an alleged certificate of appointment from Muʿāwiya and took over the control of the annual pilgrimage

The great Sufyānid was able to appreciate at their true value auxiliaries of the stamp of Mughīra, one of the chief *dāhiya* of his time, the man "who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty" "if (it was said) he were shut behind seven doors, his cunning would have found a way to burst all the locks" Of shocking morals, free from any attachment to the ʿAlid party, equally free from any claims to the caliphate, free from the jealousies of the Kuraish families, as well as the narrowmindedness of the Ansār clans, a member of the intelligent and enterprising tribe of Thakīf, everything attracted Muʿāwiya's attention to him In the year 41 (661), this Caliph appointed him governor of Kūfa, a region disturbed by the intrigues of the Shiʿa and the continual risings of the Khāridjīs Mughīra succeeded in not compromising himself with the former he was content to advise them to avoid any too striking outburst Now nearly sixty, the able Thakafī felt the unusual ambition of remaining where he was and of finishing his troubled career in peace and honour This opportunist, who had come over to the Sufyānids after cool calculation, felt little desire to sacrifice his own peace and leisure for the consolidation of the Omaiyad dynasty, he was solely concerned with keeping on the right side of the sagacious Muʿāwiya The sudden rising of the Khāridjī leader Mustawrid failed to disturb his equanimity With remarkable cleverness he was able to let loose against these rebels their born enemies, "the fine flower of the Shiʿa" Whichever was victorious, it could not fail to lighten his responsibilities By setting them against one another he rendered harmless the most dangerous elements of disorder in his province The crushing of the Khāridjīs enabled him to breathe freely

Thanks to this combination of mildness and astuteness, and by knowing when to shut his eyes, Mughīra succeeded in avoiding desperate measures against the people of the ʿIrāk, who were a continual source of trouble, and succeeded in retaining his position He was even regretted by his former subjects after he was gone Not quite satisfied, Muʿāwiya thought of breaking this lieutenant of his who was playing a double game Mughīra was always able at the opportune moment to provoke troubles which required the continuation of his services In this way he prepared the return to favour of Ziyād b Abīhi [q v], destined to be his successor He is also said to have disarmed the Caliph's suspicions by suggesting the plan of proclaiming Yazīd heir-apparent As the general situation had considerably improved in the ʿIrāk and order prevailed, on the surface at least, the Caliph left him in office till his death, the date of which is uncertain but which must be placed between 48 and 51 (668—671) Mughīra died of the plague at the age of about 70

Bibliography *Aghānī*, xix 97, 140—148, xvi 2 *sq*, xviii 165, xx 117, xxi 281—284, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv 116, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, ii 4, 8, 10, 16, 19—21, 36—39, 40, 42, 44, 61, 67, 86—88, 111—115, 173, 174, 181, 207 — For other references cf H Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Moʿāwia Ier*, p 1—15, extract from the *R S O*, iv 1—15 (H LAMMENS)

AL-MUGHNĪ [See ALLĀH II]

AL MUHĀDJIRŪNA, the emigrants, a name often applied in the Kurʾān to those followers of Muhammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medīna with him The word is derived from *hidjra*, which does not mean "flight" but breach, dissolution of an association based on origin, in the place of which a new connection is formed The term *muhādjir* is not applied to the Prophet himself but only to those who migrated with him and later made up a considerable portion of the population of Medīna The followers of the Prophet who were natives of Mecca were given the name *Anṣār* [q v] to distinguish them from the Muhādjirūn, because the immigrants were mainly dependent on their help and active support after they had given up their homes and livelihoods in Mecca It now became one of Muhammad's main objects to arouse sympathy for them, because in the early days after their migration they were for the most part in very needy circumstances With the greatest eloquence he describes them as the particular favourites of Allāh who will receive a splendid reward for their sacrifices "when those who have adopted the faith, who have migrated and fought for Allah's cause may hope for his grace" (Sūra ii 215), "the sins of the emigrants and of those driven from home are forgiven" (iii 191) Those who remained in Mecca and feared to migrate although the earth was large enough to afford them shelter are severely censured He who emigrates finds a home on the earth and if he dies Allāh will reward him (iii 101) This was however at first only an indication of a future which had not yet materialised and in addition to these rosy utterances (cf xvi 43, viii 75, xxii 57) the Prophet made more practical efforts to help those who were living in difficult circumstances A portion of the plunder taken in fighting was given to the poor emigrants who had been driven from their possessions in order to aid Allāh "they are the trustworthy" (lix 8) In order to make the bond between them and the Medīnese as tight as possible it is announced in Sūra viii 73 that the emigrants who had left their homes to fight for the true religion and those who gave them shelter (cf Ibn Hishām, p 321 *sqq*) and assistance (the Ansār) should enjoy rights of kinship with one another while on the other hand, those, who while adopting Islām had not migrated, should not have any rights of kinship According to the usual interpretation, this passage refers to the peculiar bond of brotherhood which Muhammad instituted between each emigrant and a Medīnese believer, an explanation which is however not quite certain as the passage perhaps only expresses a general principle (cf Fr Buhl, *Leben Muhammeds*, p 209) Besides, the usual exegesis sees in the regulations for inheritance (Sūra iv 13, 15) a proof that this special bond was very early abolished again.

The high esteem in which the emigrants were held finds expression in Sūra ix 20, where we read "those who believed and migrated and expended blood and treasure in fighting for the cause of Allāh, occupy a higher position (than other believers), they are the fortunate ones" Muhādjir in this way became a title of honour (cf Sūra xxix 25 where Lot is so called) Individuals who had migrated not to Medīna but to Abyssinia also proudly called themselves muhādjir (see Fr Buhl, *op cit*, p 172) But the real "migration" was that to Medīna in which the Prophet himself took part The number of the Muhādjirūn gradually grew as the increasing power of Muhammad from time to time induced Meccans to leave their heathen city and go to Medina It is to them that Sūra viii 76 refers, where those who adopted Islām later than the first emigrants who migrated and afterwards fought alongside of the older Muhādjirūn are acknowledged as belonging to the community ("they are of you") After the treaty of Hudaibiya [q v] in particular, we hear of Meccan women who left their pagan husbands and went to Medīna where in accordance with Muhammad's interpretation of the treaty they were not surrendered if they offered the so-called women's pledge (see Sūra lx 11 *sqq*) Thus the Muhādjirūn, later and earlier, formed an increasing element in the population of Medīna, whom Muhammad often mentions along with other sections of the community as possessing equal rights with them (e g Sūra xxxiii 6, 49) in which connection it should be noted that Muhādjirūn is never, as was the case among the Ansār, used in genealogies

That these emigrants were specially dear to Muhammad is easily intelligible, for they had shared his sufferings in Mecca and made the greatest sacrifices for him and included in their number men who had adopted his teaching out of pure conviction With the occupation of Mecca, the migration ceased while the Muhādjirūn remained as a separate highly honoured body It is natural to suppose that a certain amount of rivalry might easily arise between them and the other elements of the community, and that there was actually a certain amount of friction between the emigrants and the Medīnese is evident from the fact that in the troubles after the Prophet's death the Medinese endeavoured to set up one of their number, Saʿd b ʿUbāda, as successor to the Prophet The attempt failed through the energetic action of ʿUmar, Abū Bakr and Abū ʿUbaida, and the leadership of the community remained in the hands of the Muhādjirūn until the descendants of Muhammad's old opponents in Mecca seized power for themselves

Bibliography The biography of Muhammad, especially Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 341 *sqq* (FR BUHL)

MUHĀL [see MANTIK]

AL-MUHALLAB B ABĪ SUFRA, ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-AZDĪ, an Arab general Al-Muhallab is said to have been born two years before the death of Muhammad In the reign of Muʿāwiya he undertook a campaign against India and raided the country between Kābul and Multān (44 = 664–665) He next distinguished himself in the expeditions of the governors of Khurāsān against Samarkand. Then however, he left the Umaiyads and joined the anti Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b al Zubair who gave him the governorship of Khurāsān When he was just about to start for there, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the war against the Azrakīs

[q v] on the urgent appeal of the people of Basra After he had driven them from the Tigris he defeated them in Shawwāl 66 (May 686) at Sillabrā, east of the Dudjail, whereupon they withdrew to the east He then took part in the war against al Mukhtār b Abī ʿUbaid [q v] On the latter's defeat and death (Ramadān 67 = April 687) he was sent to al Mawsil to defend the frontier against the Syrians by Musʿab b al-Zubair, who shortly before had been appointed governor of Basra In the meanwhile, the Azrakīs had been growing more and more dangerous and the only course for Musʿab was to send al Muhallab once again to al-Ahwāz Here he fought the Azrakīs for eight months, when Musʿab fell at Maskin (72 = 691) he paid homage to the caliph ʿAbd al Malik The new governor of Basra, Khālid b ʿAbd Allāh b Khālid b Asid, himself then undertook the leadership in the war against the fanatical Azrakis, but he was not fit for this task so that the caliph found himself forced to send for al-Muhallab and give him the supreme command Khālid was soon afterwards dismissed and Basra given to ʿAbd al Malik's brother, the governor of Kūfa, Bishr b Marwān But since the latter out of jealousy worked against Muhallab, the latter's movements were hampered, though he succeeded in seizing the town of Rāmahurmuz On the death of Bishr, al Hadjdjādj [q v] received the governorship of the ʿIrāk and as soon as he took up his appointment, the campaign against the Azrakis was resumed with vigour (beg of 75 = 694) At the end of Shaʿbān 75 (Dec 694), al Muhallab assumed the offensive The Azrakis had to retire to Kazarūn where they held out for over a year They then left Fārs and went to Kirmān Here they entrenched themselves in the town of Djīraft and it was some time before Muhallab could overcome them so that al Hadjdjādj became impatient and tried to hurry him up Al-Muhallab preferred however to await the favourable moment Fortunately the Azrakis split into two parties, one of which, led by Katarī b al Fudjāʾa [q v] and ʿAbīda b Hilāl, fled to Tabaristan whereupon al Muhallab easily overcame the rest He then returned to Basra where as a reward for his services he was given the governorship of Khurāsān (78 = 697–698) From Merw he undertook two expeditions against Bukhārā, on his way back he died at Zāghūl, a village in the district of Merw al-Rūdh, in Dhu 'l Hidjdja 82 (Jan–Feb 702) According to another statement, his death did not take place till next year His son Yazīd succeeded him in his office By finally disposing of the fanatical Azrakīs al-Muhallab rendered a lasting service to the caliphate and he is incontestably entitled to a place of honour among the generals of the Umayyads

Bibliography Balādhurī (ed de Goeje), p 360, 396, 411, 417, 432, 442, *Anonyme arab Chronik* (ed Ahlwardt), p 15, 102—111, 113 *sq*, 123—125, 135, 271—277, 292, 310 *sq*, al Mubarrad, *al Kāmil*, p 626 *sqq*, Yaʿkūbī (ed Houtsma), ii 300, 316, 324, 329 *sq*, Tabarī, see index, Masʿūdī (ed Pavis), v 210 *sqq*, 291 *sqq*, 350 *sq*, 388 *sq*, *al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), iii 372 *sq*, 380, iv, passim, v 64 *sqq*, Ibn Khallikān (ed Wustenfeld), N⁰ 764 (transl by de Slane, iii 508 *sqq*), Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, i 291, 366 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*³, p 336 *sqq*, Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, p 34 *sqq*, do, *Das arabische Reich*, p 141 *sq* (K V Zetterstéen)

AL-MUHALLABĪ, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan b Muhammad, a vizier of Muʿizz al-Dawla He belonged to Basra and was born in Muharram 291 (= Dec 903) In 334 (945) when Muʿizz al Dawla was marching on Baghdād, he sent him in advance to negotiate with the Caliph and on Djumādā I, 27, 339 (= Nov 950) al-Muhallabī was appointed vizier He was given the supreme command in the war with ʿImrān b Shāhīn [cf Muʿizz al-Dawla] and had brought him into a very precarious position when he himself fell into an ambush and could only save himself with difficulty, whereupon Muʿizz al Dawla had to conclude peace with ʿImrān In 341 (952—953) the ruler of ʿOmān, Yūsuf b Wadjih, undertook a campaign against Basra, al Muhallabī, however, anticipated him, occupied the town and defeated Yūsuf In the same year, he fell into disgrace but was able to retain his office and the good relations between Muʿizz al-Dawla and his vizier were restored A few years later, Muʿizz al Dawla equipped an expedition against ʿOmān and put al Muhallabi in command The latter set out in Djumādā II, 352 (= June/July 963), but soon fell ill and decided to return to Baghdād He died on the way on 26th Shaʿbān of the same year (= 19th Sept 963) and was buried in Baghdad On his death Muʿizz al-Dawla confiscated all his property, a measure which aroused general indignation

Bibliography Yākūt, *Irshād al Arib* (ed Margoliouth), iii 180—194, Ibn Khallikān (ed Wustenfeld), N⁰ 177 (transl de Slane, i 410–412), Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i 131—133, Ibn al Athir (ed Tornberg), viii 337, 365, 368 *sq*, 372—375, 405

(K V Zetterstéen)

MUHAMMAD, the founder of Islām, was a native of the city of Mecca, out of which the energetic Kuraish had in the sixth century created a flourishing centre of commerce by exploiting the much visited places of pilgrimage there In consequence of the unreliability of the sources at our disposal the very first question a biographer has to ask, namely when was his hero born, cannot be answered with certainty That Muhammad's activity in Medīna covered ten years (622–632) is certain, but we have no certain data for the Meccan period There is however no cogent reason to doubt the statement in a poem ascribed sometimes to Abū Kais b Abī Anas and sometimes to Hassān b Thābit (ed Hirschfeld, N⁰ 19, 1) to the effect that his prophetic activity in Mecca lasted "ten and some years" The parallelism between the two periods, which might be brought forward as a ground of suspicion, is not complete, and on the other hand, the annual recurrence of the great pilgrimage at Mecca must have made it easy for the inhabitants to reckon by them, so that a chronological statement originating there deserves more confidence than others The Meccan period in any case must not be put too short, for according to ʿUrwa's story mentioned below (Tabarī, i 1181), "several years" passed after the migration of his followers to Abyssinia before they returned, after which new difficulties arose which produced the migration to Medīna — For the period before he came forth as a religious reformer we have only the indefinite expression *ʿumr* (Sūra x 17) The

Muslim historians make him usually 40, sometimes 43 years old at the time of his call, which, taken with the already mentioned data, would put the date of his birth at about 570 A D When however tradition puts the date of his birth in the "year of the Elephant" (see ABRAHA and Sūra cv), this is a result of an unhistorical combination, for Abraha's attack on Mecca must have taken place considerably before 570 But Lammens has cast various, not unfounded doubts on the whole chronological calculation itself, in particular the fact that Muhammad's migration to Medina and his resultant activities there do not give the impression that he was then a man already in the fifties In reality 580 or one of the years immediately following would suit very well as the date of the Prophet's birth, so that the Kur'ānic expression *'umr* would mean about 30 years

The name "Muhammad" occurred previously among the Arabs (e g Ibn Durayd, ed Wustenfeld, p 6 *sq* , Ibn Sa'd, I/i 111 *sq*) and therefore need not be regarded as an epithet only adopted later in life by the Prophet As to Muhammad's descent, several old poems (e g Hassān b Thābit, ed Hirschfeld, N° 25,7, A'shā in Ibn Hishām, p 256, 1, cf also on Dja'far Hassān b Thābit, N° 21,8, Ka'b b Mālik in Ibn Hishām, p 800, on Hamza Ibn Hisham, p 630, 7, on Abū Lahab Hassān b Thābit, N° 217,3) confirm the statement of tradition that he belonged to the family of Hāshim, and that he was recognised by them as one of themselves is evident from the fact that only the protection of a fairly powerful family could have made it possible for him to stay so long in Mecca in face of the hostility of his fellow citizens (cf the words put in the mouth of the enemies of Shu'aib [Sūra xi 93] "Had we not had consideration for thy family, we would have stoned thee") The Hāshim family related to the Banū Muttalib (Ibn Hishām, p 536, 14) was apparently one of the better class families of Mecca (cf Ibn Hishām, p 821 and the words of the poetess Kutayla, *ibid*, p 539, which however might be interpreted merely as a polite formula, cf Song of Solomon, vii 2, Dalman, *Palastinischer Diwan*, p 190, 255 *sq* , E Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, p 141) On the other hand, the Meccan enemies of the Prophet say in Sūra xliii 30 that they would believe in him more readily if he had been one of the prominent men of the two cities (Mecca and Tā'if) The Hāshim family in any case could not compare with the most prominent families like the Makhzūm and Umayya, and what is recorded of the needy circumstances of Muhammad and some of his relatives suggests that the Hāshim family must have been exceedingly poverty stricken at this time On his mother's side he had connections, which are not clear to us, with Medina [cf ĀMINA and HĀSHIM], according to Mūsa b 'Ukba the Medinese called al 'Abbās their "sister's son" (cf Ibn Sa'd, IV/i 8, 12) We know nothing more that is definite about his ancestry, for most of what is related is legend His father, who is said to have died before his birth, is quite a colourless figure, whose name 'Abd Allāh is perhaps only a later improvement on a heathen name His grandfather is called Shayba or 'Abd al-Muttalib, the connection between these two names is however as obscure as is that between 'Abd al-Muttalib and the oft mentioned family of Muttalib (Hassān b Thābit, N° 184, 2, Ibn Hishām, p 230, 13, 536, 14) or the Banū Shayba (Ibn Sa'd, I/i 94, 6, II/i 124, 25)

The only thing certain from the Kur'ān is that Muhammad grew up as an orphan in very miserable circumstances (Sūra, xciii 6 *sq*) The first tangible historical figures among his relatives are his uncles Abū Tālib, with whom tradition records that he found a kindly reception, 'Abbās, Hamza [q v] and 'Abd al-'Uzzā [cf ABŪ LAHAB] On the idyllic little story of the boy's stay with the Beduin tribe of Sa'd b Bakr, see the article HALIMA The story of the cleansing of his breast (a similar story is related of Umayya b Abi 'l Salt, cf Goldziher, *Abh z Arab Phil*, I 213) is a materialisation of Sūra xciv 1

In Sūra xciii already quoted, we are told that Allāh made the poor orphan prosperous Corresponding to this in tradition is the marriage of Muhammad with a rich merchant's widow, in whose service he had been [cf KHADĪDJA] She bore him four daughters, who play a part in later history, and several sons all of whom died in infancy, one of them at least must be historical as his pagan name 'Abd Manāf (Sprenger, I 199 *sq* , Caetani, I 173) could not be invented by later writers, such a fiction in any case, as posthumous comfort to alleviate the disgrace of the lack of male heirs (Lammens), would be very inadequate, if it had to make the sons die again soon after their birth The interest in business matters apparent in the Kur'ān (Sūra II 194, lxii 9 *sq*) as well as his fondness for business expressions (cf however similar expressions in the Wisdom of Solomon, iv 20, Pirqe Abot, III 16, IV 22, Horn, *Gesch d Pers Lit*, p 10) are very natural if Muhammad took part in business transactions as Khadidja's assistant and husband On the other hand, it would be wiser to set aside the alleged trading journeys into neighbouring lands, which he is said to have made even as a child with Abū Tālib and later in Khadidja's service, in the form in which they are given, they have distinctly apologetic tendencies [cf BAHĪRA] and are quite unnecessary to explain his later religious development Sūra xxxvii 137 *sq* in any case is not clear proof that he himself had passed by Lot's dwellings on a journey Nor did Khadidja equip trading caravans independently Equally little confidence is to be placed in the story, which is given in the usual *marchen* style, of the part played by Muhammad in rebuilding the Ka'ba

While the questions already raised are really of no great importance, the problems which concern Muhammad's début as a religious reformer are of the utmost importance but offer the greatest difficulties to the student in view of the insufficient material available in the sources The main question is whence did Muhammad, who everywhere betrays a great receptivity for foreign matter, get his ideas? That he originally shared the religious conceptions of his milieu is in every way the most natural supposition — his uncle Abū Lahab was an ardent defender of paganism and Abū Tālib, who was like a father to him, died without adopting Islām — and is confirmed not only by the name of his son already mentioned but also by Sūra xciii 3 "God found thee wandering and guided thee" (cf also xlii 52 "Thou didst not know what book or belief was" and the statement of Ibn al-Kalbi that he once brought a sheep as a sacrifice to al 'Uzzā) Distinct traces of his early beliefs survived in his later life He shared the belief of his fellow-countrymen in *djinn* and *shayātīn*, in evil omens etc Mecca with its sanctuary was a sanctified place in his eyes (Sūra xxvii 93, xxviii 57, xxix

67, cv 1 *sqq*, cvi 1 *sqq*), he admitted the sacrifices offered there into the true worship (cviii 2) and allowed his followers to take part in the pilgrimage (vii 29 *sq*) so that it was all the easier for him later to accept it as one of the main features of his religion (see below) We shall later discuss a relapse into paganism, which however was speedily overcome, as well as the fact that he was only gradually led to attack on principle the gods of Mecca He was also influenced by the manner of the old Arab inspired soothsayers (cf on the modern Rwala Musil, *Die Kultur*, 1910, p 10) to the extent that he adopted their peculiar form of speech with mysterious oaths and rhymed prose (*sadj*ᶜ, cf Goldziher, *Abhandlungen z arab Philol*, i 59 *sqq*, Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 381 *sq*) when he began to announce his revelations All his earlier conceptions were however driven out except for such trifling residua as these, when a new world of ideas began to fill him to an ever increasing extent, until he was finally compelled with irresistible force to come forth and proclaim them These new ideas point mainly to the religions of the "possessors of a scripture" — Judaism and Christianity — and he was conscious of this, in as much as he repeatedly emphasises the agreement between his teaching and these older religions of revelation as irrefutable evidence of its truth (cf the significant passage "If thou art in doubt about what We have revealed, ask them who read the scripture before thee", Sūra x 94) The only question is, in what way did he become possessed of these new ideas This much only is certain that he did not get them from his own reading of the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians The word *ummī* [q v], applied to him (Sūra vii 156) signifies, without committing us to anything about his ability in reading or writing — as a merchant he must have had a certain knowledge of these arts — that he was an illiterate layman, who was not able to read the Hebrew or Greek Bible, and that this was actually the case, the Kur'ān shows on every page For this explanation of the term Wensinck, *Acta orient*, ii 191 and (citing the Hebrew *ummōt ha-ᶜolām*) Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p 52 would put "pagan", ἐθνικός, but, although this might fit some passages, it could hardly suit Sūra ii 73 where there is a reference to a difference between the "possessors of a scripture" and the *ummiyūn*ᵃ among the Jews The usual explanation suits well enough, as it is certain and it is confirmed by the Kur'ān everywhere that, while Muhammad had some notion of the books of the Bible, the Hebrew and Greek Bibles were closed books to him Utterances like the saying that Jesus "received" the Gospels (iii 44, v 50, lvii 27) and that it should be "observed" like the law (v 70, 72) clearly show that he did not know its real contents Sūra xxi 105 contains a quotation from the Psalms, but this is quite an isolated instance and he knew nothing of the Psalms as a part of the Old Testament (xvii 57) The parable of the camel and the eye of a needle (vii 38) proves of course no literary dependence and the alleged description of Muhammad and his followers in the Gospels (xlviii 29) shows what he could build up on a vague recollection of something he had heard On the other hand the stories reproduced, e g the long account of Joseph (Sūra xii), show that he was indirectly dependent on the Bible and not only on the Old but also on the New Testament (cf what he relates of Mary, Joseph, Zacharia and John), the story of the Seven Sleepers (cf ASHĀB AL KAHF and M Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, 1910) also presupposes Christian authorities One therefore cannot blame his enemies when they said that he had foreign teachers (xvi 105, xxv 5 *sq*, xliv 13), which is certainly not refuted by the reply in xvi 105 Further it is clear from the Kur'ān that he did not come into contact in this indirect way with the books of the Bible in their simple form, but that his authorities had drawn on Midrashic and Apocryphical works, which is easily explained by the varied and luxuriant character of the religious tendencies in Arabia In particular what he tells of the birth and childhood of Jesus (xix 22 *sqq*, iii 41, v 109 *sq*) comes from Apocryphal sources, and his account of the death of Jesus (iv 156) has parallels among the Manichaeans and Basilidians

To state exactly what religion exercised particular influence on Muhammad's ideas is hardly possible in view of the scanty information available about conditions in these days, especially as many things indicate that he was influenced from various sides, primarily by Christian sects, but later also by the Jews There was ample opportunity to become acquainted with both these religions from caravans passing through to Syria or the lands of the Euphrates, from communication by sea with Abyssinia, and from foreign merchants visiting the great markets, and not only in the more advanced districts of South Arabia, but also among several Bedūn tribes (e g Bakr, Taghlib, Hanīfa, Tayy), Christianity had established itself, while Jewish colonies had settled in Medina and the oases north of it But a citizen of Mecca in particular had repeated opportunities of coming into contact with Christians and Jews The great festivals attracted people from all districts and it is expressly recorded that Christians also took part in the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p 28, 128, 159), in addition there were Christians captured in war and immigrant Ghassānids living in Mecca (Azrakī, ed Wustenfeld, p 97, 458, 466, cf the Christian slave in Fā'if Ibn Hishām, p 280 *sq*) In the Kur'ān alongside of expressions coming from the Aramaic, several Ethiopic loanwords are evidence of religious influence from Abyssinia (cf Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p 47) Recently scholars have been fond of seeking a main source of Muhammad's ideas and their formulation in the religious development which is alleged to have taken place in South Arabia This is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with, but so long as we know so little of South Arabian religious history and in particular so long as no intermediate South Arabian forms are found for the Abyssinian loanwords in the Kur'ān we are better to set it aside It should also be noted that Muhammad in his stories of the prophets frequently mentions the Arab tribes of ᶜĀd and Thamūd [q v] but only rarely touches on the older history of South Arabia (Sūra xxvii 20 *sqq*, xxxiv 14 *sq*, xliv 26, l 13, on the other hand hardly lxxxv 1 *sqq*, cf M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p 474) In the utterance ascribed to the Prophet (Bukhārī, ed Krehl, iii 56) "Belief and wisdom are Yemenī", Yemenī, as the context shows, only means "of Yemenī fashion", i e cultured, human, in contrast to Bedūn uncouthness The main objection however, is that the hypothesis would only mean

an unnecessarily circuitous route, for Muhammad always appeals directly to his agreement with Christianity, without suggesting any remodelling of these religions through a South Arabian medium And the stronger one endeavours to make Yemenite influence on religious matters in Mecca, the more unintelligible becomes the stubborn opposition of the Meccans to Muhammad Much greater weight should be given to Tor Andrae's treatment of the question of Muhammad's dependence on Christianity After calling attention to the wide dissemination and dominating position of Nestorianism in the Persian empire, which is of importance as it must have been much more accessible to Muhammad than Monophysitism, he points out the close relationship between Muhammad's ideas and the ecclesiastical writings of the Syrians the contempt for worldly possessions, the strong condemnation of the arrogance and frivolity of the unbelievers, the warnings against laughing, joking and careless speech, the emphasis on the significance of almsgiving as an atonement for sin, the descriptions of Paradise (we even find the houris in Ephraim the Syrian) etc Alongside of these very instructive similarities, there is however one point to be remembered in which the relationship is somewhat modified, namely Muhammad's Christology It is, in any case, remarkable in several respects for it is distinguished from his other accounts of prophets and approximates to the teaching of the Church in striking fashion, e g in the account of the birth of Jesus and his miraculous gifts and in the undeniable echoes of the doctrine of the Logos (Sūra iii 34, iv 169) But already in the Meccan period (e g xliii 57 *sqq*) Muhammad vigorously rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God and definitely denies that he had ever asserted anything of the kind of himself Here it is not sufficient to point to the Nestorians since they did not deny that Christ was the son of God When Muhammad from the first insists on the complete agreement of his teaching with the old revealed religions, i e with Christianity also, he seems to have been influenced by a form of Christianity where this dogma occupied a very unimportant position

What one can deduce in this way from the Kur'ān about Muhammad's development is supplemented in an important way by tradition, according to which he was not alone in his search for a purer religion Various individuals are named who, dissatisfied with old Arab religion, were seeking for a more intellectual faith, in particular a cousin of Khadīdja, Waraka b Nawfal Even if these traditions cannot be utilised in the form in which we have them, as they have been influenced by later Muslim ideas, yet they certainly have a historical basis, because they are not taken from the Kur'ān and are not intended to show Muhammad in a more favourable light In addition there are the Hanīfs [q v] of whom the traditions of the Arabs have preserved only a very hazy picture, and Umaiya b Abi 'l Ṣalt [q v] whose poems often have points of contact with the Kur'ān, which would be of great importance if they could even in part be regarded as genuine [cf also the article MUSAILIMA]

While Muhammad was in a state of great spiritual excitement as a result of contact with the religious ideas that had penetrated into Arabia, something happened which suddenly transformed his whole consciousness and filled him with a spiritual strength which decided the whole course of his life he felt himself called to proclaim to his countrymen as a prophet the revelations which were communicated to him in a mysterious way When Caetani wishes to see in this the result of a long development and continued reflection, this is certainly not correct We have much rather every reason to trust the tradition which tells of a sudden outburst of conviction that he was called to proclaim the word of God For this view we have the analogy of prophets in general, from the Old Testament prophets down to Joseph Smith, and no long drawn reflections but only an overwhelming spiritual happening could give him the unshatterable conviction of his call This is also confirmed by several passages in the Kur'ān, which point to a deciding moment, definite in time (xliv 2 *sq*, xcvii, 1, ii 181), in which connection it is of minor importance whether it is possible to identify the revelation of the call itself among the Sūras of the Kur'ān (according to a common opinion, xcvi 1 *sqq*, according to some, on the other hand, lxxiv 1 *sqq*), especially as one must reckon with the possibility that the very earliest revelations were not written down If this really was the case, however, the reason certainly was not that they were deliberately suppressed, since a revolutionary change of his world of ideas into its diametrical opposite while retaining the earlier apparatus of inspiration would be quite an untenable hypothesis

The Kur'ān gives only a few hints about the manner of these inspirations, a veil lay over them which the Prophet either could not or would not raise completely Perhaps the wrapping up (lxxiii 1, lxxiv 1) refers to a preparation for the reception of the revelations in the manner of the old Arab *kāhins*, but we are taken further in an indirect way by the oft recurring accusation of his enemies that Muhammad was possessed (*madjnūn*), a soothsayer (*kāhin*), a magician (*sāhir*), for they show that in his moments of inspiration he made an impression similar to those figures well known in ancient Arabia In addition there are several traditions which describe his condition in such moments more fully and may undoubtedly be regarded as genuine, since they are the last thing later Muhammadanism might be expected to invent, while these mysterious seizures afforded to those around him the most valid evidence for the superhuman origin of his inspirations In Byzantine authors we find it stated that the Prophet was an epileptic (e g Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed de Boor, i 334), and modern psychiaters recognise the correctness of these descriptions of his attacks and we must of course leave it to them to define the exact nature of his condition From the scientific point of view the fact is that the voice heard by him only uttered what he had from time to time heard from others and which now cropped up out of his subconscious The scientific student therefore does not see in Muhammad a deceiver but fully agrees with the impression of sincerity and truthfulness which his utterances in the older revelations make (e g Sūra, x 16, 20, 113, xxviii 85 *sq*, lxix 44, lxxv 16 *sq*, cf vii 202, xvi 100, the cogent imperatives lxxiv 2, xcvi 1, the self denunciation lxxx 1 *sqq* etc) along with the fact that he unselfishly endured years of hostility and humiliation in Mecca in the unshakable conviction of his lofty task It is more difficult with the later Medīnese revelations, in which it is often only too easy to

detect the human associations, to avoid the supposition that his paroxysms (e g at the battle of Badr Ibn Hishām, p 444, in the slandering of ʿĀʾisha, p 736, 2) could sometimes be artificially brought on, and there is even a tradition which makes ʿĀʾisha say to the Prophet "Thy Lord seems to have been very quick in fulfilling thy prayers" It must not be forgotten however that natures like this, without actually being conscious of it, are able to provoke the same states of excitation, which earlier arose without their assistance, and so probably not only were his followers in Medīna (cf Kaʿb b Mālik in Ibn Hishām, p 614, 9) but even he himself convinced, that the spirit was continually hovering about him to communicate the revelations to him By this we do not of course mean that in his ecstatic condition he received the divine communications *in extenso*, as we now have them in the Kurʾān, only the foundations were given him, which he afterwards developed into discourses of greater length Since in doing this he used the external forms of the old Arab soothsayers it is natural that the Meccans took him for one, but it does not follow that he was spiritually akin from the first to those soothsayers who were inspired by *djinns* The indignation with which he objects to being associated with them is not a proof of such a relationship of which he wished to rid himself, simply because he was conscious of the similarity, but a natural result of the fact that the enlightened Meccans saw in persons of this kind ludicrous fanatics of the lowest kind, while he was firmly convinced that he was filled with quite a different spirit, one quite unfamiliar to his enemies

While it is in this way possible with the help of the Kurʾān and Tradition, to get an on the whole satisfactory picture of Muhammad's development and his condition when prophesying, he himself gives in the Kurʾān quite a different interpretation of the revelations that came to him, which is based on a peculiar theory which he apparently did not invent himself but adopted from others The fundamental idea in it is the conception of a divine book existing in heaven, *al Kitāb*, a well guarded book, which only the pure may touch (lvi 76 *sqq*), a well guarded tablet (lxxxv 21 *sq*), the mother of the book (xliii 2 *sq*), on honourable leaves, exalted and pure, by the hands of noble and pious scribes (lxxx 13 *sqq*) He himself did not read this book, as E Meyer erroneously thinks, but it was communicated to him orally piece by piece, not in its original form but in an Arabic version intelligible to him and his countrymen (cf xii 1, xiii 37, xx 112, xxvi 192 *sqq*, xli 2, xliv 58 and especially xli 44 "If we had made it a Kurʾān in a foreign tongue, they would say Why are its *āyāt* ["signs", from the small sections of the text] not expounded intelligibly ?, a foreign text and an Arab reader !") In addition there is the fact that Muhammad was aware that the complete contents of the book were not communicated to him, as he expressly states, e g of the stories of the prophets, not all of which were related to him (xl 78, iv 162) He received the communications orally, Allāh rehearsing to him the substance of the separate sections (lxxv 16 *sqq* etc), while in several passages it is stated more precisely that the revelations were communicated through the Spirit (xxvi 192 *sq*, xvi 104, xlii 52) or the Angel (xvi 2, xv 8, cf lii 5 *sqq*, lxxxi 23 *sqq*), a late passage of the Medīna period (ii 91) is even more precise in saying that they were communicated by Gabriel References to visions are rare (e g the encouraging apparitions in Sūra viii 45, xlviii 27, the night journey must also have been a vision) and even in such cases the main thing is not what he heard (liii 10, lxxxi 19) These communications were the great miracle that was granted him, while he expressly and repeatedly says that the ability to perform miracles in the usual sense was denied to him (unlike Jesus)

From this book in heaven, the all-comprising contents of which are not by any means exhausted in the extracts forming the Kurʾān, also came the older religions of revelation "of the possessors of a scripture", whose religions therefore in his view coincide with his and, as he often says, were confirmed by it (cf Hassān b Thābit, N° 134, 5) This again is connected with a theory expounded by him of a line of prophets which began with Adam, and of which he was the last representative His source for this idea was not Judaism, for he does not know of the great prophets who wrote books of the Old Testament, instead of them he mentions individuals, whom the Jews do not count as prophets, e g Lot, Joseph, Solomon, Job, etc , on the other hand the fact that Jesus and John the Baptist are the last links in the chain of prophets clearly suggests a Christian origin, and certain parallels in more or less heretical early Christian literature can be demonstrated Of the prophets Muhammad relates a number of stories, which do not begin to appear in any number until the middle Meccan period when the Meccans were beginning sharply to reject his mission

The ideas in the oldest, passionately excited inspirations, developed under a baroque power of imagination rarely reached later, are very simple They are based not on the dogmatic conception of monotheism but on the strong general religious and moral impression which contact with older religions had made upon him, which was bound finally to lead to a breach with polytheism In particular he was filled with the idea of the moral responsibility of man created by Allāh, and with the idea of the judgment to take place on the day of resurrection, which again points undoubtedly more to Christian than Jewish influence (cf especially the introductory sounding of trumps, not found among the Jews) To this are added vivid descriptions of the tortures of the damned and seductive pictures of the joys of Paradise, which are further of interest because they reveal Muhammad's strongly sensual temperament Gradually monotheism was emphasized as an overruling basic idea and at the same time he attained a somewhat wider conception of the Deity With all the vigour of an elemental religious nature, he points to the wonders of everyday life, especially to the marvellous phenomenon of man (in this connection cf the poem of the Jew Samawʾal, *al Asmaʿiyāt*, ed Ahlwardt, N° 20, 1) The religious duties which he imposes on himself and others are simple and few in number, one should believe in God, appeal to Him for forgiveness of sins (xxiii 11), offer prayers frequently on the model of the Jews and Christians, in the night also (xi 116, lxxiii 20, cf lxxvi 25 *sq*), assist one's fellow-men, especially those who are in need, free oneself from the love of delusive wealth and — what

is significant for the commercial life of Mecca — from all forms of cheating (xxvi 182 *sq*, lv 8 *sq*), lead a chaste life and not expose newborn girls, as the barbarous custom of the time was (according to Sūra vi 152, xvii 33 from poverty, cf al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 277, originally perhaps a kind of magic to procure sons, when only girls had been born, cf Musil, *Kuṣair ʿAmra*, p 38, even before Muhammad's time there had been people who fought against this barbarous custom, cf al Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, *loc cit*) This is the ideal of the truly pious man who is called by the name of *muslim* (lxviii 35, xxi 108 etc) or *ḥanīf* (x 105, xxx 29, xcviii 4, cf vi 79 and the article) Cf in this connection the list of Muhammad's precepts in Aʿshā's poem (Ibn Hishām, p 255, *Morgenlandische Forschungen*, p 25 *sq*)

From all this, it is quite evident that Muhammad had at this time no thought of founding a new religion His task was only to be a "warner" (li 50, lxxiv 2, lxxix 45, lxxx 11, lxxxviii 21 *sqq*), in view of the approach of the day of judgment, to his countrymen, to whom no prophet had yet been sent (vi 157, xxviii 46, xxxii 2, xxxiv 43, xxxvi 51, no notice is taken here of Hūd and Sālih) and as a result of the revelations granted him to give them, in the form of a lucid Arabic Kurʾān (see above), what the "possessors of a scripture" had in their scriptures, which were not accessible to the Arabs and thereby to save them from the divine wrath The Jews and Christians also must therefore testify to the truth of his preaching (x 94, xvi 45, xxi 7, xxvi 197, xxviii 52 etc)

On account of the insufficiency of the sources, it is very difficult to ascertain in detail how Muhammad's relations with the Meccans developed The Kurʾān contains only vague hints, which permit no chronological arrangement, while the traditions are very full but little reliable Only one report, which ʿUrwa composed for the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Tabarī, i 1180 *sq*, 1224 *sq*), the value of which has already been indicated by Sprenger, gives a brief but apparently trustworthy glimpse of the main events (cf also al-Zuhrī in Ibn Saʿd, I/i 133) At first Muhammad met with no serious opposition and in not a few cases his preaching fell on fruitful soil, indeed in the words addressed to Sālih (xi 64) we may find a hint that he had at first aroused considerable expectations among the Meccans All traditions agree that Khadīja was the first believer, while they differ as to who was his first male adherent In any case Abū Bakr, the manumitted slave Zaid b Hāritha, Zubair b al ʿAwwām, Talha b ʿUbaid Allāh, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b ʿAwf, Saʿd b Abī Wakkās, and Muhammad's cousin ʿAlī [q v] were among his earliest followers The majority of those who were won over by his preaching were however young and of no great social standing, while the well-to-do and influential held back (xix 74, xxxiv 30 *sqq*, xxxviii 62 *sq*, lxxiii 11, lxxx 1 *sqq*, cf the veiled references in vii 73, xi 29, xvii 17, xxvi 111) This became still more the case when the full consequences of his ideas became clear to him and he openly attacked the religion of his native town, for the Meccans, to the majority of whom such devotional meetings had been a matter of complete indifference, now discovered that a religious revolution might be dangerous to their fairs and their trade That this was the salient feature of their resistance to Muḥammad is evident from the fact that he frequently endeavours to calm the fears of the Kuraish on this point the Meccan sanctuary, he said, belonged to his god Allāh, whom the Meccans also recognised as the highest god (xxxi 24, xxxix 39, cf Kais b al-Khatīm, ed Kowalski, v 14, xiii 12 where Allāh is the lord of the Kaʿba) and he will protect and bless his sanctuary, if they submit to him (xxvii 93, xxviii 57, xxix 67, cvi 1 *sqq*) In addition there was the conservative attitude of these merchants in the field of religion and their animosity to new and fantastic ideas, particularly to that of the resurrection of the dead

Traditions record at great length the persecution and ill treatment which Muhammad and his followers suffered at the hands of the Meccans These descriptions are undoubtedly much exaggerated, for the object was to glorify the self-sacrifice of the believers and no doubt also to put the old patrician families of Mecca in an unfavourable light But it is equally certain that there is some foundation for these stories ʿUrwa speaks of two persecutions (*fitna*) which twice forced the believers to migrate, and in the Kurʾān there is mention of "trials" which their opponents inflicted upon the believers, men and women (lxxxv 10), and it is expressly mentioned that the influential wished to prevent Muhammad from praying (xcvi 9 *sq*, cf the veiled account vii 84), while on the other hand, the complaints about what they would have liked to do should not be taken at their face value without more ado (viii 26, xxxvi 17, xvii 78, cf xi 93) The peculiar feature, repeatedly found in stories of the prophets, that their opponents threaten them and their followers with stoning (Sūra xi 93 and frequently) might suggest the hypothesis that Muhammad was actually threatened in this way by the Meccans, but this would probably only have been in a momentary outburst of passion and in any case the quarrel was mainly conducted in endless wordy disputations in which the spiritual advantage lay with Muhammad His strength lay in the consciousness that he lived in a higher intellectual world which was closed to the Meccans and that he proclaimed ideas, "the equal of which neither men nor djinn with combined efforts could produce" (xvii 90) Very pertinently he often points to the lack of logic in his enemies, when they recognise Allāh as the real true God but will not draw the logical deductions from this But even his most crushing arguments rebounded from the impregnable wall of their prejudices which were based on their material interests This circumstance now began to influence the matter of his preaching in a very remarkable way When his opponents mocked him because the divine judgment threatened by him did not come (xxxviii 15, lxx 5) he began to describe in an increasing degree in his stories how the contemporaries of earlier prophets had met them with incredulity and had therefore brought on their heads dreadful punishments That he did not use such means at the very beginning of his mission is evident from the fact that his preaching, according to the already mentioned credible tradition, at first gave no offence, and indeed this feature is lacking in the sūras which are certainly the oldest It was the hardness of heart of his countrymen which made him take to this weapon in order to stir them At first it proved by no means ineffective, as the Arabs knew of old trading peoples like the

Thamūd [q v], whose destruction might well give them cause for reflection But gradually this line of attack lost its effect To Muhammad however this resistance to the obvious truth was something so unintelligible that he could only find solace in an idea, which was to be of far-reaching importance in the further development of Muhammadan dogmatics Allāh, the immeasurably exalted and almighty, could of course not be impeded by the resistance of mortals, the unbelief of the Prophet's opponents was therefore an effect of the divine will "Allāh makes to err whom he will and guides whom he will" (x 99, xxxii 12 *sqq*, xxxv 9, lxxiv 34 etc), a view which his enemies endeavoured not unskilfully to turn against himself (xvi 37, xxxvi 47)

Several episodes stand out in the Meccan period which are unfortunately more or less obscure and may be interpreted in various equally uncertain ways It is certain, in spite of the silence maintained about it in the Kur'ān (even xvi 43 *sq* does not refer to it), that Muhammad's community was at one time in so great distress that a considerable section of them migrated to Abyssinia The later view was that participation in this flight became a patent of nobility similar to that conferred by the great Hidjra to Medina, which was actually granted as a titular distinction (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv 113), but the Prophet gave the advice to seek protection among the Abyssinian Christians only to those of his followers, of whom he was afraid that they had not sufficient strength to maintain their faith under the difficult conditions in Mecca (cf the significant story of the cool reception which some of the exiles later received on their return to Medīna, Bukhārī, ed Krehl, iii 128) M Hartmann's view that the emigrants were to conduct political propaganda in Abyssinia is not capable of proof According to 'Urwa, these emigrants (i e probably the greater number of them) returned to their native town, when Islām had become strengthened by the accession to its ranks of a number of individuals of position At the same time there is a different story of their return, which it would not be difficult to combine with 'Urwa's story if we assume that they gradually drifted back We are told that Muhammad proclaimed in one of his sermons that the favourite deities of the Meccans, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt [see these articles], might be regarded as divine beings whose intercession was effectual with Allāh This led to a general reconciliation, news of which reached Abyssinia and induced a number of the Muslims there to return home Here however they learned to their horror that the agreement had been of short duration, as the Prophet had very soon recognised these words as interpolations of Satan and had substituted for them the words which we now have in Sūra liii 19—23 The credibility of this story has been doubted, certainly wrongly, for in view of the absolute impossibility of such a story being a later invention, any possible objections to the reliability of the authorities cited (Tabarī, i 1192, 1195, Ibn Sa'd, i/i 137 *sq*) hardly deserve consideration and passages like vi 56, 57, xvii 75 *sq* (cf iv 113) amply show that the incident was quite possible from the psychological point of view

It is much more difficult to elucidate another episode of the Meccan period, the story of the boycott of the Hāshimids That Muhammad's whole position during his struggle with the Meccans was only made possible by the support given him by his own family has already been indicated All members of the family of Hāshim with the exception of Abū Lahab [q v], who on this account is perpetually damned in the Kur'ān along with his wife, chivalrously fulfilled their duty in this respect, although only a few of them believed in his call It would therefore be not unnatural in itself for the Meccans in the end to attempt to make the whole family innocuous without bringing on themselves the guilt of bloodshed by an open attack The story, however, which tells how they forced the Hāshimids to withdraw into their own part of the town and pledged themselves to refrain from intermarriage or commerce with them, is confirmed neither by the Kur'ān nor by 'Urwa, but sounds in itself somewhat suspicious and is probably much exaggerated That the effort finally failed is conceded by the story itself On the other hand, it is quite possible that Khadīdja's fortune may have suffered considerably from Muhammad's obligations to his necessitous followers and from the enmity of the influential merchant princes

To the last portion of the Meccan period most probably belongs Muhammad's nocturnal journey, later so celebrated, to the "remotest place of prayer", to which xvii 1 (perhaps also verse 62) briefly refers, no doubt a vision, which however made upon him an impression of reality According to the prevailing opinion, the terminus of this journey was the temple in Jerusalem, and conclusions are drawn from this about the great significance which this city then had for him Schrieke (*Isl*, vi 1 *sqq*) and Horovitz (*ibid*, ix 159 *sqq*) have however sought to show that *masdjid al-aksā* refers to the place of prayer of the angels in heaven (cf vii 205, xxxix 75), for which view several cogent arguments can be produced, notably that the nocturnal journey is associated with the journey to heaven as early as in the tradition given by Ibn Ishāk and that in the Kur'ān there is several times a reference to an ascent into heaven (vi 35, xvii 92 *sqq*, xv 14 *sq*)

Of other details we may further recall that Muhammad, who, as already remarked, was firmly convinced that his preaching agreed with the religion of the "possessors of a scripture", nevertheless had already begun in Mecca to reject the christological dogmas of the church This is certain from the conversation with his pagan opponents (xlii 57 *sqq*) which can only have taken place in Mecca This however does not affect his idea of the fundamental identity of his with the older revelations but only the false doctrine later adopted in the church, for he makes Jesus vigorously reject the doctrine of his divinity, but this limitation of his theory was not without importance and was able to serve him as a model in his later criticism of Judaism

The sources are somewhat fuller for the close of the Meccan period, although late tendencious historiography has coloured everything in the traditions According to 'Urwa's account, Muhammad did, it is true, succeed in winning a few notables in Mecca (including probably 'Umar) for his teaching, after the emigration of a number of his followers to Abyssinia But on the whole his attempt at a religious reformation could be regarded as having failed, and when Khadīdja and Abū

Tālib died, his position gradually became more and more hopeless An attempt to establish himself in Ṭā'if brought him into considerable danger, according to the narrative, although the approval of his preaching expressed by some ǧinn (cf xlvi 28, lxxii 1) certainly raised his drooping spirits It was probably at this period that Muṭ'im b ʿAdī took him under his protection, which is corroborated by Ḥassān b Thābit (N⁰ lxxxviii) He could now have consoled himself with the reflection that he had done his duty as a "warner" and could regard it as the will of Allāh that his countrymen were not to be saved (cf x 99, xliii 89) But the consciousness of being a chosen instrument of Allāh had gradually become so powerful within him that he was no longer able to sink back into an inglorious existence with his object unachieved His astonishing gift of being able to exert a powerful religious suggestion even on men who were intellectually superior to him imperiously demanded a wider sphere of activity than a small number of adherents, mostly without influence In addition, there was a factor of which he himself was certainly unconscious but which is apparent on every page of the Meccan sūras, namely his mental exhaustion All this brought him to the idea of looking for a new sphere of activity outside Mecca, however difficult it must have been for an Arab to break the links that bound him to his tribe and family The congress of people from all parts at the pilgrimage gave him good opportunities to attempt to find one After several unsuccessful negotiations he found a favourable soil for his scheme with some men from Medina Unfortunately we know very little about conditions at this time in this town [q v] but we may safely assume that the large number of Jews in it had contributed to make the peasant population of Medina somewhat familiar with religious ideas (cf Ibn Hishām, p 178) There is however no question that the Medinese did not so much want to attract an inspired preacher to themselves as to get a political leader, who would readjust their political relations, which had been shattered in the tribal conflicts culminating in the battle of Buʿaṯ [q v] With this we are faced with one of the most difficult problems in the biography of Muhammad, the double personality which he presents to us The inspired religious enthusiast, whose ideas mainly centred around the coming last judgment, who had borne all insults and attacks, who only timidly touched on the possibility of active resistance (xvi 127) and preferred to leave everything to Allāh's intervention, with the migration to Medīna enters upon a secular stage and at one stroke shows himself a brilliant political genius That Muhammad's eye in Mecca took in the wider political situation is evident from the prophecy in Sūra xxx 1 *sq*, but the passage is quite isolated there and in any case M Hartmann's effort (*Die arabische Frage*, p 53), to make him play the part of a far seeing diplomat in international politics is based on fanciful arguments with no basis in the sources Nevertheless in the despatch of a section of his followers to Abyssinia and in the attempt to reach a compromise with the polytheists in Mecca, we have hints which to some extent bridge over the gulf between the two figures The decisive point however is that the Medinese would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties, if they had not been much impressed by his abilities in this direction

After Muhammad had entered into relations with some Medinese who had come as pilgrims to Mecca, the latter began to spread Islām in their native town along with men whom he had sent there and thus he was able after a preliminary conference in al-ʿAḳaba [q v] to conclude at the pilgrimage next year (622) at the same place a formal agreement with a considerable number of Medinese, in which they pledged themselves in the name of their fellow citizens, to take him into their community and to protect him as one of their own citizens, which, as the further history shows, was also to hold for his Meccan followers if they moved to Medina Tradition, and no doubt rightly, here mentions only the promise of the Medinese to take Muhammad under their protection and not any further obligations On the other hand according to Ibn Hishām, p 287, at the first conference at ʿAḳaba Muhammad is said to have imposed a series of commands upon them, but this so called "women's homage" is, as the very name shows, taken from the later Sūra lx 12 and is clearly adapted to Meccan conditions (cf especially the vow not to kill children) These negotiations, which could not remain unknown to the Meccans, produced great bitterness, and a second *fitna*, as ʿUrwa says, began for the believers, which must have still more confirmed them in their resolution to migrate to Medina They slipped away in larger or smaller bodies, so that finally only Muhammad with Abū Bakr and, according to the story ʿAlī, was left That the Prophet did not go with the others was certainly due to the fact that the Meccans otherwise would have prevented the whole emigration They knew him well enough to see the danger if he were to ally himself with another tribe and there is therefore no reason to doubt Tradition when it relates, although with much legendary embellishment (cf on David's flight Ṭabarī, i 556), how he had to be the last to flee from the town Tradition is also confirmed by Sūra ix 40 where there is mention of Muhammad and his companion (Abū Bakr) stopping in the cave

The migration of the Prophet, the Hiǧra [q v], has been with justice taken by the Muslims as the starting-point of their chronology, for it forms the first stage in a movement which in a short time became of significance in the history of the world According to the usual calculation, he arrived in Kubā', a suburb of Medina, on the 12th Rabīʿ I of the first year, i e Sept 24, 622 and shortly after went into his new home The tasks which awaited him placed the greatest strain on his diplomatic and organizing abilities He could only rely with absolute certainty on those who had migrated with him (the *Muhāǧirūn*ª, q v) for their whole future existence depended entirely on him and of course only those had migrated who were firmly convinced of the truth of his mission In addition, there were those Medinese who had already adopted Islām or did so soon after his arrival, the so-called *Anṣār* [q v] or "helpers", who however formed only a portion of the inhabitants of Medīna He only found direct opposition in a few families, like the ʿAws Allāh, but at the same time there were a number who while they did not exactly oppose him only reluctantly accepted the new relations, the so called *munāfikūn*ª [q v], who were to cause

him much anxiety Fortunately for him, they were led by a man, the Khazradjī ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiy, who possessed the *munāfik* quality of irresolution to such an extent that he regularly let slip every occasion on which he might have offered successful opposition A further danger lay in the fact that the old and bitter feud between the two chief parties, the ʿAws and Khazradj, had by no means died down, but might easily break out again on any occasion Finally there were the Jews (in the first place *al-Kʿāhnān*, i e the Nadīr and Kuraiza, cf Kais b al-Khatīm, ed Kowalski, xx, Hassān b Thābit, N⁰ 216, 19, Ibn Hishām, p 660 and Ibn Saʿd, viii 86, 91) and the judaicised tribes in Medīna, who played an important part because of their wealth and the support they had in the Jewish colonies in Khaibar etc For Muhammad they were on the whole a plus factor in his calculations for, according to his theory already mentioned, he ought to expect that they would champion the truth of his preaching His relations with the Christians in Medina (cf Hassān b Thabit, N⁰ 133, 17) were no longer absolutely unstrained, since he had begun in Mecca to reject the orthodox ecclesiastical Christology, but they were insignificant and could be ignored He also had a much greater sympathy with them than with the Jews (v 85, lvii 27)

Muhammad had to form a united community out of these heterogeneous elements The first problem to be tackled was how to procure the necessary means of subsistence for the emigrants, who were for the most part without means or work, which could for the time being only be done through the self sacrifice of the Ansār and certainly only very inadequately To strengthen their claims for protection, he ordered the relationship of brotherhood to be created between each emigrant and a man of Medina This arrangement, to which was added brotherhood between every two emigrants, was abolished after the battle of Badr by Sūra xxxiii 6 and left only a few traces (see Ibn Saʿd, iii xxxiv) On the other hand, we possess for a somewhat later period, when relations between Muhammad and the Jews had begun to be strained, a very valuable document in Muhammad's constitution of the community which has been preserved by Ibn Ishāk It reveals his great diplomatic gifts, for it allows the ideal which he cherished of an *umma* definitely religious in outlook to sink temporarily into the background and is shaped essentially by practical considerations It is true that the highest authority is with Allāh and Muhammad, before whom all matters of importance are to be laid, but the *umma* included also Jews and pagans, so that the legal forms of the old Arab tribes are substantially preserved This scheme had however no considerable practical importance, it is nowhere mentioned in the Kurʾān (hardly even in viii 58), because it was soon rendered obsolete by the rapidly changing conditions

It is a proof of the Prophet's political wisdom that he endeavoured to attach the Jews to himself by taking over several features of their worship Thus he made the 10th Muharram a fast-day, obviously in imitation of the Jewish fast on the 10th Tishri, the day of atonement, which is particularly obvious in its name, taken from the Aramaic (*ʿāshūrāʾ*) On Jewish practice are probably also based the introduction of the midday salāt, which was now (ii 239) added to the morning and evening salāts and the easier rule about purification before the salāt (iv 46, v 97) On the other hand, Friday as the day of the common salāt, which probably goes back to the Jewish day of preparation (cf Becker's correction to Ibn Saʿd, III/i 83, 23, in *Isl*, iii 519), is said to have been already introduced before the Hidjra by Musʿab b ʿUmair (according to others, Asad b Zurāra) Whether the choice of Jerusalem as the *kibla* [q v] was one of the concessions made to the Medinese Jews is uncertain as the statements about his attitude in Mecca on this point differ But it is improbable that he should have turned towards the Kaʿba there, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the different stories could have arisen But whether he then used Jerusalem as the *kibla*, which need not necessarily mean a borrowing from the Jews, as this direction of prayer was elsewhere found in the east, e g among the Ebionites and Elkesaites, whether he turned to the east like many Christians, or whether he had a *kibla* at all (the Kurʾān is silent on the point) is uncertain, but in any case the balance of probability is in favour of the Jerusalem *kibla* having been one of the alterations made to gratify the Medinese Jews If some writers have seen in the immediate erection of a place of prayer (Ibn Hishām, p 336) a copying of the Jewish synagogues, Caetani has with weighty reasons argued that this was not a building definitely assigned to the worship of God, since the alleged masdjid was also used for all kinds of secular purposes, because in reality it was simply the court-yard (*dār*) occupied by Muhammad and his family, while the assemblies for regular worship were held on the *musallā* [cf MADĪNA] But nevertheless the "mosque of opposition" so called by the Prophet with horror (Sūra ix 108, see below) seems to have been an actual building recalling the Jewish synagogues In spite of these concessions to the Jews, it soon became obvious that he had seriously miscalculated with regard to them Although they undoubtedly cherished lively expectations of the coming of the Messiah (Ibn Hishām, p 286, 373 *sq*) they could not possibly recognise an Arab as the expected Messiah and he had soon reason to lament that only a few among them believed in him (iii 106) In particular, the misunderstandings in his reproduction of the Old Testament stories or laws aroused the notorious Jewish love of ridicule and thus brought him into an unfortunate position His conviction of the divine origin of his mission and his position among the believers would not allow him to confess that he had made a mistake and on the other hand he had too often himself appealed to the testimony of the older religions of revelation to be able to ignore this criticism He rescued himself from this dilemma by asserting that the Jews had only received a portion of the revelation (iv 47, cf iii 115) and even this included a number of special laws adapted to a particular age (iv 158, vi 147, xvi 119) but they had also concealed all sorts of things in their holy scriptures (ii 39, 141, 154, 169, iii 64 etc) and indeed had even falsified their scriptures (ii 56, iv 48, v 16, 45, vii 162, cf Hassān b Thābit, N⁰ 96, 2, and the article TAHRĪF), in short they obtained hardly more benefit from their scriptures than an ass from the books which he is carrying on his back (lxii 5) The Jews were not able to refute these assertions for, although he challenged them to produce these scriptures

(III 87) neither he nor his followers could read a word of them He therefore now poured forth the vials of his wrath upon the Jews in many speeches and awaited the time when he would be able to refute their criticism and malicious witticisms and tergiversations in convincing fashion (e g III 177 *sqq*, IV 48) As he had now already begun to regard the church doctrine of the Christians as a corruption of the true teaching of Jesus, he felt himself called upon to reform the degenerate religions of revelation, each of which asserted it was the only true one (II 107) As a result he now claimed a special place among the prophets he is seal of the prophets (XXXIII 40, a metaphorical expression which Mani among others applied to himself and which indicates the conclusion of the series), he is the last prophet, to whom Jesus himself had pointed under the name Ahmad (LXI 6, cf III 75) Still he is not thinking any more than before of introducing a new religion but only of restoring the religion proclaimed by the prophets from the beginning But nevertheless the early years after the migration were the period when Muhammadanism was born as an independent religion, for parallel with his criticism of the religions of revelation and in particular opposition to Judaism ran a positive shaping of Islām, through which he was emancipating himself in important points from his previous models He gave his religion a pronounced national character by taking over various elements from the worship of the old Arabs and associating them with his religious ideas In the second year of the Hidjra (July 623—June 624) after some hesitation, he ordered that Jerusalem should no longer be the *kibla* at prayer but the ancient sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca (II 136—145) for it "is a gathering-place and a safe retreat for men" (II 119) His native town was thus made the centre of the true religion As a substitute for the pilgrimage which he now adopted into his religion as one of the main rites, but from which he and his followers were temporarily cut off, he had an animal sacrificed in this year on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja on the *musallā* in Medina (Tabarī, I 1362, according to Ibn Sa'd, I/II, 9 he continued this after the occupation of Mecca) and in the following year he calls the hadjdj one of the obligations of believers towards Allāh (III 90 *sq*) Friday retained its significance but was not to be a day of rest like the Jewish Sabbath (LXII 9 *sq*), which is connected with his rejection of the Old Testament idea of God resting after the creation (L 37) In place of the fasting on 'Āshūrā', he substituted quite a new particular rite, according to which his followers were to fast throughout Ramadān, the month, in which he had received the fundamental revelation (II 281), as long as the sun was visible in the heavens The Manichaeans had a similar custom, but whether he took the new revelation from them or from another sect cannot be ascertained [cf RAMADĀN]

This nationalisation of Islām, which was to have so many results, gave Muhammad a final legitimation, which brought it into harmony with his earlier appeal to the religions of revelation, as he came forward as the restorer of the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhim*) which had been corrupted by the Jews and Christians Abraham, whom Jews and Christians alike regarded as the great type of faith and whom he had himself emphatically indicated as the true *hanīf* (e g VI 79), now becomes the great *hanīf*, not only in contrast to the heathen but also to the possessors of a scripture (neither polytheist, nor Jew nor Christian [II 129, III 60, 89] wherefore, as Snouck Hurgronje has shown, VI 162 and XVI 124 must also be Medinese) He and his son Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, founded the Meccan sanctuary and the rites celebrated here, now corrupted by the heathen, which Muhammad is to restore (II 118 *sq*, XXII 27 *sqq*) Whether this bold idea, which according to Sūra III 58 met with opposition from the possessors of a scripture, was an original one and in this case a really brilliant invention of Muhammad's or whether it was already in existence, for example among arabicised Jews, cannot be decided The only thing certain is that he cannot have been acquainted with it in Mecca for we meet it nowhere in connection with mentions of the Ka'ba and it is actually excluded by the passages mentioned above (p 726a)

While his religion was being transformed in this way, Muhammad's personal position was being gradually changed by the altered conditions According to the already mentioned constitution of the community, all important matters were to be laid before Allāh and himself It now became a fundamental duty of the believers to be obedient to Allāh and to himself (III 3, 29, 126, 166, IV 17 *sq*, 62 [where it is added "and to those among you who have to exercise authority"], V 93, XXIV 51, 62, cf also IX 12, the "women's homage" which is inserted in the account of the second conference at 'Akaba, Ibn Hisham, p 289) and those who are disobedient are threatened with the tortures of hell (IX 64) Alongside of the belief in Allāh now appears belief in the Prophet (XLVIII 9, LXIV 8 etc) Allah is his protector, as is Gabriel, and the angels are at his disposal (LXVI 4) He claims certain privileges, which suggest a worldly mortal rather than a spiritual leader (XXIV 62, XLIX 2 *sqq*, XXIV 63, LVIII 13 *sq*, XXXIII 53) but which however must be described as quite moderate demands

The elevation of Mecca to be the centre of his religion imposed on Muhammad new tasks, which were soon to lead to unexpected results If visiting the holy places in and around Mecca was a duty of the Muslims, who were excluded from the town (XXII 25 *sq*), the result was the inevitable necessity of forcing admission to them In addition the Prophet had an account to settle with the Meccans, for by his expulsion they had triumphed over him in the eyes of the world and the punishment repeatedly threatened them had not materialised, unlike the stereotyped punishments of the godless in the stories of the prophets This led to a new command, that of the holy war ("war on the path of Allāh", *al-djihād*, Q V), and to set such a war in motion now became the object of his endeavour, which he tenaciously pursued There were however considerable difficulties in the way of achieving this object The Medinese had only pledged themselves to defend him like one of their number if he were attacked, and the anything but warlike merchants of Mecca were not inclined to oblige him by beginning The emigrants were, it is true, not bound in this way, but it went nevertheless very much against their feelings as Arabs openly to fight members of their tribe and blood relations How much their resistance vexed him is shown by the vigorous reproaches which he makes to his

followers in this connection (II 212, XXII 39 *sqq* etc) He succeeded however in finding a way out of the difficulty, which might be able to pave the way for military enterprises without injuring these feelings too much After he had sent different men with small armed forces who did not succeed in encountering the enemy, in Radjab, one of the sacred months in which all fighting was forbidden, he sent some of his followers to Nakhla, where a caravan was expected and gave their leader sealed orders in which he left it to their judgment what they should do They did not disappoint him for they fell upon the caravan which felt secure until the end of the month and one of the Meccans was killed The rich plunder was sent to Medina, where in the meanwhile a storm of indignation had broken out Muhammad however gave the people time to recover and finally calmed them, by the revelation II 214 The success of the coup had had such an effect in Medina that not only emigrants but also a number of Ansār offered their services, when he appealed for followers in Ramadān 2 A H in a new raid, which he himself would lead On this occasion chance came to his aid in unexpected fashion He had learned that a rich caravan was on its way from Syria and he decided to ambush it at Badr [q v] The very cautious Abū Sufyān [q v] who was leading the caravan got wind of his plan however and sent messengers express to Mecca for help But when by a diversion to the coast he had reached safety, he soon afterwards sent other messengers to Mecca to cancel the first message The angered Meccans had however already collected an army which was three times the size of Muhammad's little handful of men and were unwilling to let the opportunity escape of properly chastising their troublesome enemy They went to Badr where soon afterwards Muhammad arrived with his men, expecting to meet Abū Sufyān's helpless caravan When they discovered their mistake they were filled with terror (VIII 5 *sqq*, cf the continuation of ʿUrwa's story Ṭabarī, I 1284 *sq*), but the Prophet saw in the encounter the wonderful dispensation of Allāh, who wished to force them to a battle and his remarkable power of suggestion was able so to inspire his men that they completely routed the far superior enemy A number of the Meccans, including the leader of the aristocrats Abū Djahl, were slain and several, including Muhammad's uncle ʿAbbās, were brought prisoners to Medina, where Muhammad had two of them, al-Nadr and ʿUkba b Abī Muʿait, put to death, while the others were held to ransom This in our eyes very insignificant fracas, which however must be judged in light of the observation by Doughty who knew the country (*Travels*, II 378), became of the utmost significance for the history of Islām, for Muhammad saw in the victory a powerful confirmation of his belief in the superiority of Allāh (VIII 17, 66, III 119, cf Kaʿb b Mālik, in Ibn Hishām, p 520 *sq*) and in his own call, and besides the commercial city of Mecca enjoyed such great prestige in Arabia that its conqueror was bound to attract all eyes to himself He therefore displayed even greater energy and was able to utilise the advantages he had won After he had drawn up the programme given in Sūra VIII 57 *sqq* he began to besiege the Jewish tribe of Kainukāʿ in their forts The Munāfikūn[a] did not dare to oppose him seriously and the other Jews left their co-religionists in the lurch in shameful fashion (cf IIX 14) so that the latter were forced to migrate to Transjordania

In order to protect himself while fighting from attacks from another foe, Muhammad at this time adopted a plan which is a further proof of his outstanding political ability He concluded, as a number of letters that have been preserved show (cf J Sperber, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient Sprachen*, 1916), as lord of Medina, alliances with a number of Beduin tribes in which the two parties pledged themselves to assist one another

In the year 3 A H (June 624—June 625) Muhammad continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans so that the Kuraish finally saw the necessity of taking more vigorous measures and revenging themselves for Badr An army of 3,000 men was equipped and set out with much display for Medina under the leadership of Abū Sufyān, who was little suited for the task Although several of his followers advised Muhammad to make his defence within the town, he decided to go out with his forces, which, had been much reduced by the departure of the Munāfikūn, and took up a position at the foot of the hill of Uhud [q v] In spite of the numerical superiority of the Meccans, the fighting at first went in favour of the Muslims, until a number of archers who had been placed to defend his flank joined against Muhammad's express orders in the battle, which promised to yield rich booty and this at once enabled Khālid b al-Walid to fall upon Muhammad's flank The tables were now turned and many of the Muslims began to flee, especially when the rumour spread that the Prophet had fallen (cf III 138) In reality he was only wounded and escaped with a few faithful followers through a ravine on to the south side of the hill Fortunately for him, the Meccans were quite incompetent to follow up their victory and as they thought that Muhammad had been punished and their honour saved, they turned quietly back to Mecca The Prophet was thus saved from the worst, but he had to lament many fallen friends including Hamza [q v] and his newly acquired prestige naturally also suffered With all the eloquence in his power he endeavoured to raise the morale of his followers by exhortation and censure alike (III 114 *sq*, 133—154, 159—200) but the consequences of his reverse did not fail to materialise The Jews who had taken no part in the fighting (according to Ibn Hishām, they were observing the Sabbath), made no secret of their delight at his misfortune, and several Beduin tribes next year (4 A H = June 625–beginning of June 626, the eclipse of the moon which took place in Djumādā II of this year was that visible in Medina in the night of Nov 19–20, 625, cf Rhodokanakis, in *W Z K M* XIV 105, Caetani, I 598 *sq*) showed how much his prestige with them had sunk [cf BIʾR MAʿŪNA] It was therefore all the more necessary to make an example and another Jewish tribe in Medina, the Nadir, seemed a suitable object after Kaʿb b Ashraf's (q v and cf Hassān b Thābit, N[o] 97) murder had served as a prelude It is made a charge against them in Sūra LIX 4 that they defy Allāh and his messenger, on which account Tradition imputes all sorts of crimes to them After a siege of several weeks (Ṭabarī, I 1850, cf Euting, *Tagebuch*, p 111) they were forced to emigrate to Khaibar or Syria They left behind them their weapons and their gold and silver as a rich booty, the distribution

of which on this occasion Muhammad reserved for himself (lix 6 *sqq*)

To this period most probably belongs the prohibition of the drinking of wine which is characteristic of Islām (v 92 *sq*, cf the instructive gradation in lxxxiii 25, xvi 69, iv 46, ii 216, where the word "great" is to be deleted as Schwally proposes) It has been connected with a number of features of life in the old Semitic east but the main reason should rather be sought in the connection with the *maisir* games [q v] Drinking-bouts with feasting on a specially slain camel and games of chance, which were in the eyes of the old Arabs the bright spots in their hard struggle for existence, and in which they endeavoured to display their nobility and hospitality, brought the Muslims into suspicious relations with pagans and with Christian and Jewish wine-sellers, which might easily lead to their faltering in their new religion (cf Wākidī, transl Wellhausen, p 100, Bukhārī, ed Krehl, ii 270 *sq*), and this might explain why he forbade both at the same time, which of course does not exclude the possibility that forms of abstinence for other reasons may have been known to him (Musailima's prohibition of wine was obviously intended as asceticism, cf the article) While Muhammad was endeavouring to restore his weakened authority, a new and threatening storm came upon him and Medina from Mecca The Kuraish, whose caravans were being continually harassed by him (cf Hassān b Thābit, N° 16, 6 *sq*) and who were urged on by the Jews of Khaibar, recognised that the victory at Uhud had only been a blow in the air and realised the necessity of occupying Medīna, which they had then neglected to do Conscious of their slight military skill, they negotiated vigorously with various Beduin tribes and thus raised a large army — said to have been 10,000 men — with which they set out against Medīna in the year 5 (June 626—May 627) The various accounts of the season of the year (sometimes a month after the barley harvest, sometimes cold winter storms, the latter in agreement with Sūra xxxiii 9, cf Hassān b Thābit, N° 14, 9) may be reconciled by the possibility that the siege lasted a considerable time (cf Doughty's description, *Travels*, ii 429 *sqq* of the siege of ʿAnēze, which in general illustrates this war excellently) The advance of this imposing army produced great consternation in Medīna, which was still further increased by the vacillating attitude of the Munāfikūn[a] and by the discovery or perhaps only the suspicion that the Jews were conspiring with the enemy (xxxiii 10 *sqq*, 26) Muhammad in order to strengthen the defences had a ditch (*khandak*, a Persian word) dug in front of the unprotected parts of the town According to several stories, he did this on the advice of a Persian named Salmān but J Horovitz (cf *Isl*, xii 178—183) would reject this as a later accretion Modest as the defences were — about 150 years later ʿĪsā b Mūsā bridged the ditch which had been restored by Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, by throwing a few doors across it — they seem to have imposed upon the enemy who had little experience in the art of war and the siege gradually dragged on The able lord of Medīna used the time for secret negotiations with the Ghatafān and cleverly stirred up distrust of one another among his opponents and when at the same time the weather conditions became unfavourable the besiegers lost heart and gradually began to retire so that the last effort of the Kuraish to destroy their sinister foe came to nothing For one section of the participants however, the comedy of the "War of the Ditch" was to become a bloody tragedy Hardly had the besiegers retired than the Prophet declared war on the last Jewish tribe of any size, the Kuraiza, and began to besiege their quarter of the town The Jews no doubt hoped to escape in the same easy fashion as the Nadīr had, especially as their allies, the ʿAws, were very actively trying to induce Muhammad to clemency, but this time he was inexorable and carried out seriously a threat that he had previously made (lix 3) Tradition has however endeavoured to put the responsibility for the massacre of the Kuraiza on Saʿd b Muʿādh (cf Hassān b Thābit, N° clxvii, who asserts Saʿd's innocence) But there are various indications that it was the Prophet himself who made the decision and perhaps induced the Jews to surrender On this occasion the Jews showed a strength of character and nobility of spirit which throws a redeeming light on their otherwise so ignoble history

By these amputations, which however did not remove all the Jews from Medīna (cf Ibn Hishām, p 895, Wākidī–Wellhausen, p 264, 309, 393, Hassān b Thābit, N° 133, 17), the Prophet had come nearer his goal, the organisation of an *umma* on a purely religious basis, which hitherto he had to keep somewhat in the background for political reasons For the present he continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans far into the year 6 (May 627—May 628) and his raids, usually punitive expeditions, on Beduin tribes, of these expeditions, which have no particular interest, mention may be made of that against the Banū Mustalik which must have taken place about this time, as it gave rise to a serious conflict between the Muhādjirūn[a] and the Ansār and involved ʿĀʾisha [q v] in the celebrated adventure which nearly cost her her position as the wife of the Prophet, until finally a revelation saved her (xxiv 4 *sq*, 10—20)

Towards the end of the year 6 Muhammad thought that his position in Medina was so firmly established that he could risk a step, which would bring him nearer the desired goal He and the emigrants were still excluded from Mecca and its holy places, but through secret confidential agents, among whom we may certainly include his carefully calculating uncle ʿAbbās, he knew that feeling in the town had been gradually coming round (cf xlviii 15, lx 7) An increasing number had become tired of the hopeless wars and thought it would be much more advantageous for the commerce of Mecca to make peace with their indefatigable enemy, especially after he had adopted into his programme the pilgrimages to their fairs, the source of the city's wealth Trusting to this revulsion of feeling he gave his followers in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda of the year 6, i e March 628 (the news of the death of the Persian king Khusraw Parwēz on the Feb 29 of this year reached him on the way) orders to provide themselves with sacrificial victims and undertake an ʿumra [q v] with him to Mecca, as Allāh in a vision had promised him a successful fulfilment of the visit (xlviii 27) He probably chose an ʿumra deliberately (Ibn Hishām, p 740, Wākidī–Wellhausen, p 249 *sq*, 253, cf Sūra, xx 30, 34) instead of the great pilgrimage which was soon due, as the consequences of an encounter with all manner of tribes, with whom he might

possibly have been waging war, were too incalculable for him, but perhaps he cherished also the hope that, if all went well, he might remain there in the following month also (cf II 192 which perhaps belongs to this connection) The step was nevertheless a risky one, so that he asked several Beduin tribes to accompany him in case they met with resistance To his disappointment however, they refused (xlviii 11 *sq*) so that he decided to abandon the military character of the march and make his followers go as harmless pilgrims In Mecca many were inclined to meet his wishes but the belligerent party was still strong enough to get a body of armed men sent to meet him to prevent him entering the town He therefore encamped at al Hudaibiya [q v] where he began to negotiate with the Meccans, and when this led to no result he sent ʿUthmān, who was protected by his family connections, into the town as his representative But when the latter showed no signs of returning and finally a rumour got about that he had been murdered, the situation became critical and Muhammad dropped all negotiations, collected his followers under a tree, probably one long held sacred, and made them swear to fight for him to the last, which they did with enthusiasm (xlviii 10, 18) But soon afterwards a number of Meccans arrived and offered a compromise, which is very characteristic of the aimless Meccan policy, by which he was to retire this time but to be allowed to perform an ʿumra next year He agreed to the proposal, concluded a ten years' truce with the Kuraish and further promised to surrender all Meccans of dependent status who came to him His followers, whom he had worked up into a state of great excitement by his promises and the taking of the oath, heard these conditions with scarcely concealed anger, but Muhammad calmly ordered the sacrificial animals brought with them to be slain, which was to have been done at an ʿumra in the town (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s v *mahill*), and had his hair cut and by his authority forced his grumbling followers to do the same Only later did they discover that he had made a brilliant stroke of policy for he had induced the Meccans to recognise the despised fugitive as an opponent of equal rank and had concluded a peace with them which promised well for the future

He and the participants received ample compensation for the apparently frustrated ʿumra at the beginning of the year 7 (May 628—April 629) by the capture of the fertile oasis of Khaibar [q v] which was inhabited by Jews It was the first actual conquest by the Prophet and he instituted on this occasion a practice which became regular afterwards, when Jews or Christians capitulated he did not put the people to death or banish them but let them remain as tenants, as it were, who had to pay dues every year This expedition which also brought the Jewish colonies of Wādi 'l-Kurā in to his power, made the Muslims rich (xlviii 18–21)

In this period, although the exact date is variously given, tradition puts the despatch of letters from the Prophet to Mukawḳis, governor of Alexandria, the ruler of Abyssinia, the Byzantine emperor, the Persian king etc, in which he demanded that they should adopt Islām The alleged original manuscript of the first of these has however proved not to be genuine (see *J A*, 1854, p 482 *sqq*, Zaidān, in *Hilāl*, 1904, p 103 *sq*, Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I 3) But even what is related about these epistles hardly deserves the faith most people have put in it Even if we disregard the many apocryphal details, we must surely consider it very unlikely that so sober a politician as Muhammad, who had at this time a very definite object, the conquest of Mecca, before his eyes, should have though of indulging so fantastic an idea as the conversion of Heraclius or the Persian king, to whom the "lucid Arabic Kurʾān" was no less unintelligible than the Bible to the Prophet and his countrymen, and whom he could neither compel by force nor entice with proferred advantages It is very doubtful if Muhammad ever thought at all of his religion as a universal religion of the world, as for example Noldeke, in *W Z K M*, xxi 307, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*, p 25, and T W Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p 23 *sqq* hold (against them, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p 48 *sqq*, H Lammens, *Etude sur le regne du calife Moʿawia*, I 422) The passages in the Meccan sūras which can be quoted in favour of this theory (vi 90, xii 104, xxi 157, xxv 1, xxxiv 27, xxxvi 70, xxxviii 87, lxviii 52, lxxxi 27, cf from the later period iii 90, xxii 25) are limited by their context or by unambiguous parallels (like vi 92, xlii 5 [the mother of the city, i e Mecca], cf xxvi 214) Besides, in the Medina period, the place of persuasion and proof ("no compulsion in religion" ii 257, cf xvi 126), was taken by the spread of Islām by force of arms, which, although based on the supremacy of Islām over other religions (iii 79, ix 33, lxi 4), was confined to the lands inhabited by Arabs If after the conquest of Mecca he also declared war on the possessors of a scripture (see below) the campaigns undertaken by him prove that he was only thinking of Arabs under Byzantine or Persian rule, and it cannot be proved that he ever went beyond this in his schemes (the gift of Hebron, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 129 may be confidently asserted to be a forgery, cf the article USĀMA) The decisive consideration however is that Muhammad at the height of his power never demanded from Jews or Christians that they should adopt Islām but was content with a political subjection and the payment of tribute The correct conclusion is therefore to reject those stories and to look for the real historical basis in negotiations of a purely political nature, e g with the friendly Mukawkis (q v and cf Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902) and to assume that the idea of a great missionary enterprise arose later under the influence of Christian traditions, notably of the miracle of Pentecost

On the other hand, the character of the genuine letters of the Prophet to the Arab tribes changes at this time, for he was no longer content with a purely political agreement but, relying on his now consolidated power, also demanded that they should adhere to his religion, which involved performing the salāt and paying "alms", he even gave the Djudhām on the Syrian coast a respite (*amān*) of two months after which they were to decide (see Speiber, *op cit*, p 14 *sqq*)

In March 629, Muhammad performed the ʿumra stipulated for him by the peace of Hudaibiya (the ʿumra of the "contract" or "recovery") For him who had been driven out of his native city it was undoubtedly a great satisfaction to be able to visit Mecca as the acknowledged lord of Medina,

but otherwise the significance of the occasion was more symbolical and the efforts of the practised diplomat to prolong his stay by his marriage with a sister-in-law of his secret ally ʿAbbās [see MAIMŪNA] were politely but firmly resisted by the Meccans On the other hand, it was of great significance that some of the most important Meccans, like ʿAmr b al ʿĀṣ and the military genius Khālid b al Walīd, who saw he was the coming man, openly joined him, while his uncle ʿAbbās and the very patriotic (Ibn Hishām, p 275) but cautious Abū Sufyan endeavoured in secret negotiations to prepare in the most favourable way for the inevitable result In the meanwhile he continued his military expeditions His forces suffered a serious reverse in the first considerable effort to extend his authority over the Arabs on Byzantine soil, at Muʾta [q v] in Transjordania, this is also recorded by Theophanes (*Chronographie*, ed de Boor, i 335) But several Bedouin tribes now began to see what advantages they would procure not only for the next but also for this world by joining him, and large groups like the Sulaim voluntarily adopted Islām and placed themselves under his flag

That it was Muhammad's intention to break the truce with the Kuraish at the first opportunity may be taken as certain, for it must have been intolerable for him that the heathen should still have Allāh's sanctuary in their control (ix 17 *sq*, cf iii 3) The tactlessness of the Meccans now gave him his opportunity Very much against the advice of Abū Sufyān, the belligerent party in Mecca had supported the Bakr against the Khuzāʿa, who were Muhammad's allies, and thus given a plausible casus belli (cf perhaps ix 12 *sq*) In Ramaḍān of the year 8 (May 629—April 630) he set out at the head of an army of Muhāǧirūna, Anṣār, and Bedouins The news produced considerable anxiety in Mecca where the number of those who wanted to fight shrank daily so that the more prudent now could take control Abū Sufyān, who was sent out with several others (including the Khuzāʿī Budail b Warka who was a friend of the Prophet's) met Muhammad not far from the town, paid homage to him and obtained an amnesty for all the Kuraish who abandoned armed resistance (cf ʿUrwa, Tabarī, i 1634 *sq*) Except for a few irreconcilables (cf *Dīwān der Hudhailiten*, N° 183, Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 365), they acquiesced and thus the Prophet was able to enter his native city practically without a struggle and almost all its inhabitants adopted Islām He acted with great generosity and endeavoured to win all hearts by rich gifts (*taʾlīf al kulūb*, a new use of the alms, cf ix 60) Only he demanded ruthlessly the destruction of all idols in and around Mecca Only Sūra cx seems to preserve an echo of the exaltation with which this victory filled him, here as in the unusually touching passage xlviii 1 *sq*, he sees in the success of his plans a sign that Allāh has forgiven him all his sins

Muhammad did not rest long upon his laurels for not only was Ṭāʾif, which was closely associated with Mecca, still unsubdued but the Hawāzin tribes in Central Arabia were preparing for a decisive fight A battle was fought with these Bedouins at Hunain on the road to Ṭāʾif [q v] which at first threatened to be a fatal disaster to the Prophet, mainly because of the unreliability of a number of the new converts, until some of his followers succeeded in recalling the fugitives and routing the enemy (ix 25 *sq*) On the other hand, his inexperienced troops were unable to take Ṭāʾif with its defences (cf the description of impregnable fortresses in *Dīwān der Hudhailiten*, N° 66, 10 *sq*) The people of Ṭāʾif however afterwards fell in with the spirit of the time and adopted Islām When Muhammad, after raising the siege, was distributing the booty of Hunain, the Anṣār who as soon as he entered Mecca had expressed the fear that he would take up his residence again in his native town, became very indignant about the rich gifts that he made to his former opponents in order "to win their hearts", while they themselves went empty handed (cf Ḥassān b Ṯābit, N° xxxi) but he spoke so kindly to them that they burst into tears and declared themselves satisfied His conduct on this occasion reminds us to some extent of that of David towards the Jews and Ephraimites after Absalom's rebellion

The characteristic feature of the year 9 (April 630–April 631) in the memory of the Muslims was the many embassies which came from different parts of Arabia to Medīna, to submit on behalf of their tribes to the conqueror of Mecca (cf cx 3) and the letters which he sent to the tribes, to lay down the conditions of their adoption of Islām In the autumn of this year, he made up his mind to conduct a campaign against Northern Arabia on a considerable scale, probably because the defeat in Transjordania required to be avenged and because the Ghassānid king was adopting a hostile attitude (cf Ibn Hishām, p 911, Bukhārī, Maghāzī, b 78, 79) But his appeal for followers met with little support Munāfikūna as well as Bedouins held back and even among his devoted followers, there were some who put forward all sorts of objections, out of fear of a campaign so far away in the glowing heat (cf ix 45, lvi 84—91, 98 *sqq*) In particular he seems to have had to face at this time a considerable opposition in Medina (ix 58—73, 125) so that he had to have recourse to his old instrument of intimidation and his words recall in a remarkable way the period of passion in Mecca (ix 71, 129 *sq*) Matters came to such a pitch that some of the opposition, behind whom is said by one tradition to have been his old inexorable opponent, the ascetic Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd ʿAmr, founded a house of prayer of their own "for division among the faithful and a support for those who had formerly fought against God and his Prophet" (ix 108 *sqq*) Unfortunately the expressions in the Kurʾān and in the traditions are quite insufficient to enable us to get a clear picture of this very remarkable affair In spite of all opposition however, he carried through his plan, but when after great hardships he had reached Tabūk on the frontier (in the land of the Byzantines, cf Ibn Hishām, p 956), he stayed there some time and then returned to Medīna The campaign was however not without success His prestige had now become so great that the petty Christian and Jewish states in the north of Arabia submitted to him during his stay in Tabūk, for example the Christian king Yuhannā in Aila [q v], the people of Adhruh [q v] and the Jews in the port of Makna Khālid also occupied the important centre of Dūmat al-Ǧandal (cf for a criticism of the account Caetani, II/1 261—268, Sperber, *op cit*, p 44 *sqq*, on the alleged letter from Muhammad to the Jews in Makna, see also Wensinck, in *Isl*, ii 290)

Unfortunately we do not know how the matters which were rapidly coming to a head in Medina actually developed, but we may safely assume that the death of ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiy, which took place not long after the expedition to Tabūk, must have contributed to slacken the tension These years showed a marked increase in the prestige of the lord of Medīna abroad Mecca was in his hands and among the Beduins an inclination was noticeable in several places to submit to the will of the conqueror of this town, to be safe against his attacks and to have a share in his rich booty This was for example the case with the group of tribes of ʿĀmir b Ṣaʿṣaʿa, with portions of the great tribe of Tamīm and the neighbouring Asad and further north with the Bakr and Taghlib Even in regions so remote as Bahrain and ʿOmān within the Persian sphere of influence and among the chiefs of South Arabia, the new teaching and order of things penetrated and found ardent followers in some places But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the representations of the historians, from which it appears as if all the people in these lands adopted Islām Caetani and Sperber in particular have shown that these accounts are not in keeping with reality and that it was only little groups that submitted, while there was a not inconsiderable number who rejected the Prophet's demands As regards open opponents the question was quite simple, when they were heathen, adhered to their paganism and would not abandon their polytheism, they were to be threatened by Muhammad with the "holy war" He had not only to deal with such as those in Arabia, but there were also in addition to the Jews who had already felt his strength, a considerable number of Christians, and some Parsis in the eastern and southern districts Muhammad was thus faced with a problem which he had to solve From his words in Sūra ix 29 *sqq* where he includes the Christians and even the Jews, the people of such strict monotheism, among the polytheists, who give Allāh a son and honour men as lords beside him, one would expect that he would have fought them like the heathen, if they did not adopt Islam (cf also the attack on the Christians, verse 76 *sqq*) But in contrast to such utterances we have another (Sūra v 85) where he mentions the Christians very sympathetically because they, unlike the Jews, show themselves kindly towards true believers and are not arrogant, which he ascribes to the fact that they have priests and monks (cf his judgment on monasticism Sūra lvii 21) These remarkable contradictions may be explained, as pointed out by Tor Andrae, by the difference between the Monophysites and the Nestorians The former aroused his unqualified displeasure by their Christology, while the latter, who were then predominant in the Persian empire, attracted him much more, and this attitude was shared by his followers after his death, as the letter of the Catholicos Īshōʿyah, quoted by Tor Andrae, shows On the other hand, his remarks about the Jews are always very severe It is therefore all the more remarkable that the distinction between Jews and Christians completely disappears when their position is finally settled They were included together as "peoples of a scripture" and they were allowed to retain their religion if they recognised the political suzerainty of the Prophet by paying a tax (*ǧizya*, q v), if they did not they were to be fought without mercy The memory of the agreement between Muhammad's teaching and that of the "peoples of a scripture", earlier so much emphasised, must have contributed to this rather illogical settlement and in addition there was the fact that treating the Jews as tax-paying tenants, and allowing them to practise their religion, as had been already done at Khaibar, was much more practical for the Muslims than fighting them till they gave in A further compromise with the "peoples of a scripture" was that believers were allowed to marry the daughters of the "peoples of a scripture" and to eat food prepared by them (v 7) It is noteworthy that the Parsis (*Maǧūs* xxii 17) were included among the "peoples of a scripture" which made a difficulty for later better informed generations (Ṭabarī, i 1005, 19 *sq*, Balādhuri, p 79), probably Muhammad did not dare for political reasons to demand that they should give up their religion This extended application of the term "peoples of a scripture" is found not in the Kurʾān but in a letter of Muhammad's to the Parsis in Hadjar (Ibn Saʿd, 1/ii 19) but with the limitation that the Muslims are forbidden to marry their women and eat meat killed by them

With these exceptions, the Prophet had approached nearer the object which was always before him, although it hitherto eluded him, the formation of an *umma* on a definitely religious basis, for the inhabitants of a number of parts of Arabia were now actually bound together by religion The old differences between the tribes with their endless feuds, their blood-vengeance and their lampoons which continually stirred up new quarrels, were to disappear at the will of Muhammad and all believers were to feel themselves brethren (ix 11, xlix 10 *sq*) There was to be no distinction among believers except in their degree of piety (xlix 13) The Prophet certainly had an ideal before him but it was realised only in a very incomplete way The very rapid extension of Islam had been accompanied by a considerable diminution in its religious content Alongside of the older adherents, who were really carried away by his preaching and whose faith had been tried by privations and dangers, there were now the many new converts who had been gained mainly by fear (cf the well known poem of Kaʿb b Zuhair, the poem of the Hudhaili Usaid b Abi Iyās in Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudsail*, N⁰ 127) or by the prospect of material advantages In spite of the teachers sent out to them there could be no question of any deep seated conversion among these Arabs and how the old Arab spirit continued to flourish among them unweakened is shown for example by the boasting and abuse in the poems in Ibn Hishām, p 934 *sqq*, which are in no way inferior to the old poems The Prophet himself in Sūra xlix 14 has recorded very definitely how far the Beduins were from the true faith they cannot say that they believe but only that they have adopted Islām Commandments relating to religion and worship, which had considerably occupied Muhammad in the early Medinese period, give way in striking fashion to social and political regulations, a natural result of the fact that the new members were not ripe for the former Uncertainty on these matters was still great and even at headquarters much seems still to have been in an embryonic state This is true even of so fundamental a law as the rule for the times of daily prayer, as the five prayers later obligatory are

nowhere laid down in the Kur'ān (see above, cf also the expression "morning and evening" in A'shā's poem *Morgenland Forsch*, p 259) That they were introduced by Muhammad himself at the end of his life is possible, but not very probable in view of the silence on the point in the Kur'ān, and in any case it is not certainly proved by the mention of the five times of prayer in a letter of the Prophet's (Ibn Hishām, p 962) as we are not justified in expecting absolutely literal accuracy in the transmission of such documents Only one or two religious institutions are dealt with at all fully in the Kur'ān, the great pilgrimage to the sanctuaries at Mecca and the 'umra in the town itself, but the ḥadjdj was indeed the crown of his endeavours begun in Mecca and carried through with tenacity The Prophet, although he was now lord of Mecca, did not yet take part in the pilgrimage in the year 8, which was so inexplicable to later generations that they invented an 'umra unknown to many of his followers (Ibn Hishām, p 886, Tabarī, i 1670 ['Uwa], 1685, Wākidī, p 380, Ibn Sa'd, II/ii 1, 123 *sq*, III/i 103, 18, cf II/i 123 *sq*, Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p 58 *sq*) Nor did he come in the year 9 to Mecca to the ḥadjdj, he showed his interest in it however by sending Abū Bakr as his representative and making him read a proclamation which had momentous results (Bukhārī, iii 163, 249, according to the usual tradition, it was 'Alī who acted as his deputy, but this is probably a tendencious alteration, cf Tabarī, i 1760 *sq* where Abū Bakr complains about being passed over and is comforted by Muhammad, there is also another tradition, according to which Abū Bakr commissioned Abū Huraira to proclaim the exclusion of the heathen from the pilgrimage (Ibn Sa'd, II/i 121 *sq*) This was what is known as the *barā'a* [q v] in which Muhammad, who had been for so many years excluded from the pilgrimage, forbade all heathen any participation in it and gave them a period of four months, after the expiry of which they had the choice between the adoption of Islām and merciless warfare (Sūra ix) This explains his absence from the celebration in the two preceding years, he wished to wait until he could celebrate it as sole ruler and completely in agreement with his intentions or, as he said, with the ceremonies introduced by Abraham (ii 119 *sq*) Finally all was prepared and at the end of the year 10 (April 631–March 632) he was able to carry through the first reformed pilgrimage (the "Farewell Pilgrimage" or the pilgrimage of Islām), which became the standard for all time It is remarkable that the regulations for the ceremonies of the ḥadjdj, the object of which was to remove all that was too obviously pagan in the old ceremony (cf e g the *awthān* in Minā in Farazdak, in *Z D M G*, lix 604, Azrakī, ed Wüstenfeld, p 402) and to give it an Islāmic colouring, are found mainly in traditions, where later details can of course easily have been inserted, and only in fragments and more or less incidentally in the Kur'ān, but broadly speaking, the later form is undoubtedly based on what the Prophet laid down on this memorable occasion [cf the article HADJDJ]

The Farewell Pilgrimage, at which an effective address, of which somewhat variant versions have been handed down, is put in the Prophet's mouth, marks the culminating point in his career His feelings at this time are probably expressed in Allāh's words in Sūra v 5 "To-day I have perfected your religion, and completed my favours for you and chosen Islām as a religion for you" There is therefore a touch of the dramatic in the fact that his career closed a few months later He himself hardly expected this, for only a month before his death he was preparing an expedition, which was to set out under the leadership of the young Usāma [q v] against Transjordania (not as in some traditions to West of the Jordan, cf the article USĀMA) in order to avenge the death of his father The situation was such in other directions also that it required a man in full vigour to deal with it, in several places the appearance of different "prophets" had provoked disturbances [cf AL-ASWAD, TULAIHA and MUSAILIMA] Then Muhammad suddenly fell ill, presumably of the ordinary Medīna fever (Farazdak, ix 13), but this was dangerous to a man physically and mentally overwrought He rallied a little but then died on the 13th Rabi' I of the year 9 (i e June 8, 632, only this date suits the statement in Hassān b Thābit, N° cxxxiii and all traditionists that it was a Monday) on the bosom of his favourite wife 'Ā'isha, according to the story with the words "The highest friend" (*rafīk*, for which Goldziher once proposed *rakī'*, "the vault of heaven") of Paradise!" He left — fortunately however for his community — no legal successor, for even the little Ibrāhīm whom the Coptic slave Māriya bore to him had died shortly before (on Jan 27, 632, if the statement is right that there was an eclipse of the sun on the day he died, cf Rhodokanakis, in *W Z K M*, xiv 78 *sqq*, Mahler, *op cit*, p 109 *sqq*) The wild confusion which party passions let loose on Mecca when his death became known had the remarkable result that his corpse remained neglected for a whole day until it was finally buried under 'Ā'isha's hut (Tabarī, i 1817, Ibn Sa'd, II/ii 57, 2, 58, 28, 59, 1, 71, 6)

The great difficulty which the biographer of Muhammad feels on every page is this, that the real secret of his career, the wonderful strength of his personality and his power of influencing those around him by suggestion, is not recorded in the early sources and indeed could not be recorded From the Kur'ān, it is true, one becomes acquainted with his earliest remarkable inspirations, which even now are not without effect, and with his eminent political gifts later in Medina We do of course find instances in the battle of Badr or the agreement of Hudaibīya where his intellectual superiority is overwhelmingly evident, but these are only isolated flashes and for the most part we have to read the essentials between the lines and be content with instructive analogies, among which the influence of Joseph Smith on the intellectually far superior Brigham Young is a particularly striking example The really powerful factor was his unshakable belief from beginning to end that he had been called by Allāh, for a conviction such as this, which does not admit of the slightest doubt, exercises an incalculable influence on others, and the certainty with which he came forward as the executor of Allāh's will gave his words and ordinances an authority which proved finally compelling His real personality was revealed quite openly with its limitations, his strength and his knowledge were limited, the ability to perform miracles was denied him and he speaks quite frankly of his faults (vi 69, xxxiv

49, xl 57, xlvii 21, xlviii 1 *sq*, lxxx 1 *sqq*, ix 43) Apart from the revelation with which he was favoured, he is a man like any other and several times refers to the fact that he will die (xxxix 31, xxi 35 *sq*, iii 138, the episode in Ibn Hishām, p 1012 *sq* is not historical but a tendentious story directed against the tendency becoming apparent to apotheosise the Prophet) This is exactly the field in which later ages have felt dissatisfied, so that they quite early, driven mainly by their disputations with the Christians (see M Schreiner, in *Z D M G*, xlii 594), wove around the person and life of the Prophet a network of superhuman features (see Jor Andrae's work quoted below) Apart from the traditions which are clearly confirmed by the Kur'ān we can only have certainty in the strictest sense of the word in cases where the stories place the Prophet in an unfavourable light, not only from our point of view but also from that of the Muslims, e g in the story of his temporary recognition of the three Meccan goddesses or of his being censured by ʿUmar for putting off the *iḥrām* between the ʿumra and ḥadjdj on the Farewell Pilgrimage, for it is quite incredible that such features should be later inventions and as a rule in such cases the compromising stories are confirmed by the existence of variant traditions which endeavour to dispose of the offensive features by glossing them over or altering them

If the biographers of Muhammad must for these reasons impose a very considerable restraint upon themselves, there is nevertheless one essential aspect of his activity, which ought to be very strongly emphasised, particularly as justice is not always done to it in modern treatments of his life There is a tendency in some recent writers not only to emphasise all that is unfavourable but also to neglect his real religious importance If he had really only been an oversexed man, anxious for worldly profit and quite unscrupulous in the choice of his means, Islām, which had been created by him and developed after his death, would have been an effect without a cause It is impossible for the unbiassed historian to deny that he aroused the religious instinct of his countrymen, and gave expression to a body of religious and moral conceptions which not only satisfied his fellow countrymen but supplied the needs of the people of lands which had old civilizations conquered by the Muslims and served them as foundations for a vigorous and far reaching intellectual activity Although as a result of his singular theory of inspiration, his direct dependence on the older religions of revelation remained concealed, he was able in his own way to communicate to his countrymen a part of the spiritual wealth of the "peoples of a scripture" and how he touched the soul of the Arabs is best seen by the efforts of the Wahhābīs at a reformation In lands of ancient culture, Islām, it is true, was only able to carry out its task by a sometimes radical remoulding and the intellectual activity already mentioned developed also under the influence of Christianity and mysticism, but yet it was Muhammad who set the whole process in motion and he could not have gained this influence if he had only been what the writers mentioned profess to have found in him

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MUḤAMMAD I-III [See Umaiyads II]

MUḤAMMAD I, according to the current view, the fifth Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, reigned, after the Empire's restoration in 1413, as sole acknowledged ruler until his death in 1421 Like many details of the first century of Ottoman history, the year of the birth of this Sultān is unknown, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i 66 gives 781 or 791 (1379 or 1389) It is commonly agreed, that he was the youngest of the six sons of Bāyazīd I, which probably has made von Hammer accept the later date At the time of Timur's invasion, Muhammad resided at Amasia, but he was present at the battle of Angora (end of July 1402) From here he escaped with the help of the vizier Bāyazīd

Pasha and was able to maintain himself in Amasia and Tokat against Timur's governor in Niksār and against Turkoman bands Soon after Bāyazīd's death in 1403, having found support with the dynasties of Karamān and Dhū 'l-Kadr, he conquered Brusa from his brother ʿĪsā, who had fled there after the battle of Angora Then followed the struggle with his other brother Sulaimān, who had escaped to Adrianople but reappeared in Anatolia on account of his dealings, friendly as well as hostile, with the Izmīr Oghlu Djunaid Sulaimān was able to take Brusa but was soon obliged to return to Rūm-ili, where Muhammad had sent their brother Mūsā (who, after Angora, had been prisoner for some time with the Germiyān Oghlu) When in 1410 the struggle between Sulaimān and Mūsā ended in the latter's victory, Muhammad, whose position in Anatolia was now strengthened, had to face Mūsā himself At first the conquest of Rūm-ili did not seem hopeful, but after some high functionaries, like the Djandar-oghlu Ibrāhīm Pasha (cf Taschner and Wittek, in *Isl*, xviii 95) and representatives of the old nobility, like Ewrenos, had gone over from Mūsā to his side, and after he had made the Byzantine Emperor Manuel his ally, Muhammad was able to crush Mūsā in the battle of Čamurlu in Serbia (July 1413) By this battle the unity of the Ottoman state was re-established, nevertheless one gets the impression that, even after the battle of Angora, the supremacy of the house of ʿOthmān over the other Muhammadan and Christian chiefs in Anatolia and the Balkan Peninsula was never seriously questioned The hereditary enemy in Asia, Karamān Oghlu Mehmed, who in the meantime had gone as far as besieging Brusa, was subdued at Djānik in 1414 and at the same time the turbulent Izmīr Oghlu Djunaid was finally driven away from Smyrna In 1416 the Ottoman power in the Aegean Sea was strengthened by the battle of Gallipoli against a Venetian fleet That same year witnessed the extremely serious dervish revolt in Aidin and the peninsula of Kara Burun, connected with the name of Simawna Oghlu Badr al Dīn (cf Babinger's monograph on the subject in *Isl*, xi 1—174 and, as to the date, p 62 *sqq*), its suppression required the levying of troops from all parts of Anatolia under Bāyazid Pasha In the European part of the Empire the Sultān kept up friendly relations with the Byzantine Emperor The Turks intervened, however, in Wallachia where the succession was disputed and they built there the fortress of Djurdjewo (Turk Yer Kioku) on the northern bank of the Danube, at the same time (1419), the raids of the Turkish troops reached Hungary, Bosnia and Styria On the Asiatic side large parts of the possessions of the prince of Kastamuni, including Tosia and Kangheri, were incorporated into the Ottoman possessions From 1416 Muhammad had moreover to face a pretender to the throne who claimed to be his brother Mustafā, this Dozme Mustafā found an ally in Djunaid Both were defeated near Selānik and had to fly to Constantinople The Sultān died in 1421 in Adrianople, shortly after his return from Anatolia His death was kept secret from the army during forty days, until the heir to the throne Murād had arrived at Brusa

Muhammad I has won the reputation of a mild and benevolent ruler, he often occurs with the surname of Čelebi (as also do his brothers) Another surname is Kürüshdji, the "Wrestler", which takes unrecognizable forms in the European sources ("Crixia" in the Ragusan documents cited by Babinger on p 63 of his article in *Isl*) Important administrative measures are not recorded under his reign, the political and religious unification and pacification occupied all his forces Some famous edifices are connected with his name, he finished the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Adrianople and the mosque of the same name in Brusa A new building of this Sultān was the well known Yeshil Djāmiʿ at Brusa (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, ii 15)

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MUHAMMAD II, with the surname Abū 'l Fath, or, more popularly, Fātih, seventh ruler of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1451 until his death in 1481 He was born, according to *Sidjill-i ʿOthmāni*, i 67, in Radjab 832 (April 1429) and resided during his father Murād II's lifetime as governor in Maghnisa, after the death of his brother ʿAlā' al-Dīn in 1444 he became heir to the throne Before his final enthronement Muhammad had twice resided in Adrianople as sultān, on account of the abdication of Murād II, the first time in June 1444, after a ten years' peace had been concluded with Hungary When, notwithstanding this treaty, Hungary and her Christian allies again took the offensive in July, Murād came back from Maghnisa, to which he had retired, and won the battle of Varna (Nov 10, 1444) Then Murād abdicated a second time, but a menacing revolt of the Janissaries in Adrianople made the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha call him back again, after which Muhammad was relegated once more to his Anatolian governorship until his father's death

On Febr 9, 1451 this new sultān arrived at Adrianople and seemed at first peacefully inclined In reality his reign was to become a period of untiring and continual conquest under the personal leadership of Muhammad himself, who, especially in the beginning of his reign, took part in nearly all the important campaigns His conquests did not very much enlarge the boundaries already reached at Murād II's death, but consisted more in a bringing under immediate Turkish rule of a large number of countries, regions and towns that were still held by local rulers under the Ottoman suzerainty In this way Muhammad's conquests made possible the enormous expansion of the Ottoman empire in the xvith century

The first, and at the same time most conspicuous military achievement of his reign was the conquest of Constantinople, where, by the grace of Murād II, the Palaeologue Constantine was still reigning The preparations for this memorable siege had begun in 1452 with the construction of the castle of Rūmili Hisār (in which an inscription by Zaghanos Pasha, one of the builders, of 856 [1452], is found, cf Khalīl Edhem, in *T O E M*, ii 484—497) and other military preparations, e g the casting of an enormous siege gun Constantinople was taken on May 29, 1453 and Galata surrendered soon afterwards [cf CONSTANTINOPLE] In the next

year, the sultān obtained successes against Serbia, while Turākhān [q v] intervened in Morea, where the last Palaeologue despots were at war with the Albanians Immediately after the taking of Constantinople the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha had been deposed and executed by order of the sultān, who had personal and political causes of complaint against him (cf Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl*, xviii 105 *sqq*), he was replaced after nearly a year by Mahmūd Pasha [q v], who for the next twelve years was to be a no less energetic supporter of Muhammad in the achievement of the programme of conquest The year 1455 saw both of them in Serbia and on the Aegean coast, where the principal conquests were Aenos and the island of Lemnos [q v] In 1456 they were unsuccessful in the siege of Belgrad During the years 1458 and 1459 Serbia was made a direct Ottoman province (Semendra taken in 1459 by Muhammad), and in the same year and in 1460 the sultān took part in several campaigns in the Morea, the northern part of which was conquered from the Paleologues About the same time a temporary understanding was reached with Skanderbeg [q v] in Albania

Then came the amazing Asiatic campaign of 1461 Amasra (Amastris) was taken from the Genoese and Sinub [q v] from the last Isfandiyār Oghlu, the fall of Trebizond immediately followed [cf TARABZUN], after the beginning of a conflict with Uzun Hasan of the Ak Koyunlu In the next year the sultān's army drove the famous Wallachian woiwod Wlad Dracul from his principality, which was given to his brother Radul, and at the end of the year Muhammad and Mahmūd made an end to the rule of the Genoese dynasty of Lesbos The years 1463 and 1464 were mainly occupied by the annexation of the kingdom of Bosnia In 1463 began a war with Venice, which was to last seventeen years, the main theatre of hostilities was the Morea, but also in the islands of the Aegean there were continual encounters with Venetian fleets

The death of the Karaman Oghlu [q v] Ibrahim in 1464 had first provoked the sultān's intervention and soon nearly all the towns of this once powerful principality were conquered during Muhammad's campaign of 1466 (battle of Laranda) In that same year Muhammad was successful in Albania, where he fortified the town of Elbasan [cf SKANDERBEG]

Mahmūd Pasha had been deposed as grand-vizier after the Karaman campaign and replaced by Rūm Muhammad Pasha But it was Mahmūd who as governor of Gallipoli and Kapudan Pasha, helped Muhammad in the conquest from Venice of the islands of Negroponte (Euboea) in 1470 In the same year began again a series of campaigns under Rūm Muhammad and Gedik Ahmad Pasha against the last towns held by descendants of the Karaman Oghlu, who were supported by Uzun Hasan [q v] and by Christian fleets on the sea side When Uzun Hasan had even taken the offensive by conquering the town of Tokat, great preparations were made for a new Asiatic campaign of the sultān, and Mahmūd was again made grand vizier The sultān's army won in 1473 the great victory of Erzindjān, which put an end to danger from that side In this campaign a part was played by prince Mustafā, the heir to the throne, who completed in 1474 the conquest of Ič Ili (Cilicia) but died soon afterwards Mahmūd Pasha had been deposed again from the grand vizierate and executed in August 1474, Gedik Ahmad Pasha took his place

In the following years, until 1480, the sultān's chief attention was given to conquests in Europe He built in 1471 the fortress of Sabacs (Bogurdelen) in Syrmia, near Belgrad, while his troops in these and the following years made incursions into Hungary and far into Austrian territory, the war with Venice continued and in 1474 the Albanian Skutari (Shkodra) was in vain besieged The year 1475 brought the great success of the conquest of Kaffa from the Genoese and, as a result of the establishing of the Ottoman power in the Crimea, the submission of the Tatar Khānate of the Crimea to Ottoman suzerainty In 1476 the sultān himself was successful in Moldavia, but in the next years the Turkish armies had less success against the Venetians in Albania and southern Morea, finally in 1478 Muhammad himself went to Albania and took Croia, Skutari was besieged a long time, but surrendered only on account of the peace negociations with Venice, which led to a peace treaty (confirmed January 26, 1479) leaving a certain number of towns in Albania and Morea to Venice The Ionian islands, however, were conquered in 1479 by a fleet under Gedik Ahmad, who, at the same time, went so far as to take Otranto in southern Italy An endeavour to conquer the island of Rhodes in the same year was not successful

Muhammad's last campaign took place in 1480, when he intervened in the dynastic disputes of the dynasty of Dhū 'l Kadr [q v], which intervention gave rise to the first difficulties with Egypt In the next year, 1481, he had already set out for a new military enterprise in Asia, the aim of which was yet unknown, but may have been connected with the same difficulties, when he died, rather suddenly, in the place called Tekfur Čayīrī or Khunkiār Čayīrī between Skutari and Gebze (May 3, 1481) His body was transported to Constantinople and buried in the *turbe* of the Fātih Mosque

Besides being a great conqueror, Muhammad II was the builder of many important edifices, in the first place of the Fātih Mosque in Constantinople and the mosque of Eyyūb (*Hadīkat al-Dja-wāmi'*, 1 8 *sqq*, 243 *sqq*) and further of the castles on the Dardanelles and other works of naval and military importance In the army administration he succeeded in restoring discipline among the Janissaries by incorporating in them the corps of the Segbans, further his name is connected with the first Ottoman *Kānūn nāme* (printed as an appendix to *TOEM*, III) He encouraged scientific studies and showed an interest in literature and poetry (he pensioned thirteen Turkish poets), even for the Renaissance arts in Italy (he summoned Gentile Bellini to Constantinople, who made his portrait, cf also Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tubingen 1930, p 18)

Bibliography Among the early sources, the Byzantine historians (Phranzes, Ducas, Chalcondyles) are by far the more important The Greek description of Muhammad's life by Critobulos was translated into Turkish (appendix to *TOEM*, I and II) The old Ottoman chronicles (Neshrī and others) often treat the beginning of Muhammad's reign in their last part, the later historical sources (Sa'd al Dīn, 'Alī, Feridūn) are far from being reliable for this time Further von Hammer, *GOR*, I, II, Zinkeisen (I) and

Jorga (i), Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii, L Thueasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II*, Paris 1888 (J H KRAMERS)

MUḤAMMAD III, thirteenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on May 16, 1567, the son of Murād III and the Venetian lady Baffa, and reigned from January 27, 1593 until his death, December 22, 1603 He was the last sultān who, as crown prince, had resided as governor in Maghnisa During his short reign he does not seem to have exercised any great influence on the policy of the Empire, being mostly under the influence of his mother who, as *wālide sultān*, intervened in affairs of state through her protégés within and without the palace Much against her will but on the insistence of a large part of the troops and of the high dignitaries, Muhammad took part in one campaign, namely that of 1596, in which the Hungarian town of Erlau (Egri) was taken by the Turks (September 1596) This campaign was a part of the war against Austria that lasted during all his reign and occasioned every year a military expedition to Hungary or to Wallachia The grand vizierate was changed not less than twelve times under this sultān, the most conspicuous grand vizier was Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [q v], his brother-in law and the protége of the *wālide* Ibrāhīm three times held the sultān's seal, three other titularies ended their office by being executed In the same year as the conquest of Erlau, the Turks won the battle of Keresztes over the Austrians and Hungarians, the severity of the then grand-vizier Čighala Sinān caused a great number of the troops to desert and to appear some years afterwards as *firāris* or *djelālis*, provoking dangerous revolts in Asia Minor which lasted thirty years and began with the taking of Urfa by Kara Yazïdjï [q v] in 1599 A third memorable feat of the Hungarian war was the conquest of Kanizha in 1600 by Ibrāhim Pasha In other parts of the Empire the situation was relatively quiet, only in the Crimea was there a war between two rivals to the khānate, in which the Ottoman government had to intervene Relations with the European powers were peaceful France began already to exercise considerable influence through her ambassador, with Persia there was peace until September 1603, when a war began with the taking of Tabriz and Nakhčawān by ʿAbbās I

The Empire was still supported by the traditions of Suleimān's time, but the lack of strong government had introduced a lot of abuses, notably in the administration of the *timārs* and of the finances One of the consequences was the dangerous revolt in January 1603 of the *sipāhīs* in Constantinople, who demanded the abolition of the harem régime in the capital and the restoration of the authority of the government in Anatolia Two high harem functionaries fell as victims of this revolt, the grand vizier Yemishdji Hasan was able to oppose the *sipāhīs* with the aid of the Janissaries, thus creating an everlasting feud between the two corps, but in October of the same year this nefarious policy caused his own fall and execution

Muhammad III was buried in a *turbe* of the Aya Sofia, a short time before his death, he had ordered the execution of his eldest son Mahmūd He is said to have made a great show of piety, and had some excellent councillors in his environment, such as the khwādja Saʿd al-Dīn (died 1599), who had determined him to accompany the army in 1596, but on the whole his mother's influence prevailed by keeping him mainly confined to the harem in the palace

Bibliography Among the Turkish historians the works of ʿĀlī (until 1596), Selāniki (until 1600), Pečewī and Hasan Beg Zāde are valuable as contemporary sources, further Naʿimā (i) and Hādjdjī Khalīfa Von Hammer, *G O R*, iv and the works of Zinkeisen (iii) and Jorga (iii) A contemporary European source is Laz Soranzo, *Ottomanus sive de rebus turcicis liber continens descriptionem potentiae Mahometis III*, 1600 (J H KRAMERS)

MUḤAMMAD IV, nineteenth Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, was born on December 30, 1641 and was placed on the throne on August 8, 1648, after the deposition, soon followed by the execution, of his father Sultan Ibrāhim The power in the state was at that time divided between the court, where the old *wālide* Kosem [q v] and Sultān Muhammad's mother, the *wālide* Tarkhān, held the reins, and the rebellious soldiery of the Janissaries and the Sipāhis The lack of stability in the government at this time is shown by the fact, that, until the nomination of the grand vizier Koprulu Muhammad in 1656, there were no less than thirteen grand viziers In 1651 the old *wālide* Kosem was assassinated and at the same time the resistance of the Janissaries was broken, the regime of the court party that followed under the sultān's mother did not improve the situation The grand vizierate of Ibshir Pasha (1654—1655), who at first seemed to be the strong man needed, was brought to an early end by his rival Murād Pasha, and in the meantime the Cretan war against Venice was exhausting the resources of the Empire In March 1656 a military rebellion forced the sultān to allow the execution of several of his favourite courtiers

The real strong man proved to be Koprulu Muhammad Pasha [q v] (Sept 15, 1656—Oct 31, 1661) who eliminated immediately the influence of the harem on state affairs and became until his death the real ruler of the Empire His regime began with a Turkish maritime defeat by the Venetians at the Dardanelles, but already in the following year he obtained as *serʿasker* successes in Transylvania and succeeded at the same time in establishing firmly the Turkish authority in the Danube principalities, the collaboration with the Crimean Khān was here of great value In 1658 and 1659 he was able to suppress rebellions in Asia Minor, and in the Venetian war a great fleet of Venetian ships and other Christian allies did not succeed against the Turkish forces on Crete After his death (Oct 31, 1661), he was succeeded in his office by his son Koprulu Ahmad Pasha, who completed the work of his father by carrying through the final conquest of Crete (surrender of Kandia on Sept 4, 1669) followed by peace with Venice In 1661 the war with Austria had begun again, where Sultān Muhammad took part in several campaigns, notably that of 1663 in which Újvár (Neuhäusel) was taken In 1664 took place the famous battle of St Gotthard, where the Turks were beaten by an allied army, a part of which was formed by French troops, still the peace concluded with Austria in 1665 was favourable for Turkey In 1672 the sultān took part in the campaign against Poland, after the Ukrainian cossacks had invoked Ottoman aid

against the Polish king, the Polish war, ending in a peace treaty of 1676, strengthened still further the Empire's position in the north Koprülü Ahmad Pasha died Oct 30, 1676 Though the sultān, who had developed in the meantime a morose and capricious character, never showed him the same deference as to his father, Ahmad had been easily able to maintain himself against enemies in the interior, not least by forming new troops (the *beshli* and the *goñullu*), who were far more reliable than the Janissaries and Sipāhīs He had not been able, however, to put an end to the extravagant luxury of the court, which wasted enormous sums The sultān had an abnormal liking for big hunts, that were organized at enormous cost in the environment of Adrianople, which town he preferred as a residence to Constantinople

After Ahmad's death the sultan did not himself take the affairs of state in hand, he appointed Kara Mustafā Pasha [q v] as his grand vizier The latter continued in an unnecessary way the tradition of warfare, in 1677 and 1678 he obtained successes against the Cossacks, behind whom the Muscovite power now began to gain in importance in Turkish affairs In 1682 war broke out again with the Austrian monarchy and led to the second Turkish siege of Vienna (July 13 —Sept 12, 1683), ending in a Turkish debâcle, thanks to the intervention of the Polish king Sobiesky This disaster cost Kara Mustafā his office and his life and at the same time the influence of the Serail became again predominant The grand viziers now following proved unequal to their task and in the years 1685—1687 nearly the whole of Hungary was lost to the Austrian armies (Turkish defeat at Mohacs on June 22, 1687) At the same time the hostilities with Venice had been reopened in the Morea and in the Archipelago

All these disasters caused a revolt of the troops in the field, they marched on the capital in September 1687 under Siyawush Pasha of Aleppo This time the sultān himself fell a victim to them, he was deposed on November 8, 1687 by the *kā'im makām* Koprulu Mustafā Pasha and lived in seclusion in Adrianople until his death on December 17, 1692 He was buried next to his mother in the Yeñi Djāmi'

Bibliography Na'ima (ii) and Hādjdjī Khalīfa, and until 1660 the *Ta'rīkh* of Rāshid are the most important Turkish historical sources The *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā' Čelebi describes many of the military expeditions of this period and is also otherwise a valuable source of information Among the European sources this period is covered by P Ricaut, *Histoire des trois derniers empereurs des Turcs depuis 1624 jusqu'a 1677*, Paris 1683 Further, von Hammer, *G O R*, v, vi and the works of Zinkeisen (iv and v) and Jorga (iv) See also the monographs of Ahmad Refik, *Koprululer*, Constantinople 1331 (1913), *Kadînlar Saltanatî*, Constantinople 1914—1924, and *Felāket Seneleri* (1094—1110), Constantinople 1332 (1914)

(J H Kramers)

MUHAMMAD V Reshād, thirty-fifth Ottoman Sultān, was born on November 2, 1844 as a son of Sultān 'Abd al-Madjīd During the reign of his brother 'Abd al Hamīd II he lived in seclusion, his very existence inspired 'Abd al-Hamīd with such terror that even the mentioning of persons with the name Reshād had to be avoided in his presence (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii 232) He was a man of mild character, who owed his accession to the throne (April 27, 1909) only to the victory of the Young Turks, moreover he was the first constitutional ruler of Turkey, but he was unable to give direction to the very disparate political tendencies that manifested themselves within and without the Parliament during the years after the Revolution, and, after the final victory of the Unionist party in January 1913, Muhammad V had to submit, much against his will, to their government

At the very beginning of his reign, Turkey lost her last vestige of authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary's annexation, and over Bulgaria by the declaration of its independence (Oct 5, 1909) The cabinets under Husein Hilmī Pasha (until January 18, 1910) and Ismā'īl Hakkī Pasha (q v until Sept 29, 1911) were not able to bring about a peaceful situation in the interior (revolts in Albania) Hakkı Pasha had to resign on account of the declaration of war by Italy Under the grand vizierate of Sa'id Pasha [q v] the Italian war led to the loss of Tripoli, confirmed by the peace treaty of Ouchy (Oct 15, 1912) The peace was signed under the anti-unionist cabinet of Ahmad Mukhtār Pasha, but in the same month began the so called Balkan War against the confederated Balkan States The reactionary cabinet of Kamil Pasha soon showed an inclination to conclude a disastrous peace through the intermediary of the European powers (Conference of London), then on January 23, 1913 the Unionist coup d'etat brought again a Unionist government under Mahmūd Shewket Pasha The result was a reopening of the hostilities and, after the failure of Bulgaria, the recapture of Adrianople (July 22, 1913) In the meantime Mahmūd Shewket had been murdered (June 28) by adherents of the liberal opposition, but this did not bring about a change in the political course, his place was taken by Sa'id Halim Pasha, whose government signed the peace treaties with Bulgaria (Sept 29, 1913), Greece (Nov 14) and Serbia (March 14, 1914) From this time on, the Committee of Union and Progress, which from the beginning of Muhammad Reshād's reign had not ceased to work behind the scenes, became all powerful and its leaders Talʿat Bey and Enwer Bey came more and more to the front Afterwards, when at the beginning of the Great War, the Ottoman Government had decided to remain neutral, it was the unionist sympathies with Germany that brought about a gradual estrangement between Turkey and the Allies (the "Goeben" and "Breslau" incident), culminating in the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers (the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea on October 29 and 30, 1914) Talʿat Pasha himself became grand vizier in February 1917 The Allied endeavour to force a way through the Dardanelles was definitely abandoned in January 1916 and in the meantime Turkish troops fought on the Egyptian front, in 'Irāk and on the Russian and Persian frontiers Before the end of the war Muhammad V died unexpectedly on July 2, 1918

Bibliography de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1914, ii, Ahmad Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930, besides many other publications on the war and on the general politics of Turkey

(J H Kramers)

MUḤAMMAD VI WAḤĪD AL DĪN, last Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, was born on January 14, 1861, as son of Sultān ʿAbd al-Madjīd He was called to the throne on July 3, 1918, after the death of his brother Muhammad V Reshād, the former heir to the throne Yūsuf ʿIzz al Dīn, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, having died in 1916 When on October 30, 1918, nearly four months after his accession, the armistice of Mudros was signed he was the ruler of an empire that seemed to be at the mercy of its former enemies, whose military forces occupied the capital and other hitherto unconquered parts of Turkey On the other hand, the power of the Committee of Union and Progress was broken, but, since in the beginning of 1919 there began in Anatolia an increasing opposition against the foreign occupation, joined with an aversion to obey the Constantinople government, Muhammad VI seemed to have no other choice than to throw in his lot with the Allies and, together with his grand vizier Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, he collaborated with the Allies in the endeavours to suppress the nationalist forces (beginning of 1920), this anti-nationalist action was even sanctioned by a *fetwā* of the Shaikh al-Islām As the nationalist movement grew ever stronger, the Sultān's authority could only be upheld in Constantinople by the support of the Allies His government had to sign the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920) and the Tewfik Pasha cabinet (since October 21, 1920) tried to summon the Parliament for its ratification But in 1921 things had already gone so far that Tewfik Pasha recognized the powerlessness of his government to represent Turkey The final success of the nationalists against the Greeks (seizure of Smyrna September 9, 1922) brought about the armistice of Mudania (October 11, 1922), to which the Sultān's government was not a party It was still invited to represent Turkey in Lausanne, together with the Angora government This was not accepted by the Great National Assembly, which, on November 1, 1922, declared the Ottoman sultānate abolished from March 16, 1920 (occupation of Constantinople), Tewfik Pasha's cabinet resigned accordingly (November 4) and Muhammad VI remained as Khalīfa in Constantinople, where, on November 10, he appeared at his last *selāmlīk* When, however, the National Assembly decided some days afterwards to try Wahīd al-Dīn on a charge of high treason, this last Ottoman Sultān left Constantinople as a fugitive on a British ship (November 17, 1922) and the very next day the Angora government declared him divested of the caliphate Having gone first to Malta, the ex sultān proceeded to Mecca as the guest of king Husain From here he launched a proclamation to the Islāmic world, in which he maintained that the separation of the caliphate from the sultānate was contrary to the *sharīʿa* (text in *Oriente Moderno*, II 702—705) This appeal found hardly any response in the Islāmic world The last Ottoman Sultān left Mecca again and went to live in San Remo, where he died on May 16, 1926 In 1924 he had even recognized king Husain's claim to the caliphate

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(J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD, Muʿizz al-Dīn b Sām, was the fourth of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr to rule the empire of Ghaznī His name was originally Shihāb al-Dīn, but he assumed that of Muʿizz al-Dīn His elder brother Ghiyāth al Dīn succeeded his cousin Saif al-Dīn in 1163 and made Muhammad governor of Herāt, entrusting to him also the duty of extending the dominions of the house in India

Muhammad led his first expedition into India in 1175, expelled the Ismāʿīlian heretics who ruled Multān, placed an orthodox governor in that province, and captured Uch In 1178 he rashly led an army into Gudjarāt, was defeated by the rādjā, Bhīma the Vāghela, and returned to Ghazni with no more than the remnant of his army, but in the following year he took Peshāwar, and in 1181 Lāhor, taking prisoner Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, and adding the Pandjāb to his brother's dominions In the winter of 1190—1191 he invaded the Čawhān kingdom of Dihlī and captured Bhātinda, but the rādjā, Prithwī Radj, marched against him and defeated him at Tarāwrī, near Karnāl He was wounded, but escaped, and in 1192 returned to India, defeated and slew Prithwī Rādj at Tarāwrī, captured Hānsī, Sāmāna, Guhrām, and other fortresses, and plundered Adjmer On returning to Ghazni he left Kutb al Dīn Aibeg [q v] in India as viceroy, and at the end of 1192 Aibeg took Dihlī and made it his capital In 1197 Aibeg was beleaguered in Adjmer and Muhammad sent a relieving force which enabled him to defeat Bhima of Gudjarāt and to plunder his capital, Anhilvāra

Muhammad was now employed with his brother in recovering Khurāsān On the death of Takash Khān Khwārizmshāh [q v] in Marw, on July 3, 1200, Muhammad Čurbak was sent to Marw, which he captured and occupied for Ghiyāth al Dīn, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother besieged and took Nishāpūr Muhammad was then sent in command of an expedition to Rayy but the misbehaviour of his troops earned a rebuke which led to the only quarrel between the brothers

On the death of Ghiyāth al Dīn in 1202 Muhammad succeeded to the great empire which he had helped his brother to build up, but Muhammad Khwārizmshāh [q v] took Marw from Muhammad Čurbak, recovered Nishāpūr, but failed to capture Herāt Muʿizz al-Dīn Muhammad marched against him but suffered a crushing defeat near Andkhūī and fled to Tālakān He was besieged by the army of Gūr Khān of Karā Khitāī and purchased a safe retreat only by the surrender of the whole of his baggage and material of war On his arrival before Ghaznī in this plight his slave Īldīgiz refused to admit him, and he passed on to Multān where the governor likewise refused him admittance, but he attacked and defeated him and appointed Nāsir al-Dīn Kubāča [q v] to the government of the province He returned to Ghaznī and established himself there, sparing the life of Īldīgiz By the treaty which he concluded with Muhammad Khwārizmshāh he was permitted to retain Balkh and Herāt, but not Nishāpūr and Marw

On Oct 20, 1205, he marched from Ghaznī for India and, with the help of Kutb al-Dīn Aibeg, defeated the Khokars, but on returning towards Ghaznī was assassinated, on March 15, 1206, on the bank of the Indus, either by Ismāʿīlī heretics or by some Khokars He was succeeded in Ghūr

by his nephew Mahmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, but the viceroys of the provinces, Aibeg in Dihlī, Kubāča in Multān, Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz in Kirmān, and Ildigiz in Ghaznī, became independent

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(T W Haig)

MUHAMMAD, Tughluk, the second king of the Tughluk dynasty of Dihlī, was the eldest son of Ghiyāth al Dīn Tughluk, its founder During the short reign of the usurper, Nāsir al-Dīn Khusraw, he was in some peril, but escaped and joined his father, who was marching on Dihlī He was known at first as Djawna Khān, but received the title of Ulugh Khān and was sent in 1321 to Warangal, to reduce to obedience the rādjā, Pratāpa Rudradeva II In this distant region he attempted to rebel, but his army refused to believe his story of his father's death at Dihlī and to accept him as their king, and he was obliged to return in haste to the capital, where he either persuaded his father of his innocence or gained a pardon, for, though his accomplices suffered cruel deaths, he was again sent, in 1323, into Telingāna, and on this occasion compelled the rādjā to surrender and sent him to Dihlī In the following year he acted as regent during his father's absence on an expedition into Bengal, but his conduct aroused suspicion, and his father rebuked him in letters sent from Bengal He received the king, on his return, in a temporary kiosk of wood, so constructed that the dislodgement of a beam would bring the whole structure down, and by this device crushed the old man to death, and ascended the throne in February 1325 The delineation of a character so complex and contradictory as that of Muhammad Tughluk is no easy task He was one of the most extraordinary monarchs who ever sat upon a throne To the most lavish generosity he united revolting and indiscriminate cruelty, to scrupulous observance of the ritual and ceremonial prescribed by the Islamic law an utter disregard of that law in all public affairs, to a debasing and superstitious veneration for all whose descent or whose piety commanded respect a ferocity which when roused respected neither the blood of the Prophet nor personal sanctity Some of his administrative and most of his military measures give evidence of abilities of the highest order, others are the acts of a madman

The chronicle of his reign is largely a record of rebellions punished with gross barbarity In the second year his cousin Gurshāsp rebelled in the Dakan and was flayed alive In 1327 he rebuilt Devagīr, named it Dawlatābād, made it his capital, and two years later drove the whole population of Dihlī thither In 1328 Kishlū Khān rebelled in Multān and was defeated and slain, and in 1329 India was invaded by the Mughul, 'Alā' al-Dīn Tarmāshīrīn, who, however, was driven from the country In the same year the enhancement of the land-tax in the Gangetic Doāb drove the inhabitants into rebellion, and the measures taken to suppress the rising depopulated the country At about the same time Muhammad issued his famous fictitious currency, decreeing that his brass tokens should be accepted as equivalent to silver *tangas* No precautions were taken against counterfeiting, and when the experiment failed and the tokens were recalled the treasury was obliged to purchase mountains of brass at the price of silver

In 1331 a rebellion in Bengal was crushed by Bahrām Khān, but in 1338 he died, and a second rebellion separated the province from the kingdom of Dihlī, and in 1334 Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Ahsan established his independence in Madura Muhammad marched to punish him, but a pestilence in his army compelled him to retreat, and on his return he established in the Dakan the pernicious system of farming out the revenue for extravagant sums, the result of which was to drive both the impoverished cultivator and the defaulting farmer into rebellion Hūshang of Dawlatābād, believing a report of the king's death, rebelled, but was captured and pardoned, a rare instance of clemency, but a rebellion in the Pandjāb was crushed with great severity

An enormous army raised for the conquest of Persia melted away for want of funds to maintain it, and in 1337 a heavy calamity fell on northern India, a famine of unusual severity which lasted for seven years The king's measures to combat the famine were, on the whole, well conceived and well executed Grain was plentiful in Awadh, which proved that the famine was largely due to artificial causes, and he built a temporary city, Sarga-dwārī (*Swarga dwāra*, Sansk "the Gate of Paradise"), on the western bank of the Ganges, transferred thither the citizens of Dihlī, and with the assistance of 'Ain al-Mulk, governor of Awadh, fed them from the granaries of that province In the following year he committed one of the greatest of his many follies in assembling an army of 100,000 horse for the invasion of Tibet and sending it into the Himālaya, where it perished

In 1339 a rebellion in the Dakan was crushed and even the faithful 'Ain al Mulk was goaded into rebellion, but, in consideration of his services, was imprisoned instead of being put to death Almost immediately afterwards Shāhū the Afghān rebelled in Multan, but fled before the king's wrath into Afghānistān The famine was now at its height, and the people were eating human flesh Muhammad set himself to the framing of regulations which should improve and extend agriculture and obviate future famines By these means, says the contemporary historian, with conscious or unconscious irony, agriculture would have been so promoted that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth, had they been practicable They included the extension of the system of farming the revenues, and bred confusion and rebellion, which reacted on the king until he regarded his subjects as his natural enemies and waged war against them with all the weapons of despotic power The tale of executions is recorded, with sickening details, by Ibn Battūta Rebellions in Sunām, Sāmana, Kaithal, Guhrām, Kara, and the Dakan were all traceable to the king's revenue system, but he attributed the discontent in the Dakan to the disaffection of his officers and sent to that province a wretch who slew ninety officers in cold blood, and was himself slain in the rising which his barbarity provoked Muhammad marched into Gudjarāt and personally undertook the collection of arrears due to the treasury, so alarming the officials in the Dakan that they seized the fort of Dawlatābād

and proclaimed an Afghān, Ismāʿīl Mukh, as their king The king marched to Dawlatābād, captured the city, and besieged the rebels in the citadel, but was recalled to Gudjarāt by a serious rebellion headed by a man named Taghī He pursued the rebel in Gudjarāt and Kāthiāwār for three years, drove him into Sind, and followed him thither, and on March 20, 1351, died within a few miles of Thatha, where the rebel had taken refuge "The king", as a historian says, "was freed from his people, and they from their king"

His empire, at its greatest extent, included the whole of India except the small kingdoms of the Čolas and the Pāndyas, in the neigbourhood of Cape Comorin and the principality of Girnār in Kāthiāwār Before his death he lost Bengal, the Dakan, the Peninsula, and Sind, and left the remnant of his dominions seething with discontent

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(I W Haig)

MUḤAMMAD III, the sixth king of the Tughluk dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Fīrūz, at whose death the son of Fath Khān, his eldest son, was raised to the throne on Sept 20, 1388, as Ghiyath al-Dīn Tughluk II, but was slain on Feb 19, 1389, and was succeeded by his cousin Abū Bakr, son of Zafar Khān, the second son of Fīrūz Muhammad, the third son, contested the succession and, after suffering more than one defeat, occupied Dihlī and ascended the throne on Aug 31, 1390 Abū Bakr took refuge with Bahādur Nāhir in Mewāt but was pursued and defeated, and was imprisoned in Mīrath, where he shortly afterwards died The old servants of Fīrūz, men of Eastern Hindūstān, who had been the principal factors in all the troubles of the kingdom, were put to the sword, after being tested by a shibboleth which distinguished them from the natives of Dihlī

A rebellion in Gudjarāt was suppressed in the same year by Zafar Khān, who in 1396 became independent in that province, and in 1392 Muhammad crushed a serious rebellion in the Doāb, captured Itāwa, ravaged the districts of Kanawdj and Dalman, and built near Djalesar a fort, which he named Muhammadābād In the same year, he put to death his minister, Islām Khān, who was meditating rebellion, and appointed in his place Khwādja Djahān Another rebellion was crushed in the southern Doāb, and in August 1393, Muhammad invaded and plundered Mewāt and returned to Djalesar, where he fell sick Bahādur Nāhir took advantage of his illness to plunder some villages in the neighbourhood of Dihlī and Muhammad marched into Mewāt, defeated him, and put him to flight, but on his return to Muhammadābād his disorder increased, and on Jan 20, 1394, just as he had ordered his son Humāyūn Khān to march against the Khokars, who had captured Lāhor and were ravaging the Pandjāb, he died

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(T W Haig)

MUḤAMMAD I, the second king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the eldest son of Hasan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shah, usually, but incorrectly, styled Hasan Gangū On succeeding his father, on Feb 11, 1358, he carefully organized the government of the four provinces of the kingdom and the administration of the army The pertinacity of the Hindū bankers and moneychangers in melting down the gold coinage which he introduced led to a general massacre of the community and the measure involved him in hostilities with the Hindū states of Warangal and Vidjayanagar He invaded the dominions of Kānhaiya of Warangal three times, put his son Venāyek Deva to death, and compelled him to pay heavy indemnities and to surrender the town and district of Golkonda After this success he grossly insulted Bukka I of Vidjayanagar by paying some dancing girls with a draft drawn by him on Bukka's treasury Bukka invaded the Rāičūr Doāb, captured Mudgal, and massacred its garrison Muhammad marched against him, attacked him with great impetuosity, defeated him, and recovered Mudgal, where he rested during the rainy season In 1367 he met Bukka at Kawthal, again defeated him, and carried out an indiscriminate massacre of his subjects The Hindūs were cowed by the slaughter of 400,000 of their race, and Bukka was compelled to sue for peace He honoured the draft and paid an indemnity, and received in return a guarantee that non combatants should be spared in future wars, and the agreement, though sometimes violated, mitigated to some extent the horrors of the long period of intermittent warfare between the two states On returning from Vidjayanagar he completed, in 1367, the great mosque at Gulbarga, and then turned against his cousin Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, who had for some years been in rebellion at Dawlatābād, defeated his army, and drove its leaders into Gudjarāt He died in 1377 and was succeeded by his elder son, Mudjāhid

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(T W Haig)

MUHAMMAD II, the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the son of Mahmūd Khān, the youngest son of ʿAlāʾ al Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and was raised to the throne on May 20, 1378, after the assassination of his uncle, Dāwūd Shāh Firishta's statement that this king's name was Mahmūd has misled all European historians, but is refuted by inscriptions, legends on coins, and other historians

Muhammad II was a man of peace, devoted to literature and poetry, and his reign was undisturbed by foreign wars He invited Hāfiz to visit his court, and the great poet set out from Shīrāz in response to the invitation, but was so terrified by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he disembarked and returned to Shīrāz, whence he sent to Muhammad his excuses in a well known ode

Between 1387 and 1395 the Dakan was visited by a severe famine, and the king's measures of relief included the free importation of grain, the establishment of schools at which children were taught, fed, and lodged at the public expense,

and special allowances to readers of the Kurʾān and the blind, but only those of his own faith profited by his benefactions He died of a fever on April 20, 1397, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn

Bibliography See art MUHAMMAD I, also *J A S B*, vol lxxiii, part 1, 1904

(T W HAIG)

MUHAMMAD III, LASHKARĪ, the thirteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the younger son of Humāyūn Shāh, and succeeded his elder brother, Nizām Shāh, on July 30, 1463, at the age of nine His minister was the famous Mahmūd Gāwān, Malik al-Tudjdjār, Khwādja Djahān A campaign against Mālwa in 1467 was unsuccessful, but between 1469 and 1471 Mahmūd Gāwān conquered the southern Konkan In 1472 Malik Hasan Bahrī, Nizām al Mulk, a Brāhman who had been captured in Vidjayanagar and educated as a Muslim, led a successful expedition into southern Urīsa and was rewarded with the government of Telingāna Fath Allāh ʿImād al Mulk, another Brāhman with a similar history, was made governor of Barār, and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, a Turk, was appointed to Dawlatābād In the same year Muhammad captured the fortresses of Bankapūr and Balgānw, and his conduct at the siege of the latter earned for him the title of Lashkarī, "the Soldier" In 1474 the Dakan suffered severely from a famine which lasted for two years, and in 1476 a rebellion in Kondawīr led the king into Telingana He relieved Malik Hasan, who had been besieged in Radjamahendri, invaded Urīsa and punished the rādjā, who had supported the rebels, and on his return, in 1478, captured Kondawīr and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*

He then set out to invade the eastern Karnātak, but first divided the great province of Telingāna into two governments, mortally offending Malik Hasan, the governor The partition was part of a scheme, devised by Mahmūd Gāwān, to be applied to all the provinces of the kingdom

Muhammad made Kondapallī, in the Karnātak, his headquarters, and returned thither after carrying out a daring raid to Kāndjeweram From Kondapallī he issued an edict dividing the other three provinces of his kingdom, Barār, Dawlatābād, and Gulbarga each into two governments The measure was intensely unpopular, but it was only the vindictive Malik Hasan that actively resented it He regarded Mahmūd Gāwān as the author of all the unpopular reforms, and by means of a forged letter persuaded the young king that his minister was in league with the foreign enemies of the state Muhammad, when under the influence of drink, summoned his faithful minister, and on April 5, 1481, without any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, caused his head to be struck off Mahmūd's innocence was established immediately after his death, and from the day of his unjust execution may be dated the collapse of the authority of the Bahmani kings Of the two parties in the state all the foreigners, led by Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, who established himself in Bīdjāpūr, and the respectable portion of the Dakanīs, led by Fath Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk of Barār, avoided intercourse with the king, who was thrown into the arms of the assassins, led by Malik Hasan The *amīrs* accompanied Muhammad to Bīdar and subsequently on an expedition to Balgānw, but encamped apart from the royal troops, and always saluted the king from a distance, refusing to enter his presence Muhammad attempted to drown his grief and humiliation in drink, from the effects of which he died at Bīdar on March 22, 1482, crying out in his last moments that Mahmūd Gāwān was slaying him He was succeeded by his son Mahmūd, who was never a king but in name

Bibliography See art MUHAMMAD I

(T W HAIG)

MUHAMMAD B ʿABBĀS [See KADJAR]

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH, great-grandson of Hasan, the eldest son of ʿAlī and Fātima, was one of the ʿAlids who did not spend their time passively awaiting the fulfilment of their aspirations but endeavoured to realise them by personal effort He and his brother Ibrāhīm had, according to Wākidī, been brought up as future rulers and Muhammad was called al Mahdī by his father As early as the reign of the Umaiyad caliph Hishām, the two sectarians al Mughīra [q v] and Bayān [q v] who did not recognise Muhammad b ʿAlī al-Bāḳir [q v] endeavoured to make propaganda for him When signs of the imminent collapse of Umaiyad rule became apparent after Walīd's death, ʿAbd Allāh's family by his command paid homage to Muhammad with the exception of al-Bāḳir's son Djaʿfar Wider circles also recognised him as the legitimate heir, including the Muʿtazilīs, who in those days had a distinctly ascetic character Abū Djaʿfar, later the ʿAbbāsid caliph, was at this time attached to this school and it is several times recorded that he was among those who paid homage to Muhammad This is in itself by no means improbable and well explains his hostile attitude to him, although it remains remarkable that Muhammad later nowhere, even in his polemical letters to him, refers to this important fact The Umaiyad governor Ibn Hubaira also thought of joining him when he was besieged in Wāsit in 132 (750) but dropped the matter when he received no answer to his letter

When finally the ʿAbbāsid Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in the same year won the caliphate and ousted the ʿAlids, the two brothers disappeared and showed thereby that they would not recognise him There now began for them a period full of adventure and danger, especially after Abū Djaʿfar became caliph in 136 (754) They went secretly from place to place to gain adherents, nowhere could they feel safe from the caliph but the people were on the whole favourably disposed to them and at least would not betray them In this way they reached not only Basra and Kūfa but even went as far as al Sind via ʿAden, as a rule however, they stayed in Arabia, most securely among the Djuhaina, in whose territory lay the hill of Radwa, which so often appears in the history of the ʿAlids The caliph was very uneasy at the continued lack of success of his search for them, more and more angrily he demanded of his governors in Medīna that they should be produced and he dismissed several in rapid succession, when they appeared, perhaps not without reason, ineffective and lukewarm in their efforts He himself took very active steps but with as little result On his pilgrimage in 140 (758) he had Muhammad and Ibrāhīm's father thrown into prison because they would not betray their place of concealment, and on a later pilgrimage (144 = 762) the same fate met the sons and grandsons of Hasan, ʿAbd Allāh's brother They and ʿAbd Allāh were taken to Kūfa, treated most

brutally and thrown into prison, where most of them died The same thing happened to Ibrāhīm's father-in law Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, a descendant of ʿUthmān, whose head the caliph sent to Khurāsān with a certificate on oath that it was the head of the ʿAlid Muhammad in order to intimidate his followers there Shortly before (Dec 761), he finally found a governor after his own heart, Riyāh b ʿUthmān, who conducted the search with the necessary vigour But he was soon able to save himself the trouble for in Radjab 145 (Nov 762) Muhammad appeared in Medina and began the revolution while his brother Ibrāhīm went to Basra to do the same It is not clear whether they did this because in Muhammad's opinion the time was ripe or whether they were forced by circumstances to hasten their plans In any case, the enterprise was not sufficiently prepared, for although they had a large number of followers in Kūfa, Basra, Egypt, where however Muhammad's son ʿAlī was arrested by the ʿAbbāsid governor, in Khurāsān and even in Sind, to which another son ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashtar was sent, there was no question of any organisation, and, as so frequently, the enthusiasm for the ʿAlids was like a fire of straw which blazes up quickly but dies down as soon In Medina where Riyah was completely taken by surprise, Muhammad in keeping with his character acted with great mildness, he opened the prison, forbade all bloodshed and was content with arresting Riyāh The best elements in the town came over to him after the jurist Mālik b Anas declared invalid his oath taken to the ʿAbbāsids, Mecca also surrendered to the new ruler The outbreak of the revolt was really a relief to Abū Dja'far for he had now, as he said, enticed the fox out of his hole He hurriedly left Baghdād, with the building of which he was busy, and went to Kūfa, the point of danger With keen instinct he saw that the weak point of the rebellion lay in Medina which must be attacked first, for in this remote spot there was a lack of materials of war and the roads thither could easily be barred But he first of all offered a complete amnesty to Muhammad, which however only led to a characteristic exchange of letters, in which one reproached the other with the weaknesses of his family He then sent his relative ʿĪsā b Mūsā against him with 4,000 men, with instructions however to settle the matter peacefully if possible His arrival had a sobering effect upon the Medinese, of whom a number seized the opportunity to get out of their difficult position Muhammad however remained undismayed He rejected the well meant advice of several men to abandon Medīna as an insult to the town but left his people free to stay with him or not He trusted in Allāh "from whom victory comes and in whose hand the matter lies", and imitated all that the Prophet had done in his time in romantic fashion For example he restored the ditch which the Prophet had dug round Medīna when it was besieged by the Kuraish, he used Muhammad's sword and his battle-cry was the same as that at the battle of Hunain, even the old single combat before the battle proper was revived The result in these circumstances was easily foreseen ʿĪsā, after offering a free pardon in vain for a few days, laid a few doors over the ditch, entered the town and began a battle in which Muhammad's supporters became less and less in numbers until their leader finally fell (Monday, 14th Ramadān 145 = Dec 6, 762) Muhammad's head was cut off and sent to the caliph For the further course of the rebellion see the article IBRĀHĪM B ʿABD ALLĀH

Muhammad is described as tall and strong with a very dark skin, on which account the caliph sardonically called him *al-Muhammam*, the "Blackened" He was rightly called "the pure soul" (Tabarī, iii 200) for he was an ideal character, gentle in spite of his personal bravery, but he lacked those qualities which are required of a pretender in times like his

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(Fr Buhl)

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH, a Tāhirid, governor of Baghdād Born in 209 (824—825) Muhammad in 237 (851) was summoned by the Caliph to Baghdād and appointed military governor in order to restore order in the chaos then prevailing In spite of the great power of the Tāhirids, who ruled Khurasan as independent sovereigns in practice, although they nominally recognised the suzerainty of the Caliph, his task was by no means a light one After al-Mustaʿīn had ascended the throne (248 = 862), he confirmed Muhammad in his office and also gave him the governorship of the ʿIrāk along with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina In the following year troubles broke out in Baghdad and Sāmarrā The Arabs were defeated by the Byzantines and the rage of the people was turned against the Caliph The vizier Utāmish however finally succeeded in restoring order with the help of the two Turkish generals Wasif and Bogha the Younger The ʿAlids also gave the government trouble on several occasions A descendant of ʿAlī named Yahyā b ʿOmar rebelled in Kūfa and drove out the governor of the town After he had routed an army sent against him by Muhammad, he was attacked by the ʿAbbāsid general al-Husain b Ismāʿīl while another division took him in the rear and he finally fell in the battle (Radjab 250 = Aug 864) Another ʿAlid, al-Hasan b Zaid, had more success Two prominent men in Tabaristān, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Tāhirids, appealed to him in 250 and very soon he was acknowledged as lord of the whole of Tabaristān The Tāhirid governors of al-Raiy and Kazwīn were driven out and replaced by ʿAlids, Muhammad b Tāhir, governor of Khurāsān, a nephew of the governor of Baghdād, then sent an army against al-Raiy The ʿAlid governor was defeated and captured and the town had to surrender, but again fell into the hand of the ʿAlids When the former governor of Tabaristān, Sulaimān b ʿAbd Allāh, invaded this province and conquered it completely, al-Hasan b Zaid had to flee to Dailam where he was defeated by Muhammad b Tāhir (351 = 865–866), after some years (257 = 870–871) however, he inflicted a defeat on the latter's troops in Djurdjān and in 259 (872—873) he again became lord of Khurāsān, where he founded an ʿAlid dynasty which lasted about sixty years Arabia

also did not escape the ʿAlid plots A descendant of ʿAlī named Ismāʿīl b Yūsuf raised trouble there in 251 (865), plundered Mecca and Medina and killed so many pilgrims that he received the epithet of *al-Saffāk*, "the Bloodshedder" There was also continual trouble in the capital In Muharram of the same year (= Feb 865), al-Mustaʿīn left Sāmarrā and went to Baghdād Al Muʿtazz [q v] was then taken by force from his prison in Sāmarrā and proclaimed Caliph, he then appointed his brother Abū Ahmad, later co regent with the Caliph al-Muʿtamid, commander in chief in the war against al-Mustaʿīn and his governor When all negotiations failed, the latter had to take to arms but was several times defeated Fighting took place in and around Baghdād with varying success during almost the whole year, while anarchy in the provinces increased and when Muhammad finally began negotiations with Abū Ahmad, he was accused of treason, so that the Caliph had to protect him against the troops who were furious with him But when Muhammad's friends told him that al-Mustaʿīn intended to sacrifice himself, he made peace with Abū Ahmad The Caliph had reluctantly to confirm the treaty and abdicate in favour of his rival al-Muʿtazz (Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 251 = Jan 866) and the latter thereupon ascended the throne Muhammad died in Dhu 'l Kaʿda 253 (Nov 867)

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(K V ZETTERSTEEN)

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH HASSĀN AL MAHDĪ, the well known Somali Mahdī called by the British "the Mad Mullah" He was a Somali belonging to the Ogaden Bah Geri tribe, section Rēr Hamar He was born about 1860 A D and had been from his youth devoted to religious and mystic studies, in 1895 A D he performed the pilgrimage and during his stay in Mecca became acquainted with Sayyid Muhammad Sālih [cf SOMALILAND] of whom he became an eager follower After his return to Somaliland he first settled in the Dūlbahanta tribe's territory and began a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the Sālihiya *tarīka* and to call Somali Muslims to a more strict rule of life As he was a learned, eloquent man and a skilful impromptu composer of poems (the ancient and best way to propagate one's ideas among the Somali Beduins), he was easily able to attain a great popularity among the Dūlbahanta in British Somaliland and his Ogadēn countrymen in Abyssinia His influence brought him to the knowledge of the government of Berbera, and British officials had sometimes recourse to him to settle through his mediation disputes arising between Beduin groups In March 1899 however, the Mullah suddenly changed his former attitude to an openly hostile one towards the British Government In August 1899 he assembled his followers in Buraʿo and declared himself to be the Mahdī and proclaimed the holy war against the infidels A first expedition was sent against him by the Abyssinians to prevent a further extension of the rebellion in Ogadēn, but Grāzmāč Bānti, the leader of this force, retired to Harar after a violent pillaging razzia led by him against the Rēr ʿAlī, an Ogadēn tribe In 1901 Colonel Swayne drove back the Mullah as far as the boundaries of Italian Northern Somaliland and defeated him at Fardiddin on July 16, 1901 A second British expedition in 1902 won another victory in the fight at Ēragō on October 6, 1902 In 1903 it was decided to send against the Mullah a great expedition in three columns a British one departing from Hōbya according to a British-Italian agreement concluded in the same year to that effect, another British column departing from Berbera, and a third, an Abyssinian force departing from Harar The British forces were placed under the command of General Manning But the first column fell into an ambush and was defeated by the Mullah at Gumburi on April 17, 1903, the second column suffered heavy losses in a fierce fight at Daratola on April 22, 1903, the Abyssinian column made only, as usual, a razzia against Ogadēn groups in the valley of the Shabēlla In 1904 a fourth British expedition defeated the Mullah at Djidbāli on January 9, 1904 and again, after the landing of a naval force on the shore of the Indian Ocean, at Ilig in Italian territory on April 21, 1904 In the meantime, Sayyid Muhammad Sālih on the invitation of the British and Italian Governments had directed a letter to the most influential Muslim learned men in Somaliland, which contained a declaration against the Mullah, who was said to have violated the rules of the Salihiya *tarika* and thus to have become worthy of the curses of the true followers of the Sālihiya The victories of the British, however, as they could not be followed up by a permanent occupation of the interior, had not been sufficient to subdue the rebellion It was therefore attempted to conclude an Anglo Italian agreement with the Mullah and this was carried through by offering to the Mullah the concession of the Italian portion of the Nūgāl valley with Ilig as his seat The Mullah subscribed to these conditions in Ilig on March 5, 1905, but added to his signature the clause "*wa 'l-kunsil yaʿrifu hālī*" (and the Consul knows my condition), which was explained in Europe as meaning a close trust in the Consul, but otherwise in Somaliland, as he (the Mullah) was a Sūfī, and therefore by no means obliged to execute any arrangement he might have concluded with infidels on account of temporary political conditions In January 1908 the Mullah actually began again to lead razzias against British and Italian subjects No great expedition was however sent against him by the British, who even retired from the interior of their colony, a Camel Constabulary Corps was raised as a mobile force to be employed in raids and swift operations against the Mullah's parties But after many successful and gallant raids the Camel Constabulary Corps was met by an overwhelming enemy force at Dulmadōba on August 9, 1913 and the Commandant of the Corps, Sir Richard Corfield was killed in the fight In the meantime, the Italians had almost entirely occupied the interior of Southern Somaliland through a very successful policy, which avoided any considerable military action, in this way they brought about in Northern Somaliland the subjection of the two Sultāns (the Sultān of the Madjērtēn and the Sultān of Hōbya) to the Italian

Government, and further they organised the Sultān's forces to employ them against the Mullah, thus assuring the defence of the northern frontier of their colony There then began a series of raids led by Somali auxiliary bands, especially against the Mullah's followers in the northern valley of the Shabēlla and towards Nūgāl, where Djiriiban and Garʿad were occupied by the Sultān of Hobya These energetic actions which took place even during the Great European war, besides wearing down the Mullah's army, caused him to lose political control of a very large zone where the population concluded peaceful agreements with Italy and forced him to be continually ready to defend his territory from the south also However, after the end of the Great War, the British Government decided to attack the Mullah from Berbera and to finally overthrow him In January-March 1920 after violent bombardments of the Mullah's defences by the British airmen, a British force advanced to Talēh, the Mullah's last camp, he, rapidly pursued by the Camel Corps and Somali auxiliaries, fled to Ogadēn and then into the Karanla tribe's territory, where he died on November 23, 1920

The Mullah's career is a very typical one for the study of the Somali mind He had begun his movement as an agent of the Sālihiya *tarīka*, then his increasing popularity tempted him to a more ambitious sphere and, accordingly, after placing his propaganda on a severely religious basis, he tried to become the leader of all the Somali by making the ties of the common faith prevail over the tribal bonds This is really the only way to lead such a movement in Somaliland where Islām may be regarded as a tie of brotherhood among tribes otherwise deeply divided by their secular history of wars and revenge Therefore Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh Hassān said in a famous poem "Have I not put my prayer-mat on this sea to join together the Muslims who were not brothers?" alluding also to his relations with the Sālihīya in Arabia He desired for the same reason that his followers should call themselves "Daraāwish", forgetting even the name of their original tribe Therefore he affected to become angry when he was referred to in official correspondence as "Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh, the Ogadēn Bah Geri" while he used to add to his signature only the *nisba* al-Hāshimī (alluding to the origin of the Somali from ʿAkīl b Abī Tālib) [see the art SOMALILAND]

Further, instead of the tribal forces he raised special armed corps, often with a new name, like the Hagattu ("the scratchers") recruited among the Habar Gidir, the Dūgad recruited among the Mikāhīl ("Dūgad" means "shooter"), the Kaiyād recruited among the Dūlbahanta But he did not pursue this policy to the end the hostility of the greater part of the Isāk tribes, which was a strong appeal to the old rivalry between Isāk and Dārōd, Muhammad Sālih's letter, which was undoubtedly a severe blow to him, since he had had already provoked the hostility of the Kādirīya and so had to rely entirely on Sālihīya support, the necessity of getting booty for his soldiers who otherwise would have hardly remained with him, all these things and his very nature caused the religious prestige of the Mullah as the Mahdī of Somaliland to decline and he gradually became merely the chief of a tribe, a powerful chief indeed of a large tribe as the Darāwīsh were, formed from various elements and therefore very similar to the federations well known in the Somali customary law It was obvious that, when he began to regard himself in this light (that is regarding himself as a chief of a Somali tribe rather than "the brother born from the same father and the same mother of all the Muslims"), it was very difficult for him to restrain himself and his followers from exaggerating those tendencies so familiar to their own national character, and therefore they came back gradually to the ancient Somali custom of gueirilla warfare conducted in the traditional way, even to defying the tribes of the enemy in insulting or scornful poems or designating them with typical ironical nicknames or giving to every razzia a special name ("the razzia smashing the bones" was the name given to the fight at Dulmadōba, cf the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*)

It may therefore be concluded that the Mullah's attempt to avail himself of Islām to conquer the old rivalries between the tribes and combine the Somali to drive the Europeans out of the country, failed both on account of the strength of the European armies and the fierce resistance, often unconscious, opposed by the Somali on behalf of their ancient tribal organisation and customary law

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(ENRICO CERULLI)

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH [See IBN AL-ʿABBĀR, IBN AL-KHATIB, IBN MĀLIK]

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD AL-MALIK, ABŪ DJAʿFAR, called Ibn al-Zaiyāt, vizier to several ʿAbbāsids Ibn al-Zaiyāt began his career as secretary in the chancellery in Baghdād and when the caliph al Muʿtasim noticed his ability and learning he appointed him his vizier (219—220 = 834—835) He also filled this office in the reign of al Wāthik, but as he treated the latter's brother Djaʿfar, the future caliph al-Mutawakkil, with a lack of respect he earned his hatred After the death of al-Wāthik in Dhu 'l Hidjdja 232 (Aug 847), Ibn al-Zaiyāt wished homage to be paid to his son Muhammad, the latter, however, was thought to be too young by the Turkish general Wasif and in his stead Djaʿfar was proclaimed caliph under the name al-Mutawakkil The vizier was at first allowed to remain in office but in Safar of the following year (Sept 847), he was arrested, deprived of his possessions and subjected to a cruel form of torture which he himself had invented After enduring the most horrible cruelty he died in Rabīʿ I 233 (Nov 847)

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(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD AL-MALIK [See IBN ṬUFAIL, IBN ZUHR]

MUḤAMMAD B ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM [See IBN AL-FURĀT]

MUHAMMAD B ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB [See WAHHĀBĪYA]

MUḤAMMAD B ABĪ ʿĀMIR [See AL-MANṢŪR B ABĪ ʿĀMIR]

MUHAMMAD, a son of Abū Bakr and one of his wives, Asmāʾ of the tribe of Khathʿam He was born in the last year of Muhammad's life so that his father could not have exercised any influence on him, while the memories of Abū Bakr's great friend which were kept alive in his family must have had all the more influence on the passionate nature of the boy, which receives important confirmation from the fact that Ibn Kutaiba describes him as one of the "pious" (*nussak*) among the Kuraish When in the reign of ʿUthman the bitterness at the preference of the Umayyads in combination with a reaction against the strong secularisation of Islām provoked a movement which grew in strength, he took part in it with great vigour and began along with ʿUthmān's ungrateful foster son Muhammad b Abi Hudhaifa to stir up the people of Egypt against the Caliph He later went with other revolutionaries to Medina where his equally ardent but much wiser half sister ʿĀʾisha in vain advised him to go with her to Mecca and leave others to carry through the crime, but he was one of those who broke into the Caliph's room where he ill treated the helpless old man although it was Kinana b Bishr who dealt the death-blow He was one of the few Kuraish who joined ʿAlī and the latter apparently cherished a real affection for the young man, which his enemies of course interpreted as further evidence of his friendship with the murderers of ʿUthmān Muhammad took part in the battle of the Camel, at the conclusion of which the chivalrous ʿAlī commissioned him to escort his half-sister to Basra The sources give somewhat different accounts of the last phase of his life in Egypt According to Wākidī in Balādhurī, Abū Mikhnaf (Tabarī, I 3392 *sq*) and Yaʿkubī, ʿAlī at once appointed him governor of Egypt after unwisely recalling Kais b Saʿd, but as he soon discovered how foolish it was to appoint a youth inexperienced in war to this difficult post, he sent for his ablest follower al-Ashtar [q v] and gave him command in Egypt while he appeased Muhammad's rightly injured feelings by a kind letter The attempt to make good the mistake failed, however, for al-Ashtar was poisoned on the way in al-Kulzum at the instigation of Muʿāwiya Al-Ṭuhrī's account (Tabarī, I 3242) shows ʿAlī in a somewhat more favourable light After the recall of Kais he sent al-Ashtar as governor to Egypt and only after he was poisoned did he send Muhammad Finally there is a third story (Ibn al Kalbī and Masʿūdī) according to which al Ashtar was sent to Egypt only after the death of Muhammad, but this must be due to some misunderstanding of the first version In any case, the choice of Muhammad was an unfortunate one, for the inexperienced youth, who had no authority and was besides insufficiently supported by ʿAlī, was not fit to meet experienced opponents like Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b al ʿĀṣī, as anyone but ʿAlī would have seen ʿAmr b al ʿĀṣī came with an army and a battle was fought at al Musannāt (the dam) When the actual murderer of ʿUthmān, Kināna b Bishr, had fallen after a brave resistance, the Egyptians lost heart and Muhammad, abandoned by all, was captured and killed while trying to escape (38 = 658)

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MUHAMMAD B ABĪ BAKR [See IBN KAYYIM AL DJAWZĪYA, IBN SAYYID AL-NĀS]

MUHAMMAD B ABI 'L-KĀSIM [See IBN ABĪ DĪNĀR]

MUHAMMAD B ABĪ MUHAMMAD [See IBN ZAFAR]

MUHAMMAD B ABI 'L SĀDJ ABŪ ʿUBAID ALLĀH, son of Abu 'l-Sādj Diwdad, an Eastern Iranian (not Turkish) noble from Ushrūsana in Mā-warāʾ al Nahr (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, G *M S*, p 169) For his early career see the article SĀDJIDS After his rupture with Khumārawaih he returned to Baghdad (276 = 889) and appears to have remained there (cf Tabarī, III 2122) until his appointment as governor of Ādharbāidjān in 279 (892) Though on his arrival he had entertained friendly relations with the Bagratid king of Armenia, Sembat (acc 891), after seizing Marāgha in 280 (893) he made a first incursion into Armenia, but without success At the same time he had strengthened his position at Baghdād by giving his daughter in marriage to al Muʿtadid's confidant, the general Badr al Muʿtadidī Having been rejoined by his *Ghādim*, the general Wasif, who had defeated the Dulafid ʿUmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz in al Djibāl in 281 (894—895) but did not succeed in annexing his territory, he made a second expedition into Armenia in 282—283 (895—896) and captured Kars, Dwin and Waspurakan Subsequently he came to terms with Sembat, but his son Diwdād remained as governor of Dwin until Muhammad's death In 284 (897—898) Muhammad declared his independence, but finding himself unable to withstand al Muʿtadid made prompt submission, was pardoned, and in the following year officially recognized as governor of Armenia in addition to Ādharbāidjān About the same time he appears to have adopted the title of al-Afshīn, which appears on his coinage, and which was evidently intended as a claim to descent from the old princely family of Ushrūsana (see the article AFSHĪN and Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, s v Pisina) In 287 (900) he made a further indirect attempt to extend his rule over the territories which were slipping from the grasp of the Tūlūnids by encouraging Wasif to seize Malatya and to apply to the caliph for investiture with the government of Cilicia Al-Muʿtadid, however, learning that this was only a preliminary step towards the seizure of Diyār Mudar by Wasif and al Afshīn, put an end to their design by a swift and unexpected campaign against Wasif, who was himself captured Al-Afshīn died a few months later (Rabiʿ I, 288 = March 901) at Bardhaʿa

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par J St Martin (Paris 1841), p 132—133, 145—146, 153—159, 165—169, 173—178, M F Brosset, *Collection d'historiens armeniens* (St Petersburg 1874–1876), i 187–189, 193–196, ii 428, R R Vasmer, *O mon'etakh sadjidov* (Baku 1927), p 4—8, J Markwart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1927, p 116*—117* (H A R GIBB)

MUḤAMMAD B ABĪ ZAINAB [See ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB]

MUḤAMMAD B AGHLAB [See AGHLABIDS]

MUḤAMMAD B AḤMAD [See IBN AL-ʿALKAMĪ, IBN IYĀS, IBN RUSHD]

MUḤAMMAD B ʿALĪ, a grandson of Husain the son of ʿAlī, his *kunya* was Abū Djaʿfar On account of his learning he was given the honorific name of al-Bākir (the investigator, who goes deeply into things) He was a recognised authority on tradition and a number of pious utterances are also recorded of him, he had at the same time the characteristic fondness of his family for embroidered silk garments and colours That he did not escape the usual fate of his family of being celebrated by a section of the Shīʿīs as an *imām* is shown by a poem of the ʿIdjlī Abū Hurana, but he lived contentedly in Medina and apparently played no part in politics although he was treated, for example by ʿUmar II, with respect He was expressly disowned by extreme Shīʿīs like al-Mughīra and Bayān When the party which had hitherto paid homage to his brother Zaid, abandoned the latter, they transferred his privileges to him, or rather, since he was dead, to his son Djaʿfar [cf DJAʿFAR B MUḤAMMAD] The reason of the breach is said to have been that Zaid would not insult the memory of the two first Caliphs as his followers demanded but this does not agree very well with the fact that Muḥammad in Ibn Saʿd's obviously much retouched account emphatically declares his fondness for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar The date of his death is variously given as 114, 117 or 118 A H

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MUḤAMMAD B ʿALĪ [See AL-DJAWĀD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, IBN AL-ʿARABĪ, IBN ASKAR, IBN BĀBŪYA, IBN AL-ṬIKTAKĀ, IBN WAHSHĪYA]

MUḤAMMAD B ʿALĪ AL-RIDĀ, ninth imām of the Twelver Shīʿa, was born in Ramaḍān 195 (June 811) in Medina As, according to Abu 'l Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Makātil al-Ṭālibiyin* (Teheran 1307), p 195, 18, he was of negroid appearance, it may be true that his mother, a slave woman, variously called Sabīka, Durra and Khaizurān, was a Nubian, to give her an honourable pedigree it was added "of the family of Maria the Copt" When al-Maʾmūn attached ʿAlī al-Riḍā to his court, he married the boy to one of his daughters, Umm al-Fadl, who was taken to him in 215 (830) Al-Muʿtasim on his accession summoned him to Baghdād He arrived there at the beginning of 220, but was dead already by Dhu 'l-Kaʿda (Nov 835) According to the Shīʿīs and in keeping with their scheme of martyrdom, he was poisoned at the instigation of al-Muʿtasim by Umm al-Fadl who remained childless, but even the already mentioned *Makātil*, which record every murder of an ʿAlid, know nothing of this This Muḥammad is, generally speaking, only occasionally mentioned outside the Shīʿa, along with his father, e g in Ibn Wādih al-Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed Houtsma (Leyden 1883), ii 552 and in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii 1029, 1102, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861 *sqq*), vii 117, Muḥammad died in 219, according to vii 171 not till the reign of al-Wāthik, i e after 227 Even within the Shīʿa, his role is quite a passive one After his father's tragic end, those with Zaidi views who had hoped some day with him as Caliph to put into force their activist ʿAlid political programme, went their own ways again, while of those who held Imāmī views, one group, as usual in such a case, became "standfast" Wākifīya and another chose Aḥmad, a brother of al-Riḍā, as Imām, for Muḥammad was only seven at the time For those who remained faithful to him, there arose in the *Shuʿūt al-Imāma* the question of the child Imām's knowledge The case was repeated with the following three Imāms But the authority to teach was in the hands of men whose activity extended through several imāmates, with Madjlisī (s *Bibl*), xii 125 infra cf Mirzā Muḥammad al-Asterābādī, *Manhadj al Makāl* (Teheran 1306), p 217, Abū ʿAmr al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbar al Ridjāl* (Bombay 1317), p 353 *sq*, 374 *sqq*, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al Shīʿa* (*Bibl Ind*, N° 60) N° 124, 150, p 289, note 1 The gradual development of the dogma in question, which is associated with the child Jesus teaching in Sūra xix 30 *sqq*, is not quite clear, as regards its apportionment to the various Imāms Heresiographers including al Nawbakhtī, *Firak al Shīʿa* (*Bibl Isl*, N° 4), p 74 *sqq*, quote the doctrines anonymously Besides, there is the confusion of names (which has also entered European indices), for Muḥammad b ʿAlī was also the name of one of his grandchildren, who died before his father, the 10th Imām ʿAlī al Nakī, but left issue, his adherents continued the imāmate further than the Twelvers through these children, while they deny the existence of the twelfth Imām Muḥammad al Mahdī as son of his brother, the eleventh Imām Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī Shīʿa works avoid confusion by giving the ninth Imām the *kunya* Abū Djaʿfar al-Thānī, his official title is al Takī, "the God-fearing", a common epithet is al Djawād, "the liberal" he is said to have paid his father's debts As *wakīl* or *bāb*, he had, like al Riḍā before him, ʿUthmān b Saʿīd al ʿAmrī, called Sammān or Zaiyāt Among the usual miracles of the Imāms, Abū Djaʿfar al-Saffār (d 290) in *Baṣāʾir al Daradjāt* (in Madjlisī, xii 108) relates that the ninth Imām carried a worshipper at night from Syria to the holy sites of Kerbelāʾ, Kūfa and Medina as well as to Mecca The fact that his memory has been kept so green to the present day is due to the fact that he was buried beside the tomb of his grandfather, the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzim [q v], thus arose the double Meshhed al Kāzimain

Bibliography A full account with exact references to the sources is given in Muḥammad Bākir b Muḥammad Takī al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, xii (Teheran 1302), p 99—126, of earlier works we may specially mention al-Mufīd [q v], *al-Irshād* (Teheran n d without pagination, arranged in the order of the Imāms (R STROTHMANN)

MUḤAMMAD B ʿAMMĀR [See IBN ʿAMMĀR]

MUHAMMAD B ANUSHTEGĪN [See KHWĀRIZMSHĀH]

MUHAMMAD B BAKĪYA B ʿALĪ [See IBN BAKĪYA]

MUHAMMAD B DĀWŪD [See IBN ĀDJURRŪM, AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ]

MUHAMMAD B AL-DJAZARĪ [See IBN AL-DJAZARĪ]

MUHAMMAD B DUSHMANZIYĀR [See KĀKŪYIDS]

MUHAMMAD B FARĀMARZ [See KHOSREW MOILĀ]

MUHAMMAD B HABĪB [See IBN HABĪB]

MUHAMMAD B AL-HANAFĪYA, a son of ʿAlī and Khawla, a woman of the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfa, who had been brought a prisoner to Medīna after the battle of ʿAkrabāʾ [q v] and came into ʿAlī's possession (cf Ḥaiyid's poem *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii 4 "she was a servant in the house"), he was born in 16 A H Although he did not, like Ḥasan and Ḥusain, have the blood of the Prophet in his veins, he became involved not only in the political turmoils but also in the schemes which the boundless fancies of the extreme Shīʿīs built up around the family of ʿAlī He was not to blame for this, for he was of a retiring disposition and acted very cautiously But when Ḥasan had sold his rights and Ḥusain had fallen at Kerbelāʾ in 680, many turned their eyes to him as the natural head of the family This aroused the suspicion of ʿAbd Allāh b Zubair who, after the death of Ḥusain, appeared more and more openly as a pretender, the fact that Muhammad had no sympathy with the efforts of the opposition in the Ḥidjāz is evident from the interesting statement of Balādhurī that he definitely declared the accusations brought against the Caliph Yazīd I by the Medinese to be false The matter only became serious when the adventurer Mukhtār [q v] after several vain efforts to get others to join him stirred up a movement on a large scale in the ʿIrāk in 66 (685), as champion of Muhammad's rights Even now Muhammad acted with great restraint and declined the significant title "al-Mahdī" with which they wished to greet him (cf Tabarī, ii 610 and Ibn Saʿd, v 68, which has certainly been misinterpreted by Lammens) He obviously did not care for Mukhtār at all, and he had every reason to doubt the genuineness of his enthusiasm for him, but in view of the many dangers which surrounded him and probably also from a want of decision he did not wish to break with him openly Therefore when some people came to him from Kūfa to clear up his attitude to Mukhtār, he only gave them a diplomatic answer which was non-committal (cf the somewhat different versions Ibn Saʿd, v 72, Yaʿkūbī, ii 308, Tabarī, ii 607 and thereon *Kāmil*, p 598) but which they interpreted as a kind of approval, as it did not definitely disown him As a result the revolutionary movement spread in extent and much blood was shed to avenge Ḥusain and other ʿAlīds Muhammad was against this also (cf Ibn Saʿd, v 72 *sq*, 77), but when Ibn Zubair's attitude became more and more hostile and he finally imprisoned Muhammad and several relatives, including ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās, at Mecca near the Zemzem well, he saw nothing else for it but to appeal for help to Mukhtār This was what the latter wanted and he sent a body of cavalry at once to Mecca and released Muhammad and the other prisoners in the nick of time but by the latter's express orders avoided conflict with Ibn Zubair's troops, as the town was not to be desecrated by bloodshed Muhammad then sought shelter with his family at Minā (cf *Kāmil*, p 554, 597, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii 33, Kumait, ed Horovitz, i 78) and later went to Ṭāʾif He made no further use of Mukhtār and was therefore not compromised when the revolution failed and his champion fell in 67 (686—687) In spite of the threats of Ibn Zubair and the demands couched in more friendly language of ʿAbd al Malik and although a safe place of residence was granted him neither in Ḥidjāz nor in Syria, he defined his attitude by paying homage to neither of the two pretenders and adhered to the principle that he would only recognize a ruler around whom the Muslim community were united He therefore appeared in the noteworthy pilgrimage of the year 688 along with the Zubairīds, Umaiyads and Khāridjīs, as an independent head of a party, although only under an armed neutrality Only when, after the fall of Ibn Zubair (73 = 692), the unanimity of the *vox populi* which he had demanded, became a reality, did he finally recognise the Marwānid as the legitimate ruler and visited him in 78 (697—698) at Damascus He returned however to Medina, where he died in 81 (700—701) His strict passivity in the political field is always attributed to purely religious motives in the traditions, not human force but Allāh's help alone should assist ʿAlī's family to their rights, but there is no doubt that a further reason was his lack of enterprise and self-confidence, a trait common to a number of ʿAlīds That, like his whole family, he at the same time liked the good things of this world is evident from the heavy demands which he sent to ʿAbd al-Malik for the payment of his debts and annual pensions for his children, relatives and clients, there is also evidence that he had the family fondness for fine clothes and cosmetics It is all the more remarkable then that the more fanciful and extravagant school of Shīʿīs seized upon him at once after his death and spread the belief that he was not dead but lived in a kind of fairy kingdom on the hill of Radwā west of Medina, whence he would return as the victorious leader of an army (cf *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii 4 *sq*, 9 *sq*, viii 32) This was the idea of *radjʿa* which ʿAbd Allāh b Sabā [q v] had associated with ʿAlī (cf Friedländer, in *Z A*, xxiii 309 *sqq*) and which was now transferred to him, and in fact it was now easier to bring him into the forefront than it had been while he maintained an attitude of stubborn passive resistance in his lifetime

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Fr Buhl, *Det danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Oversigter 1910, p 355 *sqq*, H Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moʿāwia*, p 166, 169 *sq* (Fr Buhl)

MUḤAMMAD B HĀNIʾ [See Ibn Hānīʾ]

MUHAMMAD B AL-HASAN [See Ibn Duraid, Ibn Hamdūn, al-Shaibānī]

MUHAMMAD B AL-HUDHAIL [See Abu 'l-Hudhail]

MUHAMMAD B HUSAIN, an Ottoman dignitary and historian, who at the request of the first Wālī of Baghdād, Derwīsh Mehmed Pasha (Thuraiyā, *Sidjill i ʿOthmānī*, ii 33), translated into Turkish the history of ʿAlī b Shihāb Hamadhānī, written in 10 *bāb* in Persian, he added two *bāb* to it and gave it the title *Tuhfat al Maʾmūn* The work only exists in manuscript

Bibliography Biusalī Mehmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmanlī Muʾellifleri*, iii 142, cf also Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Būlāk 1274, i 404, where Mustafā Shaʿbān is named as the Turkish translator

The MUHAMMAD KHALĪFA (محمد خليفهٔ كيهكار), who was a dignitary of the court and flourished under three sultāns (Murād IV, 1032—1049 = 1623—1640, Ibrāhīm, 1049—1058 = 1640—1648, and Mehmed IV, 1058—1099 = 1648—1687), was not identical with him He wrote a chronicle of his time entitled *Taʾrikh-i Ghilmānī* which covered the years 1060—1075 = 1650—1665 The work which consists of 3 *bābs* and a *khātima* (of which the second *bāb* contains two and the third 13 *fasl*) was published by Ahmad Rafīk as supplement 11 to *TOEM*, parts 78—83, Istanbul 1340 (1924)

A certain Muhammad Khalīfa b Husain is perhaps the same person, he also was a dignitary of the court of the same three sultāns and wrote a history of his time which covered the years 1043—1070 (1633—1659) The only known manuscript is in Vienna

Bibliography Ahmad Rafīk, biographical introduction to the *Taʾrikh i Ghilmānī*, Flügel, *Katalog*, ii 271, Babinger, *G O W*, p 209, N⁰ 179 (text wrongly 170) and 180 (Th Menzel)

MUHAMMAD B AL-HUSAIN [See Abu 'l-Hasan, Abū Saʿd, Ibn Mukia, al Sharīf al-Radi]

MUHAMMAD B IBRĀHĪM [See Abu 'l Hasan]

MUHAMMAD B IBRĀHĪM ʿĀDIL SHĀH (1035–1070 = 1626–1660) succeeded to the throne of Bidjāpūr after the death of his father In the year 1044 (1634), the armies of the emperor Shāh Djahān invaded the Dakan and laid waste the country of Bidjāpūr After the subjugation of Dawlatābād and other forts, Muhammad b Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh agreed to pay a considerable tribute to the emperor of Dehli He was the last king of Bidjāpūr who struck coins in his own name In the latter part of his reign, his vassal Shīwādjī, son of Sāhū Bhuslā, by stratagem and treachery obtained great power, and the foundation of the Bidjāpūr monarchy became weakened He died in 1070 (1660) and was buried in Bidjāpūr where his tomb is called „Gūl Gumbaz" (circular dome)

Bibliography Fuzūnī Astarābādī, *Futūhāt ʿĀdil Shāhī*, fol 314b, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, viii 189 (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD B ILYĀS [See Abū ʿAlī]

MUḤAMMAD B ʿĪSĀ [See ʿIsāwīya]

MUHAMMAD B ISḤĀḲ [See Ibn Ishāk, al Nadīm]

MUHAMMAD B AL-ḲĀSIM [See Abu 'l ʿAināʾ, al-Anbārī]

MUHAMMAD B ḲĀSIM, a cousin of Walīd I (86—96 = 705—715) and son-in-law of al-Hadjdjādj b Yūsuf, was the governor of Basra, in 92 (711), he was sent to conquer Sind Having defeated and killed the Rādjā of the place called Dāhir, he took possession of that country in 93 (712) and finally penetrated as far as Multān about 500 miles from the sea and even reached the foot of the Himālayas Various accounts are given of the death of this general The common story is that Muhammad b Kāsim was falsely accused by the two daughters of the Rādjā of Dāhir, whom he had sent to the harem of Sulaimān (96—99 = 715—717), the brother and successor of Walīd, of having violated their chastity, and that he was therefore sewn up alive in a raw cow hide, by order of the enraged caliph Others say that Muhammad b Kāsim, with other members of his family, was tortured and put to death by Sālih b ʿAbd al-Rahmān, governor of ʿIrāk, in revenge for the murder of his brother by Hadjdjādj

Bibliography Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, p 435—441, *Taʾrikh Firishta*, ed Bombay 1832, ii 605, 608, Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Harawī, *Tabakāt Akbarī*, Lucknow 1875, p 633, 634, A W Hughes, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1875, p 24, 25, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii 351, xxii 395, *Camb Hist of India*, vol iii, chap i (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD B MAHMŪD Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, a Saldjūk Sultan 547—554 (1153—1159), born 522 (1128), like his brother Malikshah was educated with the atābeg Buzaba, who set them up as claimants to the throne against their uncle Masʿūd When Buzaba in 542 (1147—1148) was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed, Masʿūd adopted his nephew and married Muhammad to his daughter He probably intended him to succeed him and not Malikshāh, as Ibn al Athir and others say, because after his death (547 = 1152) the latter was actually raised to the throne Muhammad was away at the time but within three months he was recognised as sultān by the powerful Khassbeg, after he had come to Hamadhān, because Malikshāh proved quite incompetent The new sultān showed his gratitude by treacherously putting Khassbeg to death and sent his head to the emīrs of Marāgha and Ādharbāidjān in the hope that he would win them over But he was disappointed for, although they hated Khassbeg, their horror at the cruel deed made them prefer to pay homage to Muhammad's uncle Sulaimān, who had escaped from years of imprisonment on Masʿūd's death Muhammad therefore fled to Isfahān, but because Sulaimān was an inveterate drunkard, he could not hold out in Hamadhān and when he had gone away Muhammad returned and was henceforth recognised as sultān by the emīrs In the meanwhile Sulaimān succeeded in escaping to Lihf and entered into relations with the Caliph al-Muktafī li-Amr Allāh The latter was endeavouring not without success to make himself independent of the Saldjūks and let Sulaimān come to Baghdād (550 = 1155) to use

him against Muhammad He was also able to win Malikshāh over and to collect an army, which was however scattered in the following year by Muhammad with the help of Mawdūd, lord of al-Mawsil, and Sulaimān was again made prisoner Muhammad now thought himself strong enough to attack the Caliph himself and to besiege him in Baghdād ʿImād al-Dīn, who was in the town, gives a full account of the siege (*Rec Hist Croix*, ii 246 *sqq*) Muhammad hurriedly raised the siege when news reached him that Ildigiz had occupied Hamadhān with Malik shāh and Arslān (552 = 1157) By the time the sultān arrived there they had retired, but he was at war with them till his death in 554 (1159)

Bibliography see the article SELDJUKS (M Th Houtsma)

MUHAMMAD B MALIKSHĀH Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Kasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīna, a Saldjūk sultān (498—511 = 1105—1118), was born on the 18th Shaʿbān 474 (Jan 20, 1082) of a slave, who was also the mother of Sandjar, and was given the Turkish name of Tapar After his father's death, he stayed at first with Turkan Khatun but then joined his brother Barkiyāruk who granted him the town of Gandja Arrived there, he also seized Arrān and allowed himself to be seduced by Muʾaiyad al-Mulk b Nizām al Mulk into dropping his brother's name out of the *khutba* The two brothers fought one another with varying success in the following years until finally in 497 (1104) Barkiyāruk withdrew from the western provinces of the empire to Isfahān and left Muhammad to enforce recognition as sultān from the governors in these lands When Barkiyāruk died soon after, at the end of 1104, Muhammad turned first to Baghdād because he was sure of the homage of the Caliph, who had already received him and his brother a few years before in ceremonial audience (cf the account in Ibn Khallikān, Būlāk 1299, ii 444, had the emīr Ayār, who had at first had the *khutba* read for Malikshāh b Barkiyāruk, treacherously put to death and sent the king of the Arabs Sadaka back to his capital al Hilla with orders to restore peace in Basra and among the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood He then hurried to Isfahān, where the Bātinīya had achieved great successes in the troubled reign of Barkiyāruk and had established themselves in several hill-fortresses in the neighbourhood One of their leaders, Ibn Attāsh, had by a ruse secured possession of the fortress of Diz-Kuh or Shāh Diz built by Malikshāh The Sultān regarded it as his first duty to subdue and root out if possible these unbelievers, he sent his troops to besiege the fortress and, when it was taken, razed it to the ground and had the captured Bātinīya executed in cruel fashion (500 = 1107, cf the text of the report sent by him to the Caliph's vizier in Ibn al-Kalānisī, ed Amedroz, p 152 ff) Nor did he hesitate to have his own vizier, Saʿd al Mulk Abu 'l Mahāsin al-Ātī, executed at the gate of Isfahān, he was suspected, according to Anusharwan wrongly, (cf *Rec Hist Croix*, ii 91) of having had dealings with the Bātinīya

While Muḥammad was still in Isfahān, the emīr Čawali Saḳawu, who ruled between Fārs and Khūzistān, made his submission to him, the sultān had frequently tried in vain to bring him to obedience through the emīr Mawdūd The sulṭān was so pleased that he granted him the town of al-Mawsil where Djekermish, who had only paid homage to him under compulsion, was in command The latter was not inclined to submit to the arrangement, but was taken prisoner in an encounter with Čawali The latter however was not yet lord of al-Mawsil, for the followers of Djekermish now supported his son Zangī and appealed for help to Aḳsonḳor al-Bursukī, the governor of Baghdād, to Sadaḳa and to Kïlïdj Arslān, the Saldjūk of al-Rūm The last-named alone answered the appeal and came with his troops to al-Mawsil where he had homage paid to himself as sultān, but soon afterwards, after an unsuccessful encounter, he was drowned in the Khābūr on his retreat Čawali now had little difficulty in taking the town and going on to his further task, the war against the Crusaders It would take us too far here to sketch the course of this war, and the reader may therefore be referred to Weil, *Gesch der Chal*, iii 191 *sqq* During his absence he again fell into disgrace with the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile returned to Baghdād and sent his troops to attack Sadaka, with whom he was also dissatisfied Sadaka fell in battle in 501 (beg of 1101) The sultān sent Mawdūd to al-Mawsil and granted him the same dignity as he had previously given Čawali The latter after some time made his peace with the sultān and was appointed as atābeg to Fārs, where he fought the unruly elements in the population with great energy (cf Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, x 361 *sqq*) The Bātinīya however gave Muhammad no peace, so long as they were able to hold their strong mountain citadel of Alamūt, Abū Nasr Ahmad, a son of Nizām al-Mulk, who after Saʿd al-Mulk acted as the sultān's vizier, was therefore given orders to take this fortress and when he did not succeed, he was dismissed in 504 (1109—10) In the meanwhile the sultān was being urged more and more from different sides to prosecute the war with the Crusaders seriously, and he succeeded in persuading the various governors the of western provinces to combine and attack the Christians under the leadership of Mawdūd accompanied by the young prince Masʿūd After Mawdūd's assassination (507 = 1113) Aksonkor al Bursukī took command and after him Bursuk assumed the supreme command but on account of the strife among the Turkish emīrs, the valour of the Crusaders and the complicated situation in Syria, decisive successes could not be attained For the course of the campaign we again refer the reader to Weil, *op cit*, p 194 *sqq* and the historians of the Crusaders In the last years of his life, the sultān sent the emīr Anushtegīn Shīrgīr against the Bātinīya in Alamūt, but he died on the 24th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 511 (Apr 18, 1118) before the fortress was taken He was only 36 years old and this is why Weil suggests that the Bātinīya had a hand in his death, but there is nothing to support this hypothesis in the oriental chronicles On the contrary, individuals in his immediate entourage, notably the Great Hādjib ʿAlī Bār, seem to have been not quite innocent, because they, apparently to avert suspicion from themselves, accused the sultāna Guhaz Khatun and the famous poet al-Tughrāʾī of having caused the sulṭān's illness by magic arts The former was blinded and strangled on the day Muhammad died The reason given by Matthias of Edessa for this (*Docum Arm*, i 120) is wrong The sulṭān deserves credit for having, with the assistance of his brother Sandjar who ruled in Khurāsān and the adjoining lands, restored the fortunes of the Saldjūḳ kingdom, which had declined since the death of Malikshāh

and for having vigorously fought infidels and sectarians in his zeal for Sunnī Islām and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate He was, as *Rec Hist Croix*, II 118 has it, the perfect man of the Saldjūks and their strong he-camel

Bibliography given in the article SELDJUKS (M TH HOUTSMA)

MUHAMMAD, ABŪ AHMAD, DJALĀL AL-DAWLA WA-DJAMĀL AL-MILLA, ABŪ AHMAD MUHAMMAD, second son of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, was born about 387 (997) He was married to a daughter of Abū Nasr Muhammad b Abu 'l Hārith Ahmad b Muhammad, the Farīghūnī ruler of Djūzdjānān After the death of Abū Nasr Muhammad in 401 (1010—1011), Sultān Mahmūd assigned to his son Muhammad the government of the province of Djūzdjānān In 417 (1026), at the instance of Sultān Mahmūd, the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al Kādir bi 'llāh conferred on him the titles of Djalal al-Dawla wa-Djamāl al-Milla Towards the close of his life, Sultān Mahmūd divided his empire between his sons, giving Ghazna, Khurāsān and India to Muhammad and Rayy, Djibāl and Isfahān to Masʿūd, and took solemn vows from both to respect this division When Mahmūd died in Rabiʿ II, 421 (April 1030), Muhammad ascended the throne at Ghazna, but Masʿūd, disregarding his vows, marched from Isfahan to take possession of Ghazna In the meantime, the nobles at Ghazna deposed Muhammad on 3rd Shawwāl 421 (October 2, 1030) and read the *khutba* in the name of Masʿūd Muhammad was then deprived of his sight by orders of Masʿūd and imprisoned in a fort His reign had lasted only 6 months

In 431 Sultān Masʿūd suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Saldjūks, and resolved to settle in India In the beginning of 432 (September 1040), leaving Ghazna in the hands of his son Mawdūd and his wazīr, he marched to India with all his treasures, but on 13th Rabīʿ II, 432 (December 24, 1040) his slaves deposed him and raised Muhammad to the throne Shortly after this, Masʿūd was put to death Hearing this, Mawdūd advanced with a large army to avenge the death of his father, defeated Muhammad near Dunpūi on 3rd Shaʿbān 432 (April 1041), and put him to death The second reign of Muhammad lasted only 4 months

Muhammad was obedient to his father and was a man of amiable temperament He resembled his father in appearance

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MUHAMMAD B MARWĀN, an Umayyad governor In 65 (684—685) he was sent by his father, the caliph Marwān I, to Mesopotamia, and in the battle of Dair al-Djāthalik in 72 (691) in which his brother, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, defeated Musʿab b al-Zubair, he commanded the advanced guard of the Syrian army In the following year ʿAbd al-Malik gave him the governorship of Mesopotamia and Armenia which carried with it the command in the war with the Byzantines On account of climatic conditions the Arab expeditions always took place in summer In 73 (692), the emperor Justinian II was defeated at Sebaste or Sebastopolis in Cilicia In 75 (694) Muhammad again took the field against the Byzantines and was successful against them at Marʿash, and in the following year he invaded Armenia Along with his nephew ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al-Malik he was sent to al-Hadjdjādj in the year 82 (701), to support him against the rebel ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Muhammad b al Ashʿath, and in the negotiations with the ʿIrāḳīs before the battle at Dair al Djamādjim the caliph was represented by Muhammad and ʿAbd Allāh In the same year, Muhammad led an expedition against Armenia, and again in 84 (703) and 85 (704) After the accession of al-Walīd (Shawwāl 86 = Oct 705) Muhammad fell gradually into the background while Maslama, the caliph's brother, was the actual commander, but the former retained his governorship for some time until in 91 (709—710) he was replaced by Maslama here also Muhammad died in 101 (719—720)

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, v 176, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 324 *sq*, 336, 350, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 188, 200, 205, 332, Tabarī, II 592, 804—808, 853, 863, 1073—1075, 1096, 1850, III 51, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, v 244 *sqq*, VI 47, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, IV 264—267, 294 *sq*, 303, 317—320, 338, 377 *sq*, 382, 385, 399, 411, 439, V 52, 328, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, I 406 *sq*, 455, 468 *sq*, 472, Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor (641—750)*, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVIII 182 *sqq*, Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romaern*, in *N G W Gottingen*, 1901, p 432 *sqq* (K V ZETTERSTEEN)

MUHAMMAD B MUHAMMAD [See ABŪ ʿALĪ, ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ, AL GHAZĀLĪ, IBN ʿĀSIM, IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, IBN DJAHĪR, IBN AL-HABBĀRIYA, IBN NUBĀTA, ʿIMĀD AL DĪN

MUHAMMAD B MUKARRAM [See IBN MANẒŪR]

MUHAMMAD B MŪSĀ B SHĀKIR [See MŪSĀ BANŪ]

MUHAMMAD B AL MUSTANĪR [See KUTRUB]

MUHAMMAD B AL MUZAFFAR [See MUẒAFFARIDS]

MUHAMMAD B ʿOMAR [See IBN AL-KŪTĪYA]

MUHAMMAD B ʿOTHMĀN [See ABŪ ZAIYĀN]

MUHAMMAD B RĀʾIK [See IBN RĀʾIK]

MUHAMMAD B RAZĪN [See ABU 'I-SHĪS]

MUHAMMAD B SAʿD [See IBN MARDANĪSH, IBN SAʿD]

MUHAMMAD B SĀLIM [See IBN WĀSIL]

MUHAMMAD B SAʿŪD [See GHŌRĪ DYNASTY]

MUHAMMAD B SAʿŪD (properly Suʿūd) B MUHAMMAD of the Mukrin clan of ʿAnaza, the founder of the Wahhābī dynasty of the Āl-Saʿūd in Nadjd [see the article IBN SAʿŪD], succeeded his father as amīr of Darʿīya in 1137 (1724) or 1140 (1727) His association with the reformer Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [cf WAHHĀBĪYA] began in 1157 (1744) Thereafter until his death (end of Rabīʿ I, 1179 = Sept 1765) the history of his reign consists of an unceasing and on the whole indecisive struggle against the neighbouring settlements and tribes and his former suzerains, the Banū Khālid of al-Hasā He took little active part in these operations, and his personality is overshadowed by the figures of the Reformer himself and of his own son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Nevertheless his talents as a diplomatist more than

once saved the Wahhābī state from being crushed by a coalition of its enemies, notably after the disastrous defeat by the forces of Nadjrān at Hā'ir in 1764

Bibliography The only full source is the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* (vol II of *Rawdat al-Afkār*) of Husain b Ghannām (d 1225 H), MS British Museum Add 23,345, fol 3a—39b [the Bombay lithograph (1332 H) is very inaccurate] summarized by H St J Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, p 12–22 — See also A Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928, p 258—259, and Amīn al-Raihānī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd al Haaīth*, Beirūt 1928, p 50–53, and for general works the *Bibliography* to the article IBN SAʿŪD (H A R GIBB)

MUHAMMAD B SĪRĪN [See IBN SĪRĪN]

MUHAMMAD B ṬĀHIR, governor of Khurāsān After the death of his father, Muhammad received the governorship of Khurāsān (Radjab 248 = Sept 862) In 250 (864—5) the ʿAlid al-Hasan b Zaid rebelled, which led to a long and serious struggle [see MUHAMMAD B ʿABD AL LĀH] When ʿAbd Allah al Sidjzī rebelled against Yaʿkūb b al Laith al-Saffār and appealed for help to Muhammad, who appointed him governor of al-Tabasain and Kuhistān, Yaʿkūb found a welcome pretext to invade Khurāsān Muhammad sent an embassy to him, but as Yaʿkūb had already found a following among discontented Khurāsānians, all negotiations were in vain In Shawwāl 259 (Aug 873), or according to another statement in 258, he entered Nīsābūr without striking a blow, put an end to the Tāhirid dynasty and took Muhammad prisoner But when he rebelled against the Caliph al-Muʿtamid, he was defeated in Radjab 262 (April 876) by the latter's brother al Muwaffak and Muhammad, whom he had with him in chains, escaped The Caliph restored the latter to his former office in Khurāsān, the exiled Tāhirid however never found an opportunity to exercise his functions He was further appointed — probably not till 270 (853—4) — by the vizier Saʿīd b Makhlad as his deputy as military governor of Baghdād He held this office until the accession of al Muʿtadid (279 = 892) He died in 296 (908—9)

Bibliography Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 204 *sq*, 219, Tabarī, III, see Index, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, VIII 42, 44, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, VII 77—294, VIII 42, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, III 309 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, II 379 *sq*, 393, 438, 442, 447, Noldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p 194 *sqq*, Rothstein, in *Orient Studien*, *Th Noldeke gewidmet*, p 164 *sq*, Barthold, *ebenda*, p 185 *sqq*

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUHAMMAD B ṬĀHIR [See IBN AL KAISARĀNĪ]

MUḤAMMAD B TAKASH [See KHWĀRIZMSHĀH]

MUHAMMAD B TUGHDJ B DJUFF (or Djaff) B YALTAKĪN B FŪRĀN B FŪRĪ B KHĀKĀN, Abū Bakr, known as AL-IKHSHĪD, from the title granted to him by the Caliph al-Rādī in 327 (939), was the founder of the Egyptian dynasty of the Ikhshīdids [q v]

He was born in 268 (882) at Baghdād and must have spent his youth in Syria, as his father, who joined the service of the Tūlūnids at about the same date, was appointed governor of Damascus and Tabarīya c 276, a post which he held for some fifteen years, and he himself acted for a time as his father's deputy for Tabarīya In consequence of the overthrow of the Tūlūnid dynasty in 292 (904), he was imprisoned at Baghdād He was released in 294 (907), attached to the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b al-Hasan, and being implicated in his murder, had to fly when the conspiracy of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [q v] failed in 296 (908) He escaped to Syria and found himself reduced to a humble station Next year he passed on to Egypt, where Takīn, its governor, took him into favour, so that he kept him with himself, both in Egypt and in Syria when he was transferred thither to act as governor at intervals (302—307 and 309—311), and promoted him to appointments of importance

At this period Muhammad came into contact with the powerful Mādaraʾī family, and also attended Muʾnis [q v] when he was brought to Egypt by the Fātimid invasions He had already attracted some attention at Baghdād by an exploit in 306 In 316 (928), through influence at the capital, he became governor of Ramla, quitting Takīn abruptly In 319 he obtained a transfer to Damascus, where he became powerful, and in consequence of his defeat of Bushrā in 321 extended his rule over the whole of Syria In the same year (March 933) Takīn died, and Muhammad b Tughdj succeeded in obtaining the appointment as governor of Egypt in his place, but only nominally and for one month (Sept 933) Two years later, by means of a large army and fleet, he entered Fustāt and took possession of the country, overcoming the resistance of al Mādaraʾī (Muhammad b ʿAlī), who by appointment from Baghdād was then in control of Egypt, the governor being under his direction (*tahta tadbīrihi*) Superior to al Mādaraʾī, however, was al Fadl b Djaʿfar b al-Furāt [for whom see the article IBN AL-FURĀT], the inspecting minister (*wazīr kashf*) of Egypt and Syria, who had been specially granted full executive powers Muhammad b Tughdj had acted with the authorization of al-Fadl and later (324) obtained the confirmation of al Rādī to the addition of Egypt to the province of Syria already held by him Probably at the same time he was granted the suzerainty over al-Yaman and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medīna, for in his letter of the following year to the Emperor Romanus he boasts of these places as part of his kingdom Until the death of al-Fadl in 327 (March 939), he seems to have been subject, at least in theory, to some control by him

In 324 a decisive victory by the troops of Muhammad b Tughdj near Alexandria (battle of Ablūk, March 31, 936) crushed the third Fātimid invasion of Egypt and led to overtures from the Fātimid Caliph al-Kāʾim, which in the end came to nothing Muhammad did indeed decide three years later to recognize the Fātimid, and had given the order that al Kāʾim should be proclaimed in Egypt, out of indignation at the ʿAbbāsid government at Baghdād, but was induced to reconsider his decision

Only a month after he had received his title al-Ikhshīd from al Rādī (Ramadān 327 = June–July 939), he found himself threatened from Rakka by Ibn Rāʾik [q v] and learnt that his provinces had been granted to this rival Badjkam [q v], as *amīr al umarāʾ* at Baghdād, gave no answer to his appeal but that the question must be decided by the sword, the powerless Caliph could say nothing Ibn Rāʾik rapidly possessed himself of Syria, driving back the forces sent to oppose him,

and had soon captured Ramla (Oct 939) Muhammad b Tughdj himself confronted him with an army at Faramā, and with no fighting beyond some skirmishing entered into negotiations, ending in an agreement to cede Syria from Tabarīya to the north on condition that Ramla and the rest were restored to him Ibn Rā'iḳ soon broke this treaty and again advanced This time Muhammad b Tughdj encountered him at al-ʿArīsh and routed him (15th Ramadān 324 = June 24, 940), but as he followed him into Syria, met with a reverse in his turn, one of his detachments being surprised and badly defeated at Ladjdjūn (18th August) Peace was then renewed on the same terms as before, and Muhammad b Tughdj undertook to pay an annual subsidy of 140,000 dīnārs He was back in Egypt in October

The death of Badjkam in 329 (April 941) drew Ibn Rā'iḳ back to Baghdād, and Muhammad b Tughdj was soon relieved of him completely, for he was murdered a year later by the Hamdānids Muhammad lost no time in recovering Syria, marching thither himself (June 942) and remaining in the country about six months before coming back to Egypt It must have been at about this period that he succeeded in dispersing some minor encroachments on Syria from the direction of Raḳka that are alluded to without details, those of ʿAdl (al-Badjkamī) and Badr al-Kharshanī He had to meet more serious attacks from the Hamdānids One of them, al-Husain b Saʿīd, took Halab from him in 332 (March 944), and in May he set out to recover it The Caliph al-Muttaḳī, moreover, insecure under the protection of the Hamdānids from Tūzūn, the *amīr al umarā'*, had appealed to him for help His enemy retired at his approach and having regained the town he proceeded to Rakka, where he met the Caliph (Sept 7, 944) At this time he had thoughts of becoming *amīr al umarā'* himself He urged al-Muttaḳī to come with him to Syria and Egypt, and even offered to go with him to Baghdād He begged him not to trust himself to Tūzūn, but could not dissuade him After receiving flattering marks of honour he departed Before he reached Fustāt on his return the Hamdānid Saif al Dawla [q v] had retaken Halab (Oct 944) The Egyptian army sent to meet this new aggression was severely defeated at Rastan near Hims, and Saif al Dawla advanced to Damascus and entered it (April–May 945) Muhammad b Tughdj, coming from Egypt with his army, obliged him to retreat, pursued him, brought him to battle at Kinnasrīn (May—June 945), and defeated him Again Muhammad made easy terms when victorious Saif al Dawla retained Syria north of Damascus and was also given a subsidy The treaty was concluded in Rabīʿ I, 334 (Oct–Nov 945), and Muhammad then went back to Damascus, remaining there until he died a few months later (21st Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 334 = June 24, 946), just after the arrival of a Byzantine envoy concerning an exchange of prisoners for which he had opened negotiations

Next to nothing is recorded of the internal events of Egypt during his reign, the country was doubtless quiet Its revenue, said to have amounted to two million dinārs annually, was no longer accounted for to Baghdād, and no regular payments were made from it to the central treasury But he sent large occasional gifts to the Caliphs, so that al-Rādī considered him an exemplary vassal He left seven million dīnārs at his death besides considerable other property No constructional works of much importance are credited to him At Fusṭāt he rebuilt the shipyard on the mainland, and on its site on the island of Rawda made a garden called al-Mukhtār, he enlarged the government house in which he resided, a Tūlūnid building that was situated near the still existing tomb of al-Kādī Bakkār, and added a *maidān*, he also made another garden known later as al Kāfūrī, afterwards the site of the western Fātimid palace of Cairo His armies at times seem to have been large At the battle of Ablūk the Egyptians are said to have had 15,000 horsemen, at that of Kinnasrīn 50,000 men Such numbers would have been reached by means of levies for particular emergencies, which he is known to have raised more than once On one occasion his personal retainers (*ghulāms*), on whom he more especially depended, numbered 500 The constantly repeated and universally accepted figures of 400,000 for his army and 8,000 for his bodyguard can be dismissed as ridiculous, notwithstanding that they rest on the early authority of al-Tanūkhī (d 384), and with them the accompanying myth as to his habit of concealing his sleeping places when on campaign

The most renowned of his followers was Kāfūr [q v] Another of his *ghulāms*, Fātik, rose to some eminence ʿAlī b Muhammad b Kalā was his secretary both at Damascus and in Egypt Muhammad b ʿAlī al-Madarā'ī was his wazīr for a few months (328—329), Muhammad b ʿAlī b Mukātil, previously secretary to Ibn Rā'iḳ, was his wazīr at his death His four brothers were all younger than himself, al-Hasan was in command at the battle of Ablūk, and represented him in Egypt during all his absences, al Husain was in command at Ladjdjūn and killed there, ʿUbaid Allāh acted for him in Syria, ʿAlī disappears early

Notable Egyptian authors who flourished during his reign were the historian Ibn al-Dāya (d 334), al Kindī (d 350), and ʿAbd Allāh al-Farghānī (d 362), who came to Egypt in 329 and was in his confidence at Rakka in 333 Al-Masʿūdī moreover visited Egypt in 330 Al-Mutanabbī, just rising to fame, recited once in his presence in Syria and addressed a verse or two to him and to his brother ʿUbaid Allāh (d 333 at Ramla)

Muhammad b Tughdj was strong physically, but subject to occasional fits of melancholia His character is illustrated by a number of incidents that have every appearance of being authentic He was strict, but in no way vindictive or cruel He often brought his officers to account, and then after punishing them by arrest or fine would restore them to favour Hardly any executions are heard of in his reign He would not allow torture and the maltreatment of accused persons, so common in his time His tact and sagacity were conspicuous He was decent in his life and liked by his men and the people On the other hand, he was certainly oppressive and unfair in some of his money exactions, and though at times not ungenerous was inclined to be mean and miserly in minor matters The two great faults attributed to him, even to his face in his lifetime, parsimony and timidity, are not altogether without foundation As to the latter, his own defence in a particular instance looks valid

His career was closely parallel to that of Ahmad b Ṭulūn [q v], even as regards several fortuitous

occurrences It leaves no doubt of his capacity, and if admitting of occasional overcaution, will not allow of anything like cowardice He did not make the same mark as his predecessor, but was a milder and perhaps a better ruler

Bibliography Ibn Saʿīd, *al Mughrib* (ed Tallqvist, Leyden 1899) contains the text of the principal authorities, a list including subsidiary authorites, and a full biography in German carefully worked out from both sources By far the most important authority is the long and detailed biography of Muhammad b Tughdj which forms part of Ibn Saʿīd's work, and appears to consist of the life composed by Ibn Zūlāk between 350 and 355, reproduced almost but not quite *verbatim* The other principal authority is the *Kitāb al-Wulāt* of al-Kindī, ed Guest Little, if anything, can be added from books published after *al Mughrib*

(R GUEST)

MUHAMMAD B TUGHLUK [See MUHAMMAD TUGHLUK]

MUHAMMAD B TŪMART [See IBN TŪMART]

MUHAMMAD B ʿUBAID ALLĀH [See ABU 'L-MAʿĀLI]

MUHAMMAD B AL WALĪD [See IBN ABĪ RANDAKA]

MUḤAMMAD B YAHYĀ [See IBN BĀDJDJA]

MUHAMMAD B YĀKŪT, ABŪ BAKR, a chief of police in Baghdād In 318 (930) Muhammad, whose father was chief chamberlain to the Caliph al-Muktadir was appointed chief of police The maintenance of order in the capital at this time was much neglected and the praetorians conducted a regular reign of terror In a fracas between infantry and cavalry Muhammad intervened on behalf of the latter, their opponents were cut down, some driven from the city and only a small contingent of negroes, who at once surrendered, remained unscathed (Muharram 318 = Feb 930) Some months later these mutinied and demanded more pay, but they were driven out of the town by Muhammad and then routed by the chief emīr Muʾnis [q v] near Wāsit The confusion was increased by the breach between Muʾnis and Muhammad At the instigation of Muʾnis, Muhammad was dismissed in Djumādā II 319 (June—July 931) Muʾnis was nevertheless not satisfied but demanded that his hated rival should be banished The Caliph at first refused to grant his request, but when Muʾnis threatened him with force, he had to yield, whereupon Muhammad went to Sidjistān (Radjab 319 = July 931) Soon afterwards the Caliph quarrelled with Muʾnis and recalled Muhammad In Muharram 320 (Jan 932) the latter returned to Baghdād, the Caliph then sent him with an army to al-Maʿshūk in the region of Takrīt But when Muʾnis advanced from Mōsul, the Caliph's troops under Muhammad and Saʿīd b Hamdān retired to Baghdād without striking a blow After the victory of Muʾnis and the murder of al-Muktadir in Shawwāl of the same year (Oct 932) the latter's son ʿAbd al-Wāhid fled with Muhammad and his other supporters to al-Madāʾin and then to Wāsit where a number of his generals abandoned him When the forces of the new Caliph al-Kāhir approached under the command of Yalbak, ʿAbd al-Wāhid and Muhammad fled to Tustar Muhammad was not popular on account of his arrogance and selfishness, so that one after the other laid down his arms and finally ʿAbd al-Wāhid surrendered Muhammad entered into negotiations with Yalbak and the Caliph pardoned him He then returned to Baghdād where he gained a great influence over al-Kāhir On the accession of al-Rādī in Djumādā I, 322 (April 934), Muhammad became the real ruler in a short time, the Caliph appointed him chief chamberlain and also made him his commander in-chief while the vizier Ibn Mukla played a more subordinate part When al-Muktadir's cousin Hārūn b Gharib, whom al-Kāhir had appointed governor of Māh al Kūfa, al-Dīnawar and Māsabadhān rebelled, Muhammad was sent with an army against him In the resulting battle, Muhammad suffered a defeat (Djumādā II 322 = May 934), soon afterwards however, Hārūn fell from his horse and was killed by one of Muhammad's slaves With the death of their commander the resistance of Hārūn's followers collapsed, Muhammad was nevertheless unable long to retain his position of power On the advice of Ibn Mukla who feared his ever increasing power, al-Rādī had him arrested along with his brother al Muzaffar and the secretary Abū Ishāk al Karārīti on the 5th Djumādā I, 323 (April 12, 935) Muhammad died in prison in the same year

Bibliography ʿArīb (ed de Goeje), p 145 *sqq* , Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), viii 160 *sqq* , Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 390 *sqq* , Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 565—74, 645 *sq* , 652, 656—58

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUHAMMAD B YAZĪD [See IBN MĀDJA, AL-MUBARRAD]

MUHAMMAD B YŪSUF [See ABŪ HAIYĀN]

MUHAMMAD ʿABD AL-KARĪM ʿALAWĪ, better known as ʿAbd al Karīm Munshī, a Persian historian of the middle of the xixth century His best known work is the *Taʾrīkh i Ahmad* or *Ahmadshāhī* composed for ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Hādjdjī Muhammad Rawshan Khān, a history of the founder of the Durrānī dynasty in Afghānistān, Ahmad Shāh After ʿAbd al-Karīm had finished a history of Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Durrānī and the conquest of Khurāsān in 1235 (1820), he decided to write a complete history of the Durānīs and began his *Taʾrikh i Ahmad* The work is based on the *Taʾrīkh-i Husainshāhī* of Imām al Dīn Husainī (Rieu, *Cat Pers MSS Brit Mus*, iii 904b) and is really only a paraphrase of it It begins with the story of Ahmad Shāh which he continued to the year 1212 Then follows a description of the Pandjāb and the roads between Kābul, Harāt, Pashāwar and Kandahār and a chapter on Turkistān under Narbūta Bey The work concludes with the accession of Shudjāʿ al Mulk In addition to this book, ʿAbd al-Karīm in 1263 (1847) wrote the *Muhārabāt i Kābul wa-Kandahār*, which describes the war with the English down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept–Oct 1842) It again is not original but based on the poem *Akbar-nāma* of Kāsim Djān According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London 1894, p 5), he also wrote a history of the Sikh war entitled *Taʾrīkh-i Pandjāb Tuhfatan li 'l-Ahbāb*, but there is no mention of a manuscript or lithograph of any such work in any of the European catalogues It is possible that there is some confusion with the Pandjāb section of the *Taʾrīkh-i Ahmad* In the *Catalogue of the Persian printed Books in the British Museum* (London 1922, p 19), E Edwards ascribes to the author a dictionary of English and Persian homonyms

entitled *A Dictionary of Anglo-Persian homogeneous words being a Collection of Words having nearly the same Sound and the same Meaning*, Bombay 1889, it is however unfortunately not possible to be certain that the author of the book is the same ʿAbd al Karīm Munshī

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MUHAMMAD ʿABDUH, a Muslim theologian, founder of the Egyptian modernist school

Muhammad ʿAbduh belonged to an Egyptian peasant family and was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt He spent his childhood in the little village of Mahallat Nasr in the mudiriya of Buhaira When Muhammad ʿAbduh had learned the Kurʾān by heart, he was sent in 1862 to the theological school of Tantā but he left this after a year and a half discouraged and was only induced to resume his studies through the influence of a grand uncle who aroused in him an interest in mysticism In 1865 he returned to Tantā but the next year proceeded to Cairo to the Azhar mosque There at this moment the first movements of a new spirit were becoming apparent in the beginning of a return to the classics and an awakening interest in natural science and history, which agreed with mysticism in a lower estimation of the old traditional studies In this milieu Muhammad ʿAbduh at once devoted himself entirely to mysticism, practised asceticism and retired from the world It was again his grand uncle who persuaded him to give this up About the same time, 1872, Muhammad ʿAbduh came into contact with Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al Afghānī [q v] who had just arrived in Egypt and was destined to exercise a profound influence upon him It was he who revealed traditional learning to Muhammad ʿAbduh in a new light, called his attention to European works accessible in translations and attracted his interest finally to Egyptian and Muslim problems of the day Muhammad ʿAbduh soon became his most ardent disciple and in his very first work of a mystic nature (*Risālat al-Wāridāt*, 1290 = 1874) enthusiastically described Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn as his spiritual guide The influence of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn is still more marked on the matter of Muhammad ʿAbduh's second work, notes on dogmatics entitled *Hāshiya ʿalā Sharh al-Dawānī li 'l-ʿAkāʾid al-ʿAdudiya* [1292 = 1876] The influence of Sayyid Djamāl al Dīn and the development of affairs in Egypt towards the end of the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl caused Muhammad ʿAbduh in 1876 to take to journalism, which he practised henceforth After concluding his studies at the Azhar mosque and acquiring the certificate of an ʿālim (scholar), he first of all gave private tuition, in 1879 he was appointed as teacher in the Dār al ʿUlūm, which had been founded a few years before to modernise instruction in religious learning In the same year, shortly after the accession of the Khedive Tawfik, Muhammad ʿAbduh was dismissed for reasons that have not been clearly explained and sent to his native village, while Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn was banished from Egypt, but a liberal ministry very soon recalled Muhammad ʿAbduh (1880) and appointed him chief editor of the official gazette *al Wakāʾiʿ al-Miṣriya*, which not only contained official announcements but also endeavoured to influence public opinion, under Muhammad ʿAbduh's control it became the mouthpiece of the liberal party In spite of a common ultimate goal the liberation of the Muslim peoples and a renaissance of Islām by its own strength, there was an essential difference between Muhammad ʿAbduh's programme and that of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, the latter was a revolutionary who aimed at a complete upheaval, Muhammad ʿAbduh, on the other hand, held that only gradual reform could be successful, thought that no political revolution could take the place of a gradual transformation of mentality and regarded a reform of education, especially moral and religious, as the first preliminary to progress His interest gradually became concentrated on Islām and its position in the modern world ʿArābī Pāshā's rebellion put an end to Muhammad ʿAbduh's activity on these lines His part in this movement has not yet been sufficiently elucidated, although it is certain that he neither shared the optimism of military circles nor approved their use of force, he put himself on the side of the nationalist opponents of absolutism and endeavoured to exert a moderating influence on its leaders After the suppression of the rebellion he was condemned to banishment from Egypt at the end of 1882 He first went to Beirūt and then to Paris where in the beginning of 1884 he met Sayyid Djamāl al Dīn The two founded a society called *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthkā* and published a paper with the same name, which had to cease publication after eight months but exercised a very profound influence on the development of nationalism in the Muslim east In Tunis Muhammad ʿAbduh continued propaganda for the society, but then cut himself off from it and settled in Beirūt at the beginning of 1885 The *ʿUrwa* expressed the views of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn entirely In Beirūt he taught at a theological school and engaged in Muslim and Arabic studies In this period he produced his translation from the Persian of the *Risālat al Radd ʿala 'l-Dahriyyin*, the only considerable work of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn (1302 = 1886), and two valuable philological treatises (*Sharh Nahdj al-Balāgha* [1302 = 1885] and *Sharh Makāmāt Badiʿ al Zamān al Hamadhānī* [1306 = 1889]) When in 1889 he was allowed to return, he at once went to Cairo His wish to resume teaching again was not at once granted, instead he entered the judiciary and was immediately appointed a judge on the Tribunaux Indigènes, two years later Conseiller at the Cour d'Appel, in 1899 he attained the highest clerical post in Egypt, that of state muftī, an office he held till his death One result of his work in the courts was the publication of his verdicts in *Takrīr fī Iṣlāh al-Mahākim al-Sharʿiya* (1318 = 1900) which gave the stimulus to important reforms in the admini-

stration of the *sharīʿa*, and the foundation of the College for Kādīs goes back primarily to his efforts In the same year, 1899, he became a member of the Conseil Législatif, which marked the first stage in the representation of the Egyptian people Finally he was allowed to resume his interest in education, in 1894 he became a member of the governing body of the Azhar, which had been constituted at his suggestion, and in this capacity not only acquired great renown by his reforms in the university but himself took an active part in the teaching In addition to this many-sided activity in the fifteen years after his return he found time to publish a number of works, including his most important the *Risālat al-Tawhīd* (1315 = 1897), his principal theological work based on his lectures in Bairūt, the publication of a work on logic (*Sharh Kitāb al-Basāʾir al-Nāsirīya*, *Taṣnīf al-Kādī Zain al Dīn* [1316 = 1898]), a defence of Islām against Christianity in the field of knowledge and civilization entitled *al-Islām wa ʾl Nasrānīya maʿa ʾl ʿIlm wa ʾl Madanīya* (1320 = 1902, first published in *al-Manār*) Muhammad ʿAbduh was not able to finish his commentary on the Kurʾān, on which he laid great importance and of which he had published portions in *al-Manār*, it was revised by his disciple and friend Shaikh Muhammad Rashīd Ridā and published first of all in *al-Manār* Of Muhammad ʿAbduh's numerous articles by which, along with his lectures, he most influenced public opinion, two (of 1900) were published in a French translation entitled *L'Europe et l'Islām* by Muhammad Talʿat Harb Bey (1905) The advanced ideas put forward by Muhammad ʿAbduh provoked the most vigorous hostility in orthodox and conservative circles which manifested itself not only in serious refutations but also in attacks on and intrigues against him, as we see from a whole literature of lampoons But his teaching met with remarkable support among all seriously minded Muslims The principal organ of his views was the monthly *al-Manār*, which had appeared since 1897 under the editorship of Sheikh Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, who has also produced an extensive literary monument to his master (but his views and the tendencies of his periodical must not be identified offhand with those of Muhammad ʿAbduh) Muhammad ʿAbduh died in 1905, but his teaching has retained its influence steadily to the present day

Muhammad ʿAbduh's programme according to his own statement was 1 the reform of the Muslim religion by bringing it back to its original condition, 2 the renovation of the Arabic language, 3 the recognition of the rights of the people in relation to the government His political activity was dominated by the idea of patriotism, which he was the first to champion enthusiastically in Egypt As an opponent equally of the political control by Europe and of Oriental despotism in Muslim lands he favoured an inner assimilation of western civilization, without abandoning the fundamental Muslim ideas and a synthesis of the two factors From this programme, which assures Muhammad ʿAbduh an important place among the founders of modern Egypt, must be distinguished his effort to carry it through in the field of theology Muhammad ʿAbduh is in the first place a theologian, his life was devoted to the attempt to establish and maintain Islām, at least as a religion, against the onslaught of the west, while he abandoned without a struggle those aspects of Muslim-Oriental life in which religion was of less moment However great a stimulus he may have received from progressive western thought, the actual foundations of his teaching came primarily from the school of Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Kaiyim al Djawzīya, who favoured reform on conservative lines, and from al Ghazzālī's ethical conception of religion Deeply convinced of the superiority of true Islām, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, Muhammad ʿAbduh wished to get rid of the abuses which falsified the Muslim religion and made it out of keeping with the times, and to adapt Islām to every real advance by going back to its true principles Muhammad ʿAbduh was thus brought to attack the *madhāhib* and *taklīd* [q v], to demand freedom for *idjtihād* [q v] and a new *idjmāʿ* [q v], in keeping with modern conditions, based on the Kurʾān and the true sunna, for the establishment of which he laid down strict criteria, he was also brought to reject the hairsplitting of the *fukahāʾ*, the worship of saints and all *bidʿas*, and to the endeavour to create a more ethical and deeper religion instead of a mechanical formalism The antiquated system of Fikh, against which Muhammad ʿAbduh claimed full freedom, was to be replaced by new laws capable of development, in which consideration for the common good (*maṣlaha*) and the times should, in keeping with the true spirit of Islām, have if necessary preference to the literal text (*nass*) of revelation, just as in any conflict between reason and tradition in settling what is laid down by religion, the verdict of reason should be followed Alongside of the belief in the sublimity of revelation there was in Muhammad ʿAbduh the conviction that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all, so that reason need not recognise a logical impossibility as a religious truth, religion was given to man as a thread to guide him against the aberrations of reason, reason must therefore, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, which it is qualified to do, accept its dogmas, Muhammad ʿAbduh's object was a cooperation between religion and science In dogmatics he adopts essentially the most rational conception that could still be reconciled with orthodoxy At the same time he interiorises the conception of revelation (to him it is intuitive knowledge caused by God and provided with the consciousness of this origin, but this kind of religious experience is limited to the prophets) and deflects that of religion (to him it is an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason) The task of prophecy for him is the moral education of the masses Religious teaching and commandments are therefore intended for the masses and not for the elite Muhammad ʿAbduh regards the Kurʾān as created and endeavours to weaken the rigidly opposed point of view of orthodoxy The saints he does take into his system but is sceptical regarding belief in miracles In spite of the denial of causality and laws of nature by orthodoxy, he finds a basis for explaining nature by causal laws but by quite scholastically formal reasoning As regards the duties of religion, Muhammad ʿAbduh adheres to the four main duties ritual prayer, the almstax, fasting and pilgrimage, only he shifts them, as usual in mysticism, from the sphere of worship to that of religion and morals On the old question of free will Muhammad ʿAbduh

decides for indeterminism, he thereby opens the way to build up a moral system for society, which, excluding all fatalism, preaches vigorous activity by every one and, following the ethics of the mystics, mutual support His view of the substance of Muslim teaching Muhammad ʿAbduh defends not only against traditional orthodoxy but against Christianity also by a kind of philosophy of history of religion, the sending of prophets was a gradual process of education of step by step, the last and highest stage, that of absolute religion, is the sending of Muḥammad, if the Muslim peoples of the present do not correspond to the Muslim ideal, this is only the result of the fact that they have lost the old purity of the teaching, an improvement is possible by return to it This primitive Islām of Muhammad ʿAbduh is however not the historical Islām but a very much idealised one The superiority of Islām over Christianity in substance lies, according to Muhammad ʿAbduh, in its rationalism and its closeness to reality and its avoidance of unattainable ideals of life

In this theology, the religious content consists of humility before God, reverence for the Prophet, enthusiasm for the Kurʾān The basis of this Islām is the recognition of a not too retrogressive system of dogmatics, its object is the observance of an ethical system which is favourable to progress, and both are influenced by a strongly marked rationalism, which is genuinely old Muslim but for Muhammad ʿAbduh is no indifferent inheritance but the main weapon of defence of Islām and actually takes the place of a deepening of religion so that his theology has the character of an apologetic compromise

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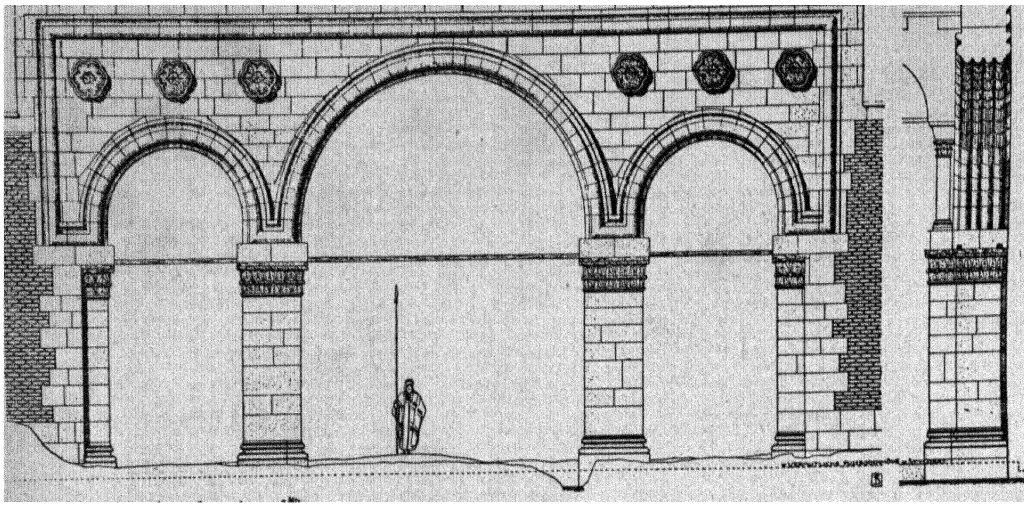
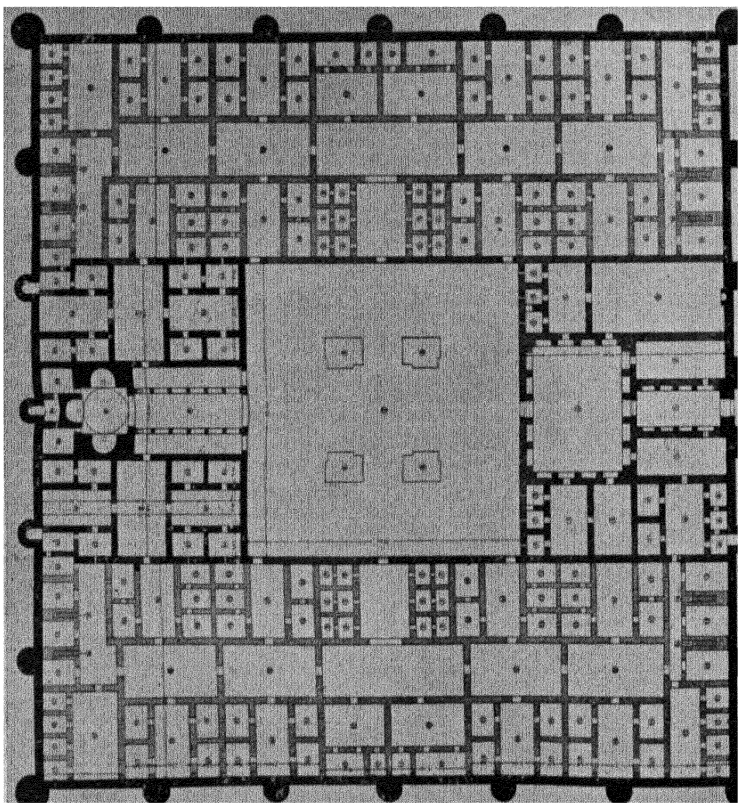
(J SCHACHT)

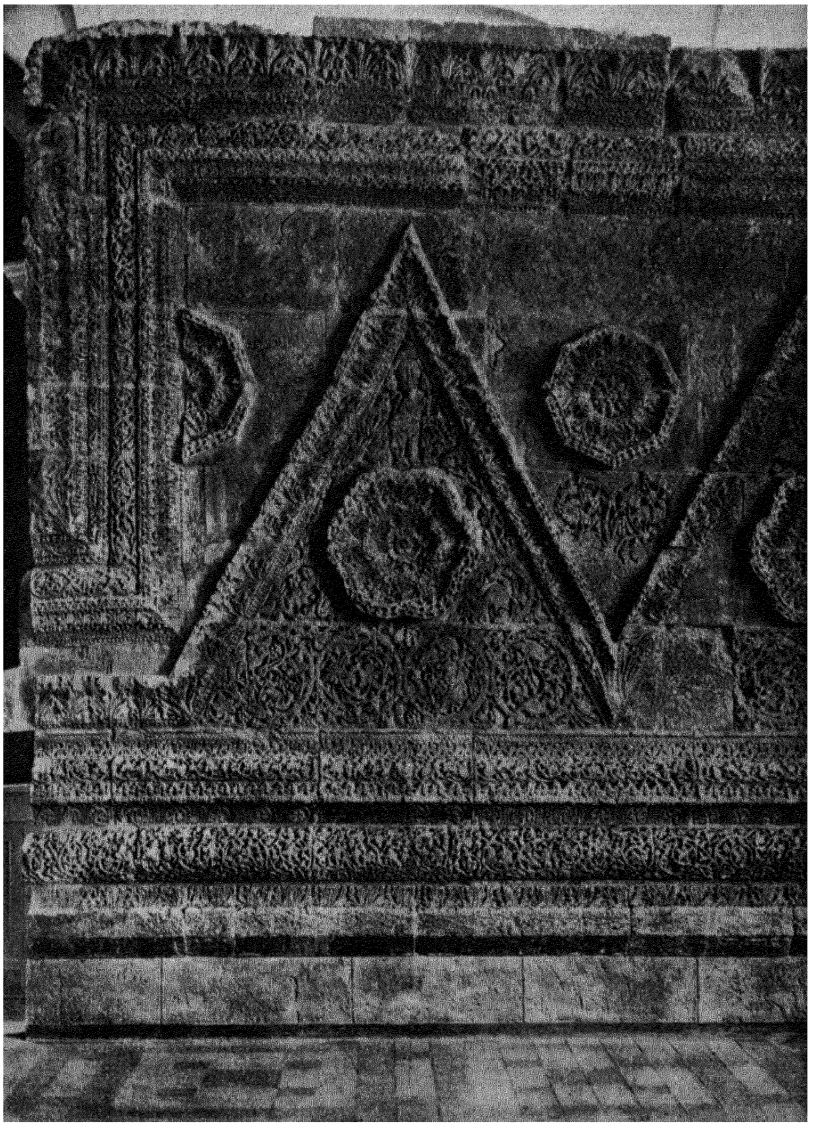
MUHAMMAD AḤMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH, the Mahdī of the Sūdān, was born about 1258 (1843) on the island of Darār in Dongola among the Argū islands north of el-ʿOrde A member of the Kunūz family of the Nubian Arab Berābera, in later life when Mahdī to prove his kinship and mystical relationship with ʿAlī and the Prophet, he traced his genealogy on his father's side to Hasan and on the mother's to Hasan and ʿAbbās He was the second son of a ship's carpenter and had an older sister and three brothers Mystic tendencies early revealed themselves in him, after the usual early education he therefore in 1277 (1861) entered the order of the Sammānīya with Shaikh Muḥammad Sharīf, after a seven years' noviciate Muhammad Sharīf appointed him a shaikh of the order. After a short stay in Khartūm where he married, he went to the island of Abbā (in the White Nile, north of Kosti), built a *djāmiʿ* there and a *khalwa* and collected pupils around him His master Muhammad Sharīf, with whom he maintained a constant connection, settled near him in 1288 (1872), which seems to have been unwelcome to Muhammad Shortly after this event there awoke in Muhammad the consciousness that he was the *Mahdī al-muntaẓar*, under the influence of the traditional ideas of the Mahdī, which brought about a breach between him and his master He now joined the enemy of his former leader, the Shaikh al Kurashī, and in 1297 (1880) became his successor In his wanderings (*siyāha*) from Dongola to Sennār, from the Blue Nile to Kordūfān, he convinced himself of the discontent of the people, who were oppressed by the Egyptian government, the turbulent, mixed population of the Sūdān, the religious fanaticism, the dissension between Turks and Arabs, the old opposition of the Shiʿa to the Turkish ruling official classes, all formed a fruitful soil for his claims to be the Mahdī, the movement begun by Muhammad Ahmad which, as his letters and proclamations show, was based on a religious experience in which he earnestly believed, became from the first mixed up with political and social ideas, which in the east cannot be separated from religion, and in which finally deception and cunning played an evil part According to the traditional formula, Muhammad Ahmad felt himself called "to purify the world from wantonness and corruption" For this purpose he summoned the people to fight in the first place against "the infidel Turks" He had previously bound a number of chiefs in Kordufān and Dārfūr to him by *baiʿa* (oaths of fealty, after the model of the Prophet, for the text see Dietrich, in *Islām*, 1925, p 39) and had been cleverly able to attach men of action like the unscrupulous ʿAbd Allāh al Taʿayishī, later his Khalīfa, to him, at the same time he practised a shameless nepotism He further incited the people by numerous pamphlets and edicts, which contained his visions of the Prophet, who had appointed him Mahdī, of al-Khiḍr, Gabriel, the *aḳṭāb*, summons "to purify religion", to "emigrate", to swear fealty, to imitate the Mahdī, to the *djihād* etc The hill of Gadīr in Dār Nūba became the centre of this secret propaganda, in Shaʿbān 1298 (July 1881) he made his first public appearance as Mahdī Negotiations begun by the government in Khartūm with Muhammad Ahmad proved fruitless Two companies sent against him under Abu 'l-Saʿūd were destroyed, this secured further victories for him The Egyptian government was moreover prevented by the rebellion of ʿArābī Pāshā from taking vigorous action The expeditions of the governor of Fashōda, Rashīd Pāshā, Yūsuf Pāshā al-Shallālī (at Gadīr, May 1882) and of Hicks Pāshā (at Shaikān or Kashgil), all ended unsuccessfully The Mahdīya thus spread unhindered from Kordufān via Bahr al-Ghazāl to the eastern Sūdān, there in Sawākin, ʿOthmān Digna, a former slave dealer, soon to be the ablest Mahdist general, entered Muhammad Ahmad's service Attempts by the Mahdī to extend his power to the west and with this object to conclude alliances with Muhammad al-Sanūsī in Djaghbūb and with Morocco came to nothing At the height of his power the campaign of 1301 (1884) took him to Khartūm, which after a heroic defence by Gordon fell into the Mahdī's hands on Jan 30, 1885 Gordon was killed Muḥammad Aḥmad did not however long survive his victory, he died, probably of typhus, on 9th Ramadān 1302 (June 22, 1885) at Omdurmān near Khartūm,



Mshattā. Front of the three-naved Hall. Reconstruction.



Mshattā. Suggested Reconstruction. Plan.



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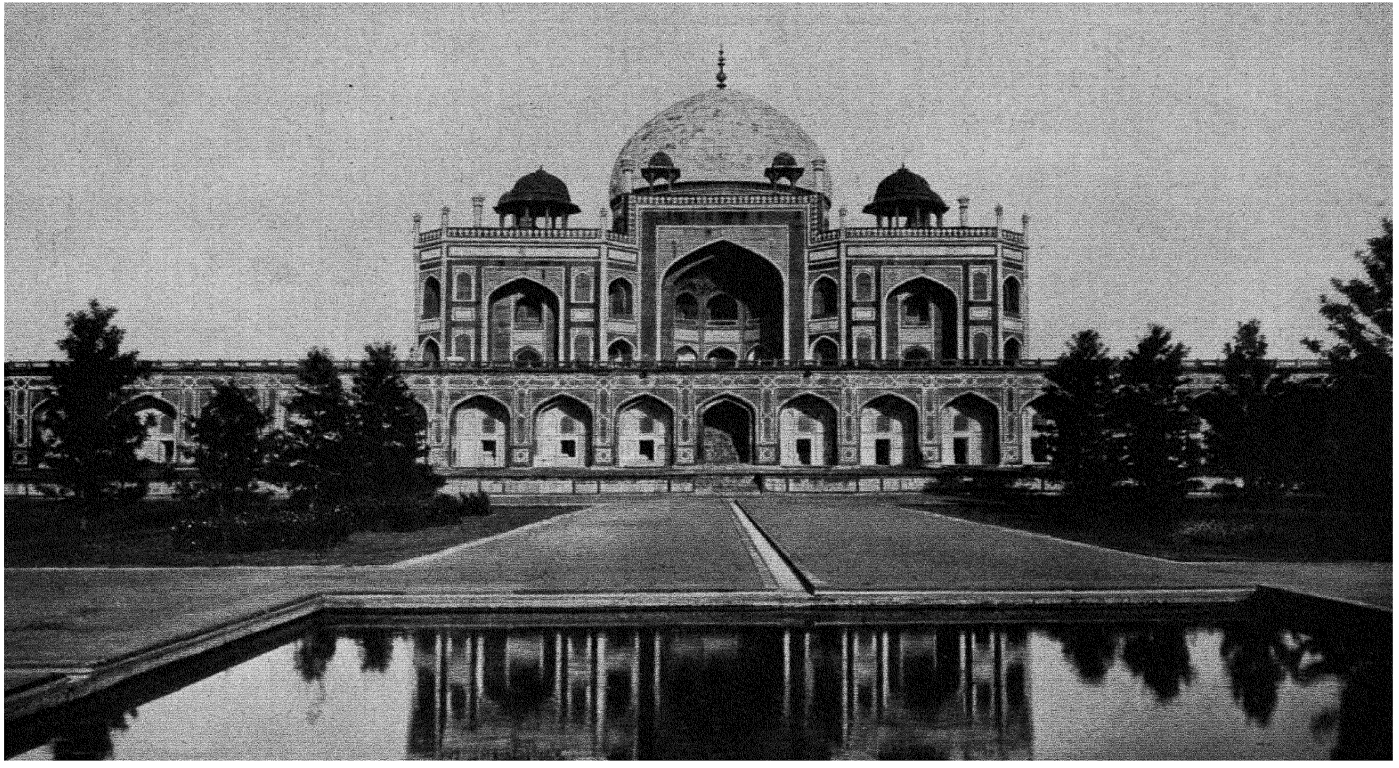
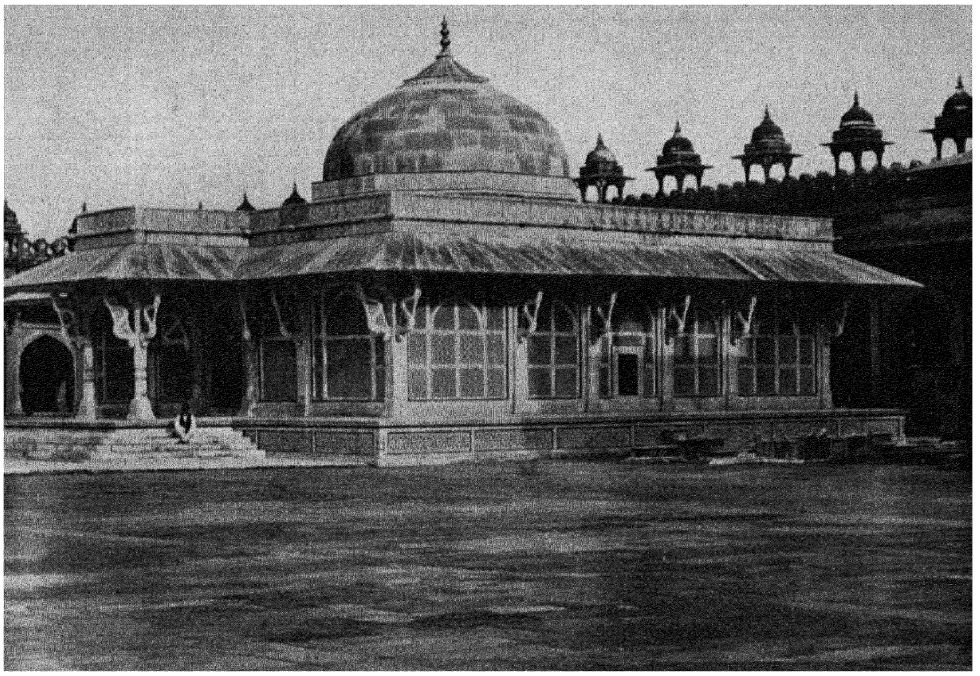
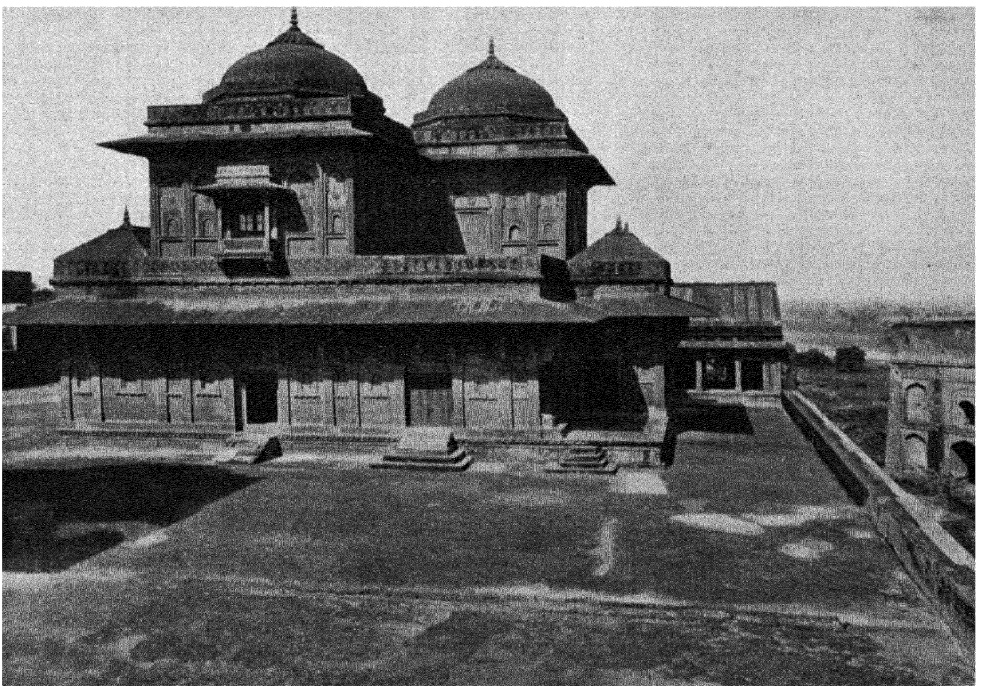


Delhi. Tomb of Humāyūn. General view.

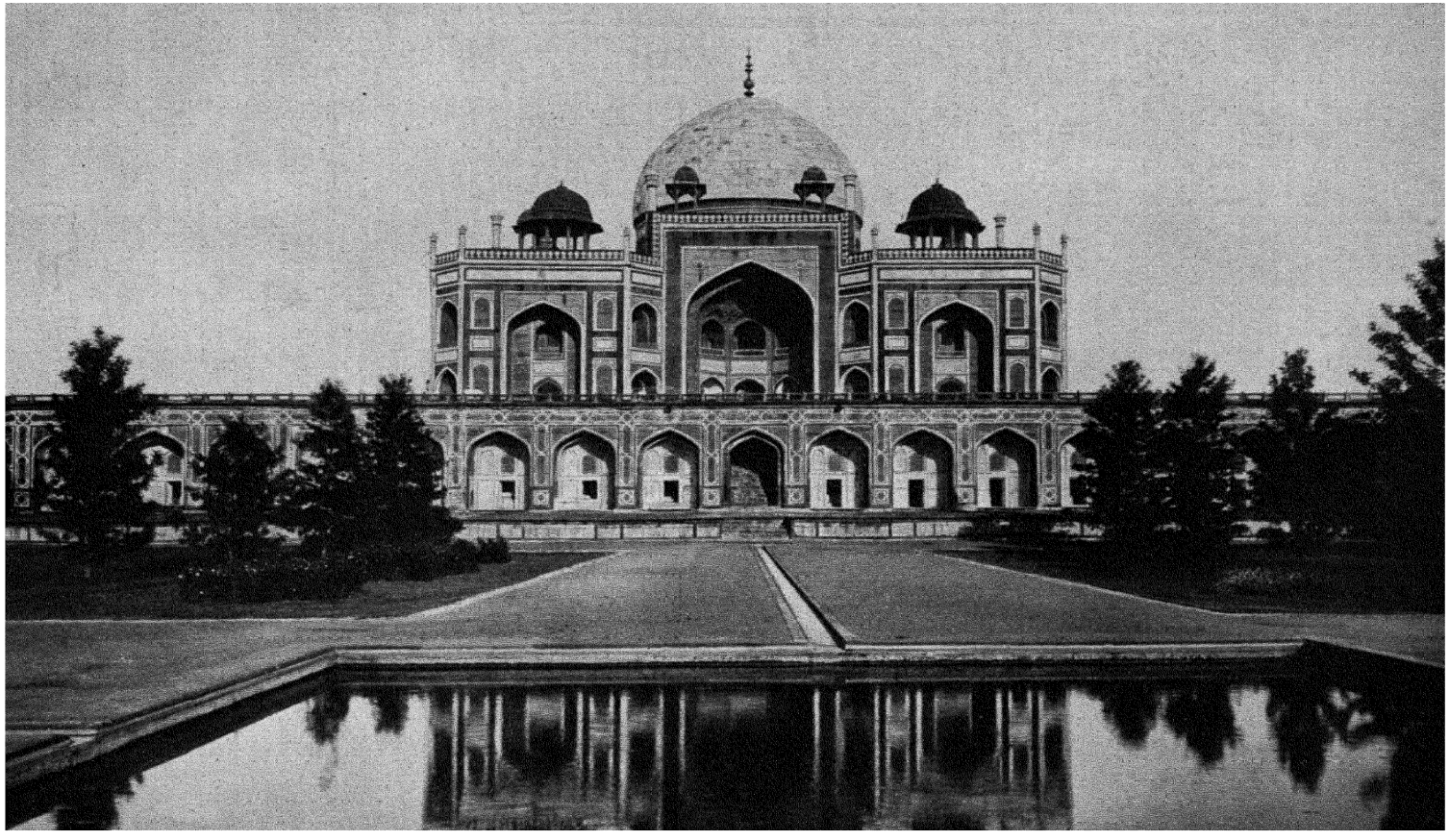
ART. MUGHAL III.



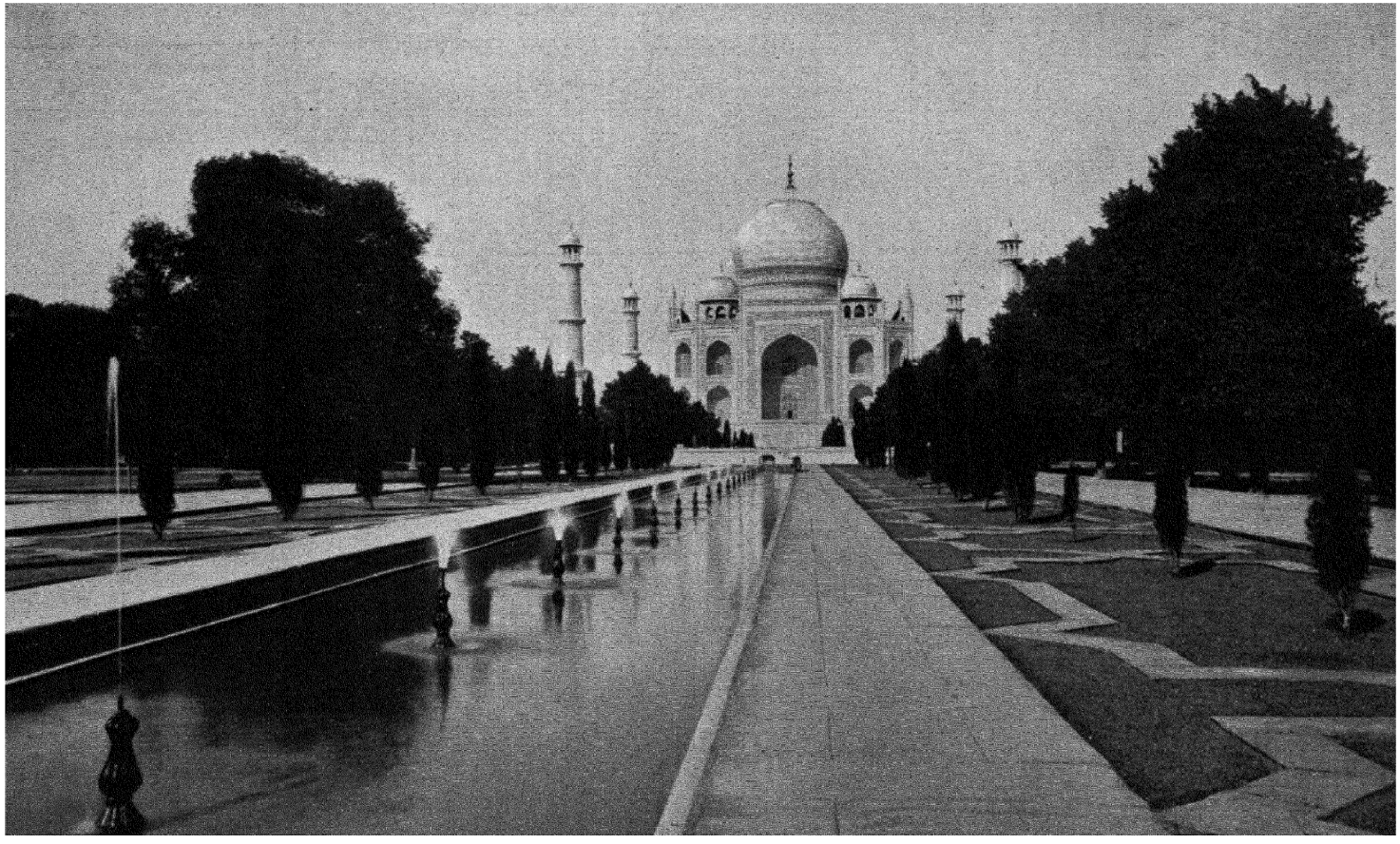
..thpur Sikrī, Agra. Sheikh Selim Čishti's tomb. General view.



Fatḥpur Sīkrī, Agra. House of Birbal's daughter. General view.



Sikandra, Agra. Akbar's tomb, general view. From parapet of main entrance to the garden.



Tādj-i Maḥall, Agra. General view showing fountains.

where a *kubba* was erected to him by his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh; it was henceforth the Mahdist capital until Kitchener put an end to ʿAbd Allāh's rule and to the Mahdīya in 1898

The organisation of the Mahdīya under Muhammad Ahmad, which was primarily to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet, was early developed, it was quite military in character, for the *djihād* was considered more important than the *hadjdj* He had four khalīfas beside him, of whom al-Taʿayishī was the most intimate and undoubtedly had the most pernicious influence on him Particular attention was devoted to the distribution of booty and to the administration of the treasury (*bait al-māl*)

Muhammad Ahmad's teaching shows some of the features of the extreme popular Sūfism and some of those of an idealised primitive Islām His asceticism was hostile to progress, the contempt for learning in the Mahdīya and the order to burn all books on *sunna* and *tafsīr* alienated the educated classes from him The only things that had validity in addition to the Kurʾān were the proclamations of the Mahdī, the *Rātib* (a collection of *dhikr* exercises) and the *Madjlis*, a work that contained Muhammad Ahmad's own *sunna* as a substitute for the previous one but remained incomplete In the abolition of the four *madhhabs* we see the *ikhtilāf* tendencies frequent among the Sūfīs Wahhābī influences are very probable in a number of regulations, for example in the prohibition of adornment, music, extravagance at weddings, tobacco and wine, particularly however in the zeal against the worship of saints and sorcery, as a matter of fact Muhammad Ahmad himself became an object of worship among his followers even before his death

The only really new thing in Muhammad Ahmad is the addition to the *shahāda* " *wa anna Muhammadan Ahmada ʿbna ʿAbdi ʾllāhi huwa Mahdiyu ʾllāhi wa-khalīfatu rasūlihi* Where the traditions of the Mahdī did not suit him, he did not hesitate to alter them He laid down the following 6 *arkān* instead of the *arkān* of the *sunna* 1 *salāt*, on the congregational performance of which the greatest stress was laid, 2 *djihād*, in express opposition to the *sunnī* practice and in place of the *hadjdj*, 3 obedience to God's commandments, 4 the extended *shahāda*, 5 recitation of the Kurʾān and 6 of the *Rātib*

A few extremist ideas, like that of equality between rich and poor, come partly from the revolutionary character of the old *Shiʿa*, partly from the political and social conditions of the time, the social ideas were however not his central ones but only incidentally used cunningly to attract the masses In practice the Mahdīya had an exceedingly unifying and equalising effect slaves and slave-dealers fought under one banner, the humblest often rose in a short time to the highest offices

Muhammad Ahmad's eschatology centres round the world domination of the Mahdī The conquest of the Sūdān was to be followed by that of Egypt, Mecca, Syria and Constantinople

The formation of legends around Muhammad Aḥmad's personality began very early, sometimes deliberately encouraged by him and his immediate followers and sometimes actually believed by them Under pressure from him his court chronicler Ismāʿīl ʿAbd al-Kādir composed a highly coloured *sīra* entitled *Kitāb al-Mustahdī ilā Sīrat al-Imām al Mahdī* It covered the years 1298 to 1302 A H but was burned in the time of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh The Egyptian writer Shukair (see below) claims to have had in his hands a copy that was said to have survived

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MUHAMMAD ʿALĪ PASHA (in European sources often Mehemed Ali or Mehemet Ali) was the well-known powerful viceroy of Egypt during the years 1805–1849 (which period comprises the entire reign of Sultān Mahmūd II q v), and the founder of the khedivial, later royal dynasty of Egypt Seen in the light of history his life work fully entitles him to the epithet of "the Founder of Modern Egypt"

Muhammad ʿAlī was born in 1769, possibly of Albanian extraction, in the town of Kawāla [q v] in Macedonia, he was engaged in the tobacco trade until he joined, as *bin bashi* in a corps of Albanian troops, the Turkish army that landed in Egypt in 1799 and was beaten by Bonaparte at Abū Kir (July 25) In 1800 he was one of the two chiefs of the Albanian troops in Turkish service who were left behind in Egypt, this secured him an influential military position when, after the final departure of the French in 1801, Turkey began to try to recover her authority over Egypt At the end of 1801 he fought as a general against the Mamlūks, but in the troubled years that followed he was alternatively on the side of the Mamlūk Beys (headed by al-Bardīsī) and of the Turkish governors sent from Constantinople He intrigued against Khusraw Pasha [q v], who had to leave Egypt in May 1803, and was, already in the same year, appointed titular governor of Djidda Under the following governorship of Khurshīd Pasha, Muhammad ʿAlī succeeded in winning the favour of the inhabitants of Cairo and their spiritual leaders, and used them with success in his intrigues against Khurshīd, whose Turkish troops — composed of *delis* — were a scourge to the population, while his own Albanians were ordered to behave well The result was that Khurshīd had to withdraw in August 1803, leaving the citadel of Cairo to Muhammad ʿAlī The Turkish government, though sending several emissaries and trying to remove the Albanian troops, failed to keep Egyptian affairs under control and ended by recognizing Muhammad ʿAlī's self-assumed

position (November 2, 1805), he was solemnly installed in April 1806

The internal and external difficulties of the Sublime Porte did not allow her to interfere any further for the moment and the new governor had soon occasion to show himself a loyal vassal when the English — then at war with Turkey [cf SELIM III] — landed in Alexandria in March 1807 At that time Muhammad ʿAlī had already undertaken the struggle against the Mamlūk Beys al-Bardīsī and al Alfī, the latter of whom was strongly supported by the English He came back hastily from Upper Egypt, fortified Cairo, and gained a victory over the English army at Rashīd (Rosetta) in April Soon after the departure of the British fleet in September the viceroy began the execution of his far-reaching administrative and economic measures, which were to restore Egypt's economic strength and consequently to assure for himself a more powerful position than any Turkish governor had had for the last two centuries [cf MAMLŪKS] In the meantime the Beys (whose two leaders had died in 1807) continued their opposition (no doubt increased by the viceroy's land policy), which was finally broken by the massacre of about 300 Mamlūks in the citadel of Cairo on March 1, 1811, on the occasion of a festival The persecution of the Mamlūks was at the same time extended to the other parts of the country Muhammad ʿAlī now could send, without danger to his own position, his Albanian troops in the campaign against the Wahhābīs in Arabia, to comply with a request of the Porte The Wahhābī war began in September 1811 and was conducted, until 1816, by Muhammad ʿAlī's son Tusun, after the latter's death the command was taken over by his elder brother Ibrāhīm Pasha [q v] Muhammad ʿAlī himself took part in an expedition to Yaman, but had to return before the end of the war, because his position as governor seemed to be in danger

The military successes of the Egyptian troops against the Wahhābī power immensely increased Muhammad ʿAlī's authority all over Arabia and in a larger sense in the entire Near East, European policy began to look for the first time on Egypt as a factor of political importance This importance was further increased by the expeditions to the south that followed immediately on the Arabian campaign Egyptian power was established for the first time in the Sūdān [q v], where Muhammad ʿAlī's third son Ismāʿīl found his death in 1822, the year in which the town of Khartūm [q v] was founded At this time Egyptian power was also extended in the direction of the Red Sea, which made an end to the hitherto continuous plague of the incursions of nomadic Arabs into the Nile valley, the ports of Sawākin and Massawa (Maswaʿ) came under the Egyptian sphere of influence, although the direct authority of the Porte was maintained

A new phase in the development of Muhammad ʿAlī's power began by his participation in the military repression of the Greek revolt by the Turks Only through Egyptian aid was the submission of the whole of Greece with the exception of Nauplia obtained, first by the conquest of Crete by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1823) and then by the Egyptian army that landed in 1825 in Morea When in 1827 England, Russia and France intervened in the Greek question, the combined Turkish-Egyptian fleet was destroyed in the bay of Navarino (October 20, 1827), in the following year the Egyptian troops evacuated the peninsula, after a convention had been concluded between Muhammad ʿAlī and the British admiral Codrington (August 6, 1828) Crete remained under Egyptian administration until 1841

Muhammad ʿAlī's power was now such that he could conclude international agreements without the sultān's cognizance, at the same time the two Mediterranean naval powers, France and England, were endeavouring to win him over as an independent political factor In 1829 France had almost induced Muhammad ʿAlī to undertake the conquest of the Barbaresque states of Algiers and Tunis, the viceroy, however, was more inclined to seek territorial expansion in the east, the more so as the four governorships of Syria had been promised him by the Porte as reward for his participation in the Greek war, a promise that had never been fulfilled At the end of 1831 there arose difficulties between Muhammad ʿAlī and the Porte on account of the governorship of ʿAkkā, which he claimed for himself The conflict soon brought about the sending of an Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pasha into Syria On May 27, 1832 ʿAkkā was taken In the following month the army that was sent by the sultān was repeatedly defeated and finally beaten near Konya (December 21, 1832) The Egyptian army, continuing in the direction of Constantinople, reached Kutahia Here at last an armistice was concluded between the Porte and Ibrāhīm as representative of his father, thanks again to the intervention of the European powers, of whom Russia had already sent military aid to Constantinople Muhammad ʿAlī was granted the governorship of Syria and Adana by the definite peace of April 6, 1833

During the following six years the viceroy's power was at its height While Ibrāhīm administered Syria, severely but on the whole to the prosperity of the country, Muhammad ʿAlī continued his administrative programme in Egypt and inaugurated a pan-Arabian policy, the aim of which was to be the union of all Arabic-speaking peoples under his leadership In Arabia his influence was still considerable since the Wahhābī war, he now tried to extend Egyptian influence as far as the ʿIrak This policy, while at the same time constituting a threat to the ambitions of the European powers in the Near East, was to bring him again into conflict with the sultān, who, having succeeded at last in subduing too independent vassals in other parts of his empire, was waiting for an opportunity to crush his most powerful vassal in Egypt The latter, in 1838, had even made known his intention of declaring himself independent of the Turkish government

Not long after the outbreak of hostilities the Turkish army under Hāfiz Pasha was completely defeated at Nasīb in North Syria (June 24, 1839), while the Turkish fleet under the Kapudan Pasha Ahmad sailed to Alexandria and went over to Muhammad ʿAlī's side In this desperate situation the authority of the Porte was saved by the intervention of the five European powers, in defence of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire The Egyptian question had thus produced an international political crisis, which was aggravated by the opposition of France, which had long been the best intentioned towards Muhammad ʿAlī among the European governments By the convention of

London (July 5, 1840) England, Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed with the Porte upon the terms to be imposed upon Muhammad ʿAlī When the latter did not accept, there followed military demonstrations against the coastal towns in Syria (ʿAkkā taken on November 4, 1840) Soon afterwards a a British fleet appeared in Alexandria, where Admiral Napier on November 27 concluded an agreement with Muhammad ʿAlī The viceroy consented to the return of the Turkish fleet and renounced his governorship of Syria, Adana and Crete, while on the other hand he was to keep the hereditary governorship of Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire These terms were confirmed by an imperial *firmān* of February 13, 1841, completed by another of May 23, in which the mutual relations of sultān and viceroy were definitely regulated The chief points were the right of succession according to seniority in Muhammad ʿAlī's family, the payment of a tribute and the permission to maintain an Egyptian army of 18,000 men, the higher officers of which were to be appointed by the sultān

Muhammad ʿAlī's last years were passed in peace In 1846 he visited Constantinople and Kawālā, in 1848 he lost his son Ibrāhīm to whom so many of his military successes were due On August 2, 1849 he himself died in Alexandria, to be succeeded by Ḥusun's son ʿAbbās Pasha [q v] He was buried in the new mosque which he had had erected in the citadel of Cairo

Still more amazing than the career of this once obscure Turkish officer are the enormous changes brought about by his work in the condition and the international position of Egypt, they have made him a hero in the history of the Near East His reign is an era by itself in Egyptian history Muhammad ʿAlī's latest biographer says "He began by seeking only to raise money He ended by seeking, however mistakenly, to develop and civilise the country" (Dodwell, p 220) His work indeed did not at all mean a break with the government traditions prevailing in the Turkish Empire, but the political aim that Muhammad ʿAlī had set himself, seconded by his persevering energy and the continuous supervision of his autocratic individuality, led at last to a result which, in similar conditions, would otherwise have been difficult to attain, as is shown by the state of things prevailing at the same time in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire

As the measures taken by Muhammad ʿAlī in the field of administration, land policy and the industrial and commercial mobilisation of the country have been briefly sketched in the art KHEDĪW, it is unnecessary to enter here into the same details It is sufficient to point to the fact that all these measures had as their first object to make the pasha himself the sole proprietor and administrator of the riches of Egypt He certainly listened to the advice of European and other councillors and valued European institutions as examples to follow to a certain extent But he followed oriental methods and made as good as no use of Europeans as officials in the home administration

This was not the case in Muhammad ʿAlī's newly created army The pasha himself had not been entirely able to keep his mercenary troops under control (mutiny in Cairo in 1816) So he decided to form a new army, moved by the same motives that had led Sultān Selīm III to create new regular troops (*nizām-i djedīd*) From 1819 this enterprise was confided to and brought to a successful end by the French captain Seve, who, after having embraced Islām, served Muhammad ʿAlī as Sulaimān Pasha A first attempt to use negro slaves from the Sūdān as soldiers having failed, the *fallāh*s of Egypt itself were recruited, the officers were mainly taken from among the young Mamlūks, besides whom there were not a few Europeans With this army were won the military successes in Morea and Syria The recruitment met with exceedingly strong opposition among the people of Egypt and later in Syria, and the methods used to get the required number were sometimes cruel, but the pasha's energy prevailed At length this military organisation proved to be a means of education for the people and prepared the growth of national feeling among the generations to come As has been said already, the final Imperial *firmān* of 1841 limited the Egyptian army to 18,000 men in time of peace

Muhammad ʿAlī's attempts to create an Egyptian fleet go back as far as 1815 At first he had ships built in France and Italy and in Bombay, but soon Alexandria itself got its yards After the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino ship-building began again and quite a number of French and Italian officers were employed in the Egyptian navy after 1831 The Egyptian fleet, however, did not long survive its founder

On the whole, Muhammad ʿAlī's rule wore a Turkish character Most of the responsible posts in the administration and in the army were held by Turks and by descendants of the Mamlūks Thus the Ottoman ruling system, with some modifications applied after the European model, was imposed on Egypt most completely at the time when the country itself was politically loosened from the empire It may be called an exception that the Armenian Boghos Bey, who was for a long time Muhammad ʿAlī's minister of finance and of foreign affairs, came to this exalted position, although the use of Christians (Armenians and Copts) in more subordinate offices had always been a government practice in Turkey as well as in Egypt The viceroy himself is said never to have spoken well any language other than Turkish

Muhammad ʿAlī was not a great builder of magnificent architectural monuments He erected a mosque after the Turkish fashion in the citadel of Cairo, but he never built costly palaces for himself Most of his works were of public utility, such as the improvement and the enlargement of the irrigation system in the Delta, including the Nile Barrage below Cairo This last work was undertaken in 1847, but failed

The judgments on Muhammad ʿAlī's personality were very divergent even during his life-time Most of his admirers were found amongst the French, in view of the on the whole friendly attitude of the French government this is of course not strange British opinion was less favourable, but all those who came into contact with the viceroy were impressed by his personal charm Now that his era belongs to the past, the impression remains of a great man in many respects, possessed of considerable personal courage and trustworthy and loyal in a high degree His methods were sometimes cruel and in the begin-

ning of his career he often had recourse to intrigues, but in the circumstances it is hard to understand how it could have been otherwise As years passed by and the prosperity of the country increased, his methods of government grew more lenient, so that, at the end of his reign, he had become decidedly popular with his subjects An equestrian statue of Muhammad ʿAlī now commands the chief square of Alexandria and one of the largest thoroughfares in Cairo is called after him

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MUHAMMAD ʿALĪ B MUZAFFAR AL DĪN. [See Kadjar]

MUḤAMMAD BAIRAM (Muhammad b Muṣṭafā b Muhammad b Muhammad b Muhammad b Husain b Ahmad b Muhammad b Husain b Bairām), a Tunisian patriot and man of letters, born in Tunis in Muharram 1256 (March 5–April 3, 1840) and died on Wednesday, 25th Rabiʿ II, 1307 (Dec 18, 1889) in Egypt, at Hulwān, and was buried in Cairo near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī

Belonging to the family of the Bairams whose

ancestor Bairam, at the head of a body of soldiers, took part in the capture of Tunis by Sinān Pāshā on 25th Djumādā 981 (Sept 24, 1573) and of which several members had held the office of grand muftī of Tunis, Muhammad Bairam studied at the Djāmiʿ al Zaitūna and had as teachers al-Tāhir b ʿĀshūr, al-Shādhilī b Sālih, Ahmad Bairam, Mustafā Bairam, the Shaikh al-Islām Muhammad b Muʿāwiya and others At the age of 17, he compiled a *kunnāsh* in which he recorded the ordinances, decrees and administrative regulations which the emīr Muhammad Pāshā ordered the authorities to enforce

On the death of his paternal uncle Bairam IV, he was given charge of the Madrasat al-ʿUnukīya on 9th Djumādā I, 1278 (Nov 10, 1861) and on the 9th of the following month (Dec 13) of that of the Djāmiʿ al Zaitūna Soon after this, troubles provoked by the despotic régime began to disturb Tunisia and resulted in the closing of the representative assemblies in which Bairam was interested He published in the *Rāʾid*, the official gazette, the two first political articles that ever appeared in Tunisia and in them he condemned the tyranny of the authorities, preached the love of liberty and begged the government to be liberal and to grant its subjects representative assemblies

On Safar 17, 1291 (April 6, 1874) he was appointed to administer the *awkāf*, which he hastened to reorganise The hard work ruined his health and forced him to take a journey in Europe to recuperate, this caused him to begin his *Safwat al Iʿtibar* He left in Shawwāl 1292 (Oct 31—Nov 28, 1875) and visited Paris In the same year the Sādikī College was founded, Bairam shared in the preparation of the regulation and programme of studies, modelled on those of European institutions, and was one of the first to enrol his son so as to encourage his compatriots to take advantage of such innovations

On 1st Djumādā II, 1292 (May 7, 1875) he was put in charge of the government printing works which he at once reorganised, and securing eminent assistants like Muhammad al-Sanūsī of Tunis and Hamza Fath Allāh of Cairo he produced the *Rāʾid* regularly It was at this time also that he reorganised the Maktabat al-Ṣādikiya alongside of the Djāmiʿ al-Zaitūna

In 1293 (1876) he assisted Turkey in the war with Serbia and Montenegro by sending money, horses and camels, political considerations preventing the despatch of help in men

In the summer of 1295 (1878) he went a second time to Paris, visited the Exhibition and was received with great consideration by President MacMahon He took the opportunity to visit London and England and, on his way back, Algiers He took a very prominent part in the reorganisation or rather the creation of the Sādikī Hospital which was opened on Safar 18, 1296 (Feb 1879) At the same time he was one of the two arbitrators appointed by the Tunisian government in the case of Henshīr Saiyidī Thābit and the French government In the middle of the same year, he was appointed by the vizier to go to Paris, to receive medical attention, it was said, but in reality to ask Gambetta to remove the French consul, who was interfering in the domestic affairs of the country and even managing them The consul thwarted the plans of Bairam and the vizier On his return he told the vizier that France intended to annex Tunisia Tired of the vexatious pestering of the vizier Mustafā b Ismāʿīl he obtained, after many attempts, permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and left Tunis, never to return, on Shawwāl 16, 1296 (Oct 4, 1879) He went via Malta, Alexandria and Cairo, where he was received by the Khedive Tewfīk Pāshā, and thence to the Hidjāz, visiting Mecca and Medīna He then went via Yambuʿ and the Suez Canal to Bairūt, where he was much honoured by the people and by Midhat Pāshā, the governor of Syria, and on to Constantinople He wrote a *kasīda* in honour of Sultān ʿAbd al Hamīd The Tunisian government at the instigation of the French consul, who feared the establishment of closer relations between Turkey and Tunisia, demanded his return but the Sublime Porte diplomatically did not receive the request

It was in Constantinople that he began to prepare the *Safwa* for publication and finished the first two volumes The penetration of France into Tunisia was a rude shock to Bairam, who in collaboration with the former vizier of Tunisia, Khair al-Dīn, was appointed by the Sublime Porte to prepare a report on the situation created by France Despairing of returning to his native town he went to Leghorn and was joined by his family, he then went to Geneva, where he left his son to finish his education, and to Vienna and Bucharest and then settled in Constantinople The Sultān, wishing to send some horses as a present to the Emperor Frederick III of Germany, Bairam was appointed to write the letter conveying the gift During the eighteen months which he spent in the Turkish capital, Bairam drew a pension of £T 25 per month It was during this stay that he prepared the third volume of the *Safwa*

His health being undermined by an illness which grew worse daily and being unable to meet his expenses and fearing the machinations of his detractors, who saw in him a man to be removed, he left Constantinople on 1st Muharram 1302 (Oct 21, 1884) to go to Egypt, where his letters of recommendation secured him the esteem of the Khedive Tewfik Pāshā, who gave him a pension

On the 25th Rabiʿ of the same year (Jan 13, 1883) he produced *al-Iʿlām*, a political and scientific journal

Two years later, he went to London to attend the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria, had medical attention in Paris and returned to Egypt via Berlin and Vienna He then completed a work which he had begun in Constantinople entitled *Tadjrīd al-Sinān li ʾl-Radd ʿala ʾl-Khatīb Rinān* (Renan), in which he refuted the arguments which Renan had advanced at a conference in the Sorbonne on March 29, 1883 on *Islamisme et la Science* (Paris 1883), in which he alleged that religion was an obstacle to the diffusion of science among Muslims He also published a *Risāla* in which he declared that it was permitted to purchase bonds or shares in a Muslim government loan so that Muslim money should not leave the country, and that this had no character of usury He wrote a report on the compulsory use of the Arabic language in the teaching even of modern sciences He finished the fourth volume of the *Safwa* and had begun the fifth which death prevented him from finishing

On 12th Djumādā I, 1306 (Jan 14, 1889) Bairam was appointed a judge in the Tribunal de Ier Instance in Cairo Going to Hulwān for a change of air, he took pleurisy and died after 25 days' illness

He had a vast knowledge of Hadīth, law, history, ancient and modern, and historical and political geography

In addition to the works already mentioned and numerous *risāla*s which it would take too long to enumerate, we may mention the following 1 *Tuhfat al Khawāṣṣ fī Hill Saīd Bunduḳ al-Rasāṣ*, printed at Cairo in 1303 in which he claims that the law regards as permitted the flesh of game killed with fire arms, 2 a treatise on prosody, 3 a *risāla* in which he says that it is permissible for men to let their hair hang down and float in the air, contrary to the opinion of several *fakīh*s, 4 *al-Tahkīk fī Masʾalat al Rakīk*, a study in which he shows what slavery among Muslims is according to the law, points out the motives of slavery and the rules regulating it, and concludes by saying that slaves who are sold at the present day are free men and that Muslim governments which forbid the sale of slaves are acting in accordance with the law, 5 *Safwat al Iʿtibar bi-Mustawdaʿ al-Amsār*, published in 6 vols in Cairo in 1302—1303, 1303, 1304, 1311, the sixth volume being devoted to the biography of Muhammad Bairam and edited by his son of the same name, it is perhaps the best treatise yet written in Arabic on political geography

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(Moh Benchenhb)

MUHAMMAD BAKĀʾ, son of Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, born in 1037 (1627), was first taught by his father and then by Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh, called Mīyān Hadrat, and Shaikh Nūr al-Hakk b ʿAbd al Hakḳ Dihlawī After a few years he himself began teaching in his native country He first became a *murīd* or disciple of his father, and after the latter's death attached himself to the famous saint, Muhammad Maʿsūm Sarhindī He was pursuaded by Iftikhār Khān, Mir Khānsāmān, to come to the court of Awrangzēb and accepted the duties of Bakhshī (pay master) and Wākiʿahnigār (writer of the official diary), but by special favour he enjoyed much leisure, which he devoted to literary work He died in 1094 (1683) at Sahāranpūr He is the author of 1 *Mirʾāt Djahān Numā* (a general history compiled under Awrangzēb), 2 *Riyād al-Awliyāʾ* (life of saints), 3 *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ* (biographies of the poets)

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MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR Khaldjī was an inhabitant of Ghōr [q v] He was of a very mean appearance and amongst other deformities of his person it is said that when he stood upright the end of his fingers extended considerably below his knees When he reached the age of manhood he went to Ghazna [q v] and offered himself as a volunteer to the officers of Muhammad Ghōrī, but they refused to enrol him He, therefore, repaired to Dihlī and was appointed by Kutb al-Dīn Aibeg [q v] to command an army destined for the conquest of Bihār about 596 (1199) Here he was very successful He was next ordered to invade Bengal In 600—601 (1203—1204) he proceeded to Nadyā, the capital of Bengal, and captured it without any bloodshed His last attempt was directed towards the invasion of Bhūtān and Tibet, but he met with reverses which compelled him to retreat He succeeded in reaching Dēvīkōt in Bengal where he died, but his body was carried to Bihār and buried there in 602 (1206)

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(M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD BEY ABŪ DHAHAB [See ʿAlī Bey]

MUHAMMAD BEY ʿOTHMĀN AL-DJALĀL was born in Egypt in 1829, the son of a judge in the Court of Appeal, named Yūsuf al Hasanī When a boy he learned English, French and Turkish at the school of languages (*Madrasat al Alsun*) and when only 16 was given an appointment in the government translation bureau His patron, the engineer Clot Bey, had him appointed to the Conseil de Medecine In 1863 he entered the War Ministry and five years later the Ministry of the Interior In 1879 the Khedive Tewfik Pasha appointed him to his civil cabinet and several times took him to accompany him on journeys After the death of the Khedive he was appointed a judge in Cairo In 1895 he was pensioned and he devoted himself to literary work till his death at the end of 1898

In collaboration with Clot Bey, he published a sketch of the history of Muhammad ʿAlī and an elementary grammar of the Arabic and French languages and also a description in rhyme of his journey with the Khedive Tewfik He then devoted himself to the translation of poetry first of the fables of J de Fontaine, the novel *Paul et Virginie*, and of Racine's tragedies *Alexandre le Grand*, *Esther* and *Iphigenie* All these he translated into classical Arabic But his real importance lies in his endeavour to translate Moliere's comedies into the modern Arabic vernacular of Egypt, freely adapting them to Arabic conditions

a Tartuffe under the title *Shaikh Matlūf*, which Vollers edited under the title *Is seḫ Matlûf* (cf *Z D M G*, xlv 71 *sqq* and thereon Socin, *ibid*, xlvi 131 *sqq*), *b Madrasat al-Azwādj* (*L'Ecole des Maris*), transcribed and translated by M Sobernheim, Berlin 1896, *c al-Nisāʾ al-ʿālimāt* (*Les Femmes Savantes*), transcribed and translated by Fr Kern, Berlin 1898, *d Madrasat al-Nisāʾ* (*L'École des Femmes*), *e Riwāyat al-Thukalāʾ* (*Les Fâcheux*), 1897 His collections of popular poems were also lithographed *Himl Zadjal*

The Egyptians were not much attracted by these comedies translated into the vernacular The language did not appear cultured enough to the Egyptian public They were hardly ever produced and the rich vocabulary which the comedies contain has not been noticed or utilised by students of modern Arabic

Bibliography On metre and language see Socin, Sobernheim and Kern, *loc cit*, and see also Brockelmann *G A L*, ii 176 *sq*, the poet's autobiography in *al-Khiṭaṭ al djadīda* of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, xvii 62, *al-Adab al-ʿarabiya fi 'l-Karn al-tāsiʿ ʿashr*, ii 91 *sq*, J E Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopedique de bibliographie arabe*, ii, col 1306 (M Sobernheim)

MUHAMMAD ČELEBĪ [See GHAZĀLĪ]

MUḤAMMAD DAMAD PAṢHA, grand-vizier, also called ÖKÜZ MUHAMMAD PASHA, was the son of a farrier of Constantinople and was educated (rather unusual at that time for a boy from Constantinople) in the imperial palace for a military career He left the palace as *silihdār*, but we do no not know his career until he was appointed, in 1016 (1607—1608), governor of Egypt Here he was successful in the energetic suppression of a Mamlūk revolt and when he returned in 1610 to the capital with two years' tribute, he was appointed Kapudan Pasha, being at the same time married to sultān Ahmad's seven years' old daughter Gawhar Khān (married afterwards to Radjab Pasha and Siyāwush Pasha, cf *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i 147), which assured him the qualification *damad* As Kapudan Pasha he was made responsible for a defeat inflicted in 1613 on a part of his fleet, off the island of Chios, by a small Spanish Sicilian fleet, this blow prevented the landing of Turkish ships in Syria on an expedition against the Druses Damad Muhammad was dismissed from the post of Kapudan, became, however, second vizier and, after Nasūh Pasha's execution (October 17, 1614) he was appointed grand-vizier In this office he commanded in 1615 as *ser-ʿasker* in a new campaign against Persia, the peace negociations having ended unsuccessfully a short time before Nothing was undertaken, however, that year, partly owing to astrological calculations The grand-vizier remained that winter in Aleppo The next year the Persians were attacked in Armenia, where they had made some progress, Erīwan was beleaguered and capitulated beginning of July 1616 after a 25 days' siege The Turkish army was obliged, however, to withdraw with heavy losses occasioned by the rude climate and the insufficient food supplies Damad Muhammad was dismissed in January 1617 to be succeeded by Khalīl Pasha [q v], in the Venetian *Relazioni* Khalīl Pasha and Muhammad Pasha are described as the only members of the Imperial Dīwān that really count The next year, after the accession of ʿOthmān II, he became Khalīl's *kāʾim-makām* during that year's Persian campaign and, after Khalīl's disgrace, was appointed a second time grand-vizier (January 18, 1619) His dignity he held only a year, in which peace was concluded with Persia, the reason of his dismissal was a dispute with the Kapudan Guzeldje ʿAlī Pasha [q v], a favourite of the sultān (January 1620) Damad Muhammad went as governor to Aleppo after having been deprived of all his wealth by the extortions of his successor He died soon after his arrival in Aleppo and was buried in the *tekke* of Shaikh Abū Bakr, where he had a *turbe* made for himself

Bibliography The principal Turkish sources are Naʿīmā I, Peçewī and Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke* and *Tuhfat al Kibār*) Further von Hammer, *G O R*, iv 442, 468, 475 *sqq*, 507 *sqq* where some contemporaneous western sources are indicated, ʿOthmān Zāde, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarāʾ*, p 61, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv 147

(J H KRAMERS)

MIRZĀ **MUHAMMAD DJAʿFAR ḲARADJA-DĀGHĪ**, Munshī of the Kādjār prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā and translator into Persian of the famous comedies of the Ādharbāidjānī playwright Mīrzā Fath ʿAlī Ākhundzāde After they had been published (1859) Mirzā Fath ʿAlī sent a copy of his plays to the above-mentioned Kādjār prince in the hope that he would take notice of it But the book lay unheeded for years in the prince's library until Muhammad Djaʿfar opened it by chance The munshī, delighted with the plays, at once decided to translate them into Persian As no one would help him, he was forced to print the translation at his own expense, which brought him into considerable financial difficulties The translation appeared in lithograph in Teheran in 1874 under the title *Tamthilāt* When the work was finished, Muhammad Djaʿfar corresponded with the author and found out that they were related The Persian translation is of the greatest importance for the history of Persian theatre as it gave the stimulus to the composition of original works The influence of Ākhundzāde on the work of Malkum-Khān and even on more recent dramatists, such as Mahmūdī, is quite apparent From the artistic point of view however, Muhammad Djafar's translations cannot be called successful as their language is very clumsy and filled with countless Ādharbāidjānisms It is remarkable that European orientalists first became acquainted with Ākhundzāde's works in their Persian dress and published a considerable number of these translations (see *Bibl*) as textbooks for the study of spoken Persian, although, in view of their linguistic defects, the translations cannot by any means be regarded as models of the living Persian language

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(E BERTHELS)

MUHAMMAD ESʿAD [See GHĀLIB DEDE]

MUHAMMAD ESʿAD [See EsʿAD EFENDI]

MUHAMMAD GHAWTH GAWĀLIYĀRĪ, an Indian saint He was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār [q v], his full name being Abu 'l Muʾayyad Muhammad b Khatīr al-Dīn b Latīf b Muʿīn al-Dīn Kattāl b Khatīr al-Dīn b Bāyazīd b Farīd al Dīn ʿAttār Some say that his great-grand-father Muʿīn al-Dīn Kattāl came to India and died at Djawnpūr One of his brothers, Shaikh Bahlūl, who was attached to the service of Humāyūn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayāna According to his own statement, Muhammad Ghawth was born in 906 (1500) He was a pupil of Shaikh Zuhūr al-Dīn Hādjdjī Hudūr, and belonged to the Shattārīya sect of Sūfīs He and his eight brothers were disciples of Shaikh Hādjdjī Hamīd, khalīfa of Shāh Kādan, the disciple and khalīfa of Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh Shattārī After leading a solitary life

for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Čunār, he came to Gudjarāt, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar Shaikh Wadjīh al-Dīn Gudjarātī He went to Āgra in 966 (1558) and was treated with high regard by Akbar Subsequently he returned to Gawāliyār, where he died in 970 (1562) Humāyūn is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muhammad Ghawth

He was the author of several Sūfī works, the most popular of which is *Djawāhir-i Khamsa*, in Arabic, which he completed in 956 (1549), and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements His other works are *Kalīd i Makhāzin*, *Bahr al-Hayāt*, and *Mi'rādj Nāma* It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Mi'rādj Nāma* were condemned by the *'ulamā'* of Gudjarāt, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned Shaikh Wadjīh al-Dīn

Bibliography Bankipore Lib, *Cat*, vol xvi, Nis 1383—1384, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p 236, *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā'*, p 969, *Tadhkira i 'Ulamā' i Hind*, p 206, see also Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii 643, Ethé, *India Office Lib Cat*, Nrs 1875–1876, Loth, *Arab Cat*, Nrs 671—672

(ABDUL MUQTADIR)

MUḤAMMAD GURDJĪ PASHA Two Turkish grand-viziers are known under this name

1 The one who is also called KHĀDIM MUHAMMAD PASHA began his political career after having been a eunuch in the imperial palace, in 1604 he became *wālī* in Egypt, where he was able to establish some order, after that he was twice *kā'im makām* of the grand-vizierate in the capital, in 1611 and in 1615, in the meantime he had held governorships in Erzerūm, Bosnia and Belgrad He was called to the grand-vizierate in the days of Sultān Mustafā I's second reign, when the Janissaries and the Sipāhīs were dictating their will at Constantinople (September 1622) Khādim Muhammad owed his nomination to the Sipāhīs — who had obtained the dismissal of Mīr Husain Pasha, the leader of the Janissaries — but also to the confidence of the *wālide* and to his well-earned reputation of a wise and experienced politician He succeeded indeed in the abolition of abusesin the army administration by convoking a large council of dignitaries, where the reinforcement of the *kānūn* was decided When, however, in several parts of the empire, there arose opposition against the Janissary regime, especially the action of Abāza Pasha [q v] in Erzerūm, the grand-vizier was unable to oppose the Janissaries in Constantinople Their leader Mīr Husain was intriguing again, while at the same time the soldateska was crying for revenge for Sultān 'Othmān II, as a result of these riots the former grand-vizier Dāwūd Pasha was killed in January 1623 On February 5 of the same year the rebellious Janissaries, declaring that a eunuch could not be their grand-vizier, obtained his dismissal in favour of Mīr Husain Gurdjī Muhammad went into exile, but after the enthronement of Murād IV he came back to the capital as vizier and acted for the third time as *kā'im-makām* in May 1624 when the then grand-vizier went on an expedition against Abāza He died on March 26 and was buried in a *turbe* in Eyūb His age is not given in the sources In the opinion of the English resident Roe, Gurdjī Muhammad was one of the few personalities that were able to lead the affairs of the empire

Bibliography The historians Na'īmā, Pečewī, Hasan Bey Zāde, Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke*), Tughī, *Wak'a'-i Sultān 'Othmān Khān* (used by von Hammer, not printed but existing in a French translation, cf Babinger, *G O W*, p 157), 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Hadikat al-Wuzarā*, p 71, *Sudjill i 'othmānī*, iv 151, von Hammer, *G O R*, iv, Jorga, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, iii

2 One of the grand viziers of the first period of Muhammad IV's reign, when the state affairs were really governed by the *wālide* Kosem [q v] and the *kizlar aghasi* Sulaimān This Gurdjī Muhammad had already a long career as governor of Syria and other provinces behind him when, at the age of 94 years, he was called to the highest dignity in the beginning of November 1651 as successor of Siyāwush Pasha, who had shown too much independence towards the court During his grand vizierate he is said to have shown fully his lack of capacity, taking the alarming revolts in Asia Minor of Abāza Pasha, Ipshīr Pasha and Katirdjī Oghlu with the greatest equanimity He was especially anxious to remove from the capital all possible rivals to the grand-vizierate, amongst them Muhammad Koprulu, which brought him, as Na'īmā says, the nickname of *habb al-salātīn* "the pill of the sultāns" On June 19, 1652 he was deposed again by the court party After having been exiled he lived some time at Eyyūb and died in 1664, at the age of 110 years, in Temesvar

Bibliography The histories of Na'īmā and Pečewi, further Wedjihī (not published and used by von Hammer, cf Babinger, *G O W*, p 208), also the *Siyāhat nāme* of Ewliyā, 'Othman Zāde Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p 95 *sqq*, von Hammer, *G O R*, v, Jorga, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, iii, iv, Ahmad Rafīk, *Kadīnlar Saltanati*, Constantinople 1914—1924

(J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD HASAN KHĀN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19th Shawwāl 1313 (April 3, 1896) His honorific titles were *Sani' al-Dawla* and later *I'timād al Saltana*

Through his mother he was related to the Kādjārs [q v] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers His father, Hādjdjī 'Alī Khān of Marāgha, was a faithful servant of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh (in 1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaimān Khān) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court

Muhammad Hasan Khān was one of the first students at the Dār al-Funūn founded in 1268 (1851) and spent 12 years there Later he went with his father when he was appointed governor of 'Arabistān In 1280 (1863) he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three and a half years there On his return to Teherān he was appointed interpreter to the Shāh and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels In 1288 (1871) he was appointed head of the dragomanate (*dār al-tardjuma*) and of the press bureau (*dār al-tibā'a*) as well as director of the official *Rūznāma-yi dawlati* In 1290 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank

E G Browne criticises severely the work of

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars On the other hand, Joukovsky speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e g the printing of the Kurʾān with an inter linear Persian translation, concordance and index, the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters, the establishment of the Mushīrīya school, encouragement of the daily press etc) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by Shaikh Hāshimī Shīrāzī the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān

The fact is that the number of works — often very useful — bearing the name of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, is very large Without the help of "secretaries" some of these books could not have been undertaken To Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān is in any case due the honour of having suggested them His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs They are *Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, i , two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geo giaphy letters ا — ی), ii , 1295 (history of the years i —xv of the reign of Nāṣir al Dīn and calendar), iii (years xvi —xxxii of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar), iv , 1296 (geography letters ی — ج and history of 1296) In the geographical portions we find quotations from Yākūt and European travellers along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mirʾāt al-Buldān Taʾrīkh-i Bābul wa-Nīnawā* was published at Bombay in 1311), *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, 3 parts, 1298—1300 (history from the time of the Hidjra, vol iii history of the Kādjārs 1194—1300), *Matlaʿ al-Shams*, 3 vols , 1301—1303 (description of the journey to Khurāsān with important archæological data, ii 165—213 contains the autobiography of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and ii 469—500 a list of books in the library of the sanctuary of Mashhad), *Kitāb Hidjdja al Saʿāda fī Hadjdja al Shahāda*, Tihrān 1304, Tabrīz 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalā), *Khaṭrātun ḥisānun* [cf Sūra lx 70], 3 vols , 1304—1307 (biographies of famous women of the Islām), *Kitāb Durar al-Tidjān fī Taʾrīkh Banī Ashkān*, 1308—1310, 3 vols (history of the Arsacids), *Kitāb al Maʾāthir wa 'l-Āthār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh), *Kitāb al Tadwīn fī Aḥwāl Djabal i Shaʿwīn*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Māzandarān)

In the field of literature Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was only a translator (Swiss Family Robinson, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Taʾrīkh-i Inkishāf i Yangī Dunyā*, Tihrān 1288, Memoirs on the Indian Mutiny of 1857) He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language

Bibliography V A Joukovsky (Žukowski), obituary of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in *Z V O*, x, 1896, p 187—191, Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p 453—456, Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian Books of the Brit Mus*, p 479—480

(V Minorsky)

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN TABRĪZĪ, a famous Persian calligrapher, pupil of the celebrated Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Mashhadī and teacher of the no less famous Mīr ʿImād His remarkable command of the art of calligraphy, so popular in Persia, brought him the title of honour *Mihin Ustād* (greatest master) His father Mīrzā Shukrullāh was *Mustawfi al Mamālik* to the Safawid Tahmāsp I (1521—1576), the master himself, according to the Oriental sources, was vizier to Shāh Ismāʿīl II (1576—1578) but lost the favour of the sovereign and was forced to fly to India where he remained to his death Rieu says he died about 950 (1543), but this does not agree with other biographical details and is indeed improbable That he spent the remainder of his life in India is evident from the fact that most of the manuscripts known to have been written by him were finished in India The inscriptions on the masdjids and khānkāhs of Tabrīz are said to have been his masterpieces but unfortunately they have been almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes After completing these inscriptions he made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return devoted himself exclusively to copying the masterpieces of Persian poetry A *Diwān* of the Persian poet Amīr Shāhī from his pen is in the Cambridge University Library

Bibliography Cl Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, p 237, E Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1899, N° 265, p 353, Mīrzā Habīb, *Khaṭṭ u Khaṭṭāṭān*, Constantinople 1306, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlamārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1314, p 126, Ch Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum* , p 782a, 783a, 785a (E Berthels)

MUḤAMMAD ISMĀʿĪL b ʿAbd al-Ghanī al Shahīd Mawlānā was born on the 28th Shawwāl 1196 (1781), of a Dihlī family that traces its origin to the Caliph ʿUmar He was a nephew of the famous Mawlānā Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d 1239 = 1823) Having lost his father early, he was brought up by his uncle Mawlānā ʿAbd al Kādir (d 1242 = 1826) In childhood he was inattentive to his studies and fond of swimming in the Djamna, but thanks to a retentive memory and a keen intellect he later on became a learned man

Being shocked at the *shirk* or idolatrous tendencies, then prevailing among Indian Muslims, he zealously preached the doctrines of Islām Impressed by the religious sanctity of Saiyid Aḥmad al-Mudjaddid, he became his disciple and his constant companion In 1236 (1820) they went to Mecca and then to Constantinople, where they were received with marked consideration Six years later, on their return to Dilhī, they gained many followers In 1243 (1827) they with many disciples went to Peshāwar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs But owing to some innovations upon the usages of the Afghāns, their power declined and during a retreat they perished in a skirmish with the Sikhs in 1247 (1831)

He is the author of the following works

1 *Risāla Uṣūl al-Fikh*, a treatise on the principles of Muhammadan law according to the Hanafī school,

2 *Manṣab-i Imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the Imāmat,

3 *Takwiyat al Īmān*, an Urdu treatise on theology (printed 1293, translated into English by Mīr Shahāmat ʿAlī, cf *J R A S*, xiii 316),

4 *Ṣirāt al-Mustakim*, a treatise in Persian on the doctrines of Islām

Bibliography Siddīḳ Ḥasan, *Ithāf al-Nubalāʾ*, p 416, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-Sanādīd*, ii 97, and *J R A S*, xiii 310 (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM b Muḥammad Amīn was a *munshī* or secretary to Awrangzēb He was entrusted with the compilation, from official records, of the history of the emperor's reign and was ordered to submit it to him for correction He accompanied the emperor on his journey to Adjmīr where he fell ill and was consequently sent back to Dihlī and died there shortly after his return in 1092 (1681)

The history which he composed is known as *ʿĀlamgīr Nāma*, it begins with the departure of Awrangzēb from Awrangābād in 1068 (1657) and is brought down to 1078 (1667) It has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865–1868

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MUḤAMMAD KHALĪFA [See Muḥammad b Ḥusain]

MUHAMMAD KHĀN BANGAS̱H, Nawwāb styled Ghadanfar Djang, was a Rohila chief of the tribe of Bangash The city of Farrukhābād was founded by him in the name of his patron the emperor Farrukhsiyar When Muhammad Shāh became emperor of Dihlī, he appointed him governor of Mālwa in 1143 (1730), but as he could not stop the repeated attacks of the Mahrattas he was removed in 1145 (1732) and appointed governor of Ilāhābād Muhammad Khān intended to reduce the Bundēlas of whom Radjā Čhatursal was chief He captured several places but as he did not know the roads, Čhatursāl with the help of Peshwa Bādjī Rāo, surrounded him suddenly with an army The Nawwāb took refuge in the fortress of Djaitgarh, whereupon his son, Kāsim Djang, having collected an army of Afghāns marched to Djaitgarh and escorted his father in safety to Ilāhābād The imperial ministers then removed him from the governorship He died in 1156 (1743)

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MUHAMMAD KÖPRÜLÜ [See Koprulü]

MUḤAMMAD LALA PASHA [See Muḥammad Pasha Lala]

MUḤAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, Shaikh, author of a work on tulips, *Mīzān al-Azhār* "Balance of Flowers" This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Ahmad III (1115—1143 = 1703—1730), who had given the author the title *Shukūfeperwerān* on the suggestion of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha between 1718 and 1730

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MUḤAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, Tāhir, the name of a Kādī who died in 1204 (1789) in Constantinople, who wrote a series of theological treatises and commentaries, which are still only accessible in mss *Mīzān al-Mukim fi Maʿrifat al-Kisṭās al mustakim*, *Daf*ʿ *l'tirād Rāghib fī Hakk al-Kusūs*, commentary on the *Kaṣīde-i nūniye*, and the commentaries in a collected volume in the ʿĀshir Efendi-Library in Constantinople (*Defter i Kutubkhāne i ʿĀshir Efendi*, Constantinople 1306, p 188, N° 124 [3rd Wakf-foundation]) containing *Djawāhir al-zāhire* (on Ghazālī), *Yākūtat al hamrā* (on Birgewī), *Zumrudat al-khadrā* (on ʿAbd al-Kādir al Gilānī), *al-Durrat al zuhrā* (on *Hizb al-Bahr*) and *Kawkab al-dirrī* (on Ibn Mashīsh) The name Lālezārī comes from Lālezār, a quarter of Constantinople near the Fātih Mosque

Bibliography Brusalī Mehmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, i 349, to which may be added Thuraiyā, *Sidjill i ʿothmūni*, iii 243 Tāhir Lālezār-zāde, who in 1201 (1786—1787) was Mollā of Eiyūb (Th Menzel)

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, son of Hādjdj Faid Allāh, son of Āghā Fadl Allāh, a rich merchant of Iran who came to India in the early part of the xviiith century, was born at Hūglī in 1143 (1730) For a time the Āghā resided at Murshidābād and carried on there an extensive mercantile business, but finding the rising port of Hūgli a more convenient centre, he finally settled there with his son Hādjdj Faid Allāh

Already settled at Hūgli was one Āgha Mutahhar, who, coming originally from Persia like Āghā Fadl Allāh, had won his way at the court of Awrangzēb [q v] That monarch had conferred upon him extensive *djāgīrs* in Djisūr and other places in Bengal, and Āghā Mutahhar, eager to take possession, finally himself set out from Dihli for the Eastern province So well did he manage his newly acquired lands that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the province He selected Hūglī as his headquarters Āghā Mutahhar for many years remained childless and it was only in very old age that a daughter was born to him Round this only child, named Mānū Djān Khānam, all his affections centred, and dying when she was only seven years old he left her all his property The widow of Āghā Mutahhar was displeased with the conduct of her husband and subsequently married Hādjdj Faid Allāh, the son of Āghā Fadl Allāh, her late husband's friend The fruit of this marriage was Hādjdj Muhammad Muhsin He was eight years younger than his half-sister, Mānū Djān Khānam Muhammad Muhsin was first brought up at Hūgli, afterwards he completed his education in Murshidābād After finishing his studies at Murshidābād, he returned to his sister's house at Hūglī Later, he started on a long journey and for twenty seven years he continued his travels in India, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia It was not until he had reached his sixtieth year that he finally decided to terminate his travels and return home Making his way slowly across Northern India he came at last to Lucknow Thence he came to Murshidābād in 1216 (1801), with the intention of settling there But during his long absence his sister, Mānū Djān Khānam, had married her cousin, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Muhammad Khān, nephew of Āghā Muṭahhar, her husband died in the prime of life and she was anxiously waiting for the

arrival of her step-brother At last at the solicitation of his sister, Muhammad Muhsin came to Hūglī, and when she died at the age of eighty-one in 1218 (1803), she left a will bequeathing to Muhammad Muhsin the whole of her property

It was thus not until Hādjdj Muhammmad Muhsin had reached the age of seventy-three that he became possessed of the great wealth which greatly helped his co-religionists in Bengal in the pursuit of education He had never married and the death of his half-sister left him without near relatives He was anxious that his great wealth should be put to good use after his death and consequently on the April 26, 1806 (1221 A H) he signed a Deed of Trust, setting apart the whole of his income for charitable purposes in perpetuity

Hādjdj Muhammad Muhsin lived for six years after making this noble disposition of his property For his own personal use he had reserved only so much property as would bring him in about one hundred rupees a month In 1227 (1812) he died at the age of about eighty two and was buried in the garden adjoining the *Imāmbārā* which he had so splendidly endowed

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MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ B MUHAMMAD B MUHAMMAD B ʿABD AL-RAZZĀK ABU 'L-FAIḌ AL-HUSAINĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ AL-HANAFĪ, an Arabic scholar, born in 1145 (1732) in Bilgrām in Kannūdj in N W India, settled, after travelling for many years in pursuit of knowledge, in Cairo on 9th Safar 1167 (Dec 7, 1753) There he succeeded in reviving an interest in the study of Tradition by giving lectures to specially invited companies In Upper Egypt also he was always a welcome guest with the Arab Shaikh Humām and in the Egyptian country towns, and his fame spread to the Sūdān and even to India From the year 1191 (1777) he drew a pension from the government He died in Shaʿbān 1205 (April 1791) in Cairo of the plague

His principal works are two great commentaries He wrote the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* on Fīrūzābādī's *Kāmūs*, finishing it in 1181 (1767) after 14 years' work, although in the preface he quotes over a hundred sources used by him, he takes most of the additions to the *Kāmūs* bodily from the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manzūr It was printed incompletely in 5 vols in Cairo 1286—1287 and in 10 vols in Cairo 1307 He wrote a commentary, also very extensive, on Ghazzālī's *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, entitled *Ithāf al-Sāda al-muttakīn*, in which, in addition to explaining words he devotes special attention to establishing traditions quoted by al Ghazzālī, it was printed at Fās in 1301—1304 in 13 vols, at Cairo in 1311 in 10 vols He also composed a number of smaller works on lexicography and Tradition and also on the genealogy of the ʿAlids 1 *Nashwat al-Irtiyāh fī Bayān Hakīk al-Maisir wa 'l Kidāh*, ed by Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, 1 40—55, 2 *al-Kawl al-mabtūt fī Tahkīk Lafz al-Tābūt*, Cairo, *Fihrist*[2], 1 96, 3 *Tahkīk al-Wasāʾil li-Maʿrifat al-Mukātabat wa 'l-Rasāʾil*, Mōsul, Dāwūd, *Makhtūtāt*, p 140, 1, 4 *al-Amālī al-Shaikhūnīya*, lectures on traditions, which he gave in the Djamiʿ Shaikhū, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 10253, 5 *Risāla fī Ahādīth Yawm al-ʿĀshūrāʾ*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, VI 209, 6 *Tuhfat al-Kamāʿil fī Madh Shaikh al-ʿArab Ismāʿīl* in the form of a *makāma*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, III 47, 7 *Īdāh al-Madārik fī 'l-Ifsāh ʿanī 'l ʿAwātik*, finished on 4th Rabīʿ II 1194 (April 10, 1780), *ibid*, V 51, 8 *Diadhwat al-Iktibās fī Nasab Banī 'l ʿAbbās*, finished on 26th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1182 (May 2, 1769), *ibid*, p 150, 9 *Hikmat al-Ishrāk ilā Kuttāb al-Āfāk*, history of the Arabic script and of famous calligraphers, finished on 12th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1184 (March 30, 1771), *ibid*, p 163, 10 *al-Rawd al-mi'tār fī Nasab al Sāda Āl Diaʿfar al-Ṭayyār*, *ibid*, p 205, 11 *Muzīl Nikāb al Khafāʾ ʿan Kunā Sādātinā Banī 'l Wafāʾ*, finished on 16th Ramadān 1187 (Nov 21, 1774), *ibid*, p 343, 12 *Nisbat al Sayyid Muhammad Efendi Ibn Hawwāʾ bint Ahmad*, *ibid*, p 346, b, 8

Bibliography al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al Āthār*, Cairo 1927, II 196—210, followed by ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al Khitat al-Tawfikīya al-djadīda*, Būlāk 1306, III 94—96, Muʾmin al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manākib Āl Bait al Mukhtār*, Būlāk 1290, p 273 *sqq*

(C BROCKELMANN)

MUHAMMAD PASHA [See MUḤAMMAD DAMAD PASHA, MUHAMMAD GURDJI PASHA, KARAMĀNĪ MEHMED PASHA, SOKOLLI]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, BALTADJĪ, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in the town of ʿOthmāndjīk and, after an education in the imperial palace entered the corps of the *baltadjīs* On account of his beautiful voice he acted for some time as *muʾedhdhin*, later on he became a scribe and rose rapidly in this career In 1703, at Ahmad III's accession, he became *mīr-ākhor* and was made Kapudan Pasha in November 1704 In December of the same year he obtained the grand vizierate as successor of Kalaylī Ahmad Pasha, against whom, although he had been at one time his fellow *baltadjī*, he had used all his power of intrigue, for which he was especially notorious, according to the historiographer Rāshid On May 3, 1706 he was dismissed — on account of his lack of capacity, as Rāshid says — and sailed to Lemnos, but his friends obtained for him the nomination to the governorship of Erzerūm In January 1709 he became governor of Aleppo and from here he was called, in August 1710, a second time to the grand vizierate, after Koprülü Nuʿmān Pasha had proved unable to restore stability in the way that had been expected from him At that time the first great conflict with Russia was drawing near, Charles XII of Sweden, after the battle of Poltawa, remained in Turkey The beginning of Baltadjī Muhammad's second grand vizierate was therefore filled with preparations for the war with Russia, which had been decided upon at a great state council in November 1710, and approved of by a *fatwā* of the Shaikh al Islām The grand vizier was made commander of this memorable campaign, which quickly was ended by the battle near Falčiu (Falksen, Turk Falči) on the Pruth (July 21-22, 1711) Peter the Great's army was left in a desperate position, but his generals succeeded in concluding a truce with the

grand vizier, by the terms of which the Russian army was allowed to withdraw, while Azof was restored to the Turks The general feeling in the Ottoman historical tradition is that Baltadjî Muhammad had been bribed, his enemies at any case intrigued against him in Constantinople so that, even before his return to the capital, he was informed of his dismissal at Adrianople (Nov 1711) The conclusion of the armistice of the Pruth was also much against the wishes of Charles XII who, on his remonstrances to the grand vizier, is said to have got the insinuating reply that, in case Peter had been taken prisoner, there would have been nobody to govern his country and that, in general, it was not good that sovereigns should leave their country (Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII et de Pierre I*) Baltadjî was exiled to Lesbos and then to Lemnos, where he died in 1712, aged over fifty

The bad reputation which this grand vizier has in Turkish history, and which is also given him by von Hammer, does not seem to be confirmed by western sources (Jorga, iv 308)

Bibliography The chief Turkish authority is Rāshid's *Ta'rikh*, the campaign against Russia has been described in a *Ta'rikh i Moskof*, contained in the work of Hasan of Crete and in a Munich manuscript (Babinger, *G O W*, p 307, 310), Dilāwer-Zāde, *Dhail* to the *Hadikat al-Wuzarā'*, p 7 *sqq*, *Sidjill i ʿothmāni*, iv 208 *sqq*, von Hammer, *G O R*, vii 111 *sqq*, 148 *sqq*, Jorga, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, iv where other western sources are indicated, Ahmed Refîk, *Mamālik-i ʿothmāniyede Demir Bash Sharl*, Constantinople 1910, Ahmad Mukhtār, *Rus menābiʿine gore Baltadjî Mehmed Pashanîn Prut sefari*, *T O E M*, vol 8, p 160 *sqq*, 238 *sqq*

(J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, ELMAS, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in a village near Sinūb as son of a ship's captain After having been attached to the service of the pasha of Tripolis, he was educated in the *khāss oda* of the palace and became in 1687 *silahdār*, soon afterwards he became *nishāndjī* and obtained the rank of vizier In Ahmad II's reign he was pasha in Bosnia, but did not yet play a prominent part, though he is said to have been one of that sultān's favourites After Mustafā II's accession he was appointed *kā'im-makām* of the imperial stirrup and, when a revolt of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Sürmeli ʿAlī Pasha's life, he was appointed in his stead (April 1695) He accompanied the new sultān during the campaigns against Austria of the years 1695, 1696 and 1697 On September 11, 1697 the Turkish army was attacked by the Austrians under prince Eugène, while it was passing the Theiss near Zenta in order to march on Szegedin The sultān had already reached the left bank, but the grand vizier, together with a number of high military chiefs, was killed that day in the battle, which meant a heavy loss for the Turkish troops Elmas Muhammad had been against this military enterprise, but the other members of the council had persuaded the sultān to the contrary He is said to owe the surname *Elmas* "diamond" to his accomplishments and handsome physique

Bibliography The *Ta'rikh* of Rāshid is the chief Turkish source, further ʿOthmān Zade Tā'ib, *Hadikat al-Wuzarā'*, p 122 *sqq*, *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, i 395, von Hammer, *G O R*, vi, Zinkeisen, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, v, Jorga, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, iv, Ahmad Rafîk, *Feleket Seneleri*, Constantinople 1332

(J H KRAMERS)

MUḤAMMAD PASHA ḲARAMĀNÎ [See KARAMĀNÎ MEHMED PASHA]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, LALA, grand vizier under Ahmad I He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Muhammad Sokolli Pasha The year of his birth is not given After having had his education in the palace, he was *mir-akhor* and became in 1595 *agha* of the Janissaries Two years later he took part in the Austrian wars as beylerbey of Rūm ili and was commander of Esztergom (Gran, Turkish Usturghon) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in September 1595 During the following years Lala Muhammad was several times *ser ʿasker* in Hungary and when, in July 1604, the grand vizier Yawuz ʿAlī had died in Belgrad, on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultān sent the imperial seal to Lala Muhammad Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Waitzen (Turk Wāč) but besieged in vain Esztergom During next year's campaign Esztergom was taken by Lala Muhammad (Sept 29, 1605) and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (without the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania In that same year the Turkish eastern army under Čighale Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bulawadin After his return it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long drawn peace negotiations with Austria The young sultān, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Kapudan Pasha Derwîsh, who was intriguing against Lala Muhammad Accordingly the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia He had already put up his tent in Üskudar, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (May 23, 1606) He was buried near the *turbe* of Sokolli Pasha

Bibliography The *ta'rikhs* of Pečewî — who, as scribe, had served Lala Muhammad on several occasions (cf Babinger, *G O W*, p 192) —, Naʿîmā and Hasan Beyzāde, ʿOthmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Hadikat al-Wuzarā'*, p 52 *sqq*, *Sidjilli ʿothmāni*, iv 140, von Hammer, *G O R*, iv

(J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, RŪM, vizier and, according to some sources, grand vizier under Sultān Muhammad II As his surname indicates he was a Greek renegade After having had an education in the palace he was destined for a military career and became at one time *beylerbey* The dates of his birth and of his military advancements are not recorded He had taken part in the final campaign of Muhammad II against Karamān in 1466 and was charged by the sultān with the transfer of parts of the population of the conquered regions to Constantinople, instead of the grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha [q v] who executed these measures in too lenient a way, as the sources say On the way back to Constantinople Mahmūd was dispossessed of his dignity in favour of Rūm Muhammad The latter remained grand vizier until

470, during which time Muhammad II went on is campaigns in Albania [cf SKANDER BEG] and Negroponte Rūm Muhammad Pasha does not seem o have taken part in these expeditions, but, as critical perusal of the sources has shown, he was specially charged with the problem of the repopulation of Constantinople, his commissionership or the transfer of the Karamānian population had een connected with the same problem

As the measures taken to make the new capital gain inhabited must have been unpopular in Muslim ircles — the Greeks and other Christian elements ere granted as favourable conditions as the Muhammadans to settle in the town — the historical adition of the early Ottoman chronicles is rather gainst Muhammad Pasha They ascribe to him he reestablishment of the house-rent in Constanople called *mukāṭa'a*, which was considered as n injustice to the new Muslim settlers The *muāta'a* is said to have been instituted by the sultān, hen abolished and again instituted by this grand izier But, as F C Giese has shown by an analysis f the text of 'Āshīk-Pasha-Zāde and Iursun Bey cf *Isl*, xix, 1931, p 268 *sqq*), these measures ere part of the policy of the sultān himself and ere probably only executed by the temporary rand vizier, who, being a Greek, must have had pecial qualifications for the difficult task This ast circumstance, however, makes him the more uspect in the eyes of the historiographers and or this reason we may perhaps assume that his eported cruelty towards the population of the Karamānian towns has been exaggerated by the sources, n order to add glory to his predecessor Mahmūd 'asha, whose memory has survived as that of national hero It is not even beyond question hat Rūm Muhammad was ever really grand vizier *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*) The *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'* of Othmān Zāde (p 10) ascribes Mahmūd Pasha's fall o Rūm Muhammad's intrigues, but makes Ishāk 'asha his immediate successor in the grand-izierate So do other historians

He was dismissed in 875 (1470) and was afterwards (according to the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī* in 879 1075]) appointed *wālī* of Konya with the mission o pacify the newly conquered territory He was defeated, however, by the tribe of the Warsak in he Cilician passes, soon afterwards he died, probably killed by order of the sultān (according to Āshīk-Pasha Zāde, ed Giese, p 133) The chronological order of these events is not certain

Rūm Muhammad Pasha was buried in a mosque which he had founded in Üskudār

Bibliography Among the old chronicles those of Neshrī and 'Āshīk-Pasha-Zāde, and among the later historians especially 'Ālī, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv 104, von Hammer, *G O R* 2, i 488, 499, Hāfiz Husain al-Aiwānserāyī, *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi'*, ii 195 (J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SOḲOLLI [See SOḲOLLI]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SULṬĀN ZĀDE, grand vizier under Sultān Ibrāhim, was born about 1600 as son of 'Abd al-Rahmān Bey, son of the former grand vizier Ahmad Pasha (under Murād III), and by his mother a grandson of a princess of the imperial house, whence his surname Sultān Zāde After having been *kapīdjī bashī* in the palace, he adopted a military career, became already in 1630 *kubbe wezīri* and was appointed in 1638 governor of Egypt In 1642 he was made commander of the expedition against Azof [q v] which town he rebuilt after it had been burned by the Cossacks before its surrender On his return he formed with the *silahdār* Yūsuf Pasha and the sultān's favourite Djindjī Khwādja a triumvirate, supported by the *wālide* Kosem [q v], they intrigued against the grand vizier Kara Mustafā Pasha, who sought to remove the danger by sending Sultān Zāde Muhammad in 1643 to Damascus as *wālī* After Kara Mustafā had been executed on January 1, 1644, Sultān Zāde Muhammad was made grand vizier One of his most conspicuous characteristics in this office seems to have been his ability to flatter the sultān and to satisfy his very extravagant wishes by obtaining money from all possible sources and by giving sandjaks to many of Ibrāhim's favourites At this time the Empire was at peace with Austria (which sent in August 1644 an extraordinary embassy to confirm the peace) and with Persia, although Rakoczy, the prince of Transylvania, did his best to involve Turkey in a war with Austria There was, however, a strong desire to go to war with Venice and to conquer Crete The grand vizier was against this undertaking, but his former confederates drew the sultān to their side Accordingly Yūsuf Pasha sailed as *serdār* to Crete in the spring of 1645 and took Canea (August 17) The bad feelings that arose after Yūsuf Pasha's return led to Sultān Zāde's dismissal from the post of grand vizier (December 1645) After Yūsuf Pasha in January 1646 had fallen a victim to Sultān Ibrāhīm's cruel capriciousness, Sultān Zāde himself was made *serdār* against Crete He departed in April 1646, drove the Venetians from Tenedos, which they had taken by surprise, and died shortly after his arrival in Canea (July 1646) He was buried in the *teke* of Hudā'ī in Üskudār

Bibliography Na'īmā's *Ta'rīkh* is the chief Turkish authority, valuable contemporary information is given in the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi, who himself went with the expedition against Azof Further the *Dheil-i Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* of Nasūh Pasha Zāde (cf Babinger, *G O W*, p 211) and an anonymous *Nasīhat nāme* (*G O W*, p 152, note), 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p 84 *sqq*, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv 161, von Hammer, *G O R*, v (J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, TIRYĀKĪ, grand vizier under Mahmūd I, was born about 1680 at Constantinople His father was a Janissary He began his career as a scribe and rose to important posts, in 1739 he played a role in the peace negotiations at Belgrad with Austria He had been *kiaya* of the grand vizierate, viz minister of the interior, when the sultān, under influence of his new *kizlar aghasi*, the so called Beshīr the Younger, dismissed his predecessor Hasan Pasha and called him to the grand vizierate (August 1746) The twelve months of his period of office were not filled with war but with important diplomatic negotiations, in which he was supported by the new *kiaya* Muhammad Sa'īd, later grand vizier, and the *re'is efendi* Mustafā, both of them equally well versed in European diplomacy During Tiryākī Muhammad's grand vizierate peace was concluded with Nādir Shāh of Persia (September 4, 1746) and the peace treaties with Austria and Russia were renewed As the reason for his dismissal (August 24, 1747) is given his addiction to the use of drugs

(hence the surname Tiryākī) and his quarrelsome, vindictive character, by which he had made enemies, especially in the ranks of the *ʿulemā'* After his fall he was governor in different eyālets, as Iċ Ili, Mōsul, Baghdād, Diyārbekr, and he died in July 1751 at Rethymo in Crete, where he lived, probably in involuntary retirement According to the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, he was a capable official before his coming to the grand vizierate, afterwards he was a failure in every office

Bibliography The *Ta'rīkh* of ʿIzzī, Dilāwar Zāde ʿOmar, *Dheyl* to the *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p 73 *sqq*, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv 237 (where the dates are wrong), von Hammer, *G O R*, vi (J H KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, YEGEN, grand vizier under Mahmūd II He was called Yegen "the Nephew" because he stood in that relationship to Kel Yūsuf Efendi, a high official in the financial administration (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv 659), he also began his career by holding different financial offices, and was also *kapī kiayasī* of the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha (1732) In 1737 he became *kā'im-makām* in Constantinople during the absence of the grand vizier ʿAbd Allāh Pasha The latter was successful that year against the Austrians on the Danube frontier (taking of Feth Islām), but was nevertheless dismissed, after his return, through the influence of the *kizlar aghasī* Beshīr Yegen Muhammad was appointed in his place (December 1737) and had to continue the peace negotiations with Austria and Russia, which were made especially complicated by the rivalry between France (represented by de Villeneuve) and the Sea Powers in offering their good services as mediators The grand vizier himself was rather in favour of continuing the war and, being of a proud and arrogant character, made the negotiations still more difficult In June 1737 he went as *serdār* to the Austrian front and was successful in recapturing Semendra and Orsowa (August) He was back in the capital in November At the end of the year the Russians retired from Očakow and Kilburnu, which placed Turkey in a favourable position in the never ceasing peace negotiations, in which Poland also had become involved But not even this grand vizier was to bring the war to an end, the same influence that had disposed of his predecessor obtained his dismissal in March 1739 After that Yegen Muhammad was governor of Crete, Bosnia, Aidin and Anadolu When in this last office he was called to the post of *serdār* on the front of Kars (March 1745) against the Persians He received large reinforcements from different quarters and thought himself strong enough to attack Nādir Shāh in his encampment near Eriwan This battle resulted in disaster for the Turks, owing mainly to a mutiny among the irregular *lewend*s Yegen Muhammad was killed, probably by the mutineers, in August 1745

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MUHAMMAD (MEHMED) RA'ŪF, an important Ottoman author and poet who plays a very prominent part in the development of the Turkish moderns and of the written language

Born on Aug 12, 1291 (1875) in Constantinople, the son of an Anatolian, who came from Kutāhya, and a Circassian mother, he received a good education He attended the Naval School and became a naval officer but he only spent eighteen months in the navy, mainly in Crete When quite a boy, he displayed an irrepressible love for the theatre and literature and began to write at the age of 10, taking as his models the novels of Ahmad Midhat and the translations of French romances of adventure This first production was a drama, *Denā'et yakhod Gaskonya Kursanlarī* ("Baseness or the Corsairs of Gascogne") As his knowledge of French, and later of English, increased, he extended the scope of his reading and of his interests, so that at school he received the nick-name *Roman okuyan Efendi* (the novel-reader) and later *Romandjī* (the novel-writer) His literary activity proper only began in the Naval School where he became acquainted with Georges Ohnet, Octave Feuillet, Alphonse Daudet, Emile Zola, Flaubert, the French realists and naturalists and endeavoured to imitate them His story *Djānfezā* is the most notable of his efforts at this period

When he became acquainted with the works of the modernist ʿUshakī Zāde Khālid Ziyā [q v] he came completely under his influence, especially after entering into correspondence with him and having his story *Dushmush* published by him in the periodical *Khidmet* Through Ziyā who remained his model and Husein Djāhid, whose friendship he made soon afterwards, he adopted the career of letters completely and became an author When Djenāb Shihāb al-Dīn had to go to the Hidjāz as medical officer, he left the editorship of his periodical *Mekteb* in the hands of Ra'ūf In 1312 (1896) Ra'ūf at the suggestion of Ziyā published his novel *Gharām-i Shebāb* ("Youthful Passion") in *Ikdām*, but it did not meet with any special success He only began to be famous as an author with his cooperation in the periodical *Serwet i Funūn* in 1312 (1896), which was of great influence in the development of modern Turkish literature Here he worked with Ziyā and the poet Tewfik Fikret [q v], to whom he had become related by his marriage In 1901 the *Serwet-i Funūn* came to an end and with it his literary activity till the Revolution of 1908

His first contributions to the *Serwet* were *Nakāhatda* ("In Convalescence") and *Uzakdan* In the 19th volume was published in serial form his most celebrated novel *Eylūl* ("September") which then appeared in book form like most of his works in the collection, so important for the development of Turkish literature *Edebīyāt i djedīde Kutub khānesi*, vol vi, 1317 (1901) This novel, which was reprinted several times and which remained unique of its kind and represents a height of achievement never again reached by Ra'ūf, had great influence and won general approval In vivid, moving, although unequal language he describes in impressively realistic fashion the development and tragic end of a noble, innocent love The exhausting verbosity in which Ra'ūf revels here was aptly compared by Ziyā to a gimlet which always turns at the same spot

Of his novels we may also mention *Ferdā-i Gharām* ("The Morning of Passion"), *Edebīyāt-i djedīde*, N° 28, *Gendj Kīz Kalbī* ("A Young Girl's Heart"), *Menekshe* ("Violet") and *Kābūs* ("Nightmare")

More important are his collections in the pre

vailing fashion of short sketches, tales and long stories Among these is his second most famous work *Siyāh Inǰiler* ("Black Pearls"), a collection of poems in prose modelled on Ziyā's *Mansūr Shi'rler* and Beaudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* (*Edebiyāt*, N° 11, 1317), also the collection of long stories *'Āshikāne* ("Enamoured") (*Edebiyāt*, N° 16, 1325 = 1910), *Ihtizār* ("Death Agony") (*Edebiyāt*, N° 12, 1325), *Son Emel* ("The last Hope") (*Edebiyāt*, N° 29, 1329 = 1913) and *Bir 'Ashkin Ta'rikh i* ("History of a Love Affair") (1330 = 1914), further *Üč Hikāye* ("Three Tales"), *Ezhar* ("Flowers"), *Perwāneler gibi* ("As butterflies") etc

Ra'ūf was no less successful as a dramatist He wrote the following pieces *Pence* ("The Talon"), a drama (*oyun*) in four acts (*fasl*) (*Edebiyāt*, N° 14, 1325 = 1909), *Ferdi we-Shurekāsi* ("Ferdi and Co") in 3 acts, a dramatisation of the novel of the same name by Ziyā (*Edebiyāt*, N° 17) and *Djidāl* ("Battle") in 5 acts (*Edebiyāt*, N° 30, 1327 = 1911), also *Iki Kuwwet* ("Two Powers"), *Yaghmurdan doluya*

Ra'ūf died on Dec 23, 1931 at Constantinople

Numerous contributions by him are in the *Serwet i Funūn*, the finely produced women's periodical *Mehāsin* of which he edited the only volume that appeared Contributions by him, some his own work, especially poems (Ra'ūf possessed not inconsiderable poetic talent and was regarded as the Turkish Baudelaire), also essays and criticisms, of which his analyses of the contemporary novel are valuable, were published in different collections, periodicals and newspapers in vast numbers His *Zambak* ("Lily") brought him trouble It was confiscated on account of its sensuality and the author was imprisoned He wrote other things in the same style which were not printed

In his works he appears as a very artistic, rather sentimental nature, even what he writes in prose is pure poetry His prose is as good as that of Ziyā, the leader of the *Serwet-i Funūn* movement He is one of the most important personalities in this group of men of letters, although his marked merits in form and style are counter-balanced by equal defects, which became worse as he paid no attention to the cultivation of his style, in him we find a reversed process, from the more perfect to the less He would have been held in higher repute generally, if he had ceased to write after his first works — Owing to the identity of the name and the parallel literary activity Muhammad Ra'ūf was often taken for M Ra'ūf, the son of Farīk 'Ātif Pasha, who died on Febr 23, 1918 and was buried at Haidar Pasha M Ra'ūf was editor of the *Resimli Kitāb* He was a dramatist and wrote *Perwāne*, *Nigāhda Kerāmet* ("Wonder in sight"), a comedy *Ātesh ile Bārūt arasında* ("Between Fire and Powder") and a piece entitled *Tīrāže* written jointly with Rā'if Nedjdet, one of his most intimate friends The following dramas were never printed *Ṣalāh al-Din-i Eyyūbi*, *Neǰimān* and a number of adaptions From the English he translated Saiyid Ameer Ali's *The Life and and Teachings of Mohammed or the Spirit of Islam* in 2 vols entitled *Muṣawwer Ta'rikh i Islām*

Besides being an author, M Ra'ūf was also a teacher, a task for which his extensive knowledge of languages qualified him (in addition to French and English, he knew Arabic, Persian, German, Italian, Greek and others) He lectured at the University on mythology and Greek and Italian literature, on which he wrote two text books *Yūnān i kadim Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāti* and *Italya Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāti* He was also for a time teacher of western literatures, Turkish literature and French at various secondary schools

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(Th Menzel)

MUHAMMAD SA'ĪD (Mīr Djumla), minister of 'Abd Allāh Kutb Shāh of Haidarābād during the xviith century, was originally a diamond merchant, and was famous in the Deccan for his wealth before he became minister After the defeat of his master 'Abd Allāh by Awrangzēb, Mir Djumla took service under the latter, and was made Governor of Bengal from 1071—1075 (1660—1664) He defeated Shāh Shudjā' when the latter fought against his brother Awrangzēb Mīr Djumla was afterwards employed in the conquest of Cooch Bihār and Āssām in 1072—1073 (1661—1662) He overran both these countries but owing to the rainy season and the spread of disease among his troops, he was compelled to return, only to die of dysentery contracted during his campaign, shortly after his arrival at Dacca in 1073 (1663)

Bibliography *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, III 530, Blochmann, *J A S B*, xli/1 51, Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii 199, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II 402, vii 214, Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p 588—613

(M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD SA'ĪD [See Khalīl Ffendi Zādf]

MUHAMMAD SHĀH (1131—1161 = 1719—1748), emperor of Dihlī, surnamed Muhammad Rawshan Akhtar (or, the Brilliant Star), was the son of prince Djahān Shāh, one of the three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their eldest brother Djahāndār Shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh He was born on Friday the 24th Rabī' I 1114 (August 7, 1702), and was crowned by the two Saiyid brothers, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh and Saiyid Husain, after the death of Rafi' al-Dawla on the 25th Dhu 'l Ka'da 1131 (September 29, 1719) Muhammad Shāh reigned for about 30 years and died one month after the battle of Sarhind, which his son fought against Ahmad Shāh Abdālī [q v] His death took place on Thursday the 27th Rabī' II 1161 (April 16, 1748) He was buried in the court before the Mausoleum of

Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī This emperor may be called the last of the Tīmūrid line, who reigned in Dihlī and enjoyed any power The few princes of that sovereign's family who were raised to the throne after Muhammad Shāh were mere puppets in the hands of the nobles of the court

Bibliography Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, iii 840, Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii 485, Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p 692

(M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH I, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN KHALDJĪ (695—715 = 1295—1315), was the nephew and son-in-law of Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II, Khaldjī, whom he murdered by treachery at Karā Mānikpūr, in the province of Ilāhābād, in 695 (1295), and ascended the throne of Dihlī in the same year He re conquered Gudjarāt (697 = 1297), took Čitōr and temporarily subdued the Rādjpūts (703 = 1303) His eunuch general, Malik Kāfūr, seized Deogīr and Warangal, and founded a Deccan province of the Dihlī kingdom The empire is said to have flourished during his reign Among contemporary poets Amīr Khusrau and Khwādja Hasan held the first rank, Shaikh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, one of the greatest saints of India, flourished at the same time He died in 715 (1315) and was buried in the tomb which he had constructed in his life-time in Old Dihlī

Bibliography ʿAbd al-Bākī Nahāwandī, *Maʾāthir Rahimi*, p 322—330, Nizām al Dīn Ahmad Harawī, *Tabakāt Akbarī*, Lucknow 1875, p 68–86, Saiyid Ahmad Khān, *Āthār al Sanādīd*, Dihlī 1874, ii 157, Wright, *Cat of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, ii 8, Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p 390—400

(M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH BAHMANĪ [See Muhammad I—III, above p 664 *sq*]

MUHAMMAD SHARĪF al-Nadjafī was born in the Deccan where he spent the first twenty five years of his life He afterwards visited in an official capacity Gudjarāt, Mālwa, Adjmīr, Dihlī, Āgra, the Pandjāb, Sind and Kashmīr He went to the last country in the train of Djahāngīr and under the command of Kāsim Khān (1031 = 1621) He is the author of *Madjālis al Salātīn*, a short history of the kings of Dihlī and of the Deccan dynasties from the Muhammadan conquest to the accession of Shāh Djahān, completed in 1038 (1628)

Bibliography Elliot Dowson, *History of India*, vii 134—140, Rieu, *Cat Persian MSS Br Mus*, p 907 (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD TĀHIR al-Fatanī al Gudjarātī, was born at Patan in Gudjarāt in 914 (1508), after completing his education in his native land, he proceeded to Mecca, where he studied traditions with eminent scholars such as Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī al-Makkī and others He acquired much learning from ʿAlī b Husām al Dīn al-Muttakī (d 975 = 1567) and also became his disciple in the Kādirī and Shādhilī orders After his return to his native country he tried his utmost to spread learning and to uproot the doctrines of Muhammad al-Djawnpūrī who had claimed to be the *Mahdī* of his time and had a considerable following among the Bohorās [q v], a community to which Muhammad Tāhir himself belonged

In 980 (1572) Akbar went to conquer Gudjarāt After its conquest he conferred honour on Muhammad Ṭāhir by tying with his own hands a turban on his head, saying that it was incumbent on him (Akbar) to spread the true principles of Islām Khān Aʿzam ʿAzīz Muhammad Kūkaltāsh was appointed governor of Gudjarāt and he helped Muhammad Tāhir in uprooting the new doctrines of Mahdism But when ʿAbd al-Rahīm Khān Khānān succeeded him as governor, Muhammad Tāhir suffered much at the hands of the followers of the Mahdī, and proceeded to the court of Akbar in Akbarābād for redress On his way at Udjdjain he was murdered by some followers of the pretended Mahdī in 986 (1578)

Among his various compositions the following may be mentioned

1 *Madjmaʿ Bihār al Anwār fī Gharāʾib al Tanzīl wa Latāʾif al Akhbār*, a copious dictionary of the Kurʾān and the Traditions, lithographed, Lakhnaw 1248, 1284 and 1314,

2 *al-Mughnī*, a dictionary of proper names of Muhammadan traditionists, lithographed on the margin of *Takrīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAskalānī (Dihlī 1290),

3 *Tadhkirat al-Mawdūʿāt*, a treatise on traditions that have been incorrectly attributed to the Prophet

Bibliography ʿAbd al-Hakk Dihlawī, *Akhbār al Akhyār*, Dihlī 1309, p 272—273, Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subhat al Mardjān*, Bombay 1303, p 43—45, ʿAbd al-Hay, *al-Taʿlikāt al-Sanīya ʿala ʾl-Fawāʾid al-Bahiya*, Lucknow 1895, p 67, Fakīr Muhammad, *Hadāʾik al-Hanafiya*, Lucknow 1308, p 385—387, Siddīk Hasan, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopal 1396, p 895, *Ithāf al Nubalāʾ al-Muttakīn*, Cawnpore 1288, p 397—400, Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 416 (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD ZAʿĪM, a Turkish historian All that we know of his life is gleaned from his works He was born in 939 (1532) for he tells us that at the accession of Sultān Murād III, i e in 982 (1574), he was 43 At the early age of eleven he took part in the campaign of 950 (1543) along with his elder brother Perwāne Agha, who at that time was Kapudjī Bashī to the Sandjak Beg of Lepanto, Yahyā Pasha Oghlu Ahmad Beg When the latter, after the capture of Stuhlweissenburg, was appointed Sandjak Beg there, the brothers seemed to have remained in his service, probably till 952 (1545) when Ahmad Beg was summoned to Stambul, in connection with the plundering of the Stuhlweissenburg churches In 961 (1554) when Sultān Sulaimān took the field against Shāh Tahmasp of Persia, Muhammad Zaʿīm was a secretary in the service of the governor of Syria, Teki Oghlu Mehemmed, and a year later he was secretary to the powerful grand vizier Mehemmed Sokollī and in this capacity compiled the official report of the death of Selīm II and the accession of Murād III which was sent to the governors of Diyārbakr, Aleppo and Baghdād This office, to which he perhaps succeeded on the promotion (978 = 1570) of the famous Ferīdūn Ahmed Beg [q v], he must have filled till the death of Mehemmed Sokollī in 987 (1579), we hear nothing further about it He held a great fief (*zaʿāmet*, hence his epithet Zaʿīm), he himself says *zuʿamā i ʿatebe i selātīn-i āl-i osmānīyeden Mehemmed ile muteʿāref we-shehīr* Friends requested him to write a history and he finished it within a year He began the work in Muharram 985 (beg March 21, 1577) and had completed it in Dhu ʾl-Hidjdja of the same year (beg Feb 9, 1578) The date of his death and

the site of his tomb are not known but he is said to have left charitable endowments in Karaferia near Salonika

He called his book *Humā-i Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* and dedicated it to his master Mehemmed Sokolli As his sources he mentions eleven historians from Fīdawsī and Tabarī down to the anonymous *Tawārīkh i Selātin i Āl i Osmān* and gives as his main source *Behdjet al-Tawārīkh*, from which, as has been proved, he copied out whole pages without a qualm The book, which is not yet printed, is divided into a preface and five large sections (*aksām*, subdivided into *gurūh* and then again into *makālāt*) and concludes with an epilogue Rieu and others have given an account of the contents from the manuscripts In the fourth *gurūh* of the 5th *kism* he deals with the Ottomans and here alone do we have statements of any value, when the author describes from his own experience events from 1543 onwards He brought his story down to the time of writing and the last event that he mentions took place in the month in which the book was finished

The passages in the book relating to Hungary have been dealt with by Thúry (*Török tortenetirók*, II 364—389) who also collected the above data for his life, the earlier from 1390 to 1476 are given in extracts and the later from 1521 to 1566 translated in full Of the other less valuable parts of the book Diez (*Denkwurdigkeiten von Asien*, I 212 *sqq*) has edited a portion of the very early history, dealing with Cain and his descendants, while v Hammer (*Sur les origines russes*, lxi 120) edited and translated a portion on the tribal divisions of the Turks, where the Rūs appear as the ninth Turkish tribe Of the later Ottoman historians, Ibrāhīm Pečewī utilised and quoted from the work of Muhammed Zaʿīm from the year 1542 onwards

Bibliography Babinger, *G O W*, p 20, 98 *sq*, 193, where further references are given (W Bjorkman)

AL-MUHAMMADĪYA, a name of several heretical schools, notably the ultra-Shīʿī Muhammadīya

As the example of the Kaisānīya [q v] shows, at an early date some Shīʿīs transferred the imāmate to ʿAlids who were not descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fātima and then to those who were not ʿAlids at all The Mansūrīya revered such an one in Abū Mansūr al ʿIdjlī, whom Yūsuf b ʿOmar al-Thakafī, governor of the ʿIrāk, executed in the reign of the Caliph Hishām, i e before 125 (743) Abū Mansūr, rejected by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Sādik for Shīʿī exaggeration, thrust the ʿAlids aside by still further increasing this tendency Muhammad's family, he said, was heaven, the Shīʿa the earth and he himself the "fragment falling from heaven" mentioned in Sūra lii 44, as he had been personally touched and taught by God on a journey to heaven, he is said to have abolished the religious laws While one group, the Husainīya, recognised the Imām in his son al-Husain after the death of Abū Mansūr, another, the Muhammadīya, recognised Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh b al Hasan b al-Hasan b ʿAlī b Abī Tālib He is the pretender celebrated as *al-Nafs al-zakīya* ("the pure soul"), who in 145 (762) fell at Medīna fighting the troops of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mansūr The Muhammadīya quoted as authority for the recognition of an ʿAlid again an alleged testamentary disposition of Abū Mansūr and compared the following order of succession testament of the Husainid Muhammad Bākir for Abū Mansūr and of the latter for the Hasanid Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh, with the Jewish line first Moses, then Joshua, son of Nun, then the sons of Aaron (the later priesthood is meant) This arrangement was chosen in both cases so that conflict might not arise between the two lines of brothers (*batnān*) — We cannot be certain that the Muhammadīya formed a definite sect The name rather records the fact that the rising of al-Nafs al-Zakīya, which was of great extent, attracted all circles of the Shīʿa to its ranks, even those who belonged to the Husainid camp, and members of the Mughīrīya, the followers of Mughīra b Saʿīd, killed in the year 119 (737) by Yūsuf b ʿOmar's predecessor Khālid b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī, probably under the leadership of Djābir b Yazīd al Djuʿfī, supported al Nafs al Zakīya with their good wishes at least

Quite a different group is the ultra-Islāmic Muhammadīya or Mīmīya It took its name from the belief in the divinity of the Prophet Muhammad in reply to an ʿUlyānīya or ʿAinīya who regarded ʿAlī as God Its principal representative al Faiyād b ʿAlī was executed between 279 (892) and 289 (902)

The Khāridjī Muhammadīya was a separate party within the strictly Khāridjī sub-group of the ʿAdjārida, it is called after a certain Muhammad b Zurak

Bibliography al-Ashʿarī, *Makālāt al-Islāmiyin*, ed H Ritter, Constantinople 1928, I 8 *sq*, 22 *sq*, as-Baghdādī, *al-Fark bain al Firak*, Cairo 1328, p 42 *sq*, 214 *sq*, 234 *sq*, Ibn Hazm, *al Fisal fi 'l Milal*, Cairo 1317—21, IV 186 *sq*, cf al-Idjī, *Mawākif*, ed Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p 353 *sq*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed B de Meynard, cf Index, J Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J A O S*, xxviii und xxix, cf Index, Th Haarbrucker (on Shahrastānī's) *Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen*, II 409 (R Strothmann)

MUHAMMARA, a town and port at the head of the Persian Gulf and in the Persian province of ʿArabistān It lies on the right bank of the Haffār channel (formerly called Nahr Bayān) which connects the Kārūn river with the Shatt al-ʿArab The original village from which the town grew appears to have lain on the left bank of the channel, on the island of ʿAbbādān [q v], and Muhammara is probably therefore not to be identified with the town of Bayān, though it now lies on the same site Further, Bayān was included in ʿIrāk ʿArabī by the geographers, whereas Muhammara, lying on ʿAbbādan island, was a part of Persia until the shifting of a channel threw the possession of the town into dispute between that country and Turkey By the treaty of Erzerum (1847) it was assigned to Persia, but though the government was nominally directed from Shushtar, it remained in reality in the hands of the Arab shaikh of the Čaʿb (or kaʿb) tribe, who were Shīʿīs From the fact that the Arab geographers ignore the town, at any rate under its present name (for references to Bayān see G Le Strange, below), it may be inferred that the place (? Muhrizī) was either of minor importance or of comparatively recent origin At the present time the port is of some importance for the trade of Persia, its principal article of commerce being dates,

though it is also connected with the oil trade

Bibliography G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 48, S H Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, index, H G Rawlinson, *Notes on Mohamrah and the Cha'ab Arabs*, in *P R G S*, I 351 *sqq*, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, IV 709 (R Ievy)

MUHĀRIB, the name of several Arab tribes (Wustenfeld, *Register zu den geneal Tabellen*, p 320 gives five of this name) of which the most important is that of the Muhārib b Khasafa b Kais ʿAilān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*, D, 8) They do not however seem to have been of very great importance either in the Djāhilīya or in Islām, Ibn al-Kalbī only gives them two pages of his *Djamharat al-Ansāb* (Brit Mus MS, Add 23,297, fol 163b—165b) but these add considerably to the very meagre information in the *Tabellen* especially as regards the lines of ʿAlī b Djasr b Muhārib and of Badhāwa (*sic*) b Dhuhl b Tarīf b Khalaf b Muhārib A typical Bedouin tribe, the Muhārib lived in the mountainous region of southern Nadjd between Medīna and al-Yamāma (Wustenfeld, *Register*, p 320 following Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al Maʿārif*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 41), several places in their territory are recorded in Yākūt's geographical dictionary (cf the index of tribes, s v) We know very little about their history before Islām, they were closely connected with other tribes of the great group of the Kais ʿAilān, like the Hawāzin, with whom they are said to have shared the worship of the idol Djihār (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wüstenfeld, II 167, l 2—3 = Wellhausen, *Reste*², p 65 cf *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, III 115, l 7 from below), and especially the Ghatafān (notably their clan Tha'laba b Sa'd b Dhubyān) alongside of whom the clan of the al-Khudr b Tarif b Khalaf b Muhārib (the genealogy of the *Tabellen* is to be rectified in as much as al-Mālik is the name of al Khudr and not that of his father) fought the war known as the *yawm al-huraka* or *yawm Dārat Mawdūʿ* alluded to by the poet of the Dhubyān Husain b al Humām in some of his poems (cf *al-Mufaddaliyāt*, ed Lyall, Nrs XII and XCI and the commentary of Ibn al-Anbarī, with the passages quoted in the notes)

The Muhārib at the beginning of Islām were hostile to Muhammad, this hostility was perhaps only the continuation of that which prevailed between the nomad tribes of the ʿĀliya of al-Nadjd and the citizens of Madina Thus we find, in the early years of the Hidjra, that Muhammad sent against them (and against the Ghatafān) a series of expeditions, of the nature of raids and counter-raids rather than regular military enterprises (our sources give 30 or 40 men as the total of the Muslim forces), the details of their fighting are given in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I, p 537—538 (3 A H § 6), 596—597 (5 A H § 3), 689—690 (6 A H § 1), 694 (6 A H § 6) with reference to the sources utilised (we may add Ibn Sa'd, II/I 23—24, 43—44, 61—62) One part at least of the tribe must however have been attracted within the growing sphere of Muslim influence since we find Muhāribīs in the cavalry led by al-Zubair at the taking of Mecca (Caetani, *Annali*, II [8 A H § 390]) But it was only in 10 A H that the Muhārib sent their ambassadors to Muhammad and gave their formal adhesion to Islām (Ibn Sa'd, I/II 43, cf Caetani, *Annali*, II 344—345), even on this occasion they were conspicuous by their uncouthness, quite Bedouin, of which another example is given in the anecdote of the Muhāribī (he is said to have been called Suwā' b al-Hārith or b Kais) who dared to doubt the Prophet's word in connection with the purchase of a horse (cf Ibn Sa'd, IV 2, 90—91 etc, and Caetani, *Annali*, IX 627—628)

The Muhārib abandoned Islām during the *Ridda* but were easily brought back to obedience (*Annali*, II, p 594, 596, 11 A H §§ 115, 118), they took part in the conquest of the ʿIrāk (Ibn Hadjar, *Isāba*, Cairo 1325, IV 20—21 biography of ʿĀ'idh b Sa'īd, who fought at al Kādisīya and Djālūlā and again, in 36 and 37, at the battle of the Camel and that of Siffīn, where he was slain), they were encamped at Kūfa in the same quarter as the Usad and Ghatafān, not far from that allotted to the Tamīm (Tabarī, I 2490, 2495)

The contribution of the Muhārib to the politics and literature of Arabia is practically nil, we need only mention the name of Lakīt b Bukair b al-Nadr (d 190), who belonged to a branch of the Banū ʿAlī b Djasr b Muhārib, a poet (cf Tabarī, III 540), ascetic and historian (*Fihrist*, p 94 and Yākūt, *Irshād*, ed Margoliouth, VI 218—220, give a list of his works, relating mainly to literary history)

Of the other tribes bearing the name of Muhārib the best known is the Meccan tribe of the Muhārib b Fihr to which al Dahhāk b Kais belonged [q v], the Muhārib lampooned by al-Farazdak and celebrated by Djarīr (*Nakā'id*, ed Bevan, p 817 l 4, 1039 l 2) are difficult to identify it is not certain, although they are so identified in the index, that they were the Muhārib b Khasafa

Bibliography given in the article (G Levi Della Vida)

AL-MUHARRAM (A), the first month of the Muhammadan year The name is originally not a proper name but an adjective, as the article shows, qualifying Safar In the pre-Muhammadan period the first two months of the old Meccan year were Safar [q v] I and II, which is reflected in the dual "a potion" *al-Safarāni* for al Muharram and Safar, in the old Arab year the first half year consisted of "three months of two months each" (Wellhausen), as the two Safars were followed by two Rabī's and two Djumādās The first of the two Safars, as the one that belonged to the sacred months, was given the adjectival epithet *al-muharram* which gradually became the name of the month itself As Dhu 'l-Hidjdja also belonged to the sacred months, three of the four sacred months came together except in leap year The month intercalated to equate the year to the solar year was inserted after Dhu 'l Hidjdja and was not sacred It thus came about that learned Muslims described the intercalation as renaming the Muharram concerned Safar, i e as making Muharram not sacred, they mean that the month after the pilgrimage, which they consider as al-Muharram, following the custom, is not sacred i e is "*Safar*" and the second month i e in their view Safar, is "al-Muharram" In doing this they of course overlook the fact that Safar proper now only comes third, but when the intercalary month was abolished in Islām, the proper conception of the state of affairs was lost [cf NASĪ']

In the early period when an attempt was made

to equate with the solar year by inserting intercalary months, — which was not successful on account of the ignorance of the old Arabs in astronomical matters — al-Muharram introduced the winter half year as the names of the first six months show The Arab year began, like the Jewish, in autumn After Muhammad had forbidden the insertion of the intercalary months in Sūra ix 37, 1st Muharram, the beginning of the year, went through all the seasons as the year, which now consisted of 12 lunar months, had always only 354 or 355 days, as it still has Whether the first month of the year was originally marked by a festival we do not know Wellhausen has endeavoured to show that the *ḥaḍjdj* originally fell in the first month of the year, so that Muharram was *ḥarām* in its quality as "Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja" This also suggests that there was originally only one sacred month, but it was observed at different times in different parts of Arabia Muhammad in the Kur'ān always speaks only of *the* sacred month (ii 194, 217, v 2, 97), only in Sūra ix 36 in laying down the method of reckoning time does he speak of four sacred months, in which it was sought to recognise a later declaration of the equal sanctity of four different sacred months of different districts, which was however illusory, as within Islām the peace of God reigns without this and, according to Sūra ii 217, the defence of the faith takes preference over the sacred month What the sacred month referred to in the Kur'ān is, we do not know, in Sūra v 2, at any rate, the month of the pilgrimage must be meant, which fits Wellhausen's theory excellently The commentators think Radjab or Dhu 'l Ka'da is meant, at any rate not al-Muharram

Al-Muharram has 30 days of which, in addition to the 1st as the beginning of the year, the following are specially noted the 9th as the fast-day of the Shī'ī ascetics, the 10th as the anniversary of Kerbelā' (60 = 680), on which al-Ḥusain b 'Alī b Abī Tālib [q v] fell fighting against the Caliph Yazīd b Mu'āwiya and therefore the great day of mourning of the Shī'a (on the significance of the 10th Muharram for the Sunnis see 'ĀSHŪRĀ'), celebrated by pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Shī'a, especially to Kerbelā' [see MESHHED HUSAIN], in which the passion play, representing the death of 'Alī's sons [see TA'ZIYA], plays the most important part, also the 16th as the day of the selection of Jerusalem as the Kibla [q v] and the 17th as the day of the arrival of the "people of the elephant" (Sūra cv)

Bibliography Wellhausen, *Reste arab Heidentums*[2] (1897), p 94—101, Moberg, *An-Nasi'* (*Koran IX, 37*) *in der islamischen Tradition* (*Lunde Universitets Årsskrift*, N F, Avd 1, vol xxvii, N° 1) [1931], Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds* (1930), p 57, note 129, p 350 *sq* (p 350, line 7 from below, read intercalary month, for day), al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed Sachau, p 60, 62, 196, 201, 328 *sqq*, al-Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 66, 68 (where further events that happened on the 10th Muharram are given), on the "people of the elephant" cf Buhl, *op cit*, p 12 *sq*

(M PLESSNER)

MUḤĀSIBĪ ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH ḤĀRITH B ASAD AL-'ANAZĪ, called Muḥāsibī, i e "he who examines his conscience", was born in Basra, he died in Baghdād in 243 (857) A legist of the Shāfi'ī school, a theologian who advocated the use of reason (*'akl*), using the dialectic vocabulary of the Mu'tazilīs, which he was the first to turn against them, he finally adopted a life of ascetic renunciation after a moral conversion long meditated which is described at the beginning of his *Wasāyā* Involved with the Mu'tazilis in a general persecution as a result of Ibn Hanbal's attack on the dialecticians, he had to give up all teaching in 232 (846) and died in retirement

His principal works are *Ri'āya li-Ḥukūk Allāh*, *Waṣāyā* (more accurately *Nasā'ih*), *Kitāb al-Tawahhum*, *Mā'iyat al 'Akl wa Ma'nāhu*, *Risālat al-'Azama*, *Fahm al-Salāt*, none of them is yet printed The *Dawā' dā' al-Nufūs*, which Sprenger attributes to him, is of an earlier date, it was arranged by his chief teacher Ahmad b 'Āsim Antākī

Muḥasibī is the first Sunni mystic whose works reveal a complete theological education, they combine in a very original way a keen concern for exact philosophical definitions, and a fervid reverence for the most naive traditions with the rigorous search for an increasing moral purification

In his *Ri'āya* he discards the foundations of that "method" of introspection which Antākī had envisaged, he shows that a correlation is possible between two series of human happenings, the external actions of the members and the intentions of the hearts (against this 'Allāf and the majority of contemporary *mutakallimūn*), he proves in detail that the enchainment of the states of conscience (*aḥwāl*) can be guided progressively towards a perfect purity, provided an ascetic and moral rule of life is observed, the true *rahbāniya* mentioned in Sūra lvii 27

His adversaries (*muḥaddithūn*), especially Hanbalīs, attacked him for having differentiated the concepts of *'ilm* and *'akl* (parable of the "sower"), *imān* and *ma'rifa* (like Ibn Karrām), admitted the created character of the *lafz* (our pronunciation of Kur'ānic verses), held that the elect, in Paradise, would be summoned to enjoy directly familiarity with the divine being, chosen his references from authors not by following the formal correctness of their *isnāds*, but on account of their intrinsic significance, from their moral weight (*'ibra*), for the reader

The *Ri'āya* is his main work, it forms in 61 chapters, in the shape of advices given to a pupil, a complete manual of the inner life Ghazālī used it before writing his *Iḥyā'*, and in spite of periodical attacks, its reputation among Arabic-speaking Muslim mystics lasted for a long time and may be compared with that of the *Imitatio Jesu Christi* among Christian mystics using Latin, the Shādhilīya brotherhood, with Mursī, Ibn 'Abbād Rundī and Zarrūk Burnūsī, have always recommended its use, and one of them, 'Izz al-Dīn Makdisī, has made a summary of it

The Ash'arī theologians also esteem Muḥāsibī as a precursor

Bibliography Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ed Zhukovski, Leningrad 1926, p 134, 219, transl Nicholson, in *G M S*, 1911, p 108, 176, Ghazālī, *Munkidh*, ed Cairo, p 28—29, Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, in *G M S*, 1912, fol 509b *sqq*, Subkī, *Tabakāt*, ii 37–42, Leo Africanus, *Descrittione dell' Africa*, Venice 1550, book iii, § 43, Margoliouth, *Third Internat Congr of Orientalists*, Oxford 1908, i 292–293, L Mas-

signon, *Essai sur les origines de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p 210–225 and 126–127, do, *Passion d'al-Hallaj*, index, s v, do, *Textes inedits concernant la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1929, p 16—23, and add

(L MASSIGNON)

MUHIBB AL-DĪN [See AL TABARĪ]

AL-MUHIBBĪ, a family of scholars in Damascus of the xth—xiith (xvith—xviith) centuries of which three members distinguished themselves in literature

1 Muhibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad b Abī Bakr b Dāwūd b ʿAbd al-Rahmān b ʿAbd al-Khālik b Muhibb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Takī al-Dīn al-ʿUlwānī al-Hamawī al-Dimashkī al-Hanafī, born in the middle of Ramadān 949 (Dec 23, 1542) in Hamāt, studied there, in Halab and Hims and after a journey to Constantinople obtained a post as teacher in the Madrasa al-Kudāʿīya in Damascus In 978 (1571) he accompanied the Shaikh al-Islām and Chief Kādī Čiwī Zāde to Cairo, was for a period a kādī there and after a second journey to Constantinople was appointed kādī in Hims, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and several other towns of northern Syria In 993 (1585) the post of a chief nāʾib (*al-niyāba al-kubrā*) was given to him, at the same time he was military judge, judge of the Syrian caravan, taught in several madrasas and gave fatwās at the Sultān's request He died on the 23rd Shawwāl 1016 (Feb 18, 1608) Of his numerous writings only three have survived his commentary written in 969 (1561) (according to al-Muhibbī, iii 322, on the other hand, prepared at the age of 16) on Muhammad b al Shihna's (d 815 = 1412) *Urdjūza al-Bayānīya* (*Manzūma fī 'l-Maʿānī wa 'l Bayān*) in the Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz*, N⁰ 7256—7257 and Gotha, Pertsch, N⁰ 2789 MSS, his *Travels*, *al Rihla* or *Hādī 'l Azʿān al-Nadjdīya ila 'l-Diyār al-Misrīya*, in the Paris, Cat de Slane, N⁰ 2293, Cairo, *Fihrist*, vii 646, Stambul, ʿĀtif Efendi, N⁰ 2030 (s Rescher, in *MFOB*, v 496) MSS, which he wrote when kādī in Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān, and his commentary written in 1011 (1602) on the authoritative verses in Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* entitled *Tanzīl al-Āyāt*, pr Būlāk 1281, Cairo 1307—1308, and on the margin of *Kashshāf*, *ibid*, 1318

Bibliography al-Muhibbī, *Khulāsat al-Athar*, ii 322—331, Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrten familie Muhibbī in Damaskus*, in *Abh G W Gott*, Hist -Phil Cl, xxx/iii, 1884, p 5—9

2 His grandson Fadl Allāh b Muhibb Allāh b Muhibb al Dīn was born on the 17th Muharram 1031 (Dec 2, 1621) in Damascus, at an early age showed great linguistic ability, received in 1048 (1638) from Nadjma al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d 1061 = 1651), (see Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 292) the *idjāza* for Hadīth, and after failing to secure something in Halab through the Shaikh al Islām Muhammad b Zakarīyā, was given by his father the latter's post at the Derwīshīya In 1051 (1641) he accompanied Muhammad ʿIsmatī to Constantinople, was appointed to the Madrasa Arbaʿīn there, but dismissed a year later, when he returned home In 1059 (1649) he accompanied the kādī Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Halīm al-Bursawī to Egypt and became his deputy After a quarrel with him, he resumed his studies in al-Azhar and came home next year In 1073 (1662) he again went to Constantinople and four years later was appointed kādī of Bairūt but returned to Damascus in 1079 where he died on 23rd Djumādā II, 1082 (Oct 27, 1671) While his own *Dīwān* and his description of his journeys to Constantinople have not been preserved, his edition of the poems of his friend Mandjak Pasha (d. 1080 = 1669 in Damascus) are still in existence He first of all arranged them chronologically, beginning with a poem on Sultān Ibrāhīm I of the year 1055 (1645) (in addition to the MSS mentioned in Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 277 there are now Koprulü, ii 1245 and Mōsul, Dāwūd, *Makhtūtāt*, N⁰ 153, 20), then alphabetically, including poems of a later period down to 1071 (1660), this edition was printed at Damascus in 1301 In 1078 (1667) he edited the biographical work of al-Hasan al-Būrīnī (d 1024 = 1615), *Tarādjim al Aʿyān min Abnāʾ al Zamān* and published it with a supplement, we may add to the MSS mentioned by Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 290 Muhammad Kurd ʿAlī, in *R A A D*, iii, 1923, p 193—202

Bibliography Muhibbī, *op cit*, iii 277–286, Wustenfeld, *op cit*, p 15—19

3 His son Muhammad al-Amīn b Fadl Allāh b Muhibb Allāh b Muhammad Muhibb al-Dīn al-Dimashkī, born in 1061 (1651) in Damascus, went with his father in 1077 (1666) to Bairūt but returned home several times from there A friend of his father's, Muhammad b Lutf Allāh b Bairām al ʿIzzatī, who had been kādī in Damascus in 1065 (1655) and was military judge in Anatolia in 1078 (1668), provided him with funds to study in Brusa He returned home after a brief stay there on 8th Safar 1086 (May 4, 1675) in company with the muftī Muhammad b ʿAbd al Halīm Al-ʿIzzatī had in the meanwhile been appointed military judge in Adrianople and was able to procure him a post there But his patron fell ill soon after wards and had to resign Muhammad accompanied him to Stambul and looked after him till his death on 10th Shawwāl 1092 (Oct 24, 1681) He then returned to Damascus and began to write When in 1101 (1690) he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was appointed deputy kādī and then a teacher in the Amīnīya in Damascus He died there on the 18th Djumādā I 1111 (Nov 11, 1699)

His principal work is a collection of 1,289 biographies of scholars, poets etc of his time and the period immediately preceding it arranged in alphabetical order, entitled *Khulāsat al-Athar fī Aʿyān al Karn al hādī ʿashar*, the first fair copy of which he finished in 1096 (1685) (printed Cairo 1284, 4 vols) The draft of a number of biographies from the Hidjāz and Yemen, which is preserved in the Brill Houtsma MS, N⁰ 112 appears to be part of the preliminary work on this collection, the draft of a synopsis is in Berlin (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 9895) A synopsis was prepared by ʿAlī b ʿAbd al-Hadjdj al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (d 1191 = 1777, Murādī, iii 215), MS in Tübingen (Seybold, N⁰ 9) A second great biographical work on celebrities of all ages entitled *al-Iʿlām* was to give under each letter *al-aʿlām wa 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-abnāʾ wa 'l-nisāʾ wa 'l-ummahāt* separately In the draft in Leipzig (Vollers, N⁰ 683) giving the letter *mīm* the sources, which from the articles are taken usually word for word, are generally quoted He also wrote a continuation of al-Khafādjī's *Rashānat al-Alibbāʾ* entitled *Nafhat al-Rashāna wa-Rashhat Ṭilāʾ al Hāna*, which survives, in addition to the MSS quoted by Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 294, in Stambul, Nūr-i ʿOthmānīya, N⁰ 4352 (*M S O S*, xv 22) and Mōsul, Dāwūd, *Makhtūtāt*,

N⁰ 264, 7, an anonymous selection from it called *Mukhtārāt* is in Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii 342 A supplement (*dhail*) to it was written by Muḥammad b Muḥammad al Su'ālātī in 1111 (1699), MSS in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7422, Copenhagen, Mehren, N⁰ 170, St Petersburg, As Mus, N⁰ 251, Brit Mus, Or 6516 (*Descript List*, N⁰ 57), Yale-Landberg, N⁰ 179, Damascus, Zaiyāt, N⁰ 78, 64 A companion work of the middle of the xi^th century is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Shāshū's *Tarādjim baʿd al-Aʿyān min Ahl Dimashk min ʿUlamāʾihā wa Udabāʾihā*, pr Beirūt 1886 His *Diwān*, mainly *kaṣidas* on friends and patrons, which are as a rule also included in his *Khulāṣa*, is preserved in the autograph copy in the library of A Taimūr in Cairo, s *R A A D*, iii 342, and the Berlin MS, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8007, cf N⁰ 8008, Flügel, *Z D M G*, ix 224 In the Urdjūza *Baʿḍāhat al-Arwāḥ fī ʿilal al Surūr wa 'l-Afrāḥ*, Berlin, N⁰ 8162 he collected sayings and proverbs Al-Tha'ālibī's *Kitāb Thimār al Kulūb fi 'l Mudāf wa 'l-Mansūb* was arranged alphabetically by him as *Mā yuʿawwalu ʿalaihi fi 'l Mudāf wa 'l-Mudāf ilaihi*, MS in Stambul, Top Kapu, N⁰ 2455, ʿĀtif Efendi, N⁰ 2247 (see *R S O*, iv 727), Aya Sofia, N⁰ 4136 (*M S*, vii 132), Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii 285 The monograph on grammar *Dhany al-Dhan natain fī Nawʿaʾ 'l-Muthannayain* is preserved in a MS belonging to A Taimūr Pasha (*R A A D*, iii 340, iv 147) and printed in Damascus 1348 The lexicological work *Sawāʾ al-Sabīl fī-mā fi 'l-Lugha al-ʿarabiya min al Dakhīl* is preserved in a Damascus MS, see *R A A D*, iii 340

Bibliography al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, iv 86—91, Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N⁰ 590, do, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbi*, p 19—28 (C BROCKELMANN)

MUḤIBBĪ. [See SULAIMĀN I]

MUHĪṬ [See BAHR MUHĪṬ]

MUHR (P, Sanskrit मुद्रा), seal, signet or signet-ring Pronounced in Persian *mohr* and *mohr* and in Turkish *muhur* with the second vowel disjunctive and unstable or popularly *mohur* (Hindoglou, Aucher, Ciakciak and Holdermann) or even, according to Viguier, *mihir* The word has been arabicised in the form of barbarous derivatives like *tamhīr* "action of sealing" and *mamhūr* (synonym *muhurlu*) "sealed, hidden"

Muslim legend, according to Mouradgea d'Ohsson (vii 121), traces the use of seals to Lāhuk, vizier of Lātis, son and successor of the Pharaoh of Moses (cf Carra de Vaux, *L'abrege des merveilles*, p 387, in contradiction with Genesis, xli 42)

In the article KHĀTAM are given useful references to the use of seals among the Arabs and also among Turks and Persians and the coin of this name is dealt with under MOHUR Here we shall deal more particularly with the word *muhr* as a complement to that article We have not however to forget that this word *muhr* was used by the Persians and Turks either alongside of *khātam* or in place of it, to express also ideas taken directly from the Arabs, as in the phrase *muhr-i Suleimān* or *muhr i Djem* "seal of Solomon" (also the name of a plant) or *muhr-i nūbuwwet* "the famous mark of a prophet which appeared on Muḥammad's back"

The *Shāhnāma* regards the seal (*muhr*, with its synonym of ring or *nigīn*, the two words sometimes appear together *muhr-i nigīn*, vi 51, verse 557 of Mohl's edition) as an attribute of sovereignty, like the crown and throne It is the same when sovereignty is delegated to governors (vi, p 5, v 1, cf i, p 499, v 163, iii, p 421, v 111, vii, p 459, v 374, p 463, v 418) There is a reference in the same poem to seals of amber (i, p 545, v 692) such as actually existed (cf Reinaud, *Mon*, i 129) They were sometimes steeped in Chinese musk (vi, p 351, v 2288)

In Turkey the seal was again the emblem of power The imperial seal (*muhr-i humāyūn*) was handed to the grand vizier, hence also called *sāhib i muhr* [cf SADR AʿZAM], with great solemnity (cf M d'Ohsson, vii 120), and Naʿīmā (iv 430) in speaking of ambition to become grand vizier uses the phrase *muhur arzusu* ("desire for the seal")

We may mention here that according to d'Ohsson (*ibid*), the sultān had four seals with a *tughra*, set in rings, one was square and remained in his possession, he entrusted the others which were round, to the Grand Mistress or Lady Treasurer of the Harem (*khazna-dār*) and to the *khāss oda-bashi*, a white eunuch who at one time held the office of first chamberlain

The seal was changed at each accession of a new monarch (cf Naʿimā, i 117) as was the *tughra* itself Ewliyā Čelebi's statement, which implies the contrary, is therefore rather strange (vii 300, v 4 from below) In Persia the seal was retained but the name was changed [cf KHĀTAM]

The grand vizier produced the imperial seal on the *dīwān* days for the *cawush bashi* to seal the bag (*kise*) for the registers of the *rūznāma* and the archives of the Finance Department or *māliye defter khānesi*, the Treasury (*khazīne*) and the general Archives (*defter khāne*) (*M T M*, 499) The grand vizier also had, like all the viziers or governors of provinces, two other seals, one, a large one, impressed at the top of *buyuruldu* or "ordinances", and the other, a small and modest one, placed at the foot of letters from the vizier, including official ones (cf Ahmad Rāsim, *ʿOthm Tārikhi*, iii 1514)

The use of seals in Turkey (we know very little of those of the Saldjūks, cf Reinaud, *Mon*, i 121 note) was exceedingly widespread They were used for impressions in wax (*muhur mumu*) and for stamping in a particular kind of ink to which saliva was added, as in Persia (cf I e Père Raphael du Mans, p 129) In more modern times the seal was carried in the purse (cf a verse by Mehmed ʿĀkif in his poem *Seifi Baba*) It is only recently that under the influence of the west the *muhur* has been displaced by the signature It must have received its *coup de grâce* with the recent adoption of the Roman alphabet and of rubber seals

The industry of seal engraving has thus been gradually disappearing It had at one time reached a high degree of perfection and the artists used to sign their work These signatures were usually very brief, Mithli, Sāʿi, Ahmad etc They were written in characters so minute that they could only be distinguished with a lens and only when very clearly engraved Quite a study could be written on these artists

Ewliyā Čelebi gives the following information about the seal engravers of Istanbul (i 575) He distinguishes

1 Engravers on stone, *hakīkīākīān*, 105 workmen in 30 shops They engraved on stones such as

agate, garnet, turquoise and jasper Their patron saint or *pīr* was ʿAbd Allāh Yamanī, a disciple of Uwais al-Karanī who is buried in Taʿizz

2 The engravers of *muhur muhurkʿenān* who worked especially for the viziers, 80 workmen in 50 shops Their *pīr* was the Caliph ʿOthmān In the reign of Murād IV the most noted were Mahmūd Čelebi, Rizā Čelebi and Ferīd Čelebi, who charged from 100 to 500 piastres for their work

3 The engravers of silver seals and talismans *muhurkʿenān-i sīm u-heyākil*, 40 workmen in 15 shops *Pīr* ʿUkkāsha who is buried near Marʿash, who, having seen on the Prophet's back the *muhr-i nubuwwet* (cf above), began to engrave talismanic formulae (two of these are quoted) These workmen "cannot engrave Yemen agate" They were established in the area called *Seyisḳhāneler*

We may still mention the custom of making partisans, whose loyalty one wished to be sure of, stamp their seals on a Kurʾān (*Kurʾān muhurletmek*), cf in the Turkish papers of June 8, 1925, statements by a rebel Kurd

The word *memhūr* in the old language of the Janissaries meant vouchers for their pay (M d'Ohsson, VII 337)

In figurative language Persian and Turkish uses the expression "to break the seal" *muhr berdaṣhten*, *muhur almak* (or *bozmak*, *acmak*, *gʿotuı mak*) for "to deflower a virgin" [cf further thh art IAMGHA]

The MUHRDĀR (*mohrdāı*), Turk *muhurdār* [cf the article KHĀTAM], keeper of the seals or better "private secretary" (cf below), was therefore a very important personage Mir ʿAlī Shir Newāʾi was the *mohrdār* of Husain Baikara before becoming *dīwān begi* and first minister (cf Belin, *Notice sur Mir* , 1861, p 13, cf de Sacy, *N E*, IV 282, 261) He was succeeded in these offices by another poet, Merwārīdī (*ibid*) — On the *mohrdār* in Persia, cf Le Pere Raphael du Mans, p 21 In Central Asia the title of *muhrdār* seems to have replaced' that of *tamghači* which occurs as early as the Orkhon inscriptions

In Turkey, each vizier had his *muhurdār* (Ahmad Rāsim, *ʿOthm Tārikhi*, I 455) Cf the account of the career of a *muhurdār* in the *Sidjill i ʿothmānī*, II 31 below (Behdjet Pasha [the same as is mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Saʿid Pasha, I 4])

The *rūznāmedji* had also their own *muhurdārs* (J Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p 136) At Kādī Kʿoy there exists a quarter called Muhurdār For the work bearing the title *Murhudār Tārikhi*, cf Babinger, *G O W*, p 216 *sq*

With the viceroys of Egypt the *muhurdār* was a "private secretary" of the Khedive The title of *muhurdār* was abolished in 1884 but the office has remained His salary was the same as that of the chief of the cabinet (cf *ibid*, p 92 and 476)

Bibliography Cf the article KHĀTAM We may now add Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosmaken Osman Pacha*, Berlin 1931, p 23 and note 5, where reference is made to a little known article by Riza Efendi Mudezirovic Cf also von Hammer, *Hist de l'Empire Othoman*, XII 425, 539, XVI 2 (J DENY)

MUḤSIN ʿALĪ, son of Shāh Husain Hakīkat, was an inhabitant of Lucknow In poetry he was the pupil of Khwādja Wazīr He flourished in the latter part of the XIXth century He is the author of a *Dīwān*, a collection of lyrical poems, and a biography of Urdū poets called *Sarāpā Sukhan*

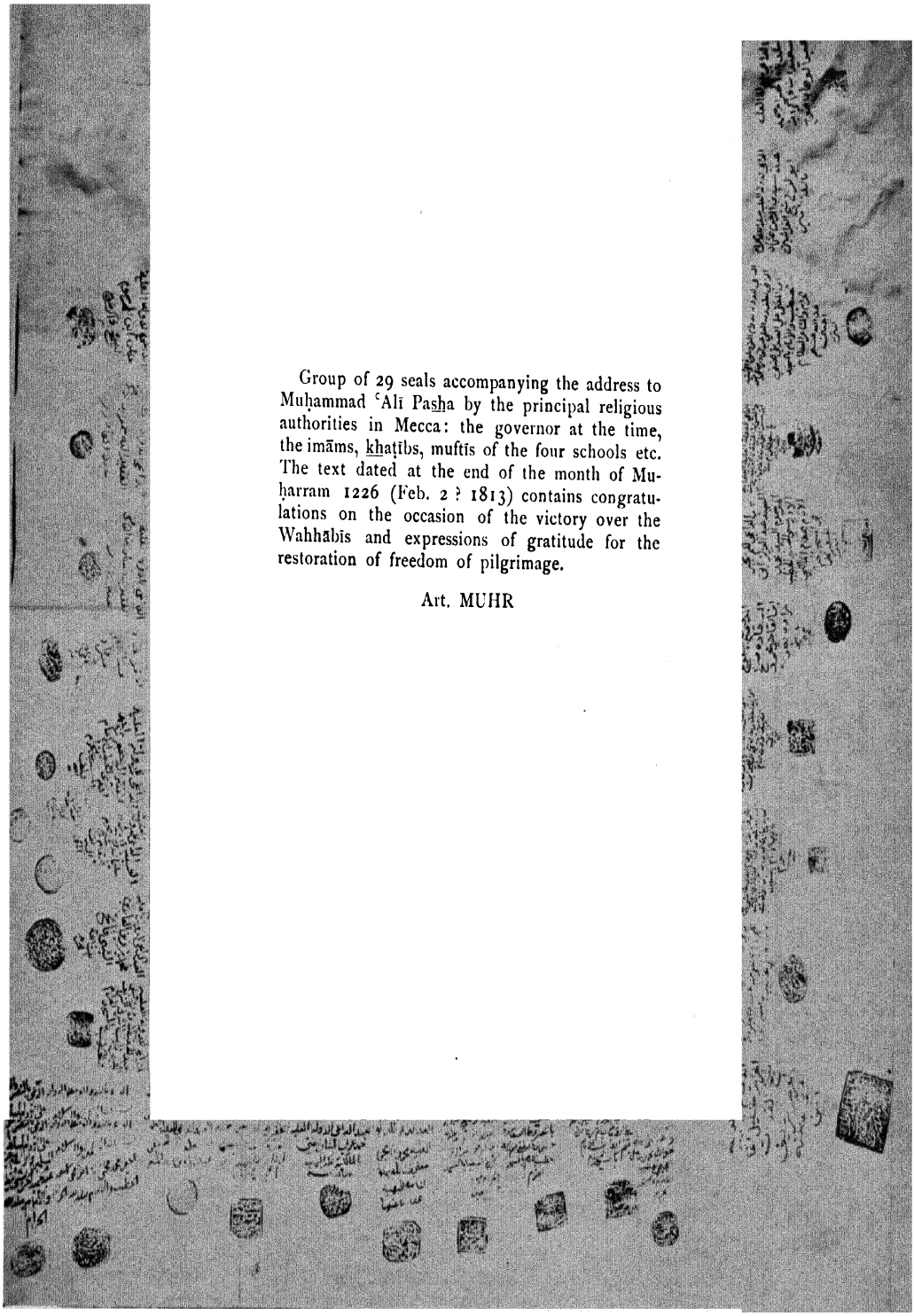
Bibliography Nassākh, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarāʾ* (Lucknow 1874), p 419

(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-**MUHTADĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD, an ʿAbbāsid caliph After al Wāthik's death, a number of officials wished to pay homage to the young Muhammad, son of the deceased caliph and a Greek slave, instead however, al-Wāthik's brother was proclaimed his successor and only after the deposition and murder of the unfortunate al-Muʿtazz (end of Radjab 255 = July 869) Muhammad ascended the throne with the name al-Muhtadī His ideal was the Umaiyad ʿUmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz Like the latter, he was distinguished for the strictness with which he conducted his life, with piety and simplicity however, he combined strength and ability and during his brief reign he did his best to raise the caliphate from its degradation and to restore the power of the Commander of the Faithful In several provinces there were risings by ʿAlids, real or alleged, but the most dangerous enemy of the caliph was the Turkish general Mūsā b Bogha When the latter, who was fighting against the ʿAlids in Persia, heard of the accession of al Muhtadī, he returned home Reaching Sāmarrā in Muharram 256 (Dec 869) he forced the caliph to take an oath to bring to justice the Turkish chief Sālih b Wasīf, who had robbed the mother of the caliph al-Muʿtazz of all her priceless treasures When Sālih concealed himself, the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and were intending to depose al-Muhtadī but were appeased by the resolute action of the latter Al-Muhtadī then promised Sālih's followers that he would pardon him, but as the latter did not appear, they went to Sāmarrā and began to pillage it until they were scattered by Mūsā Sālih was soon afterwards discovered and killed by one of Mūsā's men When Mūsā had taken the field against the Khāridjīs, al-Muhtadī began to incite the people against him and his brother Muhammad b Bogha and accused them of embezzlement Muhammad was brought to trial and put to death although al-Muhtadī had expressly guaranteed his pardon The only course left for the caliph was to dispose of Mūsā if he wished to keep his throne But his plan was betrayed, Mūsā advanced with superior forces and the caliph suffered a disastrous defeat As he declined to abdicate, he was murdered in Radjab 256 (June 870) in horrible fashion

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 200, Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, II 590 *sq*, 616—619, Tabarī, III 1368, 1372, 1537, 1712—1834, Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, VII 398 *sq* , VIII 1—41, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XX 64–69, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, VII 23, 134—138, 149—162, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 335–341, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, II 270 *sq* , Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, III 296 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, II 409—421, Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I 529 *sq* , Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed. by Weir, p 539—543 (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤTASIB (A), "censor", an officer appointed by the caliph or his wazīr to see that the religious precepts of Islām are obeyed, to detect offences and punish offenders His office was the *hisba*, and to it only men of good standing could, in theory, be appointed Like all



Group of 29 seals accompanying the address to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha by the principal religious authorities in Mecca: the governor at the time, the imāms, khaṭībs, muftīs of the four schools etc. The text dated at the end of the month of Muḥarram 1226 (Feb. 2 ? 1813) contains congratulations on the occasion of the victory over the Wahhābīs and expressions of gratitude for the restoration of freedom of pilgrimage.

Art. MUHR

holders of public office, he had to be a Muslim and free Generally he was a *fakīh*, and in addition to his police functions he performed those of a magistrate In some respects his duties were parallel with those of the *kādī*, but the muhtasib's jurisdiction was limited to matters connected with commercial transactions, defective weights and measures, fraudulent sales and non-payment of debts Even in these matters he could hear only those cases in which the truth was not in doubt As soon as evidence had to be sifted and oaths administered the muhtasib's jurisdiction ceased As a censor he had power to enforce the law without first requiring complaint from an injured party He had to see that in a place where Muslims lived they did not neglect to hold a Friday service in the mosque and that if they numbered forty or more they formed themselves into an organised community But if the number was large and there were differences of opinion on the question of worshipping together, his authority might be disputed, and it was not within his power to compel the attendance of the individual Muslim at the mosque unless he was a persistent defaulter Even then the officer could do no more than admonish the delinquent So far as the mosque was concerned the muhtasib could insist on the *adhān* and he could examine the *mu'adhdhin* in the subject of the times lawful for the *adhān* If a public mosque fell into disrepair, the muhtasib was charged with the duty of calling the attention of the authorities to the matter

An important part of the muhtasib's duties was to see that the laws of the *shar'* were maintained Persons breaking the fast of Ramadān, widows and divorced women who did not observe the *'idda* [q v] before remarriage, and other transgressors, were liable to have to make explanations before him Public morals, further, came under his jurisdiction He had to prevent men from consorting with women in public and from indulging openly in wine, also the playing of forbidden musical instruments came under his ban and he had to see that games and toys did not lead to offences against the *shar'* However, he could not act on suspicion alone nor had he the right to go behind closed doors to pursue his investigations His powers would appear to have been wider where the spiritual welfare of Muslims was concerned Thus if a *fakīh* propounded views contrary to *idjmā'* [q v] it was the muhtasib's duty to admonish him and to report him to the sovereign if he persisted in preaching heretical doctrines Also, if a person not a *fakīh* suddenly turned to the study of the *fikh*, the muhtasib had to make investigation in order to discover his motive and to prevent his misleading persons who might apply to him Schools also had to be visited by the muhtasib, though not so much for the purpose of inspecting the character of the teaching as to ensure that teachers did not beat their pupils too severely (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i 464) Other matters which came within his jurisdiction were concerned with public amenities rather than with morals or religious institutions Thus, in towns where the source of drinking-water was fouled or no provision was made for poor wayfarers he could order the townsmen to rectify matters He had to ensure that no house overlooked the women's quarters of another belonging to a Muslim and that no house had projecting rainspouts or drains leading on to the street to the inconvenience of wayfarers, and finally that the *sūk* was kept clean and clear of obstacles to traffic

Bibliography Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-sultāniya* (ed Enger), p 420 *sq* , Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muhādara* (ed Margoliouth), p 250, Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i 463 *sq* , 'Abd al-Rahmān b 'Abd Allāh al Shāfi'ī, *Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Talab al-Hisba* (British Museum, MS Or 9221), translated by Behrnauer, in *JA*, 5th series, vol xvi , p 347–392, vol xvii , p 1—76 — On *muhāsaba* and the *muhtasib* from the point of view of ethics and theology, see Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, part iv , book viii (R Levy)

AL-MUHYĪ [See Allāh, b 2]

MUHYI 'L-DĪN [See Ibn (al-)'Arabī]

MUHYI 'l DĪN MUHAMMAD (Mehmed) b 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Djamālī, a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selim I (1512—1520) and Sulaimān I (1520—1566) His father was the famous muftī Zanbilī 'Alī al-Djamālī, a grandson of Djamāl al-Dīn Mehmed of Ak Serai (hence the epithet Djamālī) He received his theological training first from his maternal grandfather, Husām-Zāde Efendi, then from his father 'Alā' al Dīn and later from Mu'aiyad-Zāde Efendi He worked as mudeiris in several medreses, in Constantinople at the Murād medrese and at the eight schools of the Fātih mosque and in Adrianople where he was also a mollā for a period He died in retirement and was buried at Adrianople in 957 (1550), according to some, however, in 956 (1549)

His main importance lies in the fact that he edited the anonymous Ottoman chronicles, the *Tewārikh i Āl-i 'Othmān*, under the title *Ta'rīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* These chronicles which run from the beginning of the Ottoman empire were continued by him down to 956 (1549) i e till shortly before his death

Two versions of his *Chronicle* exist, both of which go back to him 1 a shorter one to which corresponds the translation of the Beck manuscript by Gaudier-Spiegel *Chronica oder Acta von der Turckischen Tyrannen herkommen vnnd gefuhrte Kriegen, aus Turckischer Sprachen ver deutschet Vorhin nie in Druck ausgangen* Frankfurt a/O 1567, it was also published in Latin and German by Leunclavius *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, Frankfurt 1588, 2nd edition with index and German transl *Newe Chronika Turckischer Nation von Turcken selbs beschrieben*, Frankfurt a/Main 1590,

2 a longer version the so-called Verantian Chronicle (Codex Verantianus), edited in Latin and German by Leunclavius *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII*, Frankfurt 1591 There were 18 books instead of the 30 planned As early as 1590 the first three books were published in German at Frankfurt *Neuwer Muselmannischer Histori, Turckischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichte vnd Taten, drey Bucher, die ersten vnter dreyssigen*, followed by the complete German translation of the *Annales Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Turckischer Nation*, Frankfurt a/M 1595

In addition to his chronicle, which exists only in manuscript (MSS in Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, London, Constantinople etc), Muhyī al-Dīn is also credited with poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (also extant in a manuscript) and a theological work

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(Th Menzel)

MUḤYĪ LĀRĪ (d 933 = 1526—1527), a Persian writer, author of the famous *Futūḥ al-Haramain*, a poetical description of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which also contains a full account of all the rites of the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*)

This book, written in 911 (1506) and dedicated to Muzaffar b Mahmūd Shāh of Gudjarāt (917—932 = 1511—1526), was for a long time wrongly attributed to the celebrated poet 'Abd al Raḥmān Djāmī Muḥyī Lārī was a pupil of the great philosopher Muḥammad al Dawānī (d 907 = 1501) and made use of his extensive philosophical knowledge in a commentary on the great *Kasīda* of Ibn al-Fārid, which is known as *al-Tā'īya al-kubrā* In this work he endeavoured, following in the footsteps of his teacher, to reconcile the principles of orthodox Muhammadan mysticism with the teachings of Aristotle in the form in which they were disseminated in the east

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(E Berthels)

AL-**MU'ĪD** [See Allāh, b 2]

MU'ĪN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN PARWĀNA, vice-regent of the Saldjūk empire in Asia Minor after the Mongol invasion of that territory His father Muhadhdhib al Dīn 'Alī al-Dailamī (in some sources, such as the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, Mu'īn al-Dīn is called "al-Kāshī", which implies origin from Kāshān) had been a minister during the reign of Kaikhusraw II and had been able, after the battle of Kose Dagh (1243), to secure for a time the continuation of the Saldjūk dynasty in Asia Minor, by his intercession with the Mongol general Baidjū (Ibn Bībī, p 243) His son Mu'īn al Dīn Sulaimān soon rose to hold important offices and had been commander of Tokat, and later of Tokat and Erzindjān, when, in 1256, he was promoted, by the favour of Baidjū, to the rank of *parwāna* The title *parwāna* denoted a high administrative office (high chancellor) in the Saldjūk empire and is erroneously explained by the Persian dictionaries as a synonym of *farmān* (the word is fully discussed in the foot-note on p 46 of Khalīl Edhem's article in *T O E M*, vol viii, cf also Huart, *Les Saints*, etc, i 80) At the time indicated the three sons of Kaikhusraw were nominally reigning, but Mu'īn al-Dīn was already the real director of affairs After Hūlāgū had appeared on the scene in 1260, the empire was divided into two parts, of which Rukn al Dīn Kīlidj Arslan got the eastern part with Parwāna as vizier at his side The latter had also a family connection with the dynasty, for he was married to a daughter of Kaikhusraw II, while one of his own daughters became the wife of the Saldjūk Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd II As vizier of Rukn al-Dīn he conquered Sinope (Sīnūb) from the Greek emperor of Trebizond, the town was given to himself, and after his death some of his descendants continued to reign there (cf Sinūb and Tewhīd, *Sinūbda Parwāne Zādeler*, in *T O E M*, 1st year, p 203) In February 1265 Parwāna, warned that his sultān wanted to get rid of him, had him imprisoned and afterwards strangled at Ak-Serāy The two and a half years' old son of Rukn al-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw, was set up as a puppet-king During the following years, when Parwāna was, under the supervision of the Mongols, the real master in Eastern Anatolia, the wretched situation of the country induced many notable Turks to emigrate to Egypt, where they incited Sultān Baibars to a military expedition against the Mongol domination in their country It is highly probable that Mu'īn al Dīn Parwāna himself was secretly at the head of these negotiations Baibars invaded Asia Minor, defeated a Mongol army at Albistān and occupied the town of Kaisarīye in April 1277 Here he waited for Parwāna to join him, but the latter had lost his confidence in the enterprise and fled to Tokat with the young sultān Baibars returned again to Syria and soon a Mongol army appeared under the Ilkhān Abaka to inflict drastic punishment on the Muslim population, he is said to have killed over 200,000 people At the same time suspicion fell on Parwāna He was accused of having fled with his army at the battle of Albistān, of having not appeared before the Ilkhān after the defeat, and of having neglected to inform the Mongols of Baibars' approach At first Abaka was willing to spare him, but on the insistence of the relatives of those killed in the battle of Albistān, he ordered him to be executed at Ala Dagh, together with his retainers, probably on the 1st Rabī' I 676 (August 2, 1277) Ala Dagh is, according to Khalīl Edhem, probably the same as Kose Dagh, to the east of Siwās His burial place is not known A foundation inscription on a mosque built by Mu'īn al Dīn Parwāna in 663 (1264—1265) is still extant in Marzīfūn His death inspired several poets to make elegies on him (Munadjdjim Bashī) From the tradition of the Mawlawī order it appears that Parwāna was on intimate terms with Djalāl al Dīn Rūmī, the latter's work *Fihi mā fihi* was dedicated to him (cf Kropulu-Zāde M Fu'ād, *Ilk Mutesawwifler*, p 258)

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p 436 *sq*, Husain Husām al-Dīn, *Amasya Taʾrīkhi*, Constantinople 1920, i, ii, Tewhīd, *Rūm Seldjūkī Dewletinin inkirāzile teshekkul eden Ṭewāʾif i Mulūk*, in *T O E M*, vol i, Khalil Edhem, *Mevzifūnda Parwāna Muʿīn al Dīn Sulaimān nāmina bir Kitābe*, in *T O E M*, Nº 8, p 42 *sqq*, do, *Duwel-i Islāmiye*, Constantinople 1927, p 211, 272, Cl Huart, *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918—1922, i, ii, *passim* (J H KRAMERS)

MUʿĪN AL MISKĪN whose full name was MUʿĪN AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD AMĪN B HADJDJĪ MUHAMMAD AL FARĀHĪ AL-HARAWĪ and whose *takhallus* was Muʿīnī (d 907 = 1501—1502), a celebrated traditionist He studied *Hadīth* for 31 years and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Herāt He was for year kādī of Herāt but gave up the post by his own request In 866 (1461—1462) at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muhammad Out of this little book there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Maʿārid̲j al-Nubuwwa fī Madārid̲j al Futuwwa*, which was not finished till 891 (1486) and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *Mukaddima*, four books and a *Khātima* Besides this gigantic work Muʿīnī also wrote a commentary on the Kurʾān entitled *Bahr al-Durar* and a collection of forty hadīths, *Rawdat al-Wāʿizin* His study of the history of the prophets produced a large history of Moses entitled *Muʿd̲jizāt i Mūsawī* (also called *Taʾrikh i Mūsawī* or *Kissa yi Mūsawi*), which was completed in 904 (1498—1499), and the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikhā, *Ahsan al Kisaṣ*

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AL-**MUʿIZZ** [See ALLĀH, II]

AL-**MUʿIZZ** B **BĀDĪS** [See ZĪRIDS]

MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B ABĪ SHUDJĀʿ, a Būyid, was born in 303 (915/916) After the taking of Shīrāz by the Būyids he brought Kirmān under his rule in 324 (935—936) When the rebel governor of al-Ahwāz, al-Barīdī [q v], after several unsuccessful encounters with Bedjkem [q v], the general of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, sought the help of the Būyid ʿImād al-Dawla, the latter sent his brother Ahmad against al Ahwāz with an army, Bedjkem was defeated first at Arradjān and then at ʿAskar Mukram (326 = 938), whereupon Ahmad took this town, but when he demanded as a reward for the help he had given that al-Barīdī should help the Būyid Rukn al Dawla against Washmgī, the brother of Mardāwīd̲j [q v], al-Barīdī refused and went to Basra After Ahmad had received reinforcements from ʿImād al-Dawla, he was able to take al-Ahwāz In 332 (943—944) he undertook a campaign against Wāsit while the Amīr al Umarāʾ, the Turkish chief Tuzun, was involved in a war with the Hamdānid of al-Mawsil Tuzun hurriedly made peace and set out against Ahmad, and the two armies met in Dhu 'l Kaʿda of this year (July 944) The details are variously given, it is certain at least that Ahmad soon afterwards returned to al-Ahwāz At the end of Radjab of the following year (middle of March 945), he made a further attempt to take the town but had to withdraw the next month on the approach of Tuzun In 334 (945) he attacked Wāsit for a third time, its governor had gone over to his side and the town surrendered without a blow being struck, he then marched against Baghdād and in Djumadā I 334 (December 945) entered the capital where he at once seized the power The caliph al Mustakfī appointed him Amīr al-Umarāʾ and gave him the title Muʿizz al Dawla but was deposed and blinded a few weeks later because he was alleged to be dealing with the enemies of the Būyids Muʿizz al Dawla was soon afterwards attacked by the Hamdānid Nāsir al-Dawla of al-Mawsil, who advanced on Baghdād along with Abū Djaʿfar b Shīrzad and very quickly occupied the eastern part of the capital Nāsir al Dawla was not driven back till Muharram of the following year (Aug 946) when he made peace with the Būyids but without consulting his Turkish allies The latter were angered at this and turned against him Nāsir al-Dawla had to flee and only succeeded in bringing the Turks to terms with the help of the Būyids, he then returned to al Mawsil as a vassal of the Būyids Abu 'l Kāsim, son and successor of al Barīdī, was the next to be dealt with Muʿizz al Dawla sent an army against him which put his forces to flight and in 336 (947) he took the field in person Abu 'l-Kāsim fled to the Karmatians of al-Bahrain and Muʿizz al-Dawla occupied Basra Abu 'l-Kāsim's governor ʿImrān b Shāhin however held out in al Djamida, the capital of the Euphrates territory between Wāsit and Basra, and after several years fighting Muʿizz al-Dawla had to confirm him in his governorship In 337 (948—949) Muʿizz al-Dawla undertook a campaign against al-Mawsil because Nāsir al Dawla did not send the tribute imposed on him The latter fled to Nasibin, but when Rukn al-Dawla, brother of Muʿizz al-Dawla, was attacked by the Sāmānids, Muʿizz al-Dawla had to send him help and concluded peace with the Hamdānids In 347 (958—959) Nāsir al-Dawla rebelled again but on the approach of Muʿizz al Dawla he left al Mawsil and went first of all to Nasibin and then to Halab to his brother Saif al Dawla, while Muʿizz al-Dawla advanced on al Mawsil and took this town and also Nasibin Through the intervention of Saif al Dawla however peace was made (Muharram 348 = March—April 959) In the last year of his life Muʿizz al Dawla had to fight the Karmatians and ʿImrān b Shāhīn The former acknowledged his suzerainty, the war against the latter was interrupted by the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla on 13th or 17th Rabiʿ II 356 (March 28 or April 1, 967)

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Gesch d Chalifen, II 651—653, 666 *sqq*, 688, 692, 695—697, III 2—7, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 161–164, 231–233, 318 *sq* (K V Zetterstéen)

AL-MUʿIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Abū Tamīm Maʿadd b Ismaʿīl al Mansūr, fourth Fātimid caliph, was born at Mahdiya on 11th Ramadān 319 (28th Sept 931), proclaimed heir apparent in 341 (952—953), and succeeded to the throne in Shawwāl of the same year (March 953) His first object was to restore the Fātimid power, which had been reestablished in Ifrikiya by his father, over the remaining provinces of the Maghrib In 342 he led in person an army of Kitāma into the Awrās mountains and not only reduced the turbulent tribes of that region for the first time, but also received the formal submission of the chiefs of Zenāta and of the ruling princes of the west The hostility and intrigues, however, of the Umaiyad ruler of Spain, ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [q v], maintained a situation of unrest in the Maghrib, and after ineffectual naval raids on both sides, al Muʿizz despatched thither in 347 (958) a strong force under the command of his freedman and *kātib* Djawhar al-Rūmī [q v] Fāhart and Sidjilmasa were captured with little difficulty, Fās surrendered after an obstinate siege of eleven months in Ramadān 348, and the other strongholds in the Maghrib were occupied, with the exception of Salā and Sabta, which were held for ʿAbd al-Rahmān Although the results of this campaign in the western Maghrib were ephemeral, the establishment of the Sanhādja chief Zīri b Manād at Fāhart placed an effective check upon the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib There can be no doubt that al Muʿizz was already contemplating the conquest not only of Egypt and Syria, but also of Baghdād, using for this purpose the Kitāma, as the ʿAbbāsids had used the army of Khurāsān, while the Sanhādja should hold North-west Africa for him, and with this end in view he actively pursued a policy of conciliation of these tribes by lavish gifts and the abolition of financial exactions

Though this ambition was no secret, it is represented in the official correspondence of al Muʿizz as subsidiary to his desire (which was probably sincere) to assume the leadership in the *djihād* against the encroaching Greeks Already in 350 (961) the Cretans, besieged by Nikephoros Phokas, and despairing of assistance from Kāfūr, had solicited his aid In spite of the victory claimed for al Muʿizz by Ibn al-Athīr (VIII 404), it appears that he was unable to send assistance in time, but he seized the opportunity to denounce the treaty made with the Emperor Constantine VII in 956, and opened a fresh attack in Sicily Taormīna was captured in 351 (962), and an expeditionary force sent from Constantinople was severely defeated both on land and sea, the general Manuel Phokas being killed, and the commander Niketas taken prisoner

In the same year (355 = 966) al-Muʿizz began his preparations for the advance on Egypt, by ordering wells to be dug along the route His relations with Kāfūr at this time are obscure Fātimid emissaries had long been engaged in active propaganda in Egypt, and had evidently made some headway, aided by the resentment of the population against the Sūdānī troops, who were fanatical Sunnīs Their propaganda was indulgently regarded by Kāfūr, and it is not impossible that, as the Fātimid writers claim, he privily declared his adhesion to al-Muʿizz His death on 21st Djumādā II, 357 (24th May 968) gave the signal for the advance of the Fātimid army, said to have been over 100,000 strong, which set off under the command of Djawhar on 14th Rabiʿ I, 358 (6th Feb 969), with the support of a naval squadron The disorganization which prevailed in Egypt and the terror inspired by the Greek armies (who in 968 had swept over the whole of northern Syria without meeting opposition and had taken immense numbers of prisoners), contributed greatly to the prospects of its success, moreover, many of the Egyptian notables and even of the troops had sent letters to al-Muʿizz inviting his intervention On Djawhar's approach the population made their submission by an embassy of notables, but the Ikhshidī and Tulūnī regiments rejected the conditions laid down in the agreement, and had to be forcibly dislodged from their positions at Djiza and on the islands The retreating Mamlūks split up into bands, some of which continued to give Djawhar much trouble as local centres of disaffection, ending only with the arrest and deportation to Africa of their commanders, and the disarmament or imprisonment of the remainder

Djawhar, having entered Fustāt on 17th Shaʿbān 358 (7th July 969) and laid the foundations of the new city of al-Kāhira, immediately took in hand the reform of the administration Complete religious toleration was promised, and confirmed by the reinstatement of the existing officials, weekly sessions for the hearing of *mazālim* were instituted, several vexatious taxes were abolished and property which had been illegally sequestrated to the Treasury was restored to its owners, and regular salaries were assigned to the officers of the mosques Another of his reforms, however, caused great resentment, this was the striking of a new coinage to replace the existing debased coinage, and the order to levy all taxes in the new currency His difficulties were increased by a prolonged famine and by the turbulence of the Berber soldiery, and it was not until the arrival in Egypt of al-Muʿizz himself in Ramadān 362 (June 973) that the task of reorganization was completed by centralizing the financial administration under Yaʿkūb b Kilis [q v] and ʿAslūdj b al-Hasan, and by the removal of the Berber troops to a new camp near Heliopolis

The course of events in Syria after the occupation of Egypt is differently related and obscure in detail Djawhar's lieutenant Djaʿfar b Falāh defeated the joint forces of the Ikhshidids and Karmatians under al Hasan (in some sources al-Husain) b ʿUbaid Allāh b Tughdj at Ramla in the early months of 359 (970), but the general disorganization and the licence of the Arab tribesmen preventing him from entering Damascus until Dhu 'l-Hidjdja of the same year Shortly afterwards he detached some contingents against the Greeks, but the troops sent to recover Antioch were defeated near Iskandarūna, or, according to Yahyā b Saʿīd (ed Cheikho, p 139), were recalled after besieging the city for five months Meanwhile the Karmatian general al Hasan b Ahmad al-Aʿsam (in some versions al-Aghsham), in revenge, it is said (but see de Goeje, *Les Carmathes du Bahrain*, p 181–190), for the stoppage of the subsidy he had received from the Ikhshīdid al-Hasan, opened negotiations with the Buwaihid ʿIzz al-Dīn and

the Hamdānid amīr of al-Mawṣil, and with the aid of subsidies from them and some Ikhshīdī contingents, defeated and killed Djaʿfar and recaptured Damascus in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 360 (Aug–Sept 971) Having shut up the remaining Egyptian forces in Yāfā, he marched on Cairo, but was defeated by Djawhar in Rabīʿ I 361 (Dec 971), and his fleet was destroyed at Tinnīs The Karmatians retained their hold on Damascus, however, repulsed a strong Maghribī force despatched to Palestine by Djawhar in Ramadān 361, and with an army of Arab auxiliaries and Ikhshīdis (some sources also add Dailamis) made a second descent upon Egypt after the arrival of al-Muʿizz By bribing the Arabs, the Caliph succeeded in dividing and defeating the Karmatian army outside Cairo in Ramadān 363 (May–June 964), but not before Karmatian forces had overrun both the Delta and the Saʿīd On al Hasan's return to al-Aḥsāʾ the ʿUkailid Zalim b Mawhūb occupied Damascus on behalf of al Muʿizz, but came into conflict with the Maghribī troops, whose indiscipline and excesses at length led the citizens to appeal to the Turkish general al-Aftakin, who remained in possession of the city until he was captured by al-ʿAziz [q v] Meanwhile in northern Syria the Fāṭimid troops gained a series of striking successes against the Greeks Tripoli and Bairūt were captured in 364 (975), and John Zimiskes suffered a crushing defeat both on land and sea at the hands of Rayyān, governor of Tripoli, on his attempt to recover the city

The empire which al Muʿizz bequeathed to his successor, though it fell short of his ambitions, was still of imposing extent The viceroy to whom he had committed the western provinces, Bulukkin b Zīrī [q v], proved both loyal and capable, when, on the departure of the Caliph, the Zenāta again rose in revolt, he scattered their forces and recaptured Tahart and Tilimsān The holy cities of Mecca and Madina acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, and they had a powerful following in Sind Only in Syria had the Karmatians, on whose cooperation al Muʿizz had confidently relied (though the letter reproduced by al-Makrizī, *Ittiʿāz*, ed Bunz, p 133 *sqq* is of doubtful genuineness), brought him to a halt, but by this action they had placed a fatal obstacle in his way This disappointment preyed on his mind and, worn out by ill health and by grief at the loss of his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh (died 364), he died at Cairo on 11th Rabiʿ II, 365 (Dec 19, 975), having nominated as his successor his second son Nizār al-ʿAzīz

The personal character of al-Muʿizz was singularly noble, frank, accessible, simple in his habits, endowed with brilliant gifts and all the traditional qualities of *ḥilm*, he was at the same time a capable administrator and just towards his subjects, though the financial exactions of his last years left a bitter memory No instance of cruelty is recorded of him, except the execution of his Karmatian captives, and he was completely devoid of religious fanaticism

Bibliography, The fullest accounts are those of al-Makrizī, *Ittiʿāz* (ed Bunz, p 59—143), and the *dāʿī* Idrīs b al-Ḥasan (*ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, vol vi), both of whom utilized the biography by Ibn Zūlāk (d 387), and the latter also the works of the Kādī al-Nuʿmān b Muḥammad (d 363) Additional details are furnished by Ibn al-Athīr (vol viii), whose chronology is at variance with earlier sources, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Juynboll, ii 398—494, Ibn al-Kalānisī, ed Amedroz, p 1—14, Ibn Muyassar, ed Masse, p 43—47, al-Kindī, ed Guest, Supplement, p 584—589, Ibn ʿAdhārī, ed Dozy, i 229—237, Yaḥyā b Saʿīd, ed Cheikho, p 129–146, 295–296, Ibn Ẓāfir, MS Brit Mus, Or 3685, fol 47b–50b, al Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, MS Brit Mus, Or 48, fol 92—93, sub 365 AH, and the *Dīwān* of Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī, ed Bairūt 1326, in addition to the references quoted in the text — European works include, besides the general histories of Egypt by Wustenfeld and Lane Poole, a study by Quatremère, *La Vie du Khalife Moezz lidin Allah* (*J A*, ser iii, vols 2, 3) (H A R GIBB)

MU IZZĪ, AMĪR ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B ʿABD AL MALIK, one of the most famous of Persian court poets His place of birth is not exactly known According to most of the sources he was born in Samarkand about 440 (1048—1049) but Nasā and Nīshāpūr are also mentioned The son of a little known poet ʿAbd al Malik Burhānī, who was attached to the court of the Saldjūk Alp Arslān (1063—1072), he was introduced to Sultān Malik-Shāh (1072—1092) by Amir ʿAlī b Farāmurz, ruler of Yazd (443–488 = 1051/1502—1095), made a favourable impression on the sultān and received from him the *takhallus* of Muʿizzī, which comes from the *lakab* of Malik-Shāh, Muʿizz al Dīn He enjoyed even greater distinction under the last great Saldjūk ruler Sandjar (1118—1157) and was appointed his *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* and the head of a regular establishment of poets, said to have numbered 400 He is reputed to have become fabulously wealthy from the splendid gifts of the ruler and he received a salary paid out of the revenues of Isfahān Nevertheless he continually tried to increase his fortune and, as he himself tells us, never wrote a single panegyric without making certain in advance that his work would be well paid According to the Oriental sources, he came to a tragic end, being accidentally killed by Sultān Sandjar, while practising archery in his tent This is not possible however, as Muʿizzī himself mentions this incident in his *Dīwān* and says that, although he suffered a long illness as a result of being struck by the arrow, he completely recovered in the end This event took place in Marw, about 496 (1102—1103), but he lived for another 46 years and died there in 542 (1147—1148) There is an elegy written on the occasion of his death in the *Dīwān* of Madjd al-Dīn Sanāʾī Muʿizzī is one of the most brilliant writers of *kasīdas* in the old Ghaznawid style (ʿUnsurī) but his art was finally displaced by Anwarī's new style and came to be forgotten

Bibliography H Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (*Gr I Ph*, ii 260, 263, 267, 283, 573), Ed Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii 327—330, *Habīb al-Siyar*, ii 4, 103, *Madjmaʿ al Fuṣaḥāʾ*, i 571, Rieu, ii 552 A longish monograph on the poet by ʿAlī Riḍā Khusrawānī Turfa in the monthly *Armaghān*, iv 529 A good MS of the *Dīwān* in the Leningrad University Library, N⁰ 939, C Salemann, *Zap*, ii (1888), p 253 (E BERTHELS)

MUḲĀBALA, Gr διάμετρος, in the Almagest ἀκρόνυκτος, Lat oppositio, the term in astronomy for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another In opposition the

difference in longitude between the two heavenly bodies is 180°, while the modern use is to take no note of the deviations of latitude from the ecliptic, al-Battānī expressly emphasises (*Opus astronomicum*, ed Nallino, III 196) that we can only have the true mukābala when both bodies are either in the ecliptic itself or are in equal ecliptical latitudes when opposed in other words when they are diametrically opposite one another in the heavens (cf "διάμετρος"!) Opposition with the sun can only occur for the moon and the outer planets (in ancient astronomy only for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), not for the two inner ones, Mercury and Venus When an outer planet is in opposition to the sun, its conditions of visibility are at their best, at midnight it passes through the meridian and is above the horizon the whole night When the moon is in opposition to the sun we have the full moon, the usual technical expression for this in Arabic astronomy is *al istiḳbāl* which is derived from the same root as *mukābala* (Greek ἡ παντέληνος) and is rendered by Plato Tiburtinus and other mediaeval translators by *praeventio*, but we not uncommonly find the general term mukābala applied to the opposition of sun and moon, while on the other hand we never find *al-istiḳbāl* used in the general sense of opposition of the planets (cf al-Battānī, II 349, s v *k b l*)

Al-mukābala, opposition, forms along with *al-tarbīʿ*, quadrature (Gr τετράγωνον, Lat *tetragonum*, *quadratum*), *al-taṯlīth*, trigon (Gr τρίγωνον, Lat *trigonum*, *triangulum*, *triquetrum*, *aspectus trinus*), and *al tasdīs*, hexagon (Gr ἑξάγωνον, Lat *hexagonum*, *sexangulum*, *aspectus sextilis*), the four astrological aspects (*aṯkāl*, sg *ṯakl*, Gr σχήματα, σχηματισμοί, συσχηματισμοί, also ὄψεις, Lat *aspectus* or *radiationes*), which are applied to the ecliptical differences in longitude of two planets to the amount of 180°, 90°, 120° or 60° respectively The *aṯkāl* also play a part in the astrological arrangement of the signs of the zodiac (*burūḏ*) (cf the article MINṬAKA and al-Battānī, III 194) It should be noted that the conjunction of planets (*mukārana*, Greek σύνοδος, for moon with sun [new moon] always *iḏtimāʿ*) is not included among the *aṯkāl*, nor the position when the difference of latitude is 30° or 150° (cf al-Battānī, *op cit*)

In horoscopes mukābala and *tarbīʿ* are as a rule regarded as unfavourable in principle, *taṯlīth* and *tasdīs* on the other hand as favourable

Bibliography al-Battānī, *Kitāb al Zīḏ al-Ṣābiʾ* (*Opus Astronomicum*), ed C A Nallino, Milan 1899—1907, I—III, Boll-Bezold, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 3rd ed by W Gundel, Leipzig 1926, p 63—64

(WILLY HARTNER)

MUḲADDAM (A), "placed in front" Applied to persons the word means the chief, the one in command, e g of a body of troops or of a ship (captain) Dozy, *Suppl*, s v, gives a number of police appointments which have this name In the dervish orders the word is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery

As a neuter noun the word is a technical term in logic and arithmetic In logic it means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence, e g "If the sun rises (it becomes day)", where this whole sentence is to be regarded as premise of a syllogism But as every sentence can be a premise, *mukaddam* is really identical with the condition in the conditional sentence In arithmetic *mukaddam* means the first of two numbers in a proportion, i e 3 (5) or in other words the divided in a simple division — In logic and in arithmetic the portion following the *mukaddam* (in brackets above) is called *tālī*

Bibliography Dozy (cf above) and other dictionaries, Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des isl Vereinswesens* (*Turk Bibl*, XVI), p 106, *Dict of Technical Terms*, ed Sprenger, p 1215, 1362 (M PLESSNER)

AL-MUḲADDASĪ, SHAMS AL DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B AHMAD B ABĪ BAKR AL-BANNĀʾ AL-SHAʾMĪ AL-MUKADDASĪ AL-MAʿRŪF BI 'L-BASHSHĀRĪ as he is called on the first page of the Berlin manuscript (Cat Ahlwardt, N⁰ 6034), is the author of the most original and at the same time one of the most valuable geographical treatises in Arabic literature The name-form al-Mukaddasī, denoting his origin from Jerusalem, goes back to Sprenger, who brought the Berlin manuscript from India and made this author first known in Europe (A Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, p XVIII), but the form al-Makdisī is probably more correct as Jerusalem is commonly spelt al-Bait al Makdis (Yakūt, *Muʿḏam*, IV 590) Yākūt always quotes him as al-Bashshārī

Biographical dates on the life of this author are only to be found in the text of his treatise In 356 (966), when he was at Mecca, he was about twenty years of age, it is probable that he lived at least as late as 1000, as the last datable information in the treatise belongs to the end of the IVth (Xth) century His grandfather Abū Bakr al Bannāʾ was an architect in Palestine and had made for Ibn Ṭūlūn the gates of the town of ʿAkkā His mother's family was originally from Biyār in Kūmis, from where his grandfather Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib b al Shawā (in *B G A*, IV, p VII, l 12 "paternus" is to be corrected into "materinus") emigrated to Jerusalem Muhammad b Ahmad himself shows also a good knowledge of architecture, besides a good literary and general erudition

The geographical treatise is known from two old manuscripts, which form the basis of de Goeje's edition in the *B G A*, III, Leyden 1877 and of his revised edition of 1906 The Berlin manuscript has the title *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aḳālīm*, while the Constantinople manuscript (Aya Sofia, N⁰ 2971 *bis*, cf Ritter, in *Isl*, XIX 43), written in 658 (1260), is only indicated as *Kitāb al Aḳālīm* The Leyden manuscript (*Cat*, V 191) is a modern copy of the Constantinople one, while another Berlin manuscript (Cat Ahlwardt, N⁰ 6033) is a bad copy of the other Berlin manuscript The date of composition is not certain The text itself states that it was completed in 375 (985) (*B G A*, III 9), but as has been said, information of a later date has been added, while Yāḳūt (I 653) gives the year 378 (988) The manuscript C(onstantinople) is somewhat less extensive than B(erlin) and de Goeje, hesitatingly, considers the redaction of C as the older one It is dedicated to a certain Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b al-Hasan and mentions the Sāmānids as the most important dynasty, B, on the contrary, does not contain the dedication and is more orientated towards the Fāṭimids

The general scope of the work proves beyond doubt that it is based on the same geographical tradition as the treatises connected with the names

al-Balkhī — al-Istakhrī — Ibn Hawkal, the same is proved by the fact that the maps accompanying both manuscripts show the still rather primitive type of the Istakhrī maps (the Makdisī maps have been published by K Miller, in *Mappae Arabicae*, vol I—V, Stuttgart 1926—1931) In this last respect al Makdisī's work does not really reflect the considerable progress of geographical knowledge that is manifested in the text As in the texts of al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawkal the object is to treat only the Islāmic world (*mamlakat al-Islām*) of the IVth (Xth) century and that after a division into regions (*akālīm*) which, on the whole, is the same as that of the two authors mentioned, the order is not always the same, but the distinction between western and eastern regions is maintained The treatment is often more detailed than with the earlier authors, while the disposition of the geographical matter is the same, each region ending with a survey of the distances between the different towns In how far al Makdisī is dependent on al Istakhrī and Ibn Hawkal remains to be examined His introductory chapters show not a few original features and are especially valuable for information about earlier geographical authors As de Goeje has already remarked, this information is more accurate in the redaction C than in B, if the latter redaction is really later it would seem that the rather depreciating judgment he gives therein of al-Balkhī, al Djaihānī and others (p 4) must be explained by the change of the author's political predilection in favour of the Fātimids and occidental Islām Al Makdisī's style and language is sometimes difficult, owing to his expressly stated endeavour to adapt himself in the description of each region to the special idiom used in that region Moreover, the reading of his text is several times made unpleasant by the boisterous way in which the author speaks of the merits of his work

A English translation of part of the treatise was published by G S A Ranking and R F Azoo in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1897—1910, vol I—IV

Bibliography The author and the work are discussed by de Goeje in the introduction to vol IV of the *B G A*, p VI—VIII, further cf Brockelmann, *G A L*, I

(J H KRAMERS)

AL **MUKADDIM** [See AILĀH, II]

MUKALLĀ (MAKALLA), a seaport on the south coast of Arabia, $2^1/_2$ miles N W of the cape of the same name The town lies between two bays at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of 300 feet behind the town, four towers for the defence of the town are built upon it On the west side a wall runs from the cliff to the shore with only one gate in it The only buildings of any size are the great mosque on the coast with a minaret which can be seen from a great distance, and the sultān's palace, the other buildings are mainly huts with a few houses of stone The palace is a great six storey building with decorated windows which stands on a kind of peninsula In the centre of the town is a large cemetery with the tomb of Walī Ya'kūb, in the modern western part of the town is the bazaar which is provided with all kinds of goods and has some modest industries which provide the native population with baskets, pipes of a kind of limestone, silver powder-horns and muskets without stocks There is a yard in the harbour where the native sailing-boats are built The country around is not fertile, a mile to the west however is an oasis belonging to the ruler, which is watered by a stream which also provides the town's water supply The climate of Mukallā is very dry, the coast hot, only from October to April and in June and July do fresh breezes and showers temper the heat The population varies between 6,000 and 12,000

Mukallā is the only place between 'Aden and Maskat that deserves the name of harbour It cannot however be used as an anchorage during the southwest monsoon, in this period its place is taken by Burūm, 16 miles southwest The trade with India, Somaliland, the Red Sea and Maskaṭ is considerable The exports are mainly gum arabic, skins, honey from the Yeshbom valley, senna and some coffee, the imports are cotton goods, metals, pottery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Maskat, coffee from 'Aden, sheep, aloes and frankincense from the African coast The fisheries also give a considerable yield while amber is obtained in considerable quantities Parsīs and banians from Bombay play a leading part in the trade and Hindustānī is spoken almost as much as Arabic Since 1881 Mukallā has been under the al Ka'aitī dynasty with which England concluded a treaty granting a protectorate on May 1, 1888 According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir, the old name of the town was al-Mukannā, and the natives also call al-Mukallā, like al Shihr, Bender al-Ahkāf or Sūḳ al Ahkāf The port has steamship communication with 'Aden, most of the traffic is borne by native sailing-boats of 100—300 tons, which are busiest at the time of the date harvest

Bibliography A Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (*Abh f d Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III/3, Leipzig 1864), p 145, I Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, I eyden 1897, p 83—92, ders, *Ein Aufenthalt in Makalla* (*Südarabien*), in *Globus*, LXXII (1897), p 37—40, Th Bent, *Southern Arabia*, I ondon 1900, p 74—77, C Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I, Leyden 1901, p 148, F Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Turkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, I, Hamburg 1916, p 145 *sq*, *A Handbook of Arabia vol I General compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division*, *Naval Staff*, Admiralty I ondon, p 232, A Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, I (*Osten u Orientforschungen*, vol IV, Vienna 1922), p 21, 39, 137, 139, 145, 146, 148, 152, 154, 162, 168, 187 *sq*, 202, II (Brunn 1931), p 47—49, 55, 60, 61, 66, 73, 77, 81—84, 88 *sq*, 93, D v d Meulen and H v Wissmann, *Hadramaut*, Leyden 1932, index, s v *Makalla*

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL **MUKALLAD** B AL MUSAIYIB, HUSĀM AL-DAWLA ABŪ HASSĀN, an 'Ukailid After the death in 386 (996) or 387 (997) of the 'Uḳailid emir Abu 'l-Dhawwād Muhammad b al Musaiyib [cf BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA], a quarrel arose between his brothers, 'Alī and al-Mukallad, each of whom claimed power 'Alī was the elder, but al-Mukallad wrote to Bahā' al-Dawla and promised him an annual tribute and then told his brother that Bahā' al-Dawla had appointed him governor of al Mawṣil and asked 'Alī's help to take the town Bahā' al-Dawla's general in al-Mawṣil, Abū Dja'far al-Hadj-

djādj, took to flight and the two brothers agreed to share the government Disputes between al-Mukallad's representative in Baghdād and Bahā' al-Dawla's officials gradually led to open hostilities A reconciliation was soon brought about and al-Mukallad promised to pay 10,000 dinārs and in return received the title Husām al Dawla with al Mawsil, al Kūfa al-Kasr and al-Djāmi'ain as a fief In 387 (997) he took 'Alī prisoner As a result the third brother advanced with a strong army against al Mukallad, before they came to blows however, their sister Rahila succeeded in making peace among the brothers 'Alī was released and received his confiscated property back and al-Mukallad turned his attention to the lord of Wāsit, 'Alī b Mazyad, who was on the side of 'Alī and Hasan But when al-Mukallad learned that 'Alī had designs on al-Mawsil, he turned back but through the intermediary of Hasan, the two brothers were again reconciled Soon afterwards 'Alī and Hasan left al Mawsil After long negotiations, it was agreed that 'Alī should be al-Mukallad's representative in al-Mawsil whenever the latter had to leave the town On 'Alī's death in 390 (999—1000), Hasan succeeded to his privileges but was driven out by al Mukallad and had to take refuge in the 'Irāk In Safar 391 (Dec 1000—Jan 1001) al Mukallad was murdered in al-Anbār by a Turkish Mamlūk

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān (ed Wüstenfeld), N° 745 (transl de Slane, III 415 *sqq*), Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, IX 88 *sq*, 94—96, 116, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, IV 255–257, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, III 49—50

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MŪḴĀN (Mūghān), a steppe lying to the south of the lower course of the Araxes, one part of which (about 5,000 square kilometres) belongs to Russia (U S S R) and the other (50—70 × c 50 kilometres) to Persia The steppe which covers what was once the bottom of the sea has been formed by the alluvial deposits from the Kur (in Russian Koura) and its tributary the Araxes (The latter has several times changed its course and one of its arms flows directly into the gulf of Kïzïl-Aghač) In the interior the only water in Mūghān is from a number of springs, but it is covered with tells and shows traces of the old system of irrigation Mūghān has a very mild climate in winter (Kazwīnī calls it *djurūm Ādhar bādjān*) and in the spring is covered with a rich carpet of verdure but in summer the heat makes it a regular hell and it is infested with snakes (Monteith says "in June the snakes literally covered the ground", cf Abū Hāmid al-Gharnatī in Kazwīnī, p 379)

The name The old Arabic transcription (Balādhurī, Tabarī) is Mūkān (without article) but quite early in certain manuscripts of the Arab geographers we find Mūghān (probably a popular etymology *mūghān* "magi") which becomes general in the Mongol period Markwart, *Z D M G*, 1895, p 633 connects the name of Mūkān with that of the people mentioned by classical writers as inhabiting this region Hecataeus, fragment 170 ἐκ Μυκῶν εἰς Ἀράξην, Pomponius Mela, book III, ch v *Mochi ("ad Hyrcanium fretum Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani") This tribe is to be connected with the Caspians who lived in this region, (cf Hübschmann, *Die altarm Ortsnamen*, 1904, p 269, cf in Yāḳūt, IV 676 the genealogy invented by Ibn al Kalbī, according to which Mūkān and Djīlān — both inhabitants of Tabaristān — were the sons of Kamāshah (?) b Yāfith b Nūh, cf Genesis X) The Chronicle of Theophanes, p 363, has Βουκανία (var Βουκακία), the Armenian geography Mukan, the Georgian chronicle Mowakan (another Mowakan lay near the confluence of the Alazan with the Iora)

History The Byzantine general Leontius in 678 subdued Iberia, Albania, Bukania (cf above) and Media The district of Mūkān was conquered in 21 (642) by an officer of Surāḳa Bukair who addressed a letter guaranteeing peace to "the people of Mūkān of the mountains of al-Kabdj" (Caucasus, Tabarī, I 2666) According to Balādhurī, p 327 329, in 25 (645) Walid b 'Ukba undertook a campaign against the people of Mūkān (*ahl Mūkān*), of al-Babr [cf TĀROM] and al Lailasān (= Tālish) Another campaign of Sa'id b 'Āsī against the people of Mūkān and Djīlān, although successful, entailed severe losses According to Ya'kūbī, ed Houtsma, II 395, 15, in 123 the future Caliph Marwān II b Muhammad undertook a campaign in Djīlān and Mūkān Mūkān figures several times as a stronghold of Bābak (Tab, III 1174, 1178) In the third (ninth) century Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 119, mentions one Shakla (?) as chief of Mūkān According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, II 5, in his time the Sharwān [cf SHIRWĀN] had conquered the states (*mamlaka*) of Lāyzan (several variants) and al-Mūkāniya It appears from Ibn Miskawaihi (ed Margoliouth, I 399) who mentions the ispahbad of Mūkān b Dalūla as ally of the Gīl chief Lashkarī b Mardī, who rebelled against the Dailamīs in 326 (937), that Mūkān enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy In 339 (950) the Kurd Daisam sent his vizier "into the mountains (sic !) of Mūkān to entrench himself" In 349 Mūkān appears as a centre of rebellion (Ibn Miskawaihi, II 136, 178—179) The poet Katrān mentions the rising of the ispahbad of Mūkān against the Rawwādī Wahsūdān (344—378, cf Kisrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Tihrān 1929, II 94) Later we hear of Mūkān mainly as an excellent area for the winter pasturage of the conquering nomads In Yākūt's (IV 676) time the majority of the people of Mūkān were still Turkomans In the history of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Mūkān is constantly mentioned The sultān sends his booty there, keeps his baggage and mobilises his troops there (Nasawī, *Sīra*, p 210, 280, 366 etc) But in 617 (1220—1221) the Mongol generals Djebe and Subutay spent the winter in Mūkān (Djuwainī, I 116), and Kazwīnī, p 379 says that Mongols took Mūghān for their winter pastures and drove out the Turkomans In the time of Timūr, Mūkān must have been included in the region of Karabāgh where this conqueror liked so much to pass the winter During the winter of 804 (1401) Timūr restored an old canal which was given the name of his tribe Barlas The canal left the Araxes at Kūshk-i Čangshī and at a distance of 10 farsakhs ended at Sardja-pīl (bel?) Since, in order to give the necessary instructions, Timūr (who was to the north of the Araxes) had to cross the river (*Zafarnāma*, II 395), we may suppose that the canal lay to the south of the Araxes, i e in the steppe of Mūghān It must correspond to the Yegin G'aur arkhï of which traces can still be seen for a length of about 35 miles Sardja-pīl may correspond to Čarčeli on the Russian map (according

to the involved description by Monteith, the Barlas canal issued in the neighbourhood of Kara su [1]) The canal is in any case quite distinct from another canal which Timūr traced in 806 to the north of the Araxes towards the town of Bailakān (*Zafar nāma*, ii 543)

In the Safawid period (and perhaps already under the Karakoyunlu) Mūghān became the possession of the Shī'ī Turkoman tribes who formed the principal support of the dynasty and became known as Shāhsewān [q v] By article ii of the treaty of Gulistān of 1813 the steppe of Mūghān was divided between Russia and Persia The boundary line was more precisely defined in article iv of the treaty of Turkmančai [q v] In 1884 Russia forbade Persian nomads to cross into Russian territory Towards the end of the xixth century the project of irrigating the land of Mūghān was conceived and realised between 1902 and 1907 The four systems of canals were to make 200,000 hectares cultivable, particularly for cotton From 1884 the steppe was occupied solely by nomads who were Russian subjects But in 1917 there were already 46 Russian villages with 17,000 inhabitants while the Turkish nomads who had become settled on the banks of the Kur and of the Araxes numbered 30,000 souls As a result of the tragic events of 1918, the whole Russian population had to leave Mūghān and the canals became silted up Between 1920 and 1924 the work of restoration was carried out and the fugitives began to return The total area of irrigated land in Mūghān is estimated at 253,000 hectares, while immediately to the north of Mūghān the steppe of Mīl (from *Mil-i Bailakān*, "the tower of Bailakan", cf Khanikow, *Mem sur les inscriptions musulm au Caucase*, in *JA*, Aug 1862, p 72) has another 165,000 irrigated hectares

Historical geography The Arab geographers are fairly well acquainted with Mūghān (cf the *Bibliography*) In the Mongol period, Mūghān must have comprised all the lands to the north of the Salāwāt range (which is a western outlier of Russian Tālish and forms the watershed between the middle course of the Kara su and the Bolgaru), to the east of the lower course of the Kara-su (where it follows the northern direction) and to the south of the Araxes Towards the east Mūghān stretched to the Caspian Sea and included the coastal region of Russian Talish The mountainous part of the latter, held as in a vice, must also have belonged to Mūghān The same condition must have existed in the Arab period for the curious expression of Ibn Miskawaihi, ii 136 referring to the *Djibāl Mūkān* can only refer to the mountainous part of Russian Tālish

We may note Mukaddasī's remark (p 380) who among other wonders mentions, one marhala (7—8 farsakhs = 20–25 miles) distant from Mūkān, an imposing fortress called al Hsra (?) below which are houses and palaces in which there are large quantities of gold (*dhahab 'azim*) in the form of birds and wild beasts and "many kings made plans to seize it but never succeeded in reaching it" Mukaddasī does not definitely say that the fortress belongs to Mūkān and evidently speaks of it by hearsay Is this a reference to Shindān kal'a (which is about 50 miles = 2 marhala to the south of the presumed site of the *shahristān* of Mūghān)? On this imposing mountain (6,000 feet high) can still be seen ruins of important fortifications (Radde, p 135 "ruins of a strong castle many ruins of brick buildings") Finally in a Persian translation of Istakhrī, p 186, 17, we read "The Gīls and the Mūkān are tribes on foot who rarely go on horseback" which can only refer to a few remnants of the old population settled in upper Tālish (where the highlanders are very distinct from the lowlanders)

Bibliography cf the article SHĀHSEWAN, *Djihān numā*, p 192 (of little originality), Olearius (1633), *Voyages*, book iv, ch 21 [ed 1656, p 447—451] Shamākha-Djawād-Balharu river-Bedjirwān Dizle-Aghīz-Sāmiyān-Ardabil, J Struys, *Les voyages*, Amsterdam 1720, ch 27 (ii, p 235) itinerary exactly identical with that of Olearius, J J Lerch, *Nachricht von d zweiten Reise nach Persien* (1747), in *Busching's Magazin*, part x, p 367—476 Shamākha–Djawād–Bolgaru–Lankurān–Astārā–Rasht, Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerdbijan* (sic [1]), in *JRGS*, 1834, iii, p 28—31 Ardabīl Barzand-Kīzīl kal'a (at the confluence of the four rivers which form Balarood = Balharu [2]) Kuyular-tapa-Agha-mazār-Yedi boluk–Altun [Altan] takht–Aslanduz–Bayat (wrongly taken for the old Bailakān)–Bardha'a, Toropov, *Muganskaya steppe, Kavkaz kalendar*, 1864, p 242—298, Toropov, in *Kawkaz*, 1864, N° 28, Ogranovič, *Urocišče Belasuwar*, in *Kawkaz*, 1871 N° 32, Dorn, *Caspia*, St Petersburg 1875, index, Ogranowic, *Prowintsii Persii Ardebilskaya i Serabskaya*, in *Zap Kawk Otdel Impet Russ Geogr Obsič*, x/1, 1876, p 214 Udjarūd, Radde, *Reisen an der persisch russischen Grenze, Talysch und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1886, *passim* Belasuwar etc — On the flora and fauna of Mūghān and the plans for irrigating it there is a whole literature in Russian The most recent references are in W S Klupt, *Zakawkazye*, Moscow 1929, p 50

(V MINORSKY)

AI-**MUKANTARĀT** [See ASTURLĀB]

MUKĀTIL B SULAIMĀN B BASHĪR AI-AZDĪ AI-KHURĀSĀNĪ AI-BALKHĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN, traditionist and commentator on the Kur'ān, was born in Balkh and lived in Marw, Baghdād and Basra where he died in 150 (767), there is also a reference to a stay in Baitūt Of his life we know almost nothing apart from a few details for his judgment as a traditionist The name of his wife Umm Abī 'Isma Nūh b Abī Maryam has been preserved According to Ibn Duraid, he was one of the *mawālī* of the Banū Asad He is sometimes quoted as Mukātil b Djawāl dūz or Dawāl dūz Ibn Hadjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, expressly states in contradiction of wrong ideas that this is our Mukātil and that Dawāl dūz is not a *lakab* of Mukātil himself but of his father

Mukātil's prestige as a traditionist is not very great, he is reproached with not being accurate with the *isnād* His exegesis enjoys even less confidence The biographers vie with one another in telling stories which illustrate his mendacity and particularly his professing to know everything Contempt is poured on his memory by stories of ludicrous questions which were put to him about the most impossible things and to which he either gave fantastic answers or could make no reply It is in keeping with this profession of universal knowledge that the sources are unanimous in talking of his extreme anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*)

It did little to help his fame also that he is said to have told pious stories [cf KISSA] in the mosque, at a time when this was strictly forbidden In politics he is said to have belonged to the Zaidīya, in theology to the Murdji'a [q v]

Mukātil's literary activity was somewhat comprehensive, yet until quite recently nothing was known of his works Only since 1912 has a Kur'ān commentary by him been known in the MS Or 6333 of the British Museum, the genuineness of which however Goldziher did not think beyond doubt The *Fihrist* gives a list of his works, Hādjdjī Khalifa also gives some of them They deal mainly with the language and exegesis of the Kur'ān, but a pamphlet against the Kadarīya is also mentioned This is however hardly in keeping with another story, according to which he wrote a pamphlet against Djahm [q v] and the latter wrote against him

Bibliography Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk*, ed Wustenfeld, p 294, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, v 454, *Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p 179 etc , Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N° 743, al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, iii 196, N° 1723 and 1724, Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x 279—285, do , *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi 82 *sq* , al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'* ed Wustenfeld, p 574 *sq* , al-Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, p 75, 106, 108, 121, Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 206, do , *Richtungen d islam Koranausleg*, p 58—60, 87, 112

(M PLESSNER)

AL-**MUKATTAM**, the part of the range of hills west of the Nile, which lies immediately to the east of Cairo and from which the mountains take a north-easterly direction, bordering the Nile delta to the south east It reaches a height of about 600 feet and consists, as does the greater part of the north African mountains, of limestone (cf *Description de l'Egypte*, *Etat moderne*, Paris 1822, ii/ii 751)

The name Mukattam (the *Tādj al-'Arūs* records also the popular form al-Mukattab) does not go back to a pre-Muhammadan nomenclature, nor is it considered, in spite of its correct Arabic formation, as a true Arabic word, for the geographers (cf Yākūt, iv 607 *sqq*) give, hesitatingly, different explanations of its meaning The name occurs for the first time in the historical tradition of the Egyptian Arabs, as found in the *Futūh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (cf Torrey's edition, New Haven 1899, p 156 *sqq*), in half legendary tales in which also al Mukawkis [q v] plays a part Some of these traditions give it an eponymous hero, Mukattam b Misr b Baisar b Hām, or lay stress on the special sanctity of the mountain, declaring that, in some way, it is connected with the mountain of Jerusalem As in the last mentioned traditions Ka'b al-Ahbār [q v] is named as final authority, it seems probable that the origin of the name must be sought in Jewish legendary traditions (for Jewish traditions about mountains, cf the Midrash *Thillim* on Psalm lxviii 17) and that the name has been fixed only in course of time on the ill-defined mountainous region to which it is attached since the flourishing times of al-Fustāt and al-Kāhira The vagueness of the geographical definition has survived in the Arabic geographical sources, which either call Mukattam the entire eastern mountain range as far as Uswān (Yākūt), or even represent under the name Mukattam the whole of the mountain system that runs over the inhabited world from China to the Atlantic Ocean (Ibn Hawkal and others) Moreover several geographers give the legendary statement that in the Mukattam are mines of emerald and other precious stones, while in reality it contains only stone quarries, but these were used already in very ancient times Makrīzī, *Khitat*, ed Būlāk, i 123 gives a fairly complete survey of the different traditions and opinions

It may be thus assumed that the Mukattam acquired a real geographical identity only after the foundation of al Fustāt Its geographical situation, viz its proximity to the bank of the Nile, has deeply influenced the territorial expansion of this town and later of Cairo [q v] Parts of the town and famous sites are situated on the western spurs of al-Mukattam, such as the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn and the citadel of Saladin The elevation of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque bears, however, the special name of Djabal Yashkur The cemetery of al Karāfa belongs likewise to the Mukattam and it is with this cemetery that are connected the ancient traditions already mentioned, in which al-Mukawkis plays a part, al Mukawkis informs 'Amr b al 'Ās that the mountain, instead of earthly vegetation, is destined to bear the plants of Paradise and the caliph 'Umar, informed by 'Amr, decides that by these plants of Paradise can only be meant Muslims who have died Accordingly, tradition records a number of *sahābīs* who are buried in al Karāfa On the summit of al Mukattam was built in the Fātimid period the mosque of al Djuyūshī, by Badr al Djamālī in 478 (1085), for this reason the mountain is also called Djabal al Djuyūshī On the southern slopes, towards Hulwān, lay the Christian monastery Dair al-Kusair (description by al Shabushtī towards 1000, cf Sachau, in *Abh Pr Ak Wiss*, 1909) A historical, or perhaps legendary feature, connected with al-Mukattam is that the Fātimid caliph al-Hākim is said to have disappeared mysteriously, in the night of 27th Shawwāl 411 (Feb 23, 1021), when he had gone for a ride in the Mukattam — Finally it may be mentioned that the Mukattam has given its name to one of the large modern Arabic newspapers published at Cairo

(J H KRAMERS)

AL **MUKAWKAS**, AL-MUKAWKIS, the individual who in Arab tradition plays the leading part on the side of the Copts and Greeks at the conquest of Egypt The Prophet is said to have sent a letter to him in the year 6 A H In the address on this letter, the text of which is given in Ibn 'Abd al Hakam (ed Torrey, p 46), al-Makrizi (*Khitat*, i 29), al-Suyūtī (*Husn al Muhādara*, i 58) and al Manūfī (p 29), as well as in an entirely different version in Pseudo-Wākidī (p 10), and also in the accounts of the incident in the Arab historians, the position of Mukawkis is described in the following phrases

1 *Sāhib al Iskandarīya* (Nawawī, p 577, Ibn 'Abd al Hakam, p 45, 52, Abū Sālih, p 38 [100], Ibn Kathīr, iii , fol 159v, along with N° 7 in Ibn Sa'd in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv 3 [99]), 2 *Malik al-Iskandarīya* (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p 49, al-Suyūtī, i 60, Pseudo Wākidī, p 25, Ibn Hishām, p 971), 3 *Sāhib Misr* (Abu 'l-Fidā', i 149), 4 *Malik Misr* (al-Manūfī, p 7, cf al-Makrīzī, *Khitat*, i 163, 22 *sq*), 5 *Malik Misr wa 'l Iskandarīya* (Pseudo-Wākidī, p 10), 6 *Sāhib Misr wa 'l-Iskandarīya* (Pseudo-Wākidī,

p 10), 7 *ʿAẓīm al-Kubṭ* (Ibn ʿAbd al Hakam, p 46, 47, al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I 29, 12, 16, al Suyūṭī, I 58, al-Manūfī, p 29, al-Tabarī, I 1575, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 261, 5 along with I, q v)

All these epithets no doubt mean simply the actual ruling authority in Egypt, whose true title was not known to the Arabs If we remember that in the year 6 (628) the Persians were masters of Egypt, we can hardly give much credence to the story of the Arab historians This is evident from the statement recorded by Manūfī (p 30) that Egypt was under the rule of Mukawkis continuously from the lifetime of the Prophet, through the caliphate of Abū Bakr to the beginning of the caliphate of ʿOmar Muhammad's letter to Mukawkis was long ago declared not to be genuine by E Amélineau (*Fragments coptes*, p 392) and Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV 90) although they did not doubt the fact of the embassy to him, later Butler (*Conquest*, p 522) and Th Noldeke (*Z D M G*, xlvIII 160) still believed in the embassy although the latter granted the possibility that tradition might have transferred the name known from the time of the conquest to the man to whom Muhammad sent gifts, while for example S I ane Poole (*Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p 6, note 2) supposes that the Mukawkis of 628 and the Mukawkis of the conquest are two different people This suggestion however is disposed of by the fact that the Mukawkis of the letter is called in Ibn Kathīr حريج ابن مينا (in Abu 'l-Fidāʾ the patronymic has been corrupted through مينى to مينى, Nawawi only gives *Djuraidj*), i e the same as the Mukawkis of the conquest, for we need not heed the patronymic of Mukawkis given by Pseudo-Wākidī (p 10) (بن راعل), while the epithet al Farkab al-Nūnī, which al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p 261, 5 has taken in an obviously corrupt form from an old source, is the Ibn Kurkub al-Yūnānī of the Mukawkis of the conquest In view of the many serious contradictions, which the transposing of Mukawkis into the period of Persian rule in Egypt offers, there is no alternative but to regard with Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, IV 90 the story of Muhammad's embassy to Mukawkis as legendary and devoid of any historical value (cf also G Rouillard, p 187 and note 2) The genuineness of the parchment found in a monastery at Akhmim by the French egyptologist E Barthélemy in 1852, which was thought to be the original of Muhammad's letter to Mukawkis and was actually put among the relics of the Prophet in the old Serail, thus disappears (cf the publication by Belin, in *JA*, 1854, p 482—518 and Djurdjī Zaidān, in *Hilāl*, XIII/2, 1904, p 103 *sq*) Its falsity had already been recognised by J Karabacek (*Beitrage zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, Leipzig 1874, p 35, note 47 and *Mitteilungen des K K Osterr Museums*, XIX [1884], p 183) (cf also Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, I, Leipzig 1909, p 100) As a matter of fact palaeographical grounds are clearly against any assumption of a date in the first century for this document

The same discrepancies, which we find in the transmission of the name and title of the Mukawkis of Muhammad's letter are found in the Mukawkis of the conquest In the historians we find the following names

1 Djuraidj b Mīnā (Abū Ṣālih, p 30 [81], 101 [230]), 2 Djuraidj b Mīnā b Kurkub (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p 64, note 9, Ibn Hadjar, *Isāba*, III 1090), 3 Ibn Kurkub or Ibn Karkab (al Kindī, p 8, al Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I 289, 27, Ibn Taghrībirdī, I 9, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, III 894, 14)

Taking first of all the name of his grandfather, J v Karabacek's endeavour (p 2) to dispose of apparent contradictions in the statements about the patronymic by assuming a double name *Mīnā Farkab* proves unnecessary, when we see the name unequivocally given in N⁰ 2 When Karabacek (p 3) preferred the reading *Farkab* for *Kurkub*, he was at least able to quote the form فرقب in the Codex Parisinus of Ibn Taghrībirdī, but I cannot agree with Amelineau in supporting Karabacek's proposal (*Fragments*, p 394 *sq*) to equate this name with Παρκαβιος, especially if we remember the variant قرقوب of the *Isāba*, and Noldeke must be right when he (*Z D M G*, xlvIII 161) restores this to the Προκόπιος rejected by Karabacek The form قرقوب (unpointed however) has however so far been found in only one papyrus, the more usual form being قرقونيوس (*Z D M G*, I 158) Butler's conjecture (p 523) on the name فرقب seems to me as improbable as Karabacek's identification He calls attention to Abū Ṣālih's observation (p 67 [156]) that قرقر is a corruption of Gregorios and supposes that Karkab is a corruption of Karkar so that Ibn Karkab would be an error for Ibn Karkar and mean "son of Gregory" Casanova's proposal (in Butler, p 523) must be dismissed as still more improbable, viz, that Ibn Karkab is a corruption of Abū Kirus The office filled by Mukawkis is described by the sources in the following terms

1 *Ṣāhib Miṣr* (al-Balādhurī, p 226), 2 *Malik ʿalā Miṣr* (al Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I 163, 22 *sq*, Ibn Dukmāk, V 118), 3 *Amīr al-Kubṭ bi-Miṣr* (Ibn Hadjar, III 1090), 4 *ʿĀmil ʿalā Miṣr* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p 64, note 9, al-Makīn, p 29), 5 *ʿĀmil ʿala 'l-Kharādj bi-Miṣr* (Futychius, II 302) If the three first terms only mean the ruler of Egypt in general, the two last named limit the sphere of activity of Mukawkis to the administration of taxation and the expression given in 4 may be taken as synonymous with *amīr* "governor" In this connection we have the very clear evidence of Ibn ʿAbd al Hakam, p 37 and Ibn Dukmāk, V 119 who preserve the statement that Mukawkis was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as governor of Egypt and entrusted with the waging of war and the levying of taxation Abū Sālih's statement (p 30 [81 *sq*]) that Mukawkis Djuraidj b Mīnā had rented the taxes of Egypt from Heraclius for 18,000,000 dīnārs fits in with this This makes intelligible the statement of Eutychius (II 302) who calls Mukawkis controller of the land taxes (*ʿāmil al kharādj*) and traces his attitude to the Arabs to his embezzling the taxes raised, and further explains the description of Mukawkis (ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲭⲓⲟⲥ) as ⲧⲁⲝⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲱⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲧⲉⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ in the *Vita* of Apa Samuel published by Amélineau (p 367), to which we may add the statement of the Ethiopic Synaxar that Mukawkis had been Patriarch and financial controller of Egypt

M J de Goeje and J v Karabacek have laid special stress on this side of the activity of Mukawkis and identified the prefect George mentioned in John of Nikiu (p 559), whom de Goeje regards as prefect of Lower Egypt and Karabacek (p 8) as pagarch of Babylon, with Mukawkis who is called in the sources George son of Menas A J Butler (note 4 to Abū Sālih, p 81), Milne and Lane Poole have followed de Goeje while Amélineau (*Fragments coptes*, p 404, *Samuel de Qalamon*, p. 24 and *Resume de l'histoire de l'Egypte*, p 243) wished to identify Mukawkis with the Patriarch George who was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as successor or deputy to Cyrus during the period of the latter's stay in Constantinople (cf John of Nikiu, p 574)

In contrast to these attempts at identification, which are in more than one respect in contradiction to the sources, the most probable solution of the Mukawkis problem is the identification of Mukawkis with the Patriarch und governor Cyrus of Phasis, who was sent in the year 631 A D by Heraclius to Alexandria where he died on March 21, 642 While Zotenberg (in his edition of John of Nikiu, p 576, note 2) had already pointed out that the main features of the activity of Cyrus are found in the Arabic stories of Mukawkis, although no doubt the legend mixes up the activities of several individuals under this name, F M Esteves Pereira, (*Vida do Abba Samuel*, p 41—53) completely proved the identity of the two Independently J Krall in an unpublished article for the *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung des Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, on the authority of three new fragments of the *Vita* of Apa Samuel, had come to the same conclusion The full study of the whole problem by A J Butler, the main result of which, the identity of Mukawkis with the Patriarch Cyrus, has been adopted by B Evetts (*Patrologia Orientalis*, I 491, note 1), by M Guidi in his doctoral thesis, C H Becker and O Braun in his article *Cyrus* in the *Kirchliches Handlexicon*, II, col 530 and others, has been critically examined by L Caetani (*Annali dell' Islām*, IV 86 *sqq*) The decisive evidence for the identity of the two individuals is found in the *History of the Patriarchs* of Severus of Ashmūnain (ed Evetts, p 490 *sq*, ed Seybold, p 106 *sq*) in which there are references to the Patriarch and governor of Heraclius in connection with the flight of the Patriarch Benjamin once as Cyrus (قورس), then a few lines later as al Makawkaz or al-Makawkas, the synaxars in this connection also give the name al Makawkas (cf E Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, S 397, note 1, p 398, note 1, p 406, note 1 and the edition by R Basset, *Patrologia Orientalis*, XI 562) and the Arabic *Vita* of Benjamin (Amélineau, p 400, note 1), of peculiar importance is the text edited in *R O C*, XX 393, where the combined names Cyrus al-Muḳawkiz appear There is the additional fact that the period of ten years which, according to the history of the Patriarchs, lay between the flight and return of the Patriarch Benjamin coincides within a year with the period of office of Cyrus (631—642) in Egypt, whom the Christian sources describe as an "unbeliever" (ⲡⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ, Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, p 364, 366, *kāfir* in Severus of Ashmūnain, p 495 [108]), godless and sinful Kauchios (ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲧⲏⲥ, Vienna Coptic fragments of the Vita of Apa Samuel in Krall, Kauchios frequently in Amélineau), deceitful Antichrist (ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ in Amélineau, p 366 *sq*) and Pseudoarchiepiskopos (*ibid*, p 365) The double position of Cyrus or Muḳawḳas as supreme head of the administration and archbishop, of which we have ample evidence (cf G Rouillard, p 230, note 2), and which is quite certain from the testimony of Severus (p 490, 495 [106—108]) and the Arabic and Ethiopic synaxar (Amelineau, p 406, note 1 دوس ونطرك, p 399) and also by the *Vita* of Samuel (Amelineau, p 367), was quite unknown to the Muslim Arabic sources Noldeke has already called attention to this remarkable fact (p 160) and it remains a crux for the identification of the two figures There was however no necessity for the Arabs to refer to his position in the church He was only of importance to them as head of the administration If one wants to, one can see an indication of his ecclesiastical dignity in the wish expressed by Mukawkis during the negotiations with ʿAmr regarding the capitulation of Alexandria (in Ibn ʿAbd al Hakam, ed Torrey, p 72) that he might be buried in the Church of St John (cf thereon Amélineau, p 400 *sq*) How much the Christian sources differ in their ideas of the personality and position of Mukawkis may be gathered from the description of the death of Mukawkis According to Severus of Ashmūnain (ed Evetts, p 495, Seybold p 108), the governor and Patriarch of Alexandria poisoned himself after the occupation of Alexandria lest he should be put do death by ʿAmr, while John of Nikiu (p 335, 578) says that Cyrus weakened by vexation at the faithlessness of ʿAmr caught dysentery and died According to Caetani, the contradictions and obscurities on the part of the Arab historians show that they did not consider who Mukawkis exactly was, but simply used the name as the family name of the chief personage in Egypt at the time of the Muslim conquest Evidently all who negotiated with ʿAmr in the name of the Copts are included in one individual The unanimity with which Mukawkis is described as a Copt and the different names given him suggests that Mukawkis conceals not only Cyrus but also other Egyptian negotiators — e g perhaps the commander of Babylon, George, and the bishop of the same town, Menas The Arabs must have made one out of these two negotiators and given him like Cyrus the name Mukawkis Of the attempts to explain this name, Karabacek's (p 8) *μεγαύχης* is as little probable as Amélineau's explanation (p 407—409) which makes Kauchios "the man from Kaukhion" We would rather think with Butler and Guidi of a connection with *καυκάσιος*, which indicates the home of Cyrus But even this explanation is by no means certain and the connection of Mukawkis with Cyrus has again (in Canterelli) given rise to serious doubts Nau, p 11 has compared Mukawkis with *μακός* His name survived in the Kōm el Mukawkis in the area of old Cairo (Ibn Dukmāk, IV 53)

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MUKHADRAM (A), the term applied to an individual whose life fell within the periods of both paganism and Islām Various explanations are given of the origin of the name Some derive it from *udhn mukhadrama* "cropped ear" and say the meaning is that these people were cut off from the Djāhilīya by Islām (cf *nāka mukhadrama* "a she-camel with cropped ears") It is said that the tribes who adopted Islam cropped the ears of their camels differently from what they had done in the pagan period A man who had therefore seen both the pagan and Muslim styles was called *mukhadram* Others derive the word from *mā' khadrim* "(a well) which contains much water" and explain that a man who has lived in both Djāhilīya and Islām was called *mukhadram*, since he was fully acquainted with both periods The term *muhadram* is occasionally found with the same application and the explanation given is that the individuals had mixed paganism and Islām Some commentators describe as *mukhadramūn* only those who adopted Islām after the death of Muhammad

The word *mukhadram* is particularly used to describe one of the four classes into which the Arab philologists divide the poets It means those whose work was begun in the period of the Djāhilīya but who lived to see Muhammad and his mission and some even adopted Islām Among these for example were Labīd, al A'shā and Ka'b b Zuhair These poets are still completely immersed in the poetic tradition of the Djāhilīya The new outlook was late in finding its way into poetry so that the change is not yet reflected in the poets who were Muhammad's contemporaries The scheme of the kasīda of the pagan poetry with its fixed themes and stereotyped images also holds for the *mukhadramūn* and in their poems one can hardly find the slightest hint that they were contemporary with the great religious change in Arabia The only exception is the kasīdas composed in honour of Muhammad, like the kasīda of Ka'b b Zuhair called after its opening words *Bānat Su'ād* and the panegyric on the Prophet by al-A'shā While these still follow the scheme of the kasīda as regards form they reflect Muhammadan points of view and legal ordinances and also use Kur'ānic phrases

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MUKHLIṢ AL-DAWLA [See AL-MUKALLAD

AL-MUKHTĀR B Abī 'Ubaid al-Thakafī, a Shī'a agitator who seized possession of Kūfa in 66 (685—686) The clan of Thakīf to which he belonged was the same as that of the poet Umaiya b Abi 'l-Salt [q v] and another poet, Abī

Mihdjan, was his second cousin (al-Mukhtār's grandfather Masʿūd being the son of ʿAmr b ʿUmair b ʿAwf, cf Wüstenfeld, *Gen Tab*, G 19) He is said to have been born in 622 (Tabarī, i 1264) a statement which has perhaps no real foundation (cf Tabarī, ii 2 in 40, he was a "young man", *ghulām shābb*) and based on the fact that his adversary ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair was born in the same year His father having died the death of a hero at the battle of the Bridge in 13 against the Persians, the orphan was brought up by his uncle Saʿd b Masʿūd who became governor of al Madāʾin under the caliph ʿAlī Al-Mukhtār was his deputy when Saʿd left al-Madāʾin to go after the Khāridjīs who had left ʿAlī's camp in 37 (Tabarī i 3366, al-Dīnawarī, p 218) His early life and his family traditions therefore made him a partisan of ʿAlī al-Tabaī (ii 2) however says that when ʿAlī's son al-Hasan took refuge with al-Mukhtār's uncle when fleeing from Muʿāwiya in 40, the nephew proposed to surrender him to his rival and he was reproached with this disloyal act 25 years afterwards by the Shīʿīs This is all we know of the early days of one who was destined to become the champion of the extreme Shīʿīs his refusal to bear witness before Ziyād b Abihi against Hudjr b ʿAdī, who was accused of having attempted an anti-Umaiyad rising at Kūfa in 51 (Tabarī, ii 134), shows however that his feelings were already pro-ʿAlid It is only when, after the death of Muʿāwiya, the hopes of the partisans of ʿAlī's family began to rise again, that al-Mukhtār emerges from obscurity, he took part in the rising of Muslim b ʿAkil in 61 and, imprisoned by the governor ʿUbaid Allāh b Ziyād, he was only released after the failure of al-Husain's attempt and returned to Mecca, where ʿAbd Allāh b al Zubair was secretly engaged in preparing the movement which was to take him to the head of the anti Umaiyad rising It is alleged that al-Mukhtār, after vainly trying to compromise Ibn al-Zubair prematurely, disappeared from Mecca for a whole year which he spent in his native town of al-Tāʾif It was no doubt in this period that the ideas ripened in him which made him the initiator and leader in a new political and religious phase of the Shiʿa movement, but of the way in which his ideas came to him, their immediate origin and the influences which went to form them, history unfortunately knows nothing

In any case, al-Mukhtār returned to al-Zubair, who had in the meanwhile been publicly recognised as caliph, and fought bravely at the first siege of Mecca in 64 But his adhesion to the cause of Ibn al-Zubair had no other object than to enable him to return to Kūfa which was then under the anti-Umaiyad caliph According to one source which is in contradiction to Tabarī, al-Mukhtār was sent by al-Zubair himself to the capital of the ʿIrāk to take charge of its administration, having promised him the support of the ʿAlid party (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v 70), it seems more probable that, as Tabarī says, he went there of his own accord to carry out his plans for a Shiʿa revival

The Shīʿīs of Kūfa were at this time (Ramadān 64) under the influence of Sulaimān b Surad [q v] Al-Mukhtār did not wish to join his party and began propaganda of his own, saying he was the emissary of Muhammad, son of ʿAlī called Ibn al-Hanafīya from the name of his mother's tribe [cf MUHAMMAD B AL HANAFĪYA] The motives which gave al-Mukhtār the idea that he could pass off as the legitimate successor to the rights of ʿAlī, this son, who was not born of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, have not been fully explained, but as the other children of ʿAlī who had escaped the massacre of Kerbelāʾ were quite incapable, al-Mukhtār's choice was limited In any case, his fiery and peculiar eloquence (he pronounced his discourses in *sadjʿ* with obscure phrases and expressions which recalled the Kurʾān, without being a slavish imitation of it, he also said or allowed it to be said of him that he was inspired by the angel Gabriel) was able to gain partisans for the idea of the Mahdī whose imminent coming would restore the rule of the true religion Without being yet openly hostile to the rule of Ibn al-Zubair, al-Mukhtār's attitude was suspected He was therefore imprisoned by the Zubairid governor ʿAbd Allāh b Yazid al-Anṣārī but his captivity was not rigorous and enabled him to remain in contact with the people of Kūfa After the defeat and death of Sulaimān b Surad, which he had predicted, he was set at liberty on guaranteeing he would not fight against the Zubairid government Al Mukhtār took advantage of the liberty restored to him to secure the cooperation of Ibrāhīm b al-Ashtar, son of ʿAlī's famous general, who kept up his father's traditions The latter hesitated long before accepting al-Mukhtār's proposals and only agreed on receiving a letter, undoubtedly a forgery, in which Ibn al-Hanafiya introduced al-Mukhtār to him as his plenipotentiary (*amīn*) and minister (*wazīr*)

The rising then began (14 Rabīʿ I 66) the resistance of the chiefs of the tribes (the *Ashrāf*), who while opposed to the Umaiyads and former fighters by the side of ʿAlī, had long lost their enthusiasm for the cause of his family, was overcome by the onslaught of the troops, composed for the most part of adventurers and *mawālī* led by Ibn al Ashtar, a most capable warrior The Zubairid governor fled (he was at this time ʿAbd Allāh b Muṭīʿ al Kurashī), the Ashraf capitulated and al Mukhtār, undisputed lord of Kūfa, rapidly extended his power over Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces, to which he at once appointed governors the south alone, with Basra, remained to Ibn al-Zubair

Al-Mukhtār had naturally to give the Ashrāf positions of authority in his organisation but he could not completely gain their confidence Although old partisans of ʿAlī, or sons of partisans, they were moderates who distrusted al Mukhtār as an extremist and demagogue indeed, the favour which the latter showed to the *mawālī*, who formed his real support, threatened to overthrow the system on which the political and economic supremacy of the Arabs over the native population was based, for not even the conversion of the latter to Islām had made them equal to their conquerors Al-Mukhtār therefore was faced with the necessity of deciding for one or other He preferred the *mawālī* party, probably more from genuine conviction than for political reasons he must have believed that the triumph of the Mahdī whom he foretold would make all believers equal without distinction of race During the absence of the army which had gone under Ibn al-Ashtar to fight ʿAbd al-Malik's troops, the Ashrāf made an attempt to overthrow al-Mukhtār who was forced to temporize with them, but succeeding in informing Ibn al

Ashtar of his difficulty, the latter returned to Kūfa and completely routed the enemies of al-Mukhtār This was the signal for putting into execution the latter's full Shīʿa programme, all those who had taken part in the murder of al-Husain, or had neglected to defend him, were put to death This bloody deed seemed to have divine approval, for two days later the Syrian army which had set out for the ʿIrāḳ was completely routed on the banks of the Khazīr by Ibn al-Ashtar, and its leader ʿUbaid Allāh b Ziyād, who had defeated and killed al Husain, was killed in the battle (Muharram 67) In the fanatical enthusiasm of these days in which the Shīʿa cause seemed to have won a definite success there took place episodes of great religious interest although unfortunately not yet clearly explained, notably the worship of the empty chair (Ṭabarī, ii 702—706, cf al-Mubarrad, *al Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 597–600) But in spite of his successes at home and abroad, al Mukhtār was threatened by the presence in Basra of the brother of ʿAbd Allāh b al Zubair, Muṣʿab, whose army, organised by al-Muhallab b Abi Ṣufra, hardened in the war with the Khāridjis and strengthened by the accession of the Kūfan Ashrāf who had left the town, was one to be feared Indeed, the Shīʿī troops were defeated by it at al Madhār on the Tigris, a little later at Ḥarūrā', they suffered a complete rout, mainly because of the absence of Ibn al-Ashtar who was in the north at al Mawṣil and whom al Mukhtār either through distrust of him or through excess of confidence in himself had neglected to recall Al Mukhtār who had taken refuge in the citadel of Kūfa held out there valiantly for four months Finally abandoned by most of his men, he was slain in a desperate sortie (Ramaḍān 14, 67) His body was mutilated, his hand suspended at the gate of the great mosque (and it was only taken down many years later by al-Ḥadjdjādj), one of his wives, who would not disown him, was executed in brutal fashion, although she was the daughter of al-Nuʿmān b Bashīr al-Anṣārī, who had been governor of Kūfa under Muʿāwiya A great many of al-Mukhtār's followers were also massacred

The nature of the movement led by al-Mukhtār has been variously judged by modern historians The historical tradition which grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the Ashrāf, is naturally hostile and regards him as an adventurer and false prophet His conduct was undoubtedly somewhat crooked occasionally, the way in which he exploited the name of Ibn al-Hanafīya (who never wished to be completely compromised in the business of the Mahdī) was not quite fair But neither these doings nor his double dealing with regard to the Ashrāf (they paid him back however only too well) are sufficient to convict him of bad faith They were tactical expedients which every one who wants to stir the masses is justified in employing for the triumph of his cause It seems certain that al-Mukhtār sincerely believed in his mission, and his equalitarian ideas about the *mawālī*, although premature, were, as the future was to show, the only ones which could secure to Islām its later expansion and transform it from the exclusively Arab movement it was at first into a world wide civilization What is still and will remain mysterious in the personality of al-Mukhtār (Wellhausen rightly observes that "demoniac" natures like his are always problematic), is the manner in which he arrived (no doubt through a crisis within himself) at the religious and eschatological conception of the Shīʿa of which he was the creator and which is infinitely greater than the expiatory sacrifice of the *tawwābūn* of Sulaimān b Ṣurad It is owing to this conception that the importance of the movement started by al-Mukhtār is far greater than the ephemeral political success which he enjoyed, in the popular enthusiasm which welcomed his propaganda we see the germs of the ideas which transformed the Shīʿa from a political movement to a religious doctrine In what measure these ideas were in existence before al-Mukhtār, in what relation they stood to that enigmatical personage ʿAbd Allāh b Ṣaba' and his disciples are points that are still obscure But if he was not the inventor of the doctrine of the Mahdī, it was undoubtedly he who in locating in a real person, Muhammad b al-Hanafīya, the mystical figure of the Messiah, the restorer of the true religion, gave it the stamp which was henceforth typical of Imāmī doctrines

The name Mukhtāriya is borne by one of the many Shīʿa subdivisions given in the lists of the writers on heresies, but it is doubtful if it ever had a real existence as an organised sect, especially as the sources which mention it do not clearly distinguish it from the Kaisāniya [q v] and the Khashabiya [q v], which seem very likely to be the legitimate successors of the teachings of al-Mukhtār

Bibliography The principal and almost the only source for the history of al-Mukhtār is al-Ṭabarī (ed de Goeje), ii 530—752 and *passim*, which is based for the most part on the statements of eye-witnesses of the events The secondary sources add practically nothing new, they are quoted in Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, a 64 § 13, 65 § 6, 66 §§ 5—7, 9—12, 67 §§ 2, 4, 42 (a few details also in the biography of Muhammad b al Hanafīya in Ibn Saʿd, v 71—77), H D van Gelder, *Mokhtâr de valsche Propheet*, Leyden 1888, J Wellhausen, *Die relpol Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh G W Gott*, N S, v 2, 1901), p 74—89 Cf also the bibliography given in the articles KAISĀNIYA and KHASHABIYA (add al-Nawbakhtī, *Firak al Shīʿa*, ed Ritter [*Bibl Islamica*, iv, 1931], p 20—30) (G LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MUKHTĀR PASHA, GHĀZĪ AHMAD, a Turkish general and statesman, was born in Sept 1832, the son of a high official in Brussa, and received a military training there and in Constantinople (officer in 1854) He took part in the Crimean War, from 1860 taught in the Mekteb i Harbīye as professor of the art of war and in 1865 was tutor to the prince Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn After holding a command in Albania (1867—1870) he distinguished himself under Redif Pasha in the Yaman campaign, the conduct of which he took over in 1871 as General of Division and Pasha On his return he was given the title of *mushīr* In the Herzegovina he was defeated in 1876 at the Duga Pass After the declaration of war by Russia (April 24, 1877) he was given the supreme command on the Caucasus front, where after at first having to retire to Koprükoy, he counter-attacked at Dahar (June 21) and Ziwin (June 25) and forced the Russians under the Armenian generals Loris-Melikoff and Ter-Hugassoff, to evacuate Ottoman territory and occupied Sukhum,

Successes in August on the Yaghnī Dagh and at Kïzïl-Tepe (near Bash Gedikler) earned him the title of honour of *Ghāzī* [q v] but did not prevent the collapse of the army in Oct—Nov [cf DEWE BOYUN, KARS and ERZERUM] Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery, he restored peace in Crete in 1878, in 1879—1885 he served as commissioner on the Greek frontier As a result of the Anglo Turkish agreement of Oct 24, 1885, he became the first High Commissioner of the Porte in Egypt, holding the post till 1906 and playing a part in the Taba affair In this period he busied himself with the question of reforming the calendar, he advocated a uniform Hidjra solar year for all Muslims (see *Bibl*)

From Dec 1908 Vice-President of the Ottoman Senate, he proposed in the National Assembly of April 27, 1909 to give prince Reshād the name Mehmed V in memory of the first conqueror (*Fātih*) of Constantinople [see MUHAMMAD II] (communication of ʿAbd al-Rahman Sherief to Martin Hartmann), he himself led the deputation which announced his accession as Sultān Caliph and brought him to the War Ministry to receive the oath of allegiance [cf BAIʿA] On Oct 14, 1911 he succeeded Saʿīd Pasha [q v] as President of the Senate and on July 22, 1912 as grand-vizier in the cabinet of the "Great Ones" (*Buyukler*) Under pressure from the association of old-Turkish officers (*Khalāṣkārān*) he persuaded the Senate on Aug 4 by a bold interpretation of the constitution to declare the session of Parliament closed He endeavoured to free the army and civil service from politics, obtained an amnesty for Albania, recalled Ahmad ʿIzzet Pasha from the Yaman, instituted the Naval Medal and Medal of the Red Crescent, obtained favourable terms in the treaty of peace with Italy (Oct 18, 1912) but could not avert the catastrophe in the Balkan War On Oct 29, 1912 he retired in favour of Kāmil Pasha, but remained a member of the Senate till 1918, in which on Feb 12, 1917 he advocated the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and rejection of the Christian reckoning for the financial year He died on Jan 21, 1919 Mahmūd Mukhtār Pasha is his son

Bibliography Général Izzet-Fuad, *Autres Occasions perdues* , *Critique stratégique de la Campagne d'Asie Mineure 1877—1878*, Paris 1908 (Izzet-Fuad Pasha makes use of Mehmed ʿĀrif Bey's book *Bashïmïza Gelenler* which was inspired by Mukhtār Pasha), Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, *La Reforme du Calendrier* (transl O N E), Leyden 1893, Collection *Dustūr*, *Tertīb i thānī*, vol i, v, vii, *Osmanischer Lloyd*, Constantinople 1908—1912 and other scattered sources (G JASCHKE)

MUKHTĀRĪ, SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ʿUTHMĀN B MUHAMMAD AL-MUKHTĀRĪ AL GHAZNAWĪ, court poet of the later Ghaznawids Ibrāhim b Masʿūd II (1059—1099) and Masʿūd III b Ibrāhīm (1099—1114) He lived for a considerable period in Kirmān, where he wrote panegyrics on the Saldjūk Arslān Shāh b Kirmānshāh (1101–1141) The great poet Madjd al-Dīn Sanāʾī showed him the greatest reverence and celebrated him in a long *kaṣīda* as the best poet of his time He could not have been Sanāʾī's teacher, as the Bankipore Catalogue (i 32) says, since he must have been only a year or two older than Sanāʾī His influence however is quite marked in many of Sanāʾī's works One of Mukhtārī's philosophical kasīdas may be regarded as the one of the finest examples of the old Persian school of poetry since *nazīras* on it were written by the best poets such as Khākānī, Amīr Khusraw, Athīr-i Akhsïkatī, ʿAbd al Rahmān Djāmī and Nawāʾī His chief work is a large *Dīwān* of lyrics, the majority of which are panegyrics in the style of the old Ghazna wid poets like ʿUnsurī and Farrūkhī, and dedicated to Arslān-Shāh, Bahrām Shāh, Adud al Dawla Dailamī, Tamghash Khan and a number of viziers Besides these *kasīda*'s there were in the *Dīwan* a few short *mathnawī*'s, one of which of an astronomical nature seems to have had a great influence on later poetry We should probably also ascribe to our poet the authorship of the *Shāhriyār-nāma*, an imitation of the *Shāh nāma*, the hero of which is Shāhriyār son of Barzū son of Suhrāb, i e a great-grandson of Rustam, and the action of which is laid in India The poem is dedicated to Masʿūd III, in the preface the poet says that he has worked at it for three years and hoped for a present worthy of this labour If he does not receive this gift however, he will not write a satire this, seems to be a direct reference to Firdawsī The year of Mukhtārī's death is not exactly known, 530 (1135), 534 (1139), 544 (1149) and 554 (1159) are mentioned The last date seems to be the right one

Bibliography H Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (*Gr I Ph*, ii 234, 256—257), Dawlatshāh, p 93, *Madjmaʿ al Fusahāʾ*, i 598—607 A manuscript of the *Shahriyār nāma* in Rieu, ii 542 (E BERTHELS)

AL-MUKĪT [see ALIYĀH, II]

MUKRĀ, a district and village in the Yaman, a day's journey south of Sanʿāʾ The Arab geographers mention a cornelian mine here The name is also given to a mountain in the Yaman Sarat According to Sprenger, we cannot connect the Himyar tribe of this name with the Μοκρῖται of Ptolemy

Bibliography al-Hamdānī, *Sifat Djazirat al ʿArab*, ed D H Muller (Leyden 1884–1891), p 68, 104 *sq* , al-Mukaddasī, *B G A*, iii 91, al Hamadhānī, *B G A*, v 36, Ibn Khurdādhbih, vi 141, al-Yaʿkūbī, *B G A*, vii 319, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed F Wustenfeld, iii 130, iv 437, 603, A Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p 244 (A GROHMANN)

MUKTADAB, name of the thirteenth metre in Arabic prosody, very little used, in theory it consists of three feet, with two successive *mustafʿilun*, in each hemistich, but in practice it has only two

There is one *ʿarūd* and one *darb*

mafʿūlātu mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu mustafʿilun However, *mafʿūlātu* should lose its *f* (*maʿūlātu* = *faʿūlātu*) or change its *ū* to *u*, which is very frequent (*mafʿulātu* = *fāʿilātu*)

Mustafʿilun can never retain its *f* (*mustaʿilun* = *muftaʿilun*) (MOH BENCHENFA)

AL **MUḳTADĪ** BI AMRI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-KĀSIM ʿABD ALLĀH B MUHAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph His father was a son of the caliph al-Kāʾim and his mother an Armenian slave girl named Urdjuwān After the death of his grandfather al Kāʾim in Shaʿbān 467 (April 1075), al-Muktadī succeeded him as caliph The real ruler was the Saldjūḳ sultān Malikshāh [q v] to whose daughter al-Muktadī was married in 480 (1087) By 482 (1089) however, she had returned to her father because

she was neglected by the caliph Malikshāh, who wished to prevent the caliph interfering in affairs of state, endeavoured to induce him to leave Baghdād and take up his residence in another town, this plan however came to nothing through the death of the sultān in Shawwāl 485 (Nov 1092) and al-Muktadī was left in peace in the capital About this time the power of the Saldjūks reached its greatest height and in all the lands conquered by them the spiritual supremacy of the caliph was recognised Al Muktadī died suddenly on 15th or 19th Muharram 487 (4th or 8th Feb 1094) at the age of 38 He was perhaps poisoned by Malikshāh's son and successor, Barkiyārūk [q v] whom he had offended by confirming the selection of his minor brother Mahmūd as sultān

Bibliography Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, x, see Index Ibn al-Ṭiktakā *al Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 398—403, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayat*, i 233, Ibn Khaldūn, *al ʿIbar*, iii 472 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh i Guzīda*, ed Browne, i 359 *sq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 121—137, Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs a l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii 12, 22, 45, 49—81, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 283, 292 *sq*, 326 (K V Zetterstéen)

AL-**MUKTADIR** [See Allāh, II]

AL **MUKTADIR** BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L FADL DJAʿFAR B AHMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al Muʿtadid and a slave named Shaghab After the death of his brother al-Muktafī in Dhu 'l Kaʿda 295 (Aug 908), al-Muktadir who was only 13 at the time was proclaimed caliph Many however preferred ʿAbd Allāh, son of the caliph al Muʿtazz, and after the murder of the vizier al ʿAbbās b al Hasan b Ahmad [q v], al Muktadir was declared to be deposed and Ibn al Muʿtazz elected caliph The eunuch Muʾnis [q v] came forward to save al Muktadir, Ibn al Muʿtazz was slain and al-Muktadir retained the caliphate He showed very little independence however and allowed himself to be guided, sometimes by the personnel of the harem and sometimes by the viziers among whom special mention may be made of the intriguing Ibn al-Furāt [q v] and the brave Ibn al Djarrāh [q v] Al-Muktadir's caliphate was therefore marked by a gradual decline In his reign the dynasties of the Fātimids [q v] and Hamdānids [q v] became independent The Karmatians also rebelled once more In the years 307 (919—920) and 311 (923) Basra was plundered by the Karmatian chief Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān [cf AL DJANNĀBĪ] and at the end of the year 311 (924) he fell upon the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca In Dhu 'l-Kaʿda of the following year (925) he attacked the caravan which was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdād and put it to flight He next plundered al-Kūfa and then returned to Bahrain An army sent against the Karmatians under the command of Muʾnis arrived only after they had retired In 314 (926—927) Yūsuf b Abī 'l-Sādj was summoned from Ādharbāydjān to help, but Sulaymān defeated him in Shawwāl of the following year (Dec 927) and took him prisoner The caliph's troops did not dare to give battle and in Muharram 316 (March 928) Sulaymān seized the town of al-Rahaba After an unsuccessful attack on al-Rakka he retired, in 317 (929—930), or, according to others, in 316, he plundered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone On the Byzantine frontier both sides continued their raids with varying fortunes In 305 (917) the Byzantines made an offer of peace and after two years peace was definitely concluded, but hostilities very soon broke out again In 314 (926—927) the Byzantines ravaged the district of Malatya and in the following year they crossed a considerable part of Armenia After taking several Armenian cities which belonged to the Arabs (316 = 928—929) and occupying northern Mesopotamia (317 = 929—930) they lost all their gains in 319—320 (= 931—932) In Muharram 317 (Feb 929) a rebellion broke out in the capital Al Muktadir was forced to abdicate but was brought to a place of safety by Muʾnis, while the soldiery plundered the palace His brother Muhammad was summoned to be Commander of the Faithful in his stead with the style al-Kāhir, but since the chief leader of the rebels, the head of police Nāzūk, could not satisfy the demands of the troops for higher pay, al-Kahir was deposed after a few days and al Muktadir placed on the throne once more In Baghdad the confusion increased and in 320 (932) the catastrophe came The enemies of Muʾnis took advantage of his absence to persuade the caliph that Muʾnis intended to dethrone him and when Munis approached at the head of his army, al Muktadir was persuaded with great reluctance to take the field against him, he fell at the beginning of the encounter (27th Shawwāl 320 = Oct 31, 932) See also the article MUHAMMAD B YĀKŪT

Bibliography Tabarī, ed de Goeje, iii 2280—2294, ʿArīb, ed de Goeje, p 21—186, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, viii 247—286, ix 6, 8, 47, 52, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii 76, v 32, Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, viii 6 *sqq*, Ibn al Ṭiktakā, *al Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 352—374, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 358 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 540 *sqq*, A Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, i 532 *sqq*, Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed by Weir, p 563, 565, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index, do, *A Greek Embassy to Baghdād in 917 A D*, in *JRAS*, 1897, p 35 *sqq*, M Bowen, *Life and Times ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928

(K V Zetterstéen)

AL **MUKTAFĪ** LI AMR 'LLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, born on 12th Rabīʿ II 489 (April 9, 1096), son of al-Mustaẓhir and a slave girl After the deposition of his nephew al Rashīd, al-Muktafī was acknowledged as caliph on the 8th Dhu 'l Hidjdja 530 (Sept 17, 1136) While the Saldjūks were fighting among themselves, he did his best not only to maintain his independence but also to extend his, rule and one district after the other in the ʿIrāk fell into his hands In 543 (1148) a number of emīrs announced their allegiance to Sultān Masʿūd and marched on Baghdād but dispersed after several encounters with the caliph's troops According to some sources, the same thing took place again next year In Radjab 547 (Oct 1152) Masʿūd died, and was succeeded by his nephew Malikshāh who was deposed in a few months and succeeded by his brother Muhammad In the meanwhile the caliph seized the two towns of al-Hilla and Wāsiṭ In the following year Sultān Sandjar who lived in Khurāsān was attacked and taken prisoner by the rebel Ghuzz [q v] whereupon his emīrs proclaimed Masʿūd's

brother Sulaimānshāh sultān In Muharram 551 (Feb–March 1156) the latter was recognised by the caliph on condition that he did not interfere in the affairs of the ʿIrāk Although al-Muktafī supported him he was defeated in Djumādā I (June—July) of the same year by his nephew Muhammad and the latter's auxiliary In Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (Jan–Feb 1157) Sultān Muhammad advanced on Baghdād to take vengeance on the caliph The latter had to retire to the eastern part of the town and was besieged there for several months In Rabīʿ I 552 (May 1151) however, the sultān suddenly raised the siege because Malikshāh was advancing on Hamadhan As the latter therefore retired, hostilities automatically ceased and Muhammad is said to have later made his peace with al-Muktafī The latter twice besieged Takrīt in vain, on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Lihf The Crusaders continued their hostilities in al Muktafī's caliphate The most powerful pillar of Islām was the Atābeg of al-Mawsil, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, and his son Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd in Syria Al-Muktafī died on 2nd Rabīʿ I 555 (March 12, 1160)

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), xi 27 *sqq*, Ibn al Ṭiktaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 416—425, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 512 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed Browne), i 364 *sq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 219, 258—306, Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs a l'histoire des Sel djoucides*, ii, see Index

(K V Zetterstéen)

AL-**MUKTAFĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MUHAMMAD ʿALĪ B AHMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muʿtadid and a Turkish slave girl named Čiček (Arabic Djidjak) In 281 (894—895) he was appointed by his father governor of al-Raiy and several towns in the neighbourhood, and five years later he was made governor of Mesopotamia and took up his quarters in al-Rakka After the death of al-Muʿtadid on 22nd Rabīʿ II, 289 (April 5, 902), he ascended the throne and at once won the good-will of the people by his liberality and by destroying the subterranean dungeons in the capital He proved a brave and fearless leader who fought with success against the many enemies of the caliphate The Karmatians were ravaging Syria, one town after another fell into their hands and Damascus itself was plundered On the 6th Muharram 291 (Nov 29, 903) the general Muhammad b Sulaimān finally succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them and they scattered in all directions Muhammad then turned his attention to Egypt where he put an end to the rule of the Tūlūnids Many of their followers joined him and after the Tūlūnid Hārūn b Khumārawaih had been slain, the capital had to surrender (Safar 292 = Jan 905) and ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Egypt An attempt to restore the Tūlūnids was easily crushed (293 = 905—906) About this time the Karmatians again began to be troublesome and at the beginning of the year 294 (Oct–Nov 906) they attacked the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, massacred the men and carried off the women and children In Rabīʿ I of the same year (Dec 906—Jan 907) they were defeated near al-Kādisīya by the caliph's troops under Wasīf b Ṣawārtegīn The war with the Byzantines was also vigorously pursued In 291 (903—904) a Greek named Leo who had adopted Islām undertook a number of raids on the Greek coasts with his fleet of 54 ships The Byzantines however had the advantage by land In 292 (904—905) Maraʿash, al-Massīsa and Tarsūs were taken by the Greek general Andronicus and in the following year the Byzantines advanced as far as Halab Then the Muslims gained the upper hand and Andronicus went over to them Al-Muktafī died in Dhu 'l Kaʿda 295 (Aug 908) at the age of 31, cf also the article AL-ʿABBĀS B AL HASAN B AHMAD

Bibliography Tabarī (ed de Goeje), iii 2140 *sqq*, 2207—2281, ʿArīb (ed de Goeje), p 1 *sqq*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), viii 213–247, ix 47, 52, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii 54, ix 141, xv 99, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), vii 324 *sqq*, viii 4 *sqq*, Ibn al-Ṭiktaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 350—352, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii 41 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 352 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, *Rise*, ii 483, 488, 516 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Decline, and Fall*, new ed, p 554 *sqq*, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 120, 195, 252 *sqq* (K V Zetterstéen)

AL-**MUKTANĀ**, BAHĀʾ AL DĪN, a Druse missionary and author, with his teacher Hamza (b ʿAlī, q v) founder of the theological system of the Druses [q v], the fifth minister of the Druse theogony, with several titles of honour, in addition to the above two al-Djanāh, al-Aisar, al Tālī, al-Khayāl, al Mukāsir etc His "secular" name was Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b Ahmad al-Samūkī Of his life practically nothing is known As Arab historians are silent about him (Silvestre de Sacy, *Expose de la religion des Druzes*, ii 320), his own writings are almost the only source According to Druse tradition, he was kādi in Alexandria in al-Hākim's time [q v] (M v Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, p 135) As his works reveal quite a good knowledge (not without misunderstandings) of Christian religion and literature, he may have been born a Christian, probably in Syria Only for the period of his teaching do we have chronological exactness His *taklīd* of investiture is dated on the 13th Shaʿbān of the third year of Hamza's mission i e 411 (1020) (S de Sacy, *op cit*, i 474—475, ii 309, 313, transl, *ibid*, ii 297—309) The earliest of his known writings is of the tenth year of Hamza, 418 A H (*ibid*, ii 326) In consequence one must assume that he came to the front after the disappearance of al Hākim and Hamza His activity was not a continuous one and he had even to live for a time in concealment (about the year 17—18 of Hamza, see S de Sacy, *op cit*, ii 364), whether in Egypt or Syria is not certain (H Guys, *La nation druze*, p 114) The latest date known in his writings is the 26th year of Hamza, i e 433—434 (1042) (S de Sacy, *op cit*, i 496, ii 379) His farewell epistle dates from this year, according to it he had retired into concealment (*ibid*, i 514—515, ii 358), nothing more is known of him The "Druse theogony" does not agree with these dates, it gives 17 years as the period of his activity (H Guys, *op cit*, p 107) Ph Hitti's assertion (*The Origins of the Druze People*, p 11) that he died in 1031 is due to a misunderstanding

Druse tradition not unjustly ranks him with Hamza and regards him as the greatest theological writer, to whom four of the sacred books are ascribed (M v Oppenheim, *op cit*, i 135–137) These are not books

in the proper sense but collections of separate tracts, usually in the form of epistles, directed to followers of the Druse teaching or of other creeds in various lands (Byzantium, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, India) They are to this day frequently read by the Druses in their *khalawāt*, commentaries were written on some of them by the last independent Druse theologian ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūkhī (d 1480, on him see Ph Hitti, *op cit*, p 53, 71, M v Oppenheim, *op cit*, i 137) Of the some 110 Druse treatises so far known in Europe, 70 are ascribed by S de Sacy to al Muktanā (*op cit*, i 484 and 496) Except for a few short texts published by S de Sacy along with other writings of Hamza (see *Bibl*) very few have been printed, namely the *Kitāb al Bad'* by Chr Seybold (s *Bibl*) and *al-Risālat al-Kustantiniya*, sent in 1028 to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII, by J Khalil and L Ronzevalle (s *Bibl* and extracts in Hitti, *op cit*, p 64—67) Others are accessible only in translations and extracts (espec in Silvestre de Sacy, *al-Risālat al-Masihiya*, a synopsis in Hitti, *op cit*, p 68—70) As with other Druse writers, the style is very obscure and artificial, frequently embellished with rhymed prose

Silvestre de Sacy, whose book still is the most important collection of material, regards al-Muktanā as "un enthousiaste de bonne foi" (*op cit*, i 508) It is highly desirable that some one should devote a special study to his life and work, paying particular attention to the authenticity of his works and to a critical edition of them

Bibliography (cf also the references in the text) Silvestre de Sacy, *Expose de la religion des Druses*, ii, Paris 1838, p 297—384 and *passim* The German version is still valuable for its Index Ph Wolff, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1845, p 394-402 and *passim*, H Guys, *La nation druze*, Paris 1863, p 106–115 and do, *Theogonie des Druzes*, Paris 1863, p 66—68, 119—120, Philip R Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*, New York 1928, Index, Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2], ii, Paris 1826, p 67–105 (text) and p 191—273 (transl), by al-Muktanā are N° 9—11 and probably N° 7, Chr Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Alnoqat Waldawā'ir Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchhain N-L, 1902, p ix and p 76–79 (*Kitāb al Bad'*), J Khalil and L Ronzevalle, *L'Épitre à Constantin*, in *MFOB*, iii, Bairūt 1909, p 493–534

(Ign Kratschkowsky)

MULAI [See Mawlā]

MULK (a), royal power, is used in the Kur'ān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islāmic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*, the latter word however occurs only four times in the Kur'ān and always with a dependent genitive (*kull shaiʿ* or *al samawat wa 'l ard*) while *mulk* is often used absolutely To God alone belongs *mulk*, He has no associate therein, to Him belongs *mulk* over heaven and earth as well as over the judgment He gives *mulk* to whom He will, the unbelievers have no share in it Shaitān promised Ādam imperishable *mulk* and tempted him with this promise to eat of the *shadjarat al khuld* (Sūra xx 118) Nimrūd endeavours to claim for himself God's *mulk* against Ibrāhīm (ii 260) but God gives *mulk* to the family of Ibrāhīm (iv 57) Yūsuf thanks God in prayer for the *mulk* which He has given him (xxi 102) Firʿawn boasts of his right to the *mulk Miṣr* (xliii 50), God wills to give Ṭālūt *mulk* over the recalcitrant Israelites and to send the *tābūt* as a sign (ii 248 *sqq*) Dāwūd's *mulk* is mentioned ii 252 and xxxviii 19 and Sulaimān's ii 96, the latter prays for it (xxxviii 34)

That the conception of *mulk* was not carried over into Muslim law generally has been explained in the article MALIK, an exception is Egypt during the Ayyūbid period and in quite modern times Cf also the article ʿĀDJ and G Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arab Furstenspiegel* (*Leipz Sem Studien*, N F, iii, 1932), esp p 6

(M Plessner)

MULTĀN is an ancient town of the Pandjāb situated in 30° 12′ N and 71° 31′ E, and has been known at various times as Kashtpūr, Hanspūr, Bāgpūr, Sanb or Sanābpūr, and finally Mulasthān, of which Multān is a corruption This name is derived from that of the idol and temple of the sun, a shrine of vast wealth, which the Arabs, who plundered it, named *dār al dhahab*, or the house of gold It remained the Arab capital, and the outpost of Islām in India, for three centuries but by A D 900 its ruler had become independent of Baghdād At this time it was seized by ʿAbd Allāh the Karmatī, and became a stronghold of the Karmatian heretics, who were crushed and expelled by the orthodox Mahmūd of Ghaznī The town and province remained nominally subject to his descendants until Khusraw Malik, the last of them, was carried into captivity by Muʿizz al Dīn Muhammad b Sām, when it became a province of his Indian empire On his death the governor, Nāsir al Dīn Kabāča, attempted to establish his independence of Dihlī, but Kutb al-Dīn Aibak reduced him to obedience, and the province remained nominally subject to Dihlī from 1206 to 1438 when Shaikh Yūsuf Kuraishī became independent ruler of Multān and was followed by the kings of the Langāh tribe, who reigned until 1527 The town was occupied both by Tīmūr in 1397 and by Bābūr in 1528

The province was one of the *sūbas* of Akbar's empire, and remained nominally subject to his successors until 1752, when its allegiance was transferred to Kābul It was threatened by the Sikhs as early as 1771, but was not annexed by them until 1818, when Randjīt Singh took the city by storm It was not affected by the first Sikh war, but the murder of two British officers by Mūlrādj led to the second Sikh war, and the city was captured on January 3, 1849 Its fortifications were dismantled in 1854 and its garrison was disarmed in the mutiny of 1857

Bibliography Firishta, *Gulshan i Ibrāhimī* (Bombay 1832), *Tabakāt i Akbarī*, by Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, Sir Edward D Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District* (Lahore 1902)

(T W Haig)

MU'MIN, title of sūra xl See also Allāh, II and Īmān

AL-MU'MINŪN, title of sūra xxiii

AL MUMĪT [See Allāh, II]

MUMKIN [See Mantik]

AL-MUMTAHINA, title of sūra lx

MUMTĀZ, Barkhwurdār b Mahmūd Turkmān Farāhī, a Persian writer, a contemporary of the Safawid Sultān Husain (1694—1722) At an early age he left his native town of Farāh

and went to Marw where he entered the service of the governor Aslān-Khān After two years however, he left this post and became munshī with Hasan Kūlī Khān Shāmlū Kūrčī bāshī in Isfahān At a banquet there at his master's house he heard a story which attracted him exceedingly He wrote it down and it became the foundation of a great collection, *Mahfilārā*, which contained about 400 stories and consisted of a *mukaddama*, eight *bāb* and a *khātima* Soon afterwards he returned to Farāh, spent some time in Herāt and Meshhed and then entered the service of the emīr Minūčihr Khān b Kārčighāy whose duty it was to defend Darūn and Khabūshān against raids by the wild nomad tribes His stay there was disastrous for Mumtāz, since he lost all his goods and chattels and the valuable manuscript of his *Mahfilārā* during a nomad raid, he did not have another copy of it He resolved however to restore the book and wrote all the stories that he could remember a second time Thus arose the second version of the *Mahfilārā*, which consists of a *mukaddama*, five *bāb*s and a *khātima* and has come down to us under the title *Mahbūb al Kulūb* The book is written in an extravagantly artificial style The *khātima* is the best part, it contains the celebrated story of Zibā and Ranā, which is very common in Persia in a simplified form in many editions from the popular presses

Bibliography H Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur* (*G I Ph*, ii 333) A MS of the *Mahbūb al-Kulūb* in Rieu, ii 767, 1093, lith Bombay 1852 (Edwards, *Catalogue*, p 150) See also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i 614

(Ḥ Bertheis)

MUMTĀZ MAHALL, wife of Shāh Djahān, and the lady for whom the Tādj Mahall [q v] was built She was the daughter of Abu'l-Hasan Āsaf Khān, who was Nūr Djahān's brother Her name was Arḏjumand Bānū, the title Mumtāz Mahall being conferred on her after Shāh Djahān's accession She was his favourite wife and bore him fourteen children, seven of whom grew up She was born in 1593, married in 1612, and died, at Burhānpūr in the Deccan, very shortly after the birth of a daughter in 1631 She was beautiful and amiable, and Shāh Djahān loved her tenderly

Bibliography Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, i 459, ʿAbd al-Hamīd Lāhōrī, *Bādshāhnāma* i 384, Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, translated by W Irvine, Elliot-Dowson, vii 27, *Indian Magazine* for December 1913, p 316

(H Beveridge)

MUNADJDJIM [See Astrology]

MUNADJDJIM BAṢHĪ is the name by which the author of the most important general historical work written in Turkey is known His real name was Ahmad Efendi, son of Lutf Allāh, a native of Eregli near Konya He was born in Selānik, in the first half of the xvith century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewī-khāne of Kāsim Pasha under Shaikh Khalīl Dede (*Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii 287) Afterwards he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (*munadjdjim bashī*) in 1078 (1667—1668) In 1086 (1675—1676) he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sulṭān Muhammad IV as *musāhib i pādishāhī* He was dismissed in Muharram 1099 (November 1687) and banished to Egypt From here he went some years later to Mecca, where he became shaikh of the Mewlewī-khāne In 1105 (1693—1694) he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on the 29th of Ramadān 1113 (February 27th 1702) and was buried near the tomb of Khadīdja

Besides writing his historical work, Munadjdjim Bashī displayed a considerable literary activity Of his works are mentioned a *hāshiya* on the Kurʾān commentary of Baiḍāwī, a commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid al-ʿAḍudīya* of al Īdjī, a *Laṭāʾif-nāme*, a translation of the anecdotes of ʿUbaid-i Zākānī, and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music His Turkish *dīwān* also gives him a place in the ranks of Turkish mystical poets, his *takhalluṣ* was ʿĀshik

The general history was written in Arabic under the title *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*, but although manuscripts of the Arabic original exist (the *Semāʿ-Khāne-i Edeb* of ʿAlī Enwer mentions two MSS not mentioned by Babinger, viz one in the library of the mosque of Selīm II in Adrianople and the other in the imperial palace, in the library of Ahmad III), it is much better known in the Turkish translation made by the poet Nedīm [q v] in the xviiith century under the title *Sahāʾif al-Akhbār* (printed in three volumes in Constantinople in 1285) It is a world history, arranged, after the fashion of similar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into three parts the first treating of the history of Muhammad, the second the non-Muhammadan dynasties and the third the Muhammadan dynasties In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original Therefore the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it has been especially used by E Sachau for *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *SB Pr Ak W*, Berlin 1923 (cf the introduction) The last dynasty treated is that of the Ottoman Sultāns, it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Muhammadan dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources, the last part, which ends in 1089 (1678), gives contemporary history The Turkish translation of Nedīm is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period For this reason it is especially praised and represented in Ebuzziyā Tewfīḳ's *Numūne-i Edebiyāt-i ʿothmānīye*^{6}, Constantinople 1330

Bibliography F Babinger, *O G W* and the sources mentioned there

(J H Kramers)

AL **MUNĀFIḲŪN** (A), the term applied in the Kurʾān to those Medinese upon whose fidelity and zeal Muhammad could not absolutely rely The Arabs (e g Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 153) derive the word from *nāfiḳā*ʾ ("one of the entrances to the hole of a fieldmouse"), but it is certainly the borrowed Ethiopic *manāfek* "heretic" from *nafaka* to "split", *nāfaka* "to be divided, irresolute" The meaning "waverer", "doubter" quite fits the usual use of the word in the Kurʾān, while the usual translation "hypocrite" only suits a few passages Another description of the same people in the Kurʾān is "those in whose hearts there is sickness (weakness, doubt)", again in contrast to the unshakably firm believers Sometimes (ix 68

sq, xxxiii 73, xlviii 6, lvii 13) there are references to women of this type (*munāfiḳāt*) in addition to the male munāfiḳūn A closer consideration of the passages in question shows we have not to think of a regular, rigidly defined party, sometimes the reference is to such Medinese as had only joined the Prophet under compulsion or reluctantly, and sometimes to those who had quite honestly joined him but had not been able to retain their belief and enthusiasm (ix 67, lxiii 3) Muhammad also on one occasion speaks of munāfiḳūn among the Bedouins The first group found their leader in ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiy [q v] who would have been the chosen head of the Kaila tribe, if a new and superior force, which he could not meet, had not opposed him in Muhammad Nevertheless these grumblers, joined by other unreliable elements, were strong enough to cause the greatest embarrassment to the Prophet in critical moments e g before the battle of Uhud (iii 160 *sq*), in the War of the Ditch (xxxiii 1, 12—24, 60, 73) and before the march on Tabūk (ix 65—69, 74, 78), as he had always to be careful not to drive them over into the enemy's camp It is no wonder then that his utterances about them are always made in a tone of great irritation He describes them as hypocrites, who say something different from what they mean in their hearts (iii 161, xiii 1), in their irresolution they join, according to their view of the future, sometimes the Muslims and sometimes the enemy (iv 137—142, v 57), if it goes badly with the believers, they think that their religion has deceived them (viii 51) When they are together among themselves they revenge themselves for the restraint which they must put upon themselves by malicious remarks about the Prophet and his revelations, but are in great anxiety, lest Allāh may communicate their secret conversations (ix 65 *sqq*, x 79, 125 *sqq*) They are indolent at prayer (iv 141), refuse to take part in the fighting or to contribute from their means (xlvii 22, 31, lvii 1 *sq*, lxiii 71, cf iv 40 *sqq*), they hope for a weakening of his power so that the more worthy may expel the meaner (lxiii 8) As representatives of the true Meccan aristocracy, their attitude and eloquence made a certain impression on the Prophet but on closer examination they are nothing but "propped timbers" (lxiii 4) In a word, they are no better than the unbelievers God makes them err (iv 50 *sqq*) and their abode shall be hellfire (ix 74, lvii 13 *sq*) We cannot help feeling in some ways a certain sympathy for these men who were deprived of their rights, but in the end they deserved their fate for their complete lack of ideas and courage at decisive moments and their conduct with regard to the Jews in Medīna, whom they incited to resist Muhammad and then left in the lurch (cf lv 11), makes a very unfavourable impression With the death of ʿAbd Allāh they lost their leader and their opposition was forced to be silent before the great successes of Muhammad's last years

The word munāfik remained however and like other Kur'ānic terms was used in the fighting between the various parties as a term of abuse, cf e g its application to Ibn Zubair (Ṭabarī, ii 467, 3) and his party (Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arab Chronik*, p 73, 4)

In the Kur'ān Sūra lxiii is called after the Munāfiḳūn, it is connected by most commentators with the campaign against the Banū Mustaliḳ

Bibliography Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p 232, Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p 48 *sq*, Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, p 88 *sq*, 167 *sq*, 209, Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 411—413, 546 *sq*, 558—560, 651, 670, 688, 726, 734, 894 (Fr Buhl)

AL-**MUNḌHIR** B **MUHAMMAD** [See Umaiyads II]

AL **MUNḌJIYA**, title of sūra lxvii, which is also called *al mulk* and *al wāḳiya*

MUNGĪR (Monghyr), the head-quarters of the Mungir District in Bihār and Orissa in India, situated in 25° 23′ N and 86° 28′ L on the south bank of the Ganges The population of the district in 1911 was 2,132,893, of whom 200,339 were Muhammadans Muhammadan historians state that Bakhtiyār Khaldjī was the first Muhammadan who conquered Mungir during his subjugation of Bihār about 595 (1198) Henceforth it became a place of military importance In 1177 (1763) Nawwāb Mīr Kāsim, the Nawwāb Ṣūbadār of Bengal, when he proposed to fight against the British made Mungir his military head quarters He founded here an arsenal under Gurgīn (Gregory) Khān, his Armenian general The gun making industry for which the town is famous is said to date from the establishment of this arsenal

Bibliography *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xvii 401—403, O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, *Monghyr*, Calcutta 1909, xvii (M Hidayet Hosain)

MŪNIS DEDE or Derwīsh Mūnis, Ottoman poet of Adrianople He belonged to the Mewlewī Order He received his education from the famous Fenīs Dede (d 1147 = 1734) He died in 1145 (1732) in Adrianople, where he is buried

Bibliography Fatīn, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1271, p 385, Ḥuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv 527, ʿAlī Enwer, *Semā khāne i Edeb*, Istanbul 1309, p 226 (Th Menzel)

MU'NIS AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, Abu 'l Hasan, principal ʿAbbāsid general from 296 to 321 (908—933), and latterly virtual dictator (usual attribution to him of *nisba* al-Kushūrī seems to rest on passage — p 347 — in Hilāl al-Ṣābi''s *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* [ed Amedroz], where Nasr should be read for Mu'nis), a eunuch (passage of Ibn Miskawaih [ed Amedroz and Margoliouth, i 160] shows that *khādim* in this case does not mean merely freedman, as suggested by Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, p 205, N⁰ 2), said by al Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al Islām* (followed by Ibn Taghribirdī, ed Juynboll, ii 255) to have been 90 years old at death (though this age would seem incredibly great for a recently active commander), i e, to have been born in 231 (845—846), and to have held the rank of *amīr* for 60 years

Mu'nis first appears (if passage of al Ṭabarī, iii 1953, refers to him) as a *ghulām* of al-Muʿtaḍid (not yet caliph) in Zandj [q v] campaign of 267 (880—881), and is mentioned as Chief of Police in caliph's camp in 287 (900) Al Dhahabī (also Ibn Taghribirdī, *loc cit*) states, again, that he was banished to Mecca by al-Muʿtaḍid, to be recalled on accession of al-Muktaḍir [q v], and as Mu'nis is nowhere referred to during intervening reign of al Muktafī, the statement may be true (If so, in al Masʿūdī's description, *Murūdj*

al-Ḏhahab, ed B de Meynard, VIII 212, of al-Mu'tadid's death, for *kẖādim* read *kẖāzin*, as in 'Arīb, ed de Goeje, p 29)

Mu'nis owed his later eminence mainly to his leading the defence, in 296 (908), of the Hasanī palace at Baghdād for al-Muktadir against the partisans of the latter's cousin, the pretender Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q v] During the caliph's youth his gratitude and that of his powerful mother for this service assured Mu'nis's position, and though later al-Muktadir's favour turned to enmity, by that time Mu'nis's authority was hardly in need of support, owing chiefly to his almost invariably successful generalship For though he undertook no very important campaigns, except perhaps the repulse of the Fātimid al-Mahdī [q v] in 307 (919—920) (for which he received the *lakab al-Muẓaffar*), and the defence of Baghdād from the Karmatians [q v] in 315 (927—928), he was only once defeated — in 306 (918)

Mu'nis early fell out with the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt [q v], repeatedly opposing him, till in 312 (924), on Ibn al-Furāt's third term of office, Mu'nis played a prominent part in securing his dismissal and execution He now became all-powerful, being invariably consulted on the appointment of viziers and so controlling the government Hence the change of al-Muktadir's affection to dislike, first signalized (315 = 927) in an abortive plot of the caliph's to murder him In 316 Mu'nis lent himself to al Muktadir's deposition in favour of his half-brother al-Kāhir [q v] He almost immediately restored him, however, thereby becoming more absolutely his master than ever Al Muktadir eventually defied Mu'nis (319 = 931), who thereupon left Baghdād Next year, however, having meanwhile collected a strong force, he marched on the capital intending to reimpose his authority He duly defeated the caliph's army outside the walls, but al-Muktadir himself was killed on the field

Mu'nis now restored al-Kāhir But by resuming his dictatorial ways he soon so alienated him also that he was obliged in self defence to keep the new caliph a prisoner in the palace He even contemplated deposing him Al-Kāhir, however, succeeded in luring Mu'nis, together with his chief supporters, into the palace, where he shortly had them executed in Sha'bān 321 (August 933)

Mu'nis' influence was on the whole exerted for good, but he was neither strong nor intelligent enough to prevent the decline of the caliphate His example of depriving the caliph of real power was pernicious It was to be followed all too soon by the series of adventurers who, with the style of *amīr al umarā'* [q v], were to dominate al-Kāhir's successors

Bibliography In addition to the authorities cited above Ibn al-Athīr *al Kāmil*, VIII, al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (*G M S*, XIX) p 273, 277—278, Hilāl al-Sābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* (ed Amedroz), index, Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḏjārib al-Umam*, V, *passim* (= Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, vols I and IV), 'Arīb, ed de Goeje, index, H Bowen, *Life and Times of 'Alī b 'Īsā*, Cambridge 1928, index (HAROLD BOWEN)

MUNKAR WA-NAKĪR (the forms with the article are also found), the names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs To the examination in the tomb the infidels and the faithful — the righteous as well as the sinners — are liable They are set upright in their tombs and must state their opinion regarding Muhammad The righteous faithful will answer, that he is the Apostle of Allāh, thereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand In consequence of this the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*daghṭa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure (Abu 'l-Mu'īn Maimūn b Muhammad al-Nasafī, as cited in the commentary on the *Wasīyat Abī Hanīfa*, Haidarabād 1321, p 22)

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Kur'ān Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e g sūra XLVII 29 "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs", sūra VI 93 "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment", sūra VIII 52 "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers, they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf further sūra IX 102, XXIII 21, LI 47)

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see *Bibliography*), often, however, without the mention of angels In the latter group of traditions it is simply said, that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e g on account of special sins they have committed, or on account of the wailing of the living

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Kur'ān, and, so far as I can see, once only in canonical Tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḏjanā'iz*, bāb 70) Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 163, Abū Dawūd, *Sunna*, bāb 39b, Ahmad b Hanbal, III 233, 346, IV 150, Tayālisī, N° 753)

So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr

This state of things as reflected in *hadīth* finds a similar reflex in the early forms of the creed In the *Fikh Akbar* I, which may date from the middle of the VIIIth century A D, the punishment of the tomb appears as the only eschatological representation (art 10) In the *Wasīyat Abī Hanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the VIIIth century, we find, apart from an elaborate eschatology, the two following articles (arts 18, 19) "We confess, that the punishment in the tomb shall without fail take place We confess, that in view of the traditions on the subject, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality" The term "reality" is apparently intended to oppose the

allegorical interpretation of eschatological representations as taught by the Muʿtazilīs

The *Fikh Akbar* II, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the IXth century A D, is still more elaborate on this point (art 23) "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful" In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir are expressed in similar ways

The Karrāmiya [q v] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakīr with the two guardian angels who accompany man (ʿAbd al-Kāhir al Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Stambul 1928, p 246) Ghazālī admits the idea that eschatological representations are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*

The origin of the names is uncertain, the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also The details to be found in Jewish sources (*hibbūt hak keber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones

Bibliography The passages from *hadīth* in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v Grave(s), further E Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1880, p 145, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1787, I 46, Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General Index, s v Punishment and Munkar and Nakir, J C G Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, III 95 *sq*, al Tahāwī, *Bayān al Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*, Halab 1344, p 9, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al Nasafī, *Akāʾid*, Stambul 1313, with the commentary of Taftāzānī, p 132 *sqq*, al-Ghazālī, *Ihyāʾ*, Cairo 1302, IV 451 *sqq*, do, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed Gautier, p 23 *sqq*, *Kitāb Ahwāl al-Kiyāma*, ed M Wolff, p 40 *sq*

(A J WENSINCK)

MUNSARIH, the name of the tenth metre in Arabic prosody, it has three feet to the hemistich It has three *ʿarūd* and four *darb*

1st ʿarūd	*mustafʿilun*	*mafʿūlātu*	*mustafʿilun*
	mustafʿilun	*mafʿūlātu*	*mustafʿilun*
	mustafʿilun	*mafʿūlātu*	*mustafʿilun*
	mustafʿilun	*mafʿūlātu*	*mafʿūlun*
2nd ʿarūd	*mustafʿilun*	*mafʿūlān*	
3rd ʿarūd	*mustafʿilun*	*mafʿūlun*	

We rarely find *mustafʿilun* in the *darb* of the first *ʿarūd* The second *darb* of the first *ʿarūd* is not indicated by al Khalīl b Ahmad but Ibn Barrī notes it was much used by the *muwallad* poets, among them Ibn al Rūmī It may be noted that the second and third *ʿarūd* are regarded as belonging to the *radjaz* metre

Mustafʿilun may lose 1 its *s* except when used as the first *darb* in the first *ʿarūd*, 2 its *f* and the foot becomes (*mustaʿilun* =) *muftaʿilun*, 3 its *s* and *f* at the same time (which is very bad) and the foot becomes (*mutaʿilun* =) *fāʿilatun* This last change could not be undergone by the first *ʿarūd*

Mafʿūlātu loses 1 its *f*, which is very bad and the foot becomes (*maʿūlātu* =) *mafāʿilu*, 2 its *w* and the foot becomes (*mafʿulātu* =) *fāʿilātu*, 3 its *f* and *w* at the same time which is very bad and we have (*maʿulātu* =) *faʿilātu*

Mafʿūlān and *mafʿūlun* may lose their *f* and become (*maʿūlān* =) *faʿūlān* and (*maʿūlun* =) *faʿūlun* (MOH BEN CHENEB)

MUNSHI' [See INSHĀ']

MUNṢIF (A), part active IV of *n ṣ-f*, "to be just, to act with justice", the title of a native judge of the lowest grade in India

Bibliography Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s v moonsiff

AL **MUNTAFIK**, a section of the Arab tribe of the Banū ʿUkail, which in turn is a subdivision of the great group of the ʿĀmir b Saʿsaʿa [q v] Genealogy al Muntafik b ʿĀmir b ʿUkail (Wustenfeld, *Gen Tab*, D 19) The very scanty information in Wüstenfeld can be supplemented by the notice which Ibn al-Kalbī gives of the Banu 'l-Muntafik (*Djamharat al-Ansāb*, MS Brit Mus, fol 130v—131r), but this little clan nowhere appears to play a great part in early history The territory inhabited by the Banu 'l Muntafik is the same as that of the other divisions of the Banū ʿUkail, in the southwest of Yamāma, some places belonging to them are quoted by al Bakrī (*Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, p 567), Yākūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, I 793—794, IV 712, l 78 we may note that in these two passages al Muntafik is said to be the surname of Muʿāwiya b ʿUkail while the usual genealogy makes this Muʿāwiya a son of al Muntafik), al Hamdānī (*Djazīra*, ed D H Muller, p 177, l 12—15 note the mention of gold mines in their territory) The Banu 'l-Muntafik numbered among their clients the Banū Tathr (Wustenfeld, *Gen Tab*, C 13) whose eponym was said to have been made a prisoner by them (*Kitāb al-Aghanī*, VII 110), one of the few episodes of the pre Islāmic period in which this clan is mentioned is the battle of Shiʿb Djabala where Kais b al Muntafik distinguished himself (*Aghānī*, X 44, *Nakāʾid*, ed Bevan, p 671 l 12—672, l 14, where Ibn Tufail should be deleted) In the history of the origins of Islām, several of them appear as ambassadors of the Banū ʿUkail to the Prophet such were Anas b Kais b al-Muntafik and Lakīt b ʿĀmir b al Muntafik (Ibn Saʿd, I/II 45 etc, on the latter the biographical collections have long discussions as to whether he is to be identified with this or that *muhaddith* cf among others Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, VIII 456) In the period of the conquests, the Banu 'l-Muntafik settled in the marshy region between Kūfa and Basra (al-Kalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, p 65—66) All that we know of them after this period is the names of a few individuals who held public offices a certain ʿAmr b Muʿāwiya b al-Muntafik, mentioned by Tabarī, I 3284 at end, as fighting at Siffīn, is said by Ibn al-Kalbī to have been governor of Armenia and Ādhaibāidjān under Muʿāwiya, according to Ibn al Kalbī, ʿAbd Allāh b Muʿāwiya b Rabīʿa b ʿĀmir b al Muntafik was governor of Marw and Ahwāz, also under Muʿawiya, and ʿAbīda b Kais b al-Muntafik of Armenia, under Yazīd I These men are not mentioned elsewhere the same is true of the poet Djahm b ʿAwf b al-Husain b al-Muntafik (Ibn Hadjar, *Isāba* [ed Sharafiya, Cairo 1325], V 124 follows Ibn al-Kalbī)

Bibliography Given in the article

(G LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-**MUNTAḲIM**. [See AILĀH II]

AL-**MUNTAṢIR** (also called Mustanṣir) BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUHAMMAD B DJAʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil by a Greek slave After his father had been murdered in Shawwāl 247 (Dec 861) by conspirators, among whom was al-Muntaṣir, the latter ascended the throne, aged 25 according to the usual statement As a ruler he was only a tool in the hands of the vizier Aḥmad b al Khaṣīb and the Turkish generals His brothers al Muʿtazz and al Muʾayyad were forced to renounce their claims to the throne and Waṣīf, the commander of the bodyguard, was sent to the Byzantine frontier Unlike his father, he treated the ʿAlids with great consideration, nothing else remarkable is recorded of him Al-Muntaṣir died in Rabīʿ II 248 (June 862) or, according to a less trustworthy report end of Rabīʿ I, in Sāmarrā after a reign of six months

Bibliography Yaʿḳūbī (ed Houtsma), ii 594—596, 601—603, Ṭabarī, iii 1379 *sqq*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, vii 290—323, ix 46, 52, 72, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), vii 27 *sqq*, Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 327—329, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al Wafayāt*, ii 184, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 282, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 351 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p 531 (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MURĀBIT [See ALMORAVIDS]

MURĀD, the name of an Arab tribe, belonging to the great southern group of the Madhḥidj [q v], genealogical tradition (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Escurial MS, fol 114b–117b, which is followed by Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed Wustenfeld, p 238, 4, cf also *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv 409) regards Murād as a nickname, for this tribe was said to have been the first to rebel (*tamarrada*) in the Yaman an etymology which is not convincing Murād's own name is said to have been Yuhābir b Madhḥidj and he was therefore a brother of the ʿAns and the Saʿd al-ʿAshīra (Wustenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*, p 7, 11) Although they were neighbours of the South Arabian civilization, the Murād have always retained a typically Bedouin character, their country (usually called al-Djawf and placed to the east of Nadjrān and Maʾrib) is bare and sterile (cf the picturesque description given of it by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xviii 135 and "the mountains of the Murad" mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii 78) and its inhabitants are notorious as brigands (*fatk Murādī*, cf *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x 147) The land inhabited by the Murād and by their neighbours, the Hamdān [q v], had once belonged to the Ṭayʾ (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i 129), who had left it to settle in the north of the Arabian peninsula, it is probable that it was from the old masters of the country that the Murād and the Hamdān inherited the cult of the god Yaghūth (cf below)

The Murād appear for the first time in history in connection with an episode, not however at all clear, of the last days of the dynasty of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, as the king ʿAmr b al Mundhir (III) b Māʾ al-Samāʾ had excluded his half-brother ʿAmr, a son of Usāma, sister of Hind mother of the first-named ʿAmr, from a share in the kingdom, the latter sought refuge with the Murād, who recognised him as their chief but when he began to rule tyrannically, they killed him, which gave ʿAmr b Hind a pretext for invading the land of the Murād and putting to death the murderer of ʿAmr b Usāma (al Mufaḍḍal al Ḍabbī, *Amthāl al-ʿArab*, Constantinople 1300, p 68—69, who gives a more satisfactory account than that contained in the passages quoted by G Rothstein, *Die Dyn der Lahmiden*, p 99, in which Yāḳūt, iv 130 should be read for i 130) ʿAmr is said to have been killed by a certain Ibn al Djuʿaid (the same story is given by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*), according to Yāḳūt on the other hand by Hubaira b ʿAbd Yaghūth surnamed al Makshūḥ, the latter's son Kais seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islām

The Murād had just then suffered a disastrous defeat, which had considerably weakened them, at the hands of the Hamdān, as the result of a quarrel which had arisen in connection with the control of the worship of the god Yaghūth (cf Wellhausen, *Reste arab Heidentums*², p 19—22 and the sources mentioned by him) It is probably this defeat (Yawm al-Raḥrḥ), which tradition places in the same year as the battle of Badr, which made a section of the Murād think it advisable to seek an alliance with Muhammad, but Kais b al-Makshūḥ refused to join in this It was therefore another Murādī chief, Farwa b Musaik, who went to al-Madīna in the year 10 A H, and concluded a treaty there with the Prophet (cf Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 332) To what extent tradition is right in saying that Farwa was given authority to levy *ṣakat* on all the tribes of the Yaman, is very difficult to ascertain In any case, the policy of the Murād was not oriented towards Muhammad under the leadership of Kais b al Makshūḥ In the great rising led by al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī against Persian hegemony in the Yaman, the Murād were against him But if, as tradition has it, Muhammad used his connections with some chiefs of the Yaman to prevent al-Aswad's success, after the death of the Prophet these same chiefs refused obedience to Abū Bakr and resolutely threw themselves into the struggle against Islām It is again Kais b al Makshūḥ who plays the chief part in these events Taken prisoner, Abū Bakr granted him his life and henceforth the chief of the Murād and his tribe played their part bravely in the conquests We find them sometimes in Syria, sometimes in the ʿIrāḳ, and Kais everywhere distinguishing himself by his exploits He lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūḳ (cf Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i—v, index s v Qays b Hubayrah) But the account of his death in the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya at the battle of Ṣiffīn is based on confusion with another man of the same name of the tribe of Badjīla (this fact, which is clearly indicated by Ibn al Kalbī, *Djamhara* and Ṭabarī, i 3301—3302, has already been noted by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed Sharafiya, v 281, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix 638 should be corrected) We also find the Murād in the conquest of Egypt (*Annali*, iv 573, 21 A H, § 191 *b* [29]) But it was at Kūfa that they settled in the largest numbers It was there that one of them, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Muldjam, assassinated the caliph ʿAlī, it was there also that in 60 (679) Hānīʾ b ʿUrwa al-Murādī was executed by orders of the governor ʿUbaid Allāh b Ziyād after being found guilty of conspiring with Muslim b ʿAḳīl in favour of al-Ḥusain (Ṭabarī, ii 227 *sq*) He was a descendant of the poet ʿAmr b Kiʿās (*R S O*, xiii 58, 327[1]), one of the very few poets

of this tribe, which does not seem to have produced many individuals of note either during the Djāhilīya or under Islām We may however mention Uwais al-Karanī (of the Banū Karan b Radmān b Nādjiya b Murād, Wustenfeld, *Geneal Tab*, p 7, 25), one of the prototypes of Muslim asceticism

Bibliography Given in the article (G Lefvi Della Vida)

MURĀD I, according to the common tradition the third ruler of the Ottoman state, was a son of Orkhān and the Byzantine lady Nilūfer Although some Ottoman sources profess to know the year of his birth (*Sidjill i ʿothmāni*, i 74 gives the year 726 = 1326), this date, like all dates given by Turkish sources relating to this period, is far from certain The name Murād (Greek sources such as Phrantzes have Ἀμουράτης, from which later Latin sources make Amurath, while contemporary Latin sources from Italy have Moratibei) must have originated in mystical circles and hardly occurs in earlier times An ʿAbdal Murād lived in Orkhān's time (cf *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, iv 354, ʿĀshīk Pasha Zāde, ed Giese, p 200, photographs of his tomb in R Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, plates 9 and 10) The ancient Turkish chronicles often call Murād Ghāzi Khunkiār, later Turkish historians Khudāwendkiār [q v]

During his father's lifetime Murād had already been entrusted with the governorship of In Önü and later of Brusa His brother Sulaimān Pasha had held the more important sandjaks and was destined to become Orkhān's successor Sulaimān's untimely death, shortly before that of Orkhān himself, placed Murād unexpectedly at the head of the Ottoman principality This happened about 1360, the date of Orkhān's death is uncertain

Murad I became the first great Ottoman conqueror on European soil In this he followed the footsteps of his brother Sulaimān Pasha and of other Turkish emirs before him

It is not yet possible to gain a clear idea of the succession of the military achievements by which the Ottomans succeeded in establishing themselves firmly on the Balkan Peninsula Even the outstanding victories are confounded with each other in the Ottoman and Western sources, and the exact dating of even important events is subject to great difficulties The Byzantine sources, the most reliable of all, are mainly concerned with the tortuous policy of the Byzantine rulers On the other hand, many tales of a legendary character have entered the historical accounts of later times The impression on the whole is, that the Ottoman successes were mainly due to the mutual rivalry between the then existing Balkan states, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, complicated by the struggle of Venice and Genoa for an advantageous position in the Levant, and the zeal of the popes for bringing the Greek church back to Rome This secured the Ottomans at all times allies in the Christian camp itself Nor is it possible to ascertain which Ottoman expeditions were really planned by Murād and his councillors and which were merely successful raids by Turkish bands All this makes it extremely difficult to form an adequate judgment of Murād's personality as a warrier and as a statesman

Provisionally three periods can be distinguished The first begins shortly after Murād's accession with the conquest of Western Thrace, in which were taken Čorlu, Demotika (if this town had not already been taken under Orkhān), Gümüldjina, Adrianople (about 1362, cf EDIRNE) and Philippopolis, mainly through the activity of the beglerbeg Lala Shāhīn and Ewrenos Beg These conquests provoked a coalition of Servians, Bosnians and Hungarians, who were beaten on the river Maritza by Hādjdjī Ilbeki The western part of Bulgaria was raided up to the Balkan Mountains and the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologos made his first submission as vassal to Murād Murād himself had been on a campaign in Anatolia, which brought him as far as Tokat [q v] during which he consolidated the Ottoman hold on Angora (already taken by Sulaimān Pasha in 1354, cf Wittek, *Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p 347, 351 *sqq*) He then came to Rūm ili and took up his residence in Demotika, to change this town in 1366 for Adrianople, from this time on the European capital of the Ottomans The story about a treaty between Ragusa and Murād concluded in 1365 has a legendary character (cf Giese, *Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p 42, after Jireček) In the meantime the hostility between Byzantines and Bulgarians gave Murād the opportunity of taking Ishtebol (Sozopolis) near Burgas, and the same hostility led to the failure, about 1366, of a crusade undertaken at the instigation of Pope Urban V by count Amadeo of Savoy to come to the rescue of the Byzantine Emperor, the expedition only drove the Turks from Gallipoli for a short time

A second period of Murād's reign may be said to begin with the crushing of a Serbian advance on the Maritza near Čirmen, probably in 1371 This Serbian defeat is known to the Turkish sources as *sirf sindighi* and gave the Turks during the following years the important Macedonian towns of Seres, Drama and Kawalla, and at the same time the possibility of advancing west of the Vardar These conquests were made by Ewrenos and Djandarlī Khalil Pasha, while Lala Shāhin obtained about the same time successes in eastern Bulgaria (battle of Samakow) Then followed again some years of comparative tranquillity, in which the newly won regions were partly colonized with Ottomans, the still unsubdued northern parts of Serbia and Bulgaria were governed by the local rulers as vassals of Murād The latter had more than once to interfere with the dynastic affairs of the Palaeologoi After John Palaeologos had sold in 1375 the island of Tenedos to Venice, this led to an action of Genoa in combination with the Turks, in course of which John lost his throne and was imprisoned, until, by the favour of Murād, he became Emperor again in 1379, his dependency went so far as to help the Turks, together with his son Manuel, in the conquest of Philadelphia (Ala Shehir), the only remaining Greek fortress in Asia Minor The end of this second period is marked by an increased activity in Anatolia A part of the territory of the Germiyān-Oghlu [q v] was acquired as a wedding gift to prince Bāyazīd when he married the daughter of that ruler (probably in 1381), this territorial accession was followed by the sale of the greater part of the lands of the Hamid Oghlu to Murād and by the conquest of a part of the principality of Teke

About 1385 there followed new conquests in Europe Turkish troops intervened in Epirus and Albania (under Khalil Pasha), but decisive for the establishment of Ottoman power in the Balkans

was the taking of Sofia (1385 ?) and Nish (1386 ?) About the same time, the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, obtained by treaties with Murād, concluded respectively in 1385 and 1388, commercial privileges in Turkish territory Immediately after the successes in Serbia, probably also in 1386, Murād went to war with the Karamān-Oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, his son in law, this conflict had long been threatening [cf KARAMĀN-OGHLU], now the Ottoman power had grown so far as to destroy the political equilibrium in Anatolia Murād was victorious in the battle of Konya, but left ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in his possessions and set the example, henceforward traditional, of leniency in dealing with the Anatolian population This caused a lively discontent amongst the Serbian troops who had taken part in the battle of Konya These Serbians are said to have contributed to the anti-Turkish feeling among the Serbians in general, who, under the leadership of Lazar Gresljanowitch, and with the Bosnian king Twrtko as a powerful ally, were preparing a last effort to free themselves from Turkish vassalage They succeeded in defeating an Ottoman army at Plochnik (1388) The results were meagre, however, for at the same time the Turks made new conquests in Bulgaria (Shumla and Tirnovo) and even raided Morea In 1389 Murād himself marched against the Serbians and their allies and fought the famous battle of Kossowo Polje (Turkish Kosowa), where he himself lost his life, although the Serbians, partly owing to treachery in their own ranks, were defeated The most probable date is June 20, 1389 (Gibbons, cf also Giese, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, N° 34, April 1928, p 2 *sq*) The way in which Murād was killed, during or after the battle, is not clear from the early sources, the later Serbian epic tradition has the well-known tale that Murād was murdered by Milosh Obranowitch, Lazar's son-in-law, who, claiming to be a deserter, had obtained an audience with Murād after the battle, was admitted to his presence and killed him with a dagger Murād's body was transported to Brusa and buried in a *turbe* near the mosque which he had built at Čekirge in Brusa (cf Ahmed Tewhīd, in *T O E M*, vol III)

Murād I was the first ruler under whom the state founded by ʿOthmān rose to be more than one of the then existing Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor This development is symbolised in the successive change of titles given to him in different building inscriptions dated in his reign (cf Taeschner, in *Isl*, xx 131 *sqq*) While the oldest inscription calls him simply Bey, like his father Orkhān, and gives him a *lakab* (Shihāb al Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn) after the Saldjūk fashion, he is already called Sultān [q v] in 785 (1383), while in the inscription from 790 (1388) on the *ʿimāret* built by him in Iznīk, we find the style which afterwards became a tradition with the Ottoman sultans (*al-malik al-muʿazzam al-khākān al-mukarram al-sultān ibn al-sultān*) It was a time when the old Saldjūk traditional institutions no longer held and new forms of government and administration came into being, to which the example of Byzantine institutions, and also those of Mamlūk Egypt may have contributed Even if it is not true that Djandarlī Khair al-Dīn Khalīl Pasha — who was appointed Murād's vizier at the beginning of his reign and died about 789 (1387) — was the first Ottoman grand vizier, it cannot be denied that the activity of this man — who by his origin belonged to a higher culture than the Ottoman — as Murād's councillor as well as his military deputy and administrator in Macedonia, makes him a true prototype of the grand viziers of a later age (cf Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl*, xvIII 66 *sqq*) His son ʿAlī Pasha began also to play an important military part during the later years of Murād's reign It is also with Khalīl Pasha that the old Turkish sources connect the institution of the Janissaries as troops formed from converted Christian prisoners of war In the administration of the *timārs* [q v] a *Kānūn* of Murād I is said to have brought improvements Some of these measures were closely connected with the problem of acquiring a quiet and loyal population in the newly conquered Christian territories, this was not possible by Turkish colonisation only but succeeded mainly through a humane treatment of the original inhabitants, after the region had once been conquered

The more important buildings of Murād I are all in Asia Minor The best known are the Khudāwendkiār Djāmiʿi in Čekirge, near Brusa, where Murād himself is buried, and the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Brusa, further a mosque in Biledjik, the Nilūfer ʿImāreti in Iznik (recently described by Taeschner, in *Isl*, xx 127 *sqq*) There is also a mosque of Murād in Serres The old Ottoman chronicles enumerate his foundations — On Murād I's coins cf ʿĀlī, in *T T E M*, xIV 224

Bibliography The information given by the old Turkish chronicles (ʿĀshīk Pasha Zāde, Anonymus, ed Giese, Urūdj, the translations of Leunclavius, also *Dustūr nāme i Enweri*, ed Mukrimin Khalil, Istambul 1928 and this editor's *Medhal*, Istambul 1930) is sometimes supplemented by the later historiographers (Saʿd al-Dīn, ʿĀlī, Münedjdjim-Bashī) The Byzantine historians (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcondyles), however, give a far clearer survey of this period so far as it came under their attention, while documents from Venice, Genoa and Rome throw light on the diplomatic activities provoked by the advance of the Turks in Europe Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr fī Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*, contains also a biography of Murād I Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and H A Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p 110 *sqq* , C Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918 (J H KRAMERS)

MURĀD II, sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born in 806 (1403—1404) and ascended the throne in May 1421, when he arrived in Adrianople some days after his father Muhammed I's death, his decease had been kept secret on the advice of the vizier ʿIwad Pasha until the new sultān's arrival As crown prince he had resided at Maghnisa, and he had taken part in the suppression of the revolt of Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Dīn Immediately after his accession he had to face the pretender known in Turkish history as Dozme Mustafā [q v] and his ally Djunaid [q v] Both were supported by the Byzantine emperor Manuel and at first were successful in the European part of the empire Bāyazīd Pasha, sent from Brusa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Sāzlī Dere (between Seres and Adrianople) and the allied Greek forces took Gallipoli Then Murād himself had to face them in Asia, he suc-

ceeded in sowing discord between Mustafā and Djunaid and defeated the first in the battle of the bridge of Ulubad Then Murād went over, with the help of ships from the Genoese colony of New Phocea (Yeñi Foča), recovered Gallipoli, after which he entered Adrianople and killed the pretender In 1422 he began a siege of Constantinople, this siege was raised, either by the effect of Byzantine gold (through the intermediary of the graecophil vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha) or as a result of the rise of a new pretender in Iznīk in the person of Murād's younger brother Mustafā The latter was at last betrayed by his former supporter Ilyās Pasha and killed Then followed a struggle with Djunaid, who had established himself again at Aidin, but surrendered at last in 1425, after which he was killed Murād was now at peace with all his European neighbours and vassals, the Emperor Manuel had died in 1424 and was followed by John Palæologos, with whom peace was concluded Several towns had been taken in the meantime in Morea, and Wallachia paid tribute In Anatolia there had been a conflict in 1423 with Isfendiyār of Sīnūb, ending with the acquisition of a part of his territory by Murād, after 1425 the Ottoman power was confirmed in Teke and Menteshe and the Karamān Oghlu Ibrāhim, who tried to take the already Ottoman Adalia, had to retire and made peace In eastern Anatolia Yurkedj Pasha subdued the Turkomans round Tokat and Amasia and of the region of Djanik In 1428 there began difficulties on the Hungarian frontier The most noteworthy exploit of this period was however the capture of Saloniki (Selanik, q v) in March 1430, after the Greeks had sold this town to Venice in 1427, Murād had never given up the plan of avenging that transaction Peace with Venice soon followed

Occasionally the Turks had taken several fortresses in Epirus and Albania, but their interest began more and more to concentrate on the north western regions, where George Brankovitch ruled as vassal over Serbia With the latter peace was renewed in 1432 and his daughter Maria was given to Murād, but the Turkish raids continued in Serbia as well as far into Hungarian territory In 1438 the Turks made, together with Serbians and Wallachians, incursions in Hungary (capture of Semendria), in 1440 they beleaguered Belgrad in vain and in 1442 Turkish troops under Mezid Bey laid siege to Hermannstadt Here they suffered a heavy defeat by John Hunyadi, who in the coming years was to act as champion of Hungary and Christian Europe He was the leader, in 1443, of a big crusading army including Serbians, Poles and Germans, the Turks were thrown back at Nish, after which Sofia was taken The campaign ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks at Jalowaz, between Sofia and Philippopolis In the same year Murād had to oppose again the Karamān Oghlu, who supported the Christian allies But the peace with Hungary, concluded in July 1444 at Szeged, though advantageous to Hungary, maintained the former frontiers of the Ottoman political influence, only Wallachia became tributary to Hungary

After this peace, which was to last ten years and seemed to Murād a guarantee for the future, he abdicated in favour of his son Muhammad, leaving with him Khalīl Pasha, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha (who had died of the plague in 1429) and Khusraw Molla [q v] as councillors He retired himself to Maghnisa, but had to come back when, in September of the same year, the Hungarians, flouting the peace treaty, were preparing a new crusade They marched south of the Danube to Varna, here the army of Murād inflicted on them a crushing defeat, in which King Ladislas of Hungary was killed Again Murād II went back to Maghnisa, but in the following year a Janissary revolt broke out in Adrianople and it was the vizier Khalīl who invited Murād to return a second time, as the young Muhammad did not seem to be able to face the situation

During the last six years of his reign Murād led again several campaigns in the Balkan peninsula In 1446 an action was undertaken against the Palæologoi in the Morea (destruction of the Hexamilion, capture of Corinth and Patras), in 1447 against Albania, where the activity of Skander Beg [q v] had begun in 1443, in 1448 he faced again a Hungarian invading army, which was beaten on the plain of Kossowa, and in 1450 he was again in Albania (siege of Croja) In that year Constantine Palæologos became, by the grace of Murād II, the last Byzantine Emperor, after the death of John Shortly afterwards, in the first days of February 1451, Murād died at Adrianople He was buried in Brusa at the side of his mosque (cf Ahmad Tewhid, in *TOEM*, iii 1856)

His reign was of extraordinary importance for the future political and cultural development of the Ottoman Empire After the first critical years he continued his father's work of consolidation His aim was mainly to live on peaceful terms with the vassal princes, of whom the ruler of Sīnūb and the despot of Serbia gave their daughters to Murād This peaceful policy was in concordance with his character, the Byzantine historians and other Christian sources describe him as a truthful, mild and humane ruler His most influential viziers were not yet the renegades of later times, they belonged to the old families that had supported the cause of Murād's forefathers and were becoming a kind of hereditary nobility Ibrāhīm Pasha and Khalil Pasha of the Djandarlī Oghullarī (F Taeschner and P Wittek, in *Isl* xviii 92 *sqq*), Hādjdjī ʿIwad Pasha (Taeschner, in *Isl*, xx 154 *sqq*), the sons of Timurtash, of Ewrenos and others The mystical tradition was strong in his surroundings, as is proved by the great influence of a man like the Shaikh Amir Bukhārī, other shaikhs came to his court from Persia and Mesopotamia This determined also the direction which the classical Ottoman literature was to take in following centuries Murād II was the first Ottoman prince whose court became a brilliant centre of poets, literary men and Muhammadan scholars [see TURKS, B, iii] But also to non Islāmic envoys and visitors Murād's court seemed a centre of culture (cf Jorga, i 464 *sqq*, which description applies principally to Murād II) Amongst the sultān's buildings a mosque in Brusa (cf H Wilde, *Brusa*, p 51) and one in Adrianople (the Üc Sherfeli Djāmiʿ), are notable and some large bridges His army organisation is well known from a full description by Chalcondylas

Bibliography The older Turkish sources Neshrī (Hamiwaldanus), ʿĀshīk Pasha Zāde, Urudj, Rūhī, Anonymus Giese, are completed by the Byzantine historians Phrantzes (who himself played a part in the diplomatic history of the time), Ducas and Chalcondylas, and also by

the later Ottoman authors Sa'd al-Dīn, 'Ālī and Munedjdjim Bashī A curious contemporary description is that of an unknown captive from Muhlenbach in Transylvania (captured 1438) in his *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (cf K Foy, in *MSOS*, iv, v)

General later descriptions of Murād II's reign in the works of von Hammer, *G O R*, i, Zinkeisen, i and Jorga, i

(J H Kramers)

MURĀD III, twelfth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on the 5th Djumādā I 953 (4th July 1546, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i 76) as son of the later sultān Selīm II and the *khāṣṣeki* Nūr Bānū He arrived at Constantinople on Dec 21st, 1574, after Selīm II's death and reigned until his death on January 16, 1595 or a few days later His reign is not characterized by great conquests in Europe The peaceful relations with Austria were officially maintained, peace was several times confirmed (in 1575 and 1584) by a new treaty and by extraordinary Austrian embassies Nevertheless there were continual Turkish raids into Austrian territory, especially in Croatia in 1578 — where even a new sandjak was formed — followed by triumphal processions in the capital, which the Austrian envoys were forced to witness It was only in 1593 that a formal war broke out, in which the then grand vizier Sinān Pasha took the town of Raab (1594) The relations with Venice were of the same kind as with Austria, notwithstanding several serious naval collisions peace was maintained, mainly through the influence of Murād's *khāṣṣeki* Safiye (of the family of Baffa) and the Kapudan Pashas, who were Italian renegades In the Danube principalities the never ending dynastic disputes went on, this was also the case in Transylvania Even Poland was considered more or less as an Ottoman tributary vassal state, the Polish king, Stephan Bathory, owed his crown to the sultān's protection and after his death (1587) the new king Sigismund began to reign by the grace of Murād The Porte had to intervene several times in the disturbances caused by Polish cossacks in Moldavia and the Tatar Khānate and by Tatar incursions in Poland In the Crimea the Ottoman intervention was even stronger, because the Persian war necessitated in 1581 and 1583 expeditions by the way of Kaffa and the Crimea against Dāghistan and Transcaucasia

The most outstanding military exploit of the Ottoman Empire during Murād III's reign was the war with Persia, which lasted from 1577 to 1590 Persia passed, after Shāh Tahmasp's death in 1576, through serious inner troubles This gave the Turks a favourable opportunity of enlarging their territory Between 1577 and 1584 the chief theatre of the war was Georgia, Lala Mustafā Pasha won the battle of Lake Čaldır (August 9, 1578), after which the princes of the small Georgian kingdoms became nominally Ottoman vassals, while several towns, like Tiflis and Shakī, came under direct military occupation In 1579 the town of Kars was fortified That same year Sinān Pasha became ser-'asker on the Georgian front The completion of the conquests confronted the Ottoman armies with serious difficulties, especially after Simon, the former king of Kartli, had come back from exile in Persia This made necessary the already mentioned expedition by the way of the Crimea in 1581 under Özdemir 'Othmān Pasha who was joined in 1583, by the same way, by Dja'fer Pasha, they came back to Constantinople again via the Crimea and 'Othmān Pasha was received with great honour by the sultān after his return, although it would seem that the real aim of the expedition — a junction with the Turkish forces of the south — was not reached, owing to the combined efforts of the people of Georgia and Shirwān (cf W E D Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London 1932, p 157) The second phase of the Persian war began with the taking of Tabrīz in 1585 by 'Othmān Pasha, followed by other successes on Persian territory (Gandja in Transcaucasia and Nihāwend) In 1587 Shāh 'Abbās I ascended the throne, soon afterwards there began peace negotiations, ending in a peace treaty (March 21, 1590) which left Georgia, Shirwān, Karabāgh, Tabrīz and Luristān to the Ottoman Empire One of the peace conditions was that the Persians should give up most of their anti Sunnite religious practices

During Murād III's first years Muhammad Pasha Sokolli [q v] had continued to administer the huge Empire as grand vizier, but his once unquestioned authority began to wane under the influence of the sultān's courtiers like Shemsī Pasha and the defterdār Uweis, an influential personality also was the Khwādja Sa'd al-Dīn — the historian — and the eunuch Ghazanfer Agha Home and foreign politics were influenced also by Murād's mother Nūr Bānū and the already mentioned *khāṣṣeki* Ṣafiye (Baffa), who used as a powerful agent outside the palace the Jewess Kira (Chierazza in the Italian sources) Sokolli's confidants were relegated from the capital (as the *nishāndjī* Ferīdūn) or executed (like Michael Cantacuzenos) But he was still grand vizier, when he was murdered on October 11, 1579 After him the grand vizierate was changed no less than ten times under Murād III Sinān Pasha, already mentioned, held the office three times, 'Othmān Pasha, appointed in 1585, after his return from Dāghistān, died eight months afterwards As the sultān, though well-intentioned, was too weak himself to direct a consistent policy, — as he acknowledged himself according to 'Ālī (cf Hammer, *G O R* 2, ii 567) — all kinds of abuses gradually began in this epoch, especially in the administration of the fiefs [cf TIMĀR] and the enrolling of the Janissaries, they are summed up in Koči Bey's *Risāla* This sultān's reign witnessed for the first time revolts of the Janissaries directed against the imperial diwan itself The first mutiny, in April 1589, was caused by depreciation of the coinage and could be appeased only — as so often afterwards — by the sacrifice of the lives of high officials In 1592 there was a similar Sipāhī revolt More than one provincial rebellion had to be subdued by force, the most celebrated expedition was that of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the later *dāmād* and favourite of Muhammad III, to Egypt and Syria in 1585, in Syria he persecuted severely the Banū Ma'an, the leaders of the Druses, but very soon afterwards the successful career of Fakhr al-Dīn [q v] began

Murād's reign can be characterized as the beginning of the internal weakening of the Ottoman power The sultān did not possess the strong personality of his grand father, his amorous tendencies were much encouraged by his mother and his wife Safiye, and he had far more than a hundred

children Besides he was inclined to mysticism, he protected mystic poets and himself wrote poems under the *takhallus* Murādī, besides a mystical treatise called *Futūhāt al Siyām* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N° 1003) It is possible that he was in sympathy with the repeated outbursts of Muhammadan fanaticism that occurred during his reign and led to the conversion of several churches in the capital into mosques, amongst them the church of the Greek Patriarchate These actions caused violent but vain remonstrations from the representatives of France and other Catholic powers The outward splendour of the court was extravagant, the festival of the circumcision of his son Muhammad, in June 1582, seems to have surpassed all similar ceremonies in the Ottoman history (description by Leonclavius)

Bibliography The Turkish contemporary sources are the historical works of ʿĀlī (a *Nusrat nāme* of ʿĀlī is dedicated to the Georgian campaign), Pečewī, Selānikī, Solak Zāde and Hasan Bey Zāde, Naʿīmā and the *Fedhleke* of Hādjdjī Khalīfa begin with the year 1001 of the hidjra (October 1592) Contemporaneous western sources are the *Relazioni* of the Venetian bailo's, the diary of Gerlach, further v Hammer, *G O R*, iv and the historical works of Zinkeisen, iv and Jorga, iii , E J W Gibb, *H O P*, ii 170 *sqq*

(J H Kramers)

MURĀD IV, fifth son of sultān Ahmad I, and seventeenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born 28th Djumādā I 1021 (July 27, 1612) and called to the throne as a result of the mutiny of the Janissaries and Sipāhis, which had forced Mustafā I to abdicate, on September 11, 1623 When the lives of Murād and his brothers were in danger, they had been hidden by Khalīl Pasha But even after his enthronement Murād IV's position was far from strong The turbulent and continuously mutinying Janissaries and Sipāhīs were the real masters of the situation and the seven grand viziers that succeeded each other between the accession and 1632 were more or less dependent on the momentary wishes of those militias The young sultān and his mother Kosem [q v] were at first unable to restore the authority of the government, and more than once they were constrained to sacrifice a high official to the mutinous soldateska, amongst them the grand vizier Hāfiz Pasha [q v] in February 1632 Gradually the old experienced statesmen of ʿOthmān II's time regained their influence, and sometimes the sultān was able to suppress unreliable officials, as already in April 1624 by the execution of the grand vizier Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha [q v], but it was only in 1632 that he became real master of the situation, in that year he had the grand vizier Redjeb Pasha — until that time one of the most influential men at court — executed, after which began Murād IV's personal reign of terror

During this period from 1623—1632 the Asiatic affairs of the Empire required all the available energy of the Porte In 1623 Baghdād had fallen after many atrocities into the hands of the Persians as a result of the intrigues of the Turkish *su bashī* Bekir, Mōsul also became Persian, and the Anatolian army under Hāfiz Pasha was powerless Abāza Pasha [q v] was still in revolt at Erzerūm, in 1624 an agreement was reached with him, but only in 1628 the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha forced him to surrender, after which Abāza played a part as governor of Bosnia and of Silistria In the meantime several vain efforts were made to recover Baghdād, by Hāfiz Ahmad Pasha in 1626, and by Khosrew Pasha [q v] in 1630

From 1632 Murād IV prepared with incredible energy the mobilisation of all the country's resources for the war against Persia, where Shāh ʿAbbās I had died in 1627 He suppressed with great cruelty the rebellious movements among the Janissaries and reduced their number by not applying the *dewshirme* for twelve years New and more reliable troops were formed from the *djebedjis*, *bostandjis* and especially the *segbāns* (*seymens*) The necessary funds were procured by drastic financial measures, amongst them the confiscation of large fortunes Every attempt at opposition was cruelly suppressed, in 1633 even the Shaikh al Islām Akhī Zāde Husain was executed In October 1633 an army under the new grand vizier Tabanī Yasī Muhammad Pasha left Constantinople, but that year and the following no important military operations took place The Kapudan Pasha Djaʿfar, however, was successful in suppressing the power of the Druse Amir Fakhr al Dīn [q v] and bringing him alive to Constantinople In 1635 Murād himself left the capital, joined the grand vizier's army in Erzerūm and conquered Erīwan (August 1635) Then the undefended Tabrīz was taken and destroyed, after which the sultān returned In the following year the Persians recaptured Erīwan Finally, in 1638, Murād took the field for the second time with the grand vizier Tayyār Muhammad Pasha, Baghdād was taken by them in December 1638, and thousands of Shīʿīs were massacred This was the end of the Persian war, in 1639 a peace was concluded, which left Baghdād to Turkey and Erīwan to Persia

In comparison with the events in Asia, European affairs were of secondary importance The peace with Austria was several times renewed (1625 at Gyarmath and 1627 at Szon) although predatory raids from both sides never ceased Serious trouble was caused in 1624 by the appearance of Cossack ships in the Bosporus, they were defeated only in 1626 Another hotbed of unrest was the Crimea, where from 1624 till 1628 the Porte had to suffer against its will the Khān Muhammad Girāy and his brother Shāhīn Girāy, who even took Kaffa for a time After 1628 the Tatar Mīrzā Kantemīr (or Kantimur), chief of the Noghays, became the most powerful man in the khanate, his continual incursions caused serious conflicts with Poland (peace restored in 1634) and in Moldavia At last Kantemīr was executed at Constantinople in 1637

The peaceful relations with Venice and the western sea powers continued, in 1624 the capitulations had been renewed, but as the Porte was without authority over the Barbary states of Algiers and Tunis, England, Holland and France concluded separate treaties with their rulers in order to avert as much as possible the damage done to their trade by the ships of the corsairs In 1638 a more serious battle took place in the Adriatic between the Venetian fleet and Barbary corsairs, at first Murād ordered the massacre of all Venetians in his Empire, but in 1639 peace was restored In Constantinople the ministers of Holland (Haga) and England (Roe) intervened successfully in the

troubles between the Porte and the Greek Patriarchate

Murād IV died on February 9, 1640 and was buried in the turbe of the mosque of his father Ahmad, he was the last warlike sultān of the Empire, by his energy he restored for some time its military authority, but his reforms did not last after him Still a separate *kānūn nāme* bears Murād IV's name He was a man of considerable physical strength and of high personal erudition and he liked the company of poets His attachment to the poet Tiflī [q v] is famous in literary tradition The poet Nefʿī [q v] on the other hand was executed by his order On verses written by Murād cf Gibb, *H O P*, III 248 *sqq* He had four sons, all of whom died young, at his death there was only his brother Ibrāhīm to take the succession His brothers Bāyazīd and Sulaimān were killed by his order during the Erīwan campaign, and later also his brother Kāsim In course of time Murād had become ever more ferocious, and he is said to have sworn in 1639 that he would subdue all his Christian neighbours (Jorga, IV 1)

Bibliography The chief Turkish sources are Naʿīmā, Pečewī and Karā Čelebi Zāde's *Rawdat al-Abrār* Further the continuation of ʿAtāyī's biographical work by ʿUshākī Zāde (*G O W*, p 259), Fwliyā Čelebi's *Sīyāhat-name* is also particularly rich in information about the reign of Murād IV Of Western contemporary sources must be mentioned the Venetian *Relazioni* and the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe and Cornelius Haga (*Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, X, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, *1590—1660*, II, 's Gravenhage 1910) Later treatments of this period in the general works of von Hammer (V), Zinkeisen (IV) and Jorga (III)

(J H KRAMERS)

MURĀD V, Ottoman Sultān from May 31 till Sept 7, 1876 He was born on Sept 21, 1840 as son of Sultān ʿAbd al Madjīd and was deprived of all influence on public affairs during the reign of his elder brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had the plan of altering the succession in favour of his own descendants, so as to deprive Murād of his rights Murād was called to the throne by the coup d'etat of the recently established cabinet, of which Midhat Pasha [q v], Muhammad Rushdī and Husain ʿAwnī were the leading members By deposing Sultān ʿAbd al ʿAzīz they hoped to eliminate the influence of reactionary elements who were opposed to their schemes of reform and they expected to find an ally in Murād In the night from 30th to 31st May 1876 Murād was induced with some difficulty to proceed to the Serʿaskerate in Constantinople, where he received the homage of the troops and the high dignitaries He confirmed the cabinet in office Very soon afterwards took place the suicide of the deposed sultān (June 5) and the murder of the ministers Husain ʿAwnī and Rashīd Pasha during a cabinet meeting in Midhat's house (June 15) These events seem to have been fatal to the mental equilibrium of the new sultān, who, already in the night of his accession, had shown signs of abnormal nervous excitement He was unable to appear before his people at the *selāmlīk*, nor could the sword-girding ceremony (*kīlīdj alayī*) be applied to him Midhat Pasha and his friends, although fearing that a new change of rulers might endanger their plans had to arrange another deposition, they had the sultān's health examined by a number of physicians and, on their report, obtained a *fatwā* from the Shaikh al Islām Hasan Khair Allāh Efendī, authorizing Murād's deposition (September 1) His younger brother ʿAbd al-Hamīd II became sultān and Murād went to live in the Čiraghan Palace, where he died on August 29, 1904 His confinement during ʿAbd al-Hamīd's reign continued to excite speculation as a yet unsolved mystery and was occasionally represented as one of the crimes of the Hamīdian regime

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(J H KRAMERS)

MURĀD PASHA, Turkish grand vizier under Ahmad I, was a Croatian by birth and was born about 1520 He served the empire as military commander and later as *wālī* in different provinces (Egypt, Yaman, Anatolia) and was made prisoner by the Persians in the battle of Tabrīz (Sept 1585), where Čighāle's army was defeated In 1601 he was pasha of Budin and in 1603 commander-in-chief on the Hungarian front In these posts he repeatedly conducted for the Porte peace negotiations with Austria He was the chief negotiator of the peace of Zsitvatorok (Nov 11, 1606) A month afterwards (Dec 11, 1606), after the execution of Derwīsh Pasha in Constantinople, he was appointed grand vizier, being then already about 80 years of age

As grand vizier Murād Pasha became particularly famous by his relentless persecution and repression of the many rebellions in the Asiatic provinces In 1607 he defeated the Kurd Djānbulād [q v] in North Syria (battle of Urudj Owasī in Oct 1607) After having passed the winter in Aleppo, he succeeded in crushing the forces of the arch rebel Kalender Oghlu at the pass of Goksun in Cappadocia (July 1908), where he decided the battle by his personal courage Then he pursued from Sīwās the rebel Maimūn and defeated him near Baiburt His habit of throwing the captured rebels into pits dug for that purpose brought him the name of Koyudju Murād Pasha Notwithstanding the sultān's order — provoked by his enemies in the capital — that he should proceed immediately against Persia, he returned in December to Constantinople, where he was received with great honours Poets celebrated his achievements against the rebels In 1609 Murād Pasha went to Scutari for the Persian campaign, but he went no further that year, because he wished first to deal with two remaining dangerous rebels Muselli-Čaush in Ič Ili and Yūsuf Pasha in Aidin By false propositions of reconciliation these two were at last induced to surrender and afterwards killed Murād Pasha had to make use more than once of his personal influence with the sultān to restrain the latter's impatience before his plans had succeeded

On the other hand, the sultān had to protect several dignitaries against the personal hatred of the terrible old man In 1610 the grand vizier at last marched to Persia and destroyed Tabrīz, then he went to Erzerūm, from where he began long and extended negotiations with Shāh ʿAbbas Before the following year's campaign had begun, he died (August 5, 1611) He was buried in a *turbe* near the *medrese* he had founded in the quarter Wezneḏjiler in Constantinople

By his successes in restoring the internal order of the empire Murād Pasha is considered as one of the most able grand viziers, the historians give ample proofs of his sound judgment of persons and situations To his initiative is due a compilation of the *kānūns* regulating the *tīmār* administration (*G O W*, p 141)

Bibliography ʿOthmān Zāde, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarāʾ*, p 55, the historians Naʿīmā, Peçewī, Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke*) and Hasan Beg Zāde Mostly after them von Hammer, *G O R*, iv, Zinkeisen, iv, Jorga, iii (J H Kramers)

MURĀD SŪ [See al-Furāt]

MURĀDĀBĀD [See Morādābād]

MURĀDĪ, *takhallus* of Murād III [q v] and Murād IV [*q v*]

MURCIA (Ar *Mursiya*), a town in the S E of Spain, 140 feet above sea level in the centre of the famous *huerta de Murcia* ("gardens of Murcia") watered by the river Segura (Ar *Wādī Shakūra* [q v] or *Wādī 'l abyaḍ*, "the white river") The area of Murcia has a large population over 150,000, although the town in the strict sense has barely 30,000 Murcia is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of a bishop, it has also a university Its port, 40 miles to the south on the Mediterranean coast, is Cartagena, the *Ḳarṭādjanna* or *Ḳarṭādjannat al Ḵhulafāʾ* of the Arabs

The situation of Murcia in the centre of very fertile gardens, forming an island of vegetation in a bare country poorly endowed by nature, had been noticed already by the Arab geographers who give more or less long accounts of it Abu 'l Fidāʾ, for example, says that it was like Seville for the number of its groves and parks (*muntazahāt*), among which he mentions the famous al Rushīkī

Murcia in the Umayyad period was the capital of a province or *kūra* which bore the name of Todmīr [q v, iv 805] This name which is connected with the name of Theodemir, a Visigothic chief of the region at the time of the Muslim conquest, was also applied to the town of Murcia itself, from the time when it supplanted Orihuela [q v] as the chief town of the region Indeed almost all the Arab authors who speak of Murcia agree in saying that it was a comparatively recent foundation, it was built by order of the Umayyad emīr ʿAbd al Rahmān II al Hakam about the year 210 (825), according to the *al-Rawḍ al miʿṭār* in 216 by the governor Djābir b Mālik b Labīd

The land of Todmīr and with it of course Murcia was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanīs and the Mudarīs of Spain in the period of the independent emīrs of Cordova In the reign of ʿAbd Allāh (275–300 = 888–912), a rebel, the renegade Daisam b Ishāk, rose there with the connivance of the famous agitator Ibn Hafṣūn [cf UMAIYADS II] He ruled independently all the province of Todmīr until the emīr of Cordova sent to suppress him in 283 (896) an army led by his uncle Hishām b ʿAbd al-Rahmān b al Hakam and the general Ahmad b Muhammad Ibn Abī ʿAbda Daisam was defeated between Aledo and Lorca and the latter town besieged The country was only definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova in the reign of the caliph ʿAbd al Rahmān III and his successor al-Hakam II

During the events which ended in the break up of Umaiyad Spain, Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state At first in the hands of the "Slavs" [cf SAKĀLIBA] Khairān and Zuhair, along with Almeria and Jaen, the principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the reigns of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaffar The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abū Bakr Ahmad b Ishāk Ibn Tāhir, when he died in 455 (1063) after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān Muhammad who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty

The principality of Ibn Tāhir soon aroused the covetousness of the minister of al-Muʿtamid [q v] Ibn ʿAbbād, king of Seville, and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashīk Ibn Tāhir was taken prisoner and shut up in Monteagudo, but escaping, he reached Valencia where after acting as adviser to al-Kādir Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [q v] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508 (1119) The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn ʿAmmār in the name of the ʿAbbāsids took place in 471 (1078), but it was only nominal and it was Ibn Rashīk who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Tāhir

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids Murcia was taken for Yūsuf b Tāshfīn [q v] in Shawwāl 484 (Nov -Dec 1091) by the Lamtūnian general Ibn ʿĀʾisha who next took Denia and Játiva Ibn ʿĀʾisha remained governor of Murcia, he was replaced later by Abū Bakr b Ibrāhim Ibn Lifilwit, then by a brother of the sultān ʿAlī b Yūsuf, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm

A general rising against the Almoravids took place in Spain in the beginning of the xiith century and gave rise to the formation of a new series of kingdoms of "taifas" Murcia therefore between 1145 and 1147 was in the hands of two rival leaders, ʿAbd Allāh b Iyād and ʿAbd Allāh b Faradj, until the Valencian ruler Muhammad b Ahmad b Saʿd Ibn Mardanīsh seized it and took up his residence there This individual, who was of Spanish origin (cf above, ii, p 403), soon became the powerful ruler of all S E Spain, between Valencia and Almeria, and instituted a series of fruitful alliances with the Christian rulers of Catalonia, Aragon and Castille He was for long able to resist the attacks of the first Almohads ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [q v] and Yūsuf [q v], and it was only after his death in 567 (1172) during the siege of his capital Murcia that his kingdom passed finally to the Muʾminid sovereigns

From the fall of the Almohad empire in Spain until its conquest by the Christians Murcia had

a very troubled existence It was in turn the residence (from the beginning of the xiiith century) of princes of the family of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa Muhammad b Yūsuf al Mutawakkil, the latter's uncle, Muhammad, Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Wāthik, then it passed to the Nasrids of Granada to ʿAbd Allāh b Alī Ibn Ashķīlūla For details of the obscure history of this period see the monograph by Gaspar Remiro quoted below According to Ibn al-Abbār (cf M Bencheneb, *Notes chronologiques sur la conquete de l'Espagne*, in *Melanges Rene Basset*, Paris 1923, ii 73), Murcia was surrendered to the Christians by Ahmad b Muhammad b Hūd, son of the governor, on Thursday 10th Shawwāl 640 (April 2, 1243) But if we may believe the Christian chronicles it was in February 1266 that Don Jaime of Aragon took definite possession of Murcia

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed and transl Dozy and de Goeje, p 194—236, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwim al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p 178—256, Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iv 497, Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, *al-Rawd al miʿtār*, art *Mursiya*, *Akhbār madj mūʿa*, Ibn al-Kūtīya, *Iftitāh al Andalus*, *passim*, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii and iii, *indices*, all the historians and biographers of the Muslim west, European writers A good monograph has been written on Muslim Murcia by M Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905 Cf also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd ed , *index*, do, *Recherches*, *passim*, A González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana*, p 57, 82, 88, A Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid 1926, E Lévi Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden—Paris 1931, p 96 *sqq* ; do, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xeme siecle*, *Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, *index*, E Tormo, *Levante* (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MURDĀDH (P), the fifth month of the Persian solar year running from July 19 to Aug 18 (*Murdādh māh*) Murdādh is also the name of the seventh day of each month (*Murdādh rūz*), it is the last of the series of the days which are called after the Amesha Spentas Murdādh (Pehlevi *amūrdāth* "immortality") forms with Khurdādh [q v] (Pehlevi *khūrdāth* perfection) an indivisible pair and the days which bear these names come together They denote a pair of archangels, of whom Murdādh has charge of the gifts of the earth on which the life of man depends The seventh day of the month Murdādh on which the names of the day and of the month are the same is called *Murdādhgān*

Bibliography al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed Sachau, p 42, 43, 70, 221 Geiger-Kuhn, *Gr I Ph*, ii 638, 675 *sqq* (M PIESSNER)

AL-MURDJI'A, name of one of the early sects of Islām, the extreme opponents of the Khāridjites [q v] The latter thought that a Muslim by committing a mortal sin becomes a *kāfir* The Murdji'a, on the other hand, were of opinion that a Muslim does not lose his faith through sin This doctrine led them to a far-reaching quietism in politics, according to their doctrine, the *imām* who was guilty of mortal sins did not cease to be a Muslim and must be obeyed The *salāt* performed behind him was valid

Occidental and Oriental explanations of the name show considerable divergencies (cf e g Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p 229 *sq* , Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam Koranauslegung*, p 179, v Kremer, *Gesch d herrschenden Ideen*, p 20, Houtsma, *Stryd over het dogma*, p 34) It seems to me that the origin of the name must be sought in the term *irdjā'*, in this way that Murdji'a meant adherents of the doctrine of *irdjā'* (ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī uses the term for their doctrine) and that this term goes back to verse 107 of sūra ix The context of this verse not only explains the term *irdjā'*, but may also give an insight into the evolution of the ideas of the Murdji'ites In the preceding verses Muhammad makes a distinction between two groups among the Madīnese who had forsaken him in the expedition to Tabūk [q v] some had shown *nifāk* without penitence, they were to receive punishment in this and in the other world (verse 102) Others had shown penitence (*tawba*), they were left to Allāh's mercy (verse 103) The third group, who had not made penitence, were left in suspense (*murdjaʾūna*, or, according to a different reading, *murdjawna*)

The situation in Madīna after the expedition to Tabūk was generalised by later sects As a matter of fact, the third group mentioned in the passage discussed — viz sinners who did not show penitence — was relegated to Hell by the Khāridjites In opposition to this, the Murdji'ites taught the doctrine of *irdjā'* mentioned in sūra ix 107 and therefore they were called Murdji'a, i e the adherents of the doctrine of respite or hope, for this the term *irdjā'* means, the variants *murdjaʾūna* and *murdjawna* are irrelevant in this respect

In the course of time the doctrine of the Murdji'a assumed a double aspect Their chief thesis was the indelible character of faith, in opposition to the Kharidjites Their second thesis was of an eschatological nature where there is faith, sins will do no harm On account of the latter doctrine they were called the adherents of promise (*ahl al waʿd*), in contra-distinction to the Muʿtazila [q v] who were called the adherents of threats (*ahl al-waʿīd*) So the doctrine of *irdjā'* had acquired a triple aspect — which accounts for the divergent explanations of the name —, viz the doctrine of faith bearing an indelible character, an indulgent attitude towards sinners in the Muslim community, and a hopeful prospect for them in the Last Judgment

These are the chief tenets of the Murdji'a as they appear to us as well as to later Muslim writers such as al Shahrastānī Earlier authors enumerate a number of divergencies among the different groups of Murdji'ites Al Ashʿarī mentions their variety of opinion regarding faith, unbelief, sins, *tawhīd*, interpretation of the Kur'ān, eschatology, mortal and venial sins, forgiveness of mortal sins, the impeccability of the Prophets, punishment of sins, the question whether there were infidels among the early generations of Islām, redress of wrongs, the beatific vision, the nature of the Kur'ān, the *quiddītas* of Allāh, His names and *sifāt*, predestination

ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī mentions three groups of Murdji'a *a* those who taught *irdjā'* regarding faith and free will, to this group belonged Ghailān Abū Marwān al-Dimashkī, Abū Shāmir, Muhammad b Abī Shabīb al-Basrī, *b* those who taught *irdjā'* regarding faith and compulsion (*djabr*), *c* those who gave faith the pre eminence before works and

belonged neither to the adherents of the doctrine of free will nor to those of predetermination, to the latter group belonged the followers of Yūnus b ʿAwn, Ghassān, Abū Thawbān, Abū Muʿādh al-Tawmanī, Bishr b Ghaiyāth al-Maīsī [q v] The followers of Ghassān reckoned Abū Hanīfa as one of their friends, not, however, quite rightly, according to al-Baghdādī That Abū Hanīfa shared the general views of the Murdjiʾa, appears from his (unedited) letter to al-Battī, which is preserved in a MS in the library of Cairo

Although al-Baghdādī mentions a *hadīth* in which the Murdjiʾa are cursed, the high esteem in which Abū Hanīfa stood as a dogmatist and as a doctor of the law would be in itself sufficient proof of the fact that the "sect" was not too eccentric As a matter of fact, their political quietism was largely practised by orthodoxy itself As regards eschatological punishment, the *Fikh Akbar*, II (art 14) rejects the Murdjiʾī doctrine of our good deeds being accepted and of our sins being forgiven, Allāh being free to punish the sinner or to grant him forgiveness — The same *ʿakida*, however, shares the Murdjiʾī doctrine of the constancy of faith (art 18)

Bibliography M Th Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islâm tot op al-Ashʾari*, Leyden 1875, p 34 *sqq*, I Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, Index, s v Murdschiʾa, A J Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General index, s v Murdjites, al-Ashʿari, *Makālāt al-Islāmiyin*, ed Ritter, Stambul 1929, I 132 *sqq*, ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādi, *Kitāb al-Fark bain al-Firak*, ed Muh Badr, Cairo 1328, p 190 *sqq*, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal*, ed Cureton, p 103 *sqq*, Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, II 112 *sqq*, IV 44 *sqq*, 204 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, X 29, Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, 3rd ed, Edinburgh 1914, p 431

(A J Wensinck)

MURGHĀB [See MERW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN]

MURĪD, novice, the term applied during his period of preparation to one who wishes to enter a derwish order [TARĪKA, q v, cf also DERWĪSH] or a guild [SINF, q v] The task of the murid and his obligations to his master (*shaikh*, *pīr*) and to his ideal and their mystic and erotic foundations have been often and fully discussed, so that it is here sufficient to give a reference to the most important literature of modern times, which will guide one to the sources themselves In the wider application of the word murīd has become a term for mystic in general

Bibliography the articles mentioned and SHADD, H Thorning, *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens* (*Turk Bibl*, XVI, 1913), R Hartmann, *al-Kuschairîs Darstellung des Sûfîtums* (*Turk Bibl*, XVIII, 1914), *Dict of Techn Terms*, ed Sprenger, s v, Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado*, 1931, esp p 145–158

(M Plessner)

AL-MŪRIYĀNĪ, ABŪ AIYŪB SULAIMĀN AL KHŪZĪ, vizier of the caliph al-Mansūr When the governor of Fārs Sulaimān b Habīb al-Muhallabī in the Umaiyad period had the future caliph al-Mansūr, who was accused of embezzling state funds, flogged and intended to treat him with still greater indignity, the latter was saved by Abū Aiyūb al-Mūriyānī who was Sulaimān's secretary According to another story, al Mansūr purchased him as a young boy and sent him in some capacity to his brother, the caliph al Saffāh, who was so pleased with him that he at once took him into his service and retained him there after his manumission Al-Mūriyānī was in any case appointed vizier by al-Mansūr in succession to Khālid b Barmak He had a great influence over the caliph, in 153 (770) however, he was arrested with his brother and the latter's sons and deprived of all his property According to some, his crime was that he had embezzled a large sum received from al Mansūr to make a district in Khūzistān arable and deceived the caliph when he came to inspect it by making the place look as if it were cultivated According to others, he had a son of al Mansūr murdered He died in prison in 154 (770/1) — The nisba *al-Mūriyānī* comes from Mūriyān, a town in Khūzistān

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān (ed Wustenfeld), N° 275 (transl de Slane, I 595 *sq*), Yaʿkūbi (ed Houtsma), II 468, Tabarī, ed Leyden, III 370, 372, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), VI 165 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), V 466 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al Fakhri* (ed Derenbourg), p 236—239 (K V Zetterstéen)

MURSAL (A), part pass IV from *arsala* "to send" As a technical term it denotes *a* an apostle of Allāh, *b* traditions of which the *isnad* is defective in a certain sense, cf HADITH, III c

AI **MURSALĀT**, title of sūra LXXVII, after the first verse "By those which are sent by Allāh, following one another in a continual series" According to some interpreters a certain group of angels is meant here, according to others, however, the mursalāt are the verses of the Kurʾān See the commentaries on the Kurʾān on sūra LXXVII 1

MURSHIDĀBĀD, district in the Presidency Division of Bengal, area 2,143 sq m, pop 1,372,274, of whom 713,152 are Muslims The public offices are at Barhāmpūr, but the old capital is at Murshidābād, which before Murshid Kuli's appointment was known as Makhsūsābād or Makhsūdābād The district is mainly agricultural, and produces much rice, jute, etc, and is famous for its mangoes The silk industry was formerly of great importance, but has now much declined The district played a very prominent part in the history of Bengal, and is full of historical sites though Plassey is now outside its borders The history of Calcutta and of the English in Bengal is intimately connected with Murshidābād But the Nawābs are no longer of political importance

Bibliography J H Γ Walsh, *History of Murshidabad District*, London 1902, Purna Ch Mazumdar, *Musnad of Murshidābād*, Murshidābād 1905, Ghulām Husain al-Tabātabāʾī, *Siyar al Mutaʾakhkhirin*, translated by Mustafā, a French renegade, in 1789, Ghulām Husain of Mālda, *Riyād al-Salātin* (*Bibl Ind*, text and translation), reference may also be made to Anquetil Du Perron's account of his travels, to Mrs Sherwood's *Autobiography*, Bishop Heber's *Journal*, and to Macaulay's *Essays*, *Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the Hon East India Company*, *1812*, *Census of India*, *1911*, vol v, parts I and II, *Imperial Census of India*, vol XVIII, W W Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol IX, Rev J Long, *The Banks of the Bhāgnathi* (*Calcutta Review*), S C Hill, *Bengal in 1756—1757* (*Indian Records Series*)

(H Beveridge)

AL-**MURTAḌĀ** AL-**SHARĪF** ABU 'L-KĀSIM ʿALĪ B AL-ṬĀHIR DHI 'L-MANĀKIB ABĪ AHMAD AL-HUSAIN B MŪSĀ B MUHAMMAD B IBRĀHĪM B MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM B DJAʿFAR AL-SĀDIK B MUHAMMAD AL-BĀKIR B ʿALĪ ZAIN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN B AL-HUSAIN B ʿALĪ B ABĪ ṬĀLIB, ʿALAM AL-HUDĀ, Arab author born in 355 (966), died in 436 (1044) as *Nakīb* of the ʿAlids in Baghdād Of his works, which are detailed in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hdss in Berlin*, N⁰ 16, we still have the following 1 His principal work *Ghurar al-Fawāʾid wa Durar al-Kalāʾid bi 'l-Muhādarāt*, usually called briefly *al-Durar wa 'l-Ghurar*, which he finished on the 22nd Djumādā I 413 (Aug 24, 1022) is an *adab* book which to the discussion of verses of the Kurʾān and traditions adds numerous philological and lexicographical notes and extensive references to poets and is divided into 80 (82) *madjālis*, lith Tihrān 1273, 1277, pr Cairo 1325 as the *Kitāb al-Amālī*, 2 *Kitāb al Shāfī*, a defence of the imāmate of the Twelvers against the *Mughnī* of the Muʿtazilī chief kādī of the Shāfiʿīs in Raiy Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAbd al Djabbār b Ahmad al-Asadābādī († 415 = 1024), along with an abbreviation of the year 432 (1040) by Shaikh al Tūsī entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī* printed in one volume Tihrān 1301, 3 *Irshād al-ʿAwāmm* in 1 collected volume Tihrān 1304 (s E G Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p 554), 4 *al-Dharīʿa ilā Usūl al-Sharīʿa*, Brit Mus Or 5581 (*Descriptive List*, N⁰ 21), 5 *al-Masāʾil al-Nāṣirīya* in the collected volume *al Djawāmiʿ al-fikhīya*, Tihrān 1276, 6 *al-Intiṣār*, on the differences between the Shiʿa and the other *madhāhib*, lith Bombay 1315 (s Goldziher, *Vorl uber den Islam*, p 271), 7 *al-Shihāb fi 'l-Shaib wa 'l-Shabāb*, pr Stambul (Djawāʾib) 1302 in a Madjmūʿa, Tihrān 1272 (s Goldziher, *Abhandl zur arab Philologie*, ii , p xxi , lvi)

He is also regarded by some as the author of the *Nahdj al-Balāgha*, a collection of reputed sayings of ʿAlī, which others (so always in Yemen, according to MSS of the Ambrosiana, see *R S O*, iii 574) attribute to his brother al-Radī Abu 'l-Husain Muhammad, born in 359 (969), d 406 (1015) [s vol iv , p 354 *sq*], lith Tabrīz 1247, Tihrān 1271, Cairo n d , Bairūt 1885 with commentary by Muhammad ʿAbduh (d 1905), Cairo 1290, 1328, with footnotes by Muhammad Hasan Nāʾil al-Marsafī, 1925 Commentaries on it were written by 1 his contemporary ʿAlī b al Nāṣir al-Husainī entitled *Iʿlām Nahdj al Balāghi*, s *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Būhār Library*, N⁰ 413, ii , 2 ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Hāmid ʿAbd al-Hamīd b Hibat Allāh b Abi 'l-Hadīd al-Madāʾinī, d 655 (1257) [*G A L*, i 249—282], Bombay 1304, Tihrān 1270, 2 vols , 1281, 10 vols , Cairo 1330, 20 vols , 3 Kamāl al-Dīn Mitham b ʿAlī b Mitham al-Nadjrānī in 776 (1374), *Fihris*, Cairo, iv , b, 60, 4 ʿImād al-Dīn Yahyā b Ibrāhīm b Yahyā al-Djahhāfī (s Brit Mus Suppl , N⁰ 1228, iv , his *Dīwān* in Munich, Glaser, N⁰ 104) in the Ambrosiana, C 7, s *R S O*, vi 1304, 5 (Persian) Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b Hasan al-Zawārī in the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I (930–984 = 1524–1576), s Story, *Pers Literature*, i 14, 6 (Persian) the latter's contemporary Husain b ʿAbd al-Hakk al-Ilāhī al Astarābādī, s Ivanov, *Cat As Soc Bengal*, N⁰ 1107 The book was also several times translated into Persian e g by ʿAlī b Hasan al-Zawārī about 647 (1249) entitled *Rawdat al Abrār*, s *Catalogue Browne*, p 10, by Fath Allāh b Shukr Allāh al-Kāshānī (d 978 = 1570, according to the *Kashf al-Hudjūb*, p 143 in 997 = 1589) entitled *Tanbīh al Ghāfilin wa-Tadhkirat al-ʿĀrifīn*, s Rieu, *Brit Mus*, N⁰ 18, 1120—1121, Ivanov, *Cat As Soc Bengal*, ii 372, *Cambridge Suppl*, N⁰ 1342, Asafiya, ii 1608, N⁰ 185

While the authorship of the *Nahdj al-Balāgha* must remain open the anthology *Taif al-Khayāl* is to be ascribed to our author and not with Derenbourg, *Cat Escur* ², N⁰ 348 to his brother, as in the preface he quotes his own work mentioned under N⁰ 7 He and not his brother as in the article SHARĪF PASHA is to be credited with the *Madjāzāt al-Kurʾān*, which Hādidjī Khalīfa N⁰ 11377 ascribes as *al-Madjāz* to al-Radī and he is probably also the author of the *Kitāb al Madjāzāt al-nabawīya*, also ascribed to al-Radī and extant in a manuscript in the British Museum (s *Oriental Studies presented to E G Browne*, p 137, N⁰ 2) and was printed at Baghdād in 1328 This also holds of the *Kitāb Maʿānī al Kurʾān*, there quoted but now lost The Turkish commentary on the *Dīwān* ascribed to ʿAlī also credits him with the authorship

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N⁰ 454, Cairo ed , i 243, al Bakharzī, *Dumyat al-Kaṣr*, p 75, Tusy, *List of Shia Books*, p 472 (C BROCKELMANN)

MURTADD (A), "one who turns back", especially from Islām, an apostate Apostacy is called *irtidād* or *ridda*, it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Kurʾan with disrespect

1 In the Kurʾān the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only, the "wrath of God" will fall upon him according to a Sūra of the latest Meccan period (xvi 108 *sq*) and severe punishment (*ʿadhāb*) "except he did it under compulsion and his heart is steadfast in belief" Similarly it is written in the Medina Sūra iii 80 *sqq* " This is the punishment for them, that the curse of Allāh, the Angels and of men is upon them for all time (82), the punishment shall not be lightened for them and they shall not be granted allevation, (83) except for those who later repent and make good their fault, for Allāh is forgiving and merciful (84) Those who disbelieve after believing and increase in unbelief, shall not have their repentance accepted, they are the erring ones (85) Those who are unbelievers and die as unbelievers, from none of them shall be accepted the earth full of gold even if he should wish to ransom himself with it, this is a painful punishment for them and there will be no helpers for them" (cf also iv 136, v 59, ix 67) Sūra ii 214 is to be interpreted in the same way although it is adduced by Shāfiʿī as the main evidence for the death penalty " He among you who falls away from his belief and dies an unbeliever — these, their works are fruitless in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever"

2 There is little echo of these punishments in the next world in the Traditions (cf Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2, Ibn Hanbal, i 409, 430, 464 *sq* , v 4, 5) Instead we have in many traditions a new element, the death penalty Thus Ibn ʿAbbās transmits an utterance of the Prophet "Slay him, who changes his religion" or "behead him" (Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2, Nasāʾī, *Tahrīm al-Dam*,

bāb 14, Ṭayālisī, N° 2689, Mālik, *Akdiya*, tr 15, cf also Bukhārī, *Istitābat al Murtaddin*, bāb 2, Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 25, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Ibn Hanbal, 1 217, 282, 322) According to another tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet is said to have permitted the blood to be shed of him "who abandons his religion and separates himself from the community (*Djamāʿa*)" (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 6, Muslim, *Kasāma*, tr 25, 26, Nasāʾī, *Ṭahrīm al-Dam*, bāb 5, 14, *Kasāma*, bāb 6, Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Tirmidhī, *Diyāt*, bāb 10, *Fitan*, bāb 1, Ibn Hanbal, 1 382, 444) But there was no agreement from the first on the nature of the death penalty, thus ʿIkrima (d 106 = 724) and Anas b Mālik (d 91 = 710) criticise ʿAlī for having burned apostates (Bukhārī, *Istatābat al-Murtaddīn*, bāb 2, Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bāb 25, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Ibn Hanbal, 1 217, according to a variant the reference is to Zindiks or Zutt, who served idols, Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-Dam*, bāb 14, Ibn Hanbal, 1 282, 322) According to a tradition of ʿĀʾisha's, apostates are to be slain, crucified or banished (Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-Dam*, bāb 11, *Kasāma*, bāb 13, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1)

On the question whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent, traditions differ According to one tradition of Abū Burda (d 104 = 722), Muʿādh b Djabal refused to sit down until an apostate brought before him had been slain "in accordance with the decision of God and of his apostle" (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 60, *Istitābat al-Murtaddin*, bāb 2, *Aḥkām*, bāb 12, Muslim, *Imāra*, tr 15, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Ibn Hanbal, v 231) In the same tradition in Abū Dāwūd however, it is added that they had tried in vain for 20 nights to convert the apostate The caliph ʿOmar is also represented as disapproving of this proceeding with the words "Did you then not shut him up for three days and give him a round loaf (*raghīf*) daily and try to induce him to repent Perhaps he would have repented and returned to obedience to God O God! I was not there, I did not order it and I do not approve, see, it was thus reported to me" (Mālik, *Akdiya*, tr 15) There are also traditions according to which God does not accept the repentance of an apostate (Ibn Hanbal, v 2 *sqq*) and others according to which even the Prophet forgave apostates (Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-Dam*, bāb 14, 15, Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bāb 1, Ibn Hanbal, 1 247, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, III 223)

3 *a* In the Fikh there is unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only if he is grown up (*bāligh*) and compos mentis (*ʿākil*) and has not acted under compulsion (*mukhtār*) A woman on the other hand is imprisoned, according to Hanafī and Shīʿī teaching, until she again adopts Islām, while according to al Awzāʿī, Ibn Hanbal (Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bāb 25), the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs (cf *Umm*, 1 131, where Shāfiʿī vigorously attacks Abū Yūsuf who is not mentioned by name) she also is put to death Although this punishment is not properly *hadd* (cf thereon Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, VII 330, 20–22) it is regarded as such by some jurists, as it is a question of a *hakk Allāh* (cf e g Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, IV 162), therefore the execution of the punishment lies with the imām, in the case of a slave however, the *mawlā* can carry it out, as with any other *hadd* punishment Execution should be by the sword According to the above traditions, apostates must sometimes have been tortured to death The caliph ʿOmar II had them tied to a post and a lance thrust into their hearts (Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, p 112) Bādjūrī expressly forbids any form of torture, like burning, drowning, strangling, impaling, flaying, according to him, Sulṭān Baibars (708–709 = 1308–1309) was the first to introduce torture (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr Geschriften*, II 198) Lane (*Manners and Customs*, ch III, near the end) records the case of a woman who had apostatised and was led through the streets of Cairo on an ass, then strangled in a boat in the middle of the Nile and thrown into the river [The throwing of the corpse into the Nile was already usual in Cairo in the Fātimid period, cf Mez, *Renaissance d Isl*, p 29] In quite recent times followers of the Kādyānī or Ahmadīya sect in Afghanistān were stoned to death (*O M*, v [1925], 138) In former Turkish territory and Egypt as well as in Muslim lands under European rule since the middle of the XIXth century, under European influence the execution of an apostate on a kādī's sentence has been abolished, but we still have imprisonment and deportation (cf Isabel Burton, *The inner Life of Syria*, London 1875, 1 180 *sqq*), but nevertheless renegades are not sure of their lives as their Muslim relatives endeavour secretly to dispose of them by poison or otherwise Occasionally modern Islāmic writers (Ahmadiya movement) endeavour to prove that Islām knows of no death penalty for apostasy, the Indian apologist Muhammad ʿAlī lays great stress on the fact there is not once an indication of the death penalty in the Kurʾān (Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy*, in *Islam*, p 17, 37 *sq*, London 1924, *O M*, v [1925], 262)

I should like here to call attention to an agreement which is probably not accidental As in Islām, in addition to apostasy, unchastity and unnatural vice (even by stoning are punished by death) according to both Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, as well as blaspheming God or a prophet and magic, we find in Islām all crimes punished by death which in the Mishna (*Sanhedrīn*, VII 4) are threatened with stoning

b Whether attempts at conversion must be made is a question of *ikhtilāf* A number of jurists of the first and second (VIIIth and VIIIth) centuries deny this (as do the Zāhirīs) or like ʿAtāʾ (d 115 = 733) make a distinction between the apostate born in Islām and one converted to Islām, the former is to be put to death at once (so also the Shīʿīs) Others insist on three attempts at conversion (relying on Sūra IV 136, cf Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, V 193 *sq*) or have him in the first place imprisoned for three days (cf above 2) According to others again one should await the round of the five times of prayer and ask him to perform the *ṣalāt* at each, only when he has refused at each is the death punishment to be enforced If however he repents and and professes Islām once more, he is released (cf thereon Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, 1 228, Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, p 109) In later times *istitāba* was always applied

c Apart from the fact that apostasy deprives the murtadd of burial with Muslim rites it has certain civil consequences The property of the murtadd is *faʾ* according to Shāfiʿī and the Mālikīs, if the fugitive murtadd returns penitent, he is given back what remains (cf *Umm*, 1 231 *sqq*, where Shāfiʿī opposes the contrary Hanafī view) Others, especially later Shāfiʿīs, regard the rights

of ownership of the apostate as suspended (*mawkūf*) and regard him as one who is under guardianship (*maḥǧūr*), only if the fugitive apostate dies in the *dār al-ḥarb*, does his property become *faʾ* (Shīrāzī, *Muhaḏḏhab*, Cairo 1343, ii 240, cf Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii 355) Among the Hanafīs and Shāfiʿīs the estate is allotted by the kādī to the legal heirs (cf also the traditions in Dārimī, *Faraʾāʾid*, bāb 40), the *mudabbar* and *umm walad* are set free, even when the apostate escapes into the *dār al ḥarb*, for this is equivalent to his death If he comes back penitent, however, he receives of his property what still exists, the heirs however are not liable for compensation — The marriage of the murtadd is void (*bāṭil*) Of his legal undertakings the *istīlād* is effective (*nāfiḏh*), i e the *umm walad* becomes free, the *kitāba* also continues Other legal activities, like manumission, endowment, testament, sale are suspended (*mawkūf*) according to Abū Ḥanīfa, according to Abū Yūsuf they are effective as in the case of a person in good health, according to Muhammad al Shaibānī however only as in the case of an invalid, i e they cannot deal with more than one third of the estate In the case of the female apostate however, they are always effective If the apostate makes such legal arrangements after his flight into the *dār al-ḥarb*, they are invalid (Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv 152, cf also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāǧ*, p 111) But since according to Shāfiʿī and Mālik his whole estate becomes *faʾ*, such legal arrangements are invalid, only the manumission of a slave remains suspended until his possible return penitent, in the case of his death also this slave becomes *faʾ* (cf however above the view of later Shāfiʿīs)

He is punished for crimes committed before apostasy, if he returns penitent, for crimes committed during *ridda*, no notice is taken of the *ḥukūk Allāh* (i e no *ḥadd*) but only of the *ḥukūk al-ʿibād*, and he must for example pay the *diya* (Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv 163, 208 *sq* , cf Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i 231)

Bibliography In addition to the books on Tradition and Fikh see especially Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al Umm*, Cairo 1321, i 227—234, v 51, vii 330 *sqq* , 355, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al Kharāǧ*, Cairo 1302, p 109—112, Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al kabīr*, Haidarābād 1336, iv 146—219, Dabūsī, *Taʾsīs al-Nazar*, Cairo n d , p 22, Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, Halle 1890, ii 215 *sq* , Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rom 1926, i 131—134, Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, London 1924, German transl , Gutlersloh 1926

(Heffening)

MŪSĀ, the prophet Moses of the Bible

i In the Kurʾān Muhammad regards Mūsā as his predecessor, his model, and believes he had already been foretold by Mūsā (vii 156), his religion is also Mūsā's religion (xlii 11) Mūsā is also conceived in Muhammad's image Charges are brought against him similar to those made against Muhammad he is said to want to pervert people from the faith of their fathers, (x 79), he practises magic (xxviii 18) Mūsā and Hārūn seem rather to be sent to the stubborn Pharaoh than to the believing Israelites Revelation is granted him *tawrāt*, *kitāb*, *furḳān*, *ṣuḥuf* (ii 50, xxi 49, liii 37, lxxxvii 19), illumination, instruction and guidance The picture of him is made up of Biblical, Haggadic and new elements Mūsā is exposed, watched by his sister, refuses the milk of other nurses and is suckled by his own mother Coming to the assistance of a hard pressed Israelite he kills an Egyptian but repents of this crime to which Satan had tempted him He is pursued and escapes to Madyan At a well there he waters the flocks of the two daughters of a shaikh One of them invites him home modestly He receives her as his wife at the price of 8—10 years service This preliminary history is told in Sūra xxviii 1—28, the mission itself is often mentioned

Mūsā receives from the burning bush in the holy valley of Tuwan (xx 12, lxxix 16) orders to take off his shoes, the message to Pharaoh, the signs of his mission, the rod, the snake, the hand that becomes white His speech is difficult to understand (xliii 52), Hārūn accompanies him as wazīr (xx 30, xxv 37) Pharaoh reproaches Mūsā with ingratitude, saying he had been brought up by them (xxvi 17) Pharaoh assembles his magicians but their rods are devoured by Mūsā's The magicians profess their belief in God and are mutilated in punishment (vii 106—123, xx 59—78, xxvi 36—51) Pharaoh wishes prayers to be offered to him as God, orders Hāmān to build him a tower so that he can reach the God of Mūsā (xxviii 38, xl 38) Mūsā performs nine miracles (xvii 103, xx 59—78, xxvii 12) These are 1 the rod and snake, 2 white hand, 3 deluge, 4 locusts, 5 lice, 6 frogs, 7 blood, 8 darkness, 9 dividing the sea (cf e g Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 485)

Mūsā spends 30 and 10 nights with God (vii 138) He brings instruction and admonition on the tablets In his absence Sāmirī makes the lowing golden calf (vii 146, xx 79—98) Mūsā breaks the tablets He desires to see God God crumbles the hill to dust (vii 139) Israel fears war and has to wander 40 years in the wilderness (v 24—29) Mūsā's enemies, Kārūn (Korah), Pharaoh and Hāmān, perish (xxix 38)

Some details differ from the Biblical story Instead of Pharaoh's daughter, it is his wife who rescues the infant, instead of seven shepherdesses Mūsa assists two Instead of ten plagues, Muhammad speaks of nine miracles Mūsā strikes twelve springs out of the rock, one for each tribe (ii 57, a memory of the twelve springs of Elim, Exodus xv 27) The divergence is greater when Hāmān is made minister to Pharaoh Then there are new features Mūsā repents of having slain the Egyptian Mūsā sees the burning bush at night and desires to take a brand from its fire for his house (xx 10, xxviii 29) Pharaoh's magicians die for their belief in God

The following seems to originate in Haggada God forbids the infant to be suckled by an Egyptian mother (xxviii 11) In the Haggada Moses is offered to all Egyptian suckling mothers, but the mouth that is to speak with God cannot imbibe anything impure (*Sōṭa*, 12ᵇ) That God tilts the mountain over Israel (ii 60, 87, vii 170) is explained from the Haggada Israel hesitated to accept the Tora and God tilted Sinai over them Tora or death (*Sabbath*, 80ᵃ, *ʿAboda Zara*, 2ᵇ) The turning of the sabbath breakers into apes (ii 61, iv 50, v 65, vii 166) recalls the Haggada in which the builders of the tower of Babel become apes (*Sanhedrin*, 109ᵃ) Kārūn is represented as an exceedingly rich man the keys of whose treasure can hardly be carried by many strong men (xviii 76, 79), the Haggada

says that Korah found a hidden Egyptian treasure, 300 mules carried the keys of his treasury (*Pesachim*, 119a, *Sanhedrin*, 110a, Pal *Sanh*, x 27d, Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi 99, 560) — The Kur'ānic story of a believer at the court of Pharaoh who wants to save Mūsā is not quite clear (xl 29) Ought we to compare Jethro in the Haggada who advises clemency at Pharaoh's court? (*Sōṭa*, 11a, *Sanhedrin*, 106a, Ginzberg, v 392, 21, v 412, 101)

The story of Mūsā accompanying a wise man on a journey seems without parallel (xviii 59—81) The attempt is often made to distinguish this Mūsā of Khadir as Mūsā b Manasse from Mūsā b ʿImrān [cf the article KHADIR]

2 Mūsā in post-Kur'ānic legend The histories of the prophet (especially Thaʿlabī's) supplement the Kur'ānic story with much from the Bible, Haggada and folklore

Much is added from Haggada Pharaoh's sick daughters are cured as soon as they touch Moses's cradle *Exodus Rabba*, i 23 makes Pharaoh's daughter be cured of leprosy — The infant Mūsā scratches Pharaoh's chin Pharaoh wants to slay him On the intercession of Āsiya he tests him by putting gold and jewels on one side and burning coals on the other Mūsā reaches for the gold but Gabriel directs his hand to the burning coal Mūsā puts his burned hand on his tongue and therefore becomes a stammerer (Ginzberg, v 402, 65, Hamilton, *Zeitschr f romanische Philologie*, xxxvi 125—159)

Elements of other legends are woven into the legend of Mūsā The Ibrāhīm Namrūd legend supplies the following features Pharaoh frightened by dreams persecutes the infants, Mūsā is hidden from the assassins in the burning oven but the fire becomes cool and does him no harm Pharaoh orders prayers to be offered to himself as to a god, has a tower built, shoots an arrow against heaven, the arrow comes back blood stained and Pharaoh boasts he has slain God (Ṭabarī, i 469) — From the story of Jacob and Laban come the following Mūsā serves 8—10 years for his wife (xxviii 27) His father in law offers him the spotted lambs born in his flock and the ewes for the watering troughs bear spotted lambs (Thaʿlabī, p 112) There are frequent references to a pious Egyptian woman who is martyred by Pharaoh with her seven children, the youngest of whom is still at its mother's breast (in Thaʿlabi, p 118, 139), this is of course modelled on the martyr mother of the Maccabees

There are many fanciful embellishments, e g the miracle of the snakes, the plagues, the scenes on the Red Sea, Moses's rod in particular plays a great part It came from Paradise, Ādam, Hābil, Shīth, Idrīs, Nūh, Hūd, Sālih, Ibrāhim, Ismāʿīl, Ishāḳ and Yaʿḳūb had previously used it (Kisāʾī, p 208) In Ṭabarī (p 460 *sq*) an angel brought the rod Mūsā obtained it from his wife, his father-in law quarrels with him about its ownership and an angel decides in favour of Mūsā It is a miraculous rod and Thaʿlabi (p 111—116) in particular relates the wonders it performs It shines in the darkness, it gives water in a drought, and placed in the ground it becomes a tree bearing fruit, it produces milk and honey and fragrant scent, against an enemy it becomes a double dragon It pierces mountains and rocks, it leads over rivers and sea, it is also a shepherd's staff and keeps beasts of prey from the herds of Moses When Mūsā was asleep on one occasion the rod slew a dragon, on another occasion seven of Pharaoh's assassins

The varied Biblical, Haggadic, legendary and fairy tale features in the Islāmic legend of Mūsā are thus blended into a very full picture and in Thaʿlabī form a regular romance

Bibliography Sūra ii 48–130, vii 101–160, x 76—88, xx 8—93, xxvi 9—65, xxviii 2—76, xl 24—56 and the commentaries thereon, Ṭabarī, ed Leyden, i 414—449, Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, p 105—156, Kisāʾī, *Ḳisaṣ al Anbiyāʾ* ed Eisenberg, p 194—240, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Būlāḳ, i 61—78, Abr Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed*, 1902 2, p 149–177, M Grunbaum, *Neue Beitrage*, p 153—185, J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p 141—143, R Basset, *1001 Contes, Recits et legendes arabes*, iii 67, 85, D Sidersky, *Les Origines des Legendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la Vie des Prophetes*, Paris 1933, p 73–103, J Walker, *Bible Characters in the Koran*, p 84—111 (BERNHARD HEILER)

MŪSĀ B NUṢAIR B ʿABD AL RAHMĀN B ZAID AL LAKHMĪ (or AL-BAKRĪ) ABŪ ʿABD AL RAHMĀN, Arab governor, conqueror of the western Maghrib and of Spain He was born in 19 (640), his father had been in the immediate entourage of Muʿāwiya [q v] Mūsā was at first appointed by the caliph ʿAbd al Malik to collect the *kharādj* at al-Basra, but having been suspected of embezzlement, he fled and took refuge with the caliph's brother, the governor of Egypt ʿAbd al ʿAzīz b Marwān, the latter took Mūsā to Syria to the caliph who fined him 100,000 dīnārs ʿAbd al ʿAzīz provided half of this sum for Mūsā and brought him to Egypt where he gave him the governorship of Ifrīkiya which had been previously held by Hassān b al-Nuʿmān The various chroniclers are not agreed as to the date of his appointment to the office but it possibly took place in 79 (698) or the following year

Mūsā and his troops thereupon entered on a career of successful conquest which ended in the consolidation of Arab power in Ifrikiya and in the conquest of the rest of north Africa and of Spain Here we give only the most essential details Assisted by his son ʿAbd Allāh al Marwān he sent successful expeditions against Zaghwān and Sadjūma and reduced the Hawwāra, the Zanāta and the Kutāma The Berbers taking refuge in the west of the Maghrib, Mūsā decided to bring them to subjection, confirmed in his office by ʿAbd al Malik's successor al Walid, he continued his advance to Tangier and Sūs [q v] and returned to Ifrikiya leaving as his deputy in the Maghrib his freedman Ṭārik [q v] The latter in 92 (710–711) invaded Spain and Mūsā anxious about and at the same time jealous of the progress made by his lieutenant crossed himself in the following year leaving his son ʿAbd Allāh as governor of Ifrikiya Landing at Algeciras in Ramadān 93 (June–July 712) with his other son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he refused to take the same route as Ṭārik and taking the towns of Sidona (Shadhūna, q v), Carmona, Seville and Merida, he was on his way to Toledo when Ṭārik came to meet him and was bitterly reproached by his master Mūsā b Nusair then continued his march and completely subjugated the north of Spain from Saragossa to Na-

vaire In 95, he left Spain with immense booty, leaving his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor, he reached Kairawān at the end of the year and continued by land to Syria in a triumphal procession of Arab chiefs and Berber and Spanish prisoners The caliph al-Walīd then near his end urged him to hurry while his brother and heir presumptive Sulaimān, eager to appropriate the vast wealth brought by Mūsā, tried to delay him He arrived in Damascus shortly before the death of al Walīd and when Sulaimān assumed power he at once displayed his hatred of the conqueror Regarding Mūsā b Nusair's stay in Syria before his death in 98 (716—717), the Arab historians give a number of details which are obviously of quite a legendary character

Bibliography All the Muslim chroniclers who deal with the conquest of Africa and Spain deal more or less fully with Mūsā b Nusair We may mention among the more important Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed Torrey, Yale Univ Press, 1922, Ibn al Kūṭīya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed Ribera, *Aḵẖbār maǧmūʿa*, ed Lafuente y Alcántara, Ibn ʿIḏhārī, *al-Bayān al-muġẖrib*, ed Dozy, i and ii, Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil*, etc — Biographical notes on Mūsā b Nusair are given by Ibn Ḵẖallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, iii 475, Ibn al-Faradī, *Taʾrīḵẖ ʿUlamāʾ al Andalus*, in *B A H*, viii, N° 1454, al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, in *B A H*, iii, N° 1334, Ibn al Abbār, *al-Hullat al siyarā*, ed Dozy, (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1847—1851), p 30—32 Cf also Fournel, *Les Berbers, Étude sur la conquete de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1857—1875, Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasion de los Arabes en España*, Madrid 1892, Dozy, *Hist des Mus d'Espagne*, new ed Leyden 1932, i 121

(E Lévi-Provençal)

MŪSĀ ČELEBI, one of the younger sons of the Ottoman sultān Bāyazīd I According to some sources he was younger than his brother Muhammad I [q v], who is generally considered as the youngest Mūsā had been taken prisoner in the battle of Angora (1402) and was left by Timūr in custody with the Germiyān Oghlū Yaʿkūb Beg The latter sent him afterwards to his brother Muhammad in Amasia, and for some time he became Muhammad's helper in the re-establishment of Ottoman power in Anatolia, he is even said to have driven their brother ʿIsā from Brusa, though the current opinion is that Muhammad went there himself When, in 1404, their eldest brother Sulaimān Čelebi appeared in his turn in Brusa, Mūsā first opposed him in the name of Muhammad and went afterwards, with the latter's consent, to Europe, where he hoped to make an end of Sulaimān's reign with the aid of Mirče of Walachia and Stephan of Serbia At first this enterprise failed through a defeat inflicted on Mūsā near the walls of Constantinople Sulaimān resided in Adrianople Here Mūsā appeared suddenly in 1411 (or 1410), Sulaimān had to flee and was killed on his way to Constantinople, after which Mūsā took his place as ruler of the Ottoman territory in Europe, surrounded by the military and political councillors of Sulaimān, as Ewrenos Beg and the Djandarlī Oghlu Ibrāhīm Pasha Mūsā began his short reign with great energy, recovering nearly all the Ottoman possessions in Serbia and Thessaly, and sending raiding expeditions as far as Carinthia. At the same time he adopted a despotic attitude which displeased his entourage and prepared the final victory of his brother Muhammad Ibrāhim Pasha, sent to Constantinople to exact tribute, went from there to Muhammad's court (cf Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl*, xviii 94) and, when Mūsa soon afterwards began a siege of Constantinople, Muhammad came to the rescue of the emperor In this he failed for the moment and he was obliged to return to Anatolia But in 1413 Muhammad appeared again in Europe, having found allies in the Serbians Meanwhile, the Turkish commanders in Serbia and Thessaly were drawn to Muhammad's side and even the old Ewrenos prepared to leave Mūsā's cause, his son and other military chiefs went over openly to Muhammad The latter approached Adrianople from the north and followed from here Mūsā's army beyond Philip, polis, then he joined his allies in Servia and met Mūsā's army on the plain of Čamurlu, east of Sofia Here Mūsā's army was defeated (July 1413) and Mūsā himself perished in the flight His corpse was found and buried in the *turbe* of Murād I in Brusa

Bibliography The ancient Ottoman chronicles of ʿĀṣẖīḳ Pasha Zāde, Neshrī, Uruǧ Beg and *Tawārīḵẖ i Āl i ʿOṯẖmān* (Anonymus, ed Giese), besides the Byzantine historians Phrantzes, Ducas and Chalcondylas Further all general Ottoman histories since the *Ṭāǧ al-Tawārīḵẖ*, and the modern works of von Hammer (*G. O R*, i), Zinkeisen and Jorga, Mehmed Zaki, *Maktūl Shehzādeler*, Constantinople 1332, p 11 *sqq*

(J H Kramers)

MŪSĀ, Abū Muhammad al **HĀDĪ,** an ʿAbbāsid caliph After the death of his father on Muharram 22, 169 (Aug 4, 785) al Hādī ascended the throne and at once put an end to the influence of his mother al-Ḵẖaizurān, by forbidding her to interfere in the slightest in matters of state When he proposed to exclude his brother Hārūn from the succession in favour of his son Djaʿfar, he met with vigorous opposition from the Barmakid Yahyā b Ḵẖālid [q v] When the latter boldly persisted in his opposition, he was arrested, but the caliph's plan came to nothing for he died suddenly in Rabīʿ I 170 (Sept 786) in ʿIsābādh near Baghdad According to the usual but not at all certain story, he was poisoned or stabbed by his mother's orders Al Hādī who was only 26 when he died is described as brave, just, liberal and full of joie-de-vivre The most important event of his brief reign was an ʿAlid rising in Mecca and Medīna ʿOmar b ʿAbd al ʿAzīz, the governor of Medina, had punished an ʿAlid along with some other citizens of the town for drinking wine As a result the ʿAlids rebelled and renounced their allegiance to the caliph After several days fighting the ringleader of the movement, a descendant of ʿAlī called al Husain b ʿAlī, marched on Mecca where he obtained a number of additional followers Soon afterwards the pilgrims arrived, at Fakhkh near Mecca, a battle took place and al-Husain was killed (Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍḍja 169 = June 786) As regards the fighting with the Byzantines, the Muslims under Maʿyūf b Yaḥyā invaded Asia Minor where they took much booty

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* (ed Wüstenfeld), p 193, Yaʿkūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii 476, 487—491, 515, Balādhurī

(ed de Goeje), p 190 *sq*, 233, 297, 323, Tabarī, iii 467 *sqq*, 533—599, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), vi 261—287, viii 294, ix 44, 51, 66, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), vi 13—74, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 254—263, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 208 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 104, 112, 118—121, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i 477 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*[3], p 465—477, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 193 *sq* (K V Zetterstéen)

MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM the seventh Imām of the Twelfer Shiʿa, son of Djaʿfar b Muhammad al-Sādiḳ [q v], was born about 128 (745) at al Abwāʾ [q v], the traditional burial place of Āmina, mother of the Prophet He grew to manhood in his father's house in Medīna and remained there as Imām after the latter's death in 148 (765) without playing any part in politics In particular he took no share in the great rising of the Hasanid ʿAlids which collapsed at Fakhkh in 169 (786) Nevertheless the caliph was suspicious of him He was perhaps already imprisoned by al-Mahdī In 179 (795) Hārūn had him brought first to Basra and then to Baghdād, he is said to have been released for a time but he died in prison in Baghdād, according to the usual story in Radjab 183 (Aug—Sept 799)

Little attention was paid to Mūsā outside the Shīʿa, but we find him occasionally, as the Shīʿis point out, quoted as an authority, for example for a strongly pro ʿAlid tradition in Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, i 77 infra (cf al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, N° 1835) The Shīʿa records are more voluminous He is said to have had the honorific al-Kāzim "he who restrains his anger" because he returned kindness for injury to an opponent so that the latter came over to him As evidence of his fitness for the *imāmate* he is reputed to have had a great knowledge of fikh and is thus brought into connection with Abū Hanīfa The chapters on miracles, usual in all biographies of the imāms, credit him with being born with a knowledge of languages, e g Ethiopic and the language of birds, in later stories also of "Frankish" to fit a story, modelled on a later Kerbelāʾ motif, that Hārūn could not find a Muslim to assassinate him and therefore brought Franks, who were so impressed by his nobility that they refused to kill him Prayers by Mūsa have been handed down, a letter of warning to al-Husain b ʿAlī b al-Hasan, the leader of the Fakhkh rising, letters from prison, a statement of his claims to the *imāmate* against Hārūn through relationship with the Prophet, not through ʿAlī like the ʿAbbāsids through ʿAbbās but through Fātima, whom he compares with the mother of Jesus Considerable portions of the biography are the result of the disputes within the Shīʿa, even the account of his conception and birth That his mother was bought from a slave dealer is not disputed, but great pains are devoted to proving she was a virgin When at the death of his father a group of the Nāwusīya "remained" steadfast to him, the Ismāʿīlīya [q v] and the Fathīya branched off, the claims of Mūsā had to be based on a will of Djaʿfar, the authenticity of which is as doubtful as that of Mūsā in favour of his son ʿAlī al-Riḍā, this was used against the followers of another son Aḥmad, as well as against the Mamtūra who "remained" by Mūsā himself and a similar party in the Mūsawīya (Mūsāʾīya, for details see the writers on heresy, especially al-Ashʿarī, *Makālāt*, ed Ritter, Constantinople 1930, p 25 *sqq*) The dispute with the latter groups also explains the very detailed stories of witnesses who had seen Mūsā's corpse Bitter differences of opinion within the family are revealed by the fact that even Mūsā's son Ibrāhīm for a long time denied his father's death, and also by the fact that Mūsā's brother Ibrāhīm or a nephew ʿAlī b Ismāʿīl played the traitor with Hārūn, inciting him by pointing out the great sums which were given to Mūsā as the true caliph by his followers, on the other hand, the incautious acknowledgment of Mūsā's *imāmate* by the theologian Hishām b al Hakam is made responsible for his capture — The *kunya* of Mūsā is Abū Ibrāhīm or Abu 'l-Hasan, also Abū ʿAlī, the statements regarding the number of his children vary between 30 and 60, 37 is the usual figure Besides his successor ʿAlī al-Ridā some prominence was attained by the partial imām Ahmad, but more by Zaid, who at the time of the great rising of Abu 'l-Sarāyā in Basra, by burning the houses and followers of the ʿAbbāsids acquired the name Zaid al-Nār, "Zaid of the fire" (Tabarī, iii 986), and Ibrāhīm, who on account of similar activities in Sanʿāʾ was called al-Djazzār, "the butcher" (Tabarī, iii 987), a daughter Fātima, who died in Kumm, has given to this city in her tomb its most important sanctuary Mūsā himself was buried in the cemetery of the Kuraish in Baghdād, where his grandson, the ninth imām Muhammad al Djawād [q v], was in time interred beside him, thus arose the twin sanctuaries al-Kāzimain [q v]

Bibliography Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (Teheran without date or pagination arranged in the order of the imāms), Ibn Bābūya, *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Ridā* (MS Berl N° 9663), esp fol 10b—52a, comprehensive collection of Shiʿī accounts with references to the sources in Muhammad Bāḳir al Madjlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, xi, Teheran 1303, p 230—317, Abu 'l-Faradj al Isbahānī, *Makātil al-Tālibiyīn*, Teheran 1307, p 172—176, Ibn Khallikān *Wafayāt*, Būlāk 1299, ii 172 *sq* (from al-Khatīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*), Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Barbier de Meynard), vi 309 *sqq*, 329 *sq*, E de Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, table D — As the importance of imāms like Mūsā lies less in their own personality than in the views of the dogmaticians upon them, their *vitae* should also be compared cf in Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Rudjāl*, Bombay 1317, section *Ashāb Mūsā b Djaʿfar wa-ʿAlī b Mūsā*, p 344 *sqq* and also the *vitae* of Hishām b al Hakam, Hishām al Dhawālīḳī, ʿAmmār b Mūsā al Sābātī etc, and the same names in the alphabetically arranged works of Nadjāshī, *al Rudjāl*, Bombay 1917, Tūsī, *Fihrist*, Calcutta 1853—1855, Astarābādī, *Manhadj al-Makāl*, Teheran 1306

(R Strothmann)

BANŪ MŪSĀ, more precisely BANŪ MŪSĀ B SHĀKIR, the usual name for the three brothers Abū Djaʿfar Muhammad, Abu 'l-Kāsim Ahmad and al-Hasan b Mūsā b Shākir, who made a reputation under the ʿAbbāsids from al-Maʾmūn to al-Mutawakkil as mathematicians, astronomers and technicians and also at times played a part in politics The father is said

to have begun life as a bandit in Khurāsān, then to have become an astronomer and geometer We have no means of testing such stories or learning how a bandit could become an astronomer If we assume however that Mūsā b Shākir like Muhammad b Mūsā al-Khwārizmī joined al-Maʾmūn's train in Khurāsān as astronomer and astrologist and then came with him to Baghdād, we can understand that al-Maʾmūn took his three sons, still young, into his service on Mūsā's death and had them educated in mathematical sciences by the astronomer Yahyā b Abī Mansūr The Banū Mūsā thus at a comparatively early age were admitted to that circle of scholars who, by their thorough and expert translations, introduced Greek science to Islām and by their own researches laid the foundation for the glorious development of the sciences in the IIIth (IXth) and IVth (Xth) centuries Attaining fame and fortune, they used their wealth to purchase Greek manuscripts and sent agents into the Byzantine provinces to seek for and purchase books Of Muhammad b Mūsā it is related that he met Thābit b Kurra in Harrān while on a journey and induced him to settle at the caliph's court It may be assumed they these scientific expeditions to seek books and scholars did not take place without the caliph's support

History also records political and literary feuds A particular enmity is said to have existed between al-Kindī and the three brothers, because the caliph al-Muʿtasim did not entrust them but al-Kindī with the education of his son Ahmad The feud went so far that the Banū Mūsā are later said to have intrigued against the choice of Ahmad as caliph This story can only be understood in connection with court intrigues, in which the ambitions of the brothers and the jealousy of the courtiers played the same parts as elsewhere If all is true that is recorded of the malevolent attitude of the brothers to recognised scholars, little praise can be bestowed on their character The stories of the huge incomes, especially that of Muhammad b Mūsā — he is said to have had for a time an annual income of £ 300,000 — exceed all that even the most liberal caliph could heap upon a scholar

The works of the Banū Mūsā include translations and original works on geometry, astronomy and mechanics Many of their works are written jointly by two or three brothers, others only by one Muhammad b Mūsā is regarded as the most versatile, al-Hasan the best mathematician, Ahmad as specially interested in mechanical and technical problems The astronomical and metrological observations of the brothers were probably made mainly in Sāmarrā, their tables of observations of the sun are mentioned by Ibn Yūnus M Curtze, H Suter, E Wiedemann and F Hauser have devoted special attention to the editing and elucidation of these works that have survived in Arabic or Latin

Bibliography Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p 271, Ibn al-Kiftī, ed J Lippert, p 315 and 441—443, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed Wüstenfeld, N° 718, transl de Slane, III 315, Caussin de Perceval, in *N E*, 1803—1804, M Steinschneider, *Die Söhne des Musa b Schakir*, in *Bibl math*, N S, I, 1887, p 44—48, 71—75, M Cantor, *Ahmed und sein Buch über die Proportionen*, in *Bibl math*, N S, II, 1888, p 7, H Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis des Fihrist*, in *Abh z. Gesch d Math*, VI, 1892, p 24, H Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, *ibid*, X, 1900, N° 43, M Curtze, *Der Liber trium fratrum de geometria*, in *Nova Acta Acad Germ Nat curiosorum*, vol XLIX, Halle 1885, E Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, VI, 1906, X, 1906 and XII, 1907, F Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al hiyal der Benū Mūsā*, in *Abh z Gesch d Naturw u d Med*, I, 1922, E Wiedemann and F Hauser, *Über Trinkgefässe und Tafelaufsätze nach al-Ǧazarī und den Benū Mūsā*, in *Isl*, VIII 55—93, 268—291, Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ed Muller, index, Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, indices, Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, II, Paris 1921, p 140, Abu 'l Fidāʾ, ed Reiske, II 241, Abu 'l Faraǧ, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al Duwal*, ed Pococke, Oxford 1663, text, p 280, transl, p 183 (J RUSKA)

MUṢʿAB B ʿUMAIR, a follower of Muhammad of the Kuraish family of ʿAbd al-Dār The son of rich parents, this handsome young man had attacted attention by his elegant appearance when Muhammad's preaching made so deep an impression upon him that he abandoned the advantages of his social position to join the despised adherents of the Prophet Tradition dilates on the contrast between his former luxurious life and later poverty but these, like such stories in general, are somewhat suspicious, although not impossible, since the people in Muṣʿab's time had not yet acquired wealth and could not have been accustomed to luxury

When his parents endeavoured to prevent him taking part in the worship of the believers, he went with several of the faithful to Abyssinia from which he returned however before the Hiǧra The Prophet thought highly of him and sent him after the first meeting at ʿAḳaba as a missionary to Medīna where he won a number of followers for Islām According to some traditions, he on this occasion, following the practice of the Jews [see MUHAMMAD], introduced the common Friday salāt, which however, as was noted as early as by Mūsā b ʿUḳba, others ascribe to the Medinese Asʿad b Zurāra, while others in an effort at harmonising say that Asʿad conducted the common salāt during the absence of Muṣʿab

At Badr and at Uhud he carried the Prophet's banner in memory of the old privilege of the ʿAbd al Dār, he met his death in the latter battle With what ardour he adopted the new teaching is seen from his attitude to his mother who is depicted as a most lovable character and particularly from his words at the capture of his brother in the battle of Badr His wife was Hanna bint Ǧahsh of the Asad

Bibliography Mūsā b ʿUkba, ed Sachau, in *S B Pr Ak W*, 1904, p 451, Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 208, 241, 289 *sq*, 459 *sq*, 487, 560, 566, 586, Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, I 1182, 1214 *sqq*, 1337, 1386, 1394, 1404, 1425, al Wākidī, transl Wellhausen, p 49, 68, 79, 106, 114, 135, 143, Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, III/I, 81—86, III/II, 139, Nawawī, ed Wüstenfeld, p 556 *sq*, Ibn Ḥaǧar al ʿAskalānī, *Iṣāba*, ed Sprenger, III 861, Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p III *sq* (FR BUHL)

MUṢʿAB B AL-ZUBAIR, son of the famous *huwārī* of the Prophet, al-Zubair, and brother of the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair Handsome, chivalrous, generous to the most foolish prodigality, he resembled his elder brother ʿAbd Allāh and the family of the Zubairids only in his bravery and in fits of severity in exacting punish-

ment which bordered on barbarity He began his military career at the beginning of the caliphate of Marwān I by a badly planned invasion of Palestine Later sent as governor to Basra by his brother ʿAbd Allāh, he soon found himself called to the help of the people of Kūfa, tired of the yoke of Mukhtār b Abī ʿUbaid [q v] He began by putting to flight the army brought against him by the redoubtable Ḥakafī agitator and then besieged him for four months in the citadel of Kūfa On the death of Mukhtār, Musʿab ordered several thousands of his followers to be executed and by this savage act made as many enemies as the victims had relatives He was less successful against ʿUbaid Allāh b al-Ḥurr [q v] who had been sent into the ʿIrāk to stir up a counter-revolution in favour of the Marwānids A similar attempt at Basra by the Umayyad Khālid b Asīd failed But by proceeding with great severity against Khālid's followers Musʿab alienated the most influential personages in the city

Soon he found he had to defend the ʿIrāk which was directly threatened by the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, troops were massed at Bādjumaira Musʿab awaited the Syrian army here and then retired to Dair al Djathālīk [q v] His position soon became critical for the Basran troops refused to follow him The best troops of the province were far away with Muhallab, engaged in an interminable campaign against the Khāridjīs The Zubairid's troops displayed only moderate enthusiasm His officers tired of his iron hand were prepared to betray him and entered into negotiations with ʿAbd al Malik The Marwānid was not stingy in his promises He also tried to negotiate with Musʿab, who learning of the perfidy of his followers rejected all offers and decided to die like a brave man Among his followers Ibrāhīm b al-Ashtar alone fought vigorously in the battle, the others folded their arms during the fighting or went over to the Syrian ranks ʿAbd al Malik offered Musʿab his life for the last time with the government of the ʿIrāk, but in vain Thrown from his horse, the Zubairid received the coup-de grace from an avenging Bakrī, ʿUbaid Allāh b Zabyān This took place about the middle of Djumādā I (October) of 72 (691) ʿAbd al Malik wept for him and ordered his poets to commemorate his heroic end Musʿab's great generosity earned him numerous eulogies from poets He is also famous for the fact that he had in his harem the two most independent and haughtiest women of the time, belonging to the most undoubted aristocracy of Islām, ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalha [q v], the second *huwārī* of the Prophet, and Sukaina, grand daughter of ʿAlī, feminine types, remarkable in spite of their frivolity for having bravely tried to fight against the degradation of their sex in Muslim society

Bibliography Ṭabarī (ed de Goeje), i 1330, ii 59, 60, 118, 340—349, 481, 576, 592—593, 602—603, 662—678, 688, 716—727, 531—535, 740—745, 748—753, 764—765, 670—680, 783—822, 830—831, 1064—1072, 1260, 1266, 1466, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii 138, 139, iii 103—104, 122, viii 85, 138, 178, x 54—57, xiii 33, 38, 42, xiv 84, 166—172, xvii 262—266, xx 10, Balādhurī, *Ansāb al Ashrāf* (ed Ahlwardt), p 3—4, 8, 10, 16—19, 23—24, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, (ed Barbier de Meynard), v 240-142, 247-49, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Cairo), iv 123—124, 137, 139, H D van Gelder, *Moḥtār de valsche profeet*, Leyden 1888, p 125 *sq* (H LAMMENS)

AL-**MUSABBIḤĀT**, name of sūra's lvii, lix, lxi, lxii, lxiv as a group, after the first word of each of them, *sabbaha* or *yusabbihu* The name is old, cf Muslim, *Zakāt*, trad 119

MUSĀFIRIDS (Kangarī or Sallārī), a dynasty of Dailamī origin which came from Tārom [q v] and reigned in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hidjra in Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia

Its coming to power was one of the manifestations of the great movement of Irānian liberation which formed a kind of interlude between the end of Arab domination and the first Turkish invasions While in Khurāsān and Transoxania this movement culminated in the rule of the Sāmānids [q v], in western Persia and Mesopotamia its standard-bearers were the Dailamīs and to a smaller extent the Kurds (cf V Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932)

The Musāfirids and the Djustānids According to a genuine document quoted in Yākūt (iii 148—50), the Kangarī family only comes into history after seizing the famous stronghold of Shamīrān in the district of Tārom [q v] which was under Kazwīn The Kangarīs have therefore to be distinguished from the ruling family of Dailam, i e the Djustānids of Rūdbār, of whom seven are known from between 189 and 316 (805—928), while members of the family can be traced till 434 (1042) We know that Muhammad, son of Musāfir, the eponym of the dynasty (whose real Irānian name must have been Aswār, cf Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix 16), had married Kharāsūya, daughter of the Djustānid Djustan III (from 250 until after 300) From such alliances the names peculiar to the ruling family of Dailam (Djustān, Wahsūdān, Marzubān) became popular among the Musāfirids In 307 (919) Muhammad killed his wife's uncle ʿAlī b Wahsūdān to avenge the death of his father in law Djustān b Wahsūdān Henceforth there was a breach between the two families The last Djustānid took refuge with the Dailamī chief Asfār (lord of Rayy and Kazwīn) who sent the Ziyānid Mardāwīdj against Muhammad but instead of fighting they joined forces and Mardāwīdj slew Asfār Muhammad was an important ruler and Musʿir b Muhalhil speaks with praise of his buildings at Shamīrān (1,850 houses) on which 5,000 workmen were employed (the ruins of Shamīrān have been described in Brugsch, *Reise d preuss Gesandtschaft*, 1862, ii 471—472) but he was a difficult character and did not agree even with the members of his own family

The two branches of Musāfirids In 330 (941) his sons Marzubān and Wahsūdān by arrangement with Kharāsūya, seized Shamīrān and shut their father up in a fortress, after which the dynasty broke up into two branches Wahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Tārom, while Marzubān extended his power over Ādharbāidjān, eastern Transcaucasia and some districts of Armenia

The fourth generation of the Musāfirids consisted of the sons of Marzubān Djustān, Ibrāhīm, Nāsir and Kay Khusraw, and of the sons of Wahsūdān (330—355) Ismāʿīl, Nūh and Haydar (?)

Marzubān This ruler (330—346 = 941—957) is the most important figure in the dynasty After the death in 314 (926) of the Sādjid [q v] Yūsuf, Ādharbāidjān became the scene of the struggle between the Khāridjī Kurd Daisam b Ibrāhīm and Lashkarī b Mardī, a native of Gīlān, whom the Ziyārid Wushmagīr supported alternately

Lashkarī died in Armenia and Daisam was betrayed by his vizier Abu 'l Kāsim ʿAlī b Djaʿfar who had come to an arrangement with Marzubān for both were *bāṭnī* (Ibn Miskawaih, ii 32) Marzubān occupied Ardabīl and Tabrīz and finally Daisam surrendered to Marzubān and received from him a castle in Tārom Marzubān extended his territory northward as far as Darband In 332 (943—944) the Russians (*Rūs*) came by the Caspian and the river Kur and took the capital of Arrān [q v], Bardaʿa [q v], in spite of the resistance of the subjects of Marzubān At the same time, the Hamdānids of Mawṣil had conceived designs on Ādharbāidjān and Marzubān had to deal with a force under Abū ʿAbd Allāh Husain b Saʿīd b Hamdān and the Hadhbānī Kurd Djaʿfar b Shakūyā, which had reached Salmās [q v] but was soon recalled to Mawsil by Nāsir al Dawla On the other hand, the Russians, decimated by disease and harassed by the Muslims, beat a retreat (cf the sources on the Russian invasion including the Armenian historian of the tenth century, Moses Kałankatvatzi, in Dorn, *Caspia*, St Petersburg 1876, the text of Ibn Miskawaih, ii 62–67, was translated with commentary by Yakubowski in the *Vizant Vremennik*, Leningrad 1926, xxiv, p 63—92)

A new danger arose in the south east of the lands of Marzubān when in 335 (946) the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla occupied Raiy (disputed by the Sāmānids and Ziyārids) Marzubān filled with wrath at the Būyids decided to attack them in 336 But Rukn had time to get reinforcements from his brothers In 338 (949) Marzubān, defeated near Kazwīn, was besieged in the castle of Sumairam (in Fārs)

The fugitives from his army gathered round his father Muhammad and occupied Ardabīl while Wahsūdān remained in Tārom Muhammad soon gave dissatisfaction to his captains and was shut up by Wahsūdān in his castle at Shīsagān (?) Rukn al-Dawla sent to Ādharbāidjān Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Razzāk, the former governor of Tūs [q v], who had deserted the Sāmānids Wahsūdān released Daisam in the hope that he would be able to organise resistance Daisam who had time to take Ardabīl, was defeated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Razzāk but the latter disgusted by the intrigues around him returned to Raiy in 338 (949) Daisam reoccupied Ardabīl but the advance of ʿAlī b Mīshkī, a supporter of Marzubān, forced him to seek shelter with the Artsrunids of Waspurakan [cf WĀN]

In the meanwhile by an ingeniously planned coup, Marzubān escaped from Sumairam and recovered all his strongholds and treasures (in 342) After a long series of adventures which brought him to Mawsil, Baghdād and Aleppo, Daisam in 344 (955) collected a force and read the *khutba* at Salmās in the name of the Hamdānid of Aleppo Saif al Dawla Marzubān quickly put down a rising in Darband and later drove Daisam back, who once again sought refuge with the Artsrunids who handed him over to Marzubān under threats from the latter

In an important passage, Ibn Hawkal, p 251–255, gives the list of the tributaries of Marzubān compiled by his minister Abu 'l-Kāsim (in 344) The names include those of the lords of Shīrwān, Abkhāz (? uncertain name of a district north of Shīrwān, cf Marquart, *Streifzuge*, p 174 *Abkhān), of Shakkī [q v], of [illegible], of Djurzān wa-Saghiyān (Gurziwān and Saghiyān to the west of Shīrwān), of Vayots-dzor (district of Siunie), of Ahar and Waizakan (N E of Tabrīz), of Khīzān (N of Bākū ?), as well as the Artsrunids, Bagratids and the princes of Khačen (west of Baidaʿa)

Wahsūdān and his nephews Marzubān died in Ramadān 346 (Dec 957) and while bequeathing the power to his brother Wahsūdān forgot to cancel his first will by which his sons Djustān, Ibrāhīm and Nāsir were to succeed him in succession

The commanders of the fortresses would not surrender them to Wahsūdān who returned to Tārom in disgust Djustān b Marzubān was recognised by his brothers but was only interested in his harem Marzubān's old general Djustān b Sharmazan set up in Urmiya [q v] and won to his side Ibrāhim, with whom he occupied Marāgha

In 349 (960) the grandson of the caliph Muktafī Ishāk b ʿĪsā rebelled in Gīlān and took the name of Mustadjīr bi 'llāh Djustān and Ibrāhīm became reconciled and defeated the rebels at Mūkān [q v]

Wahsūdān began intriguing among his nephews and detached Nāsir from Djustān but the quarrel was of short duration Under assurances from Wahsūdān, Djustān with his mother and Nāsir came to Tārom but were thrown into prison Wahsūdān sent his son Ismāʿīl to Ādharbāidjān Ibrāhīm who was ruling Armenia (Dwin) made a move in 349 or 350 which gave Wahsūdān an excuse to massacre his prisoners Ismāʿīl soon afterwards died at Ardabīl after which Ibrāhīm reoccupied Ādharbāidjān and laid Tārom waste while Wahsūdān sought refuge in Dailam Meanwhile Wahsūdān's general Sharmazan b Mishkī, however, succeeded in defeating Ibrāhīm and the latter, abandoned by all his soldiers, sought refuge with his brother-in law Rukn al-Dawla, who had married a daughter of Marzubān (355 = 966)

Rukn al-Dawla with his usual chivalry heaped favours on Ibrāhim and sent to Ādharbāidjān his famous minister Ibn al-ʿAmīd (Ustādh Raʾīs) who reinstated Ibrāhim and subjected the Kurds and Djustān b Sharmazan to him Ibn al ʿAmīd who was much impressed by the wealth of Ādharbāidjān proposed to Rukn al-Dawla to annex this province but his master recalled him to Raiy, saying that he did not wish to be accused of coveting the inheritance of one who had sought his protection After the return of Ibn al ʿAmīd matters went badly and from the allusions in Ibn Miskawaih we know only that Ibrāhīm was deposed and imprisoned (probably about 369 = 979, the year in which the *Tadjārib al-Umam* stops)

The end of the Musāfirids In the Muslim sources the situation in Ādharbāidjān till 420 is obscure but the statements of the Armenian historian Stephen Asołik, *Hist Universelle*, part ii, book iii, transl by Macler, Paris 1917, ch 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 38 and 41, enable us to fill the gaps According to Kasrawī, in 369 (979) Ibrāhīm b Marzubān was dispossessed of his lands in Ādharbāidjān by the Rawwādī family (on which see the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TABRĪZ and Kasrawī, *op cit*, ii) The son of Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Haidjā (the "Ablhadj Delmastanī" of Asołik) retained Dwin [q v] and on the invitation of king Mushel of Kars in 982—983 made an expedition into Armenia where he desecrated the churches This Ablhadj later lost all his lands to his neighbour Abutluph of Gołthn (i e Abū Dulaf Shaibānī, lord of Ordūbād) He later wandered in Georgia and Armenia and even visited the Byzantine emperor

Basil II, he was killed by his servants at Ukhthikh (Oltı) Finally another Ablhadj, son of Rovd, amīr of Atrapatakan (Abu 'l-Haidjā b Rawwād of Ādharbāidjān), took from Abū Dulaf "the towns of Salar and after sacking Gołthn marched on Dwin, seized this town and demanded from the Armenians the arrears of tribute" (Asołik, ch xviii) King Smbat II hastened to accede to the demand The Rawwādids thus gained possession of the remainder of the possessions of the Musāfirids of whom they claimed to be the successors There is no reason to connect the Arab-Kurd Rawwādids with the Musāfirids, who were of Dailamī origin, although there may have been intermarriage between the two families

The Tārom branch After the disappearance of the descendants of Marzubān, Tārom, the original fief of the dynasty, alone remained in their hands Wahsūdān had extended his power over the adjacent districts of Zandjān, Abhar and Suhraward (the latter name is usually mutilated in the sources) A *kasīda* of Mutanabbī (Kasrawī, *op cit*, i 45) dated probably in 354 suggests that Rukn al-Dawla drove Wahsūdān from Tārom for a time, but his family had remained there, for from Yākūt, iii 148—150 we learn that in 379 (989) the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla took Shamirān from the young son of Nūh b Wahsūdān, whose mother he married (the child's name was probably Djustān, cf Yākūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii 308)

In 387 (997) after the death of Fakhr al Dawla, Ibrāhīm b Marzubān b Ismaʿīl b Wahsūdān seized the fortress of Sardjihān and Tārom In 411 (1020) even Kazwīn was in his hands (cf *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, in *G M S*, p 58) When Mahmūd of Ghazna had taken Raiy, he sent against him the Dailamī Kharāmil After the return of Mahmūd to Khurāsān (420), his son Masʿūd attacked Ibrāhīm but only captured him by a stratagem Sardjihān, however, remained in the hands of Ibrāhim's son In 427 (1037) we find the "sālār of Tārom" in his fief again

Nāsir i Khusraw who was in this region in 437 (1045), speaks in high terms of the lord of Shamirān Djustān (b) Ibrāhīm whose title was "Marzubān al Dailam Djil-i Djilān Abū Sālih, Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn"

Under 454 (1062) Ibn al-Athīr records the visit of Tughril to Tārom, where he imposed a tribute of 100,000 dīnārs on Musāfir, who is the last Musāfirid known From Yākūt's words we may conclude that the Ismāʿilis of Alamūt put an end to the rule of the family when they dismantled Shamirān

Bibliography Cf the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TĀROM, TABRĪZ, URMIYA The principal source is Ibn Miskawaih, ed Amedroz and Margoliouth (abridged in Ibn al-Athīr, viii —ix) The *Taʾrikh Ādharbāidjān* of Ibn Abi 'l-Haidjā al-Rawwādī (cf Safadī, in *J A*, 1912, xix, March, p 249, and Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii 107) has not yet been found Cf also Munedjdjim Bashi, *Sahāʾif al-Akhbār*, i 505

Sauvaire, *Sur quelques monnaies de M. de l'Ecluse*, in *J R A S*, 1881, p 380–398 (résumé of Ibn al Athīr, description of a dirham struck at Ardabil in 343 in the names of "Sālār Abū Mansūr" [? perhaps Wahsūdān] and "Malik al-Muʾaiyad Marzubān b Muhammad Abū Nasr", and of a dīnār struck at Marāgha in 347 in the names of Ibrāhīm and Djustān, son of Marzubān), Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p 441, Marquart, *Notes on Mayyafāriqīn*, in *J R A S*, 1909, p 170—176, Sir E D Ross, *On three Muhammadan Dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, 1925, ii /2, p 212—215 (cf also Sir E D Ross, in *J R A S*, 1924, p 617–619), Huart, *Mosāfirides de l'Ādharbaidjān*, in *A Volume presented to E G Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p 229–256, R Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d Ġastaniden und Sallāriden*, in *Islamica*, 1927, iii /2, p 168—186, Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie*, Hanover 1927, p 180, Saiyid Ahmad Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān i gumnām*, Teheran, i , 1928, and *passim*, ii —iii , 1929—1930 (a very good book analysing all the Muslim and even some Armenian sources), Markwart, *Die Entstehung d armenischen Bistumer*, in *O C*, xxvii /2, N° 80, Rome 1932, p 150—151 (recognises the identity of the Rawwādis of Tabrīz and Marāgha) (V MINORSKY)

MUSAILIMA (a contemptuous diminutive from Maslama, which is the form of his name given in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 443, 5, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 422 ult , cf Tulaiha [q v] for Talha), a prophet of the Banū Hanīfa in Yamāma contemporary with Muhammad His genealogy is variously given but always contains the name Habīb, his *kunya* was Abū Thumāma According to the usual account, he appeared as a prophet soon after the death of Muhammad, after having visited the latter in Medina with a deputation There is however another tradition according to which he began his prophetic career before Muhammad did, and D S Margoliouth has given very cogent reasons for accepting this According to Ibn Ishāk (Ibn Hishām, ed Wüstenfeld, p 200), Muhammad's enemies reproached him with having obtained his wisdom from a man of Yamāma named Rahmān Now we have ample evidence (Wākidī, transl Wellhausen, p 28, Tabarī, i 1935, 14, Balādhurī, p 105, Baghawī on Sūra xxv 61) that Musailima, who preached in the name of Rahmān, was himself called Rahmān Further the story recurring in all traditions that Musailima proposed to the Medinese prophet a division of authority or a transfer of his power to him on his death (a similar story is told of the Hanīfa chief Hawdha) becomes more intelligible if this prophet already occupied in Yamāma a position similar to that of Muhammad in Medina It is also worthy of note that the prophetic utterances attributed to Musailima recall the earliest Meccan sūras with their short rhyming sentences and curious oaths and have no resemblance at all to the later Medinese sūras In particular the fact that all the Banū Hanīfa followed him into battle against the Medinese shortly after the death of Muhammad shows that he must have been active for a considerable time and was no upstart imitator of Muhammad That the latter was the usual method of explaining the "liar" Musailima, is readily intelligible, nor is it to be wondered at that orthodox tradition could not deny itself the pleasure of depicting his relations with the Tamīm prophetess Sadjāh [q v] in the most scurrilous fashion Fortunately however, the otherwise little reliable Saif gives quite a different story, which although influenced by later ideas (Musailima in order to gain followers reduces the five daily *salāts* to three, he has a *muʾadhdhin* and a *mukim*, he tries in vain to imitate Muhammad's miracles etc), gives a picture of him which is in the main correct and we can agree with Wellhausen that his utterances have a distinctly Yamāma

colouring According to Saif's account, he must have been considerably influenced by Christianity for he speaks of the kingdom of heaven and of him who will come from heaven Like several other men of the time in Arabia of deep religious feelings he favoured asceticism He forbade wine and marital intercourse after the birth of a son It is interesting that Palgrave on his journey into Nadjd found a number of sayings still current under Musailima's name, unfortunately he did not trouble to record them so that we cannot compare them with what is recorded of his utterances in literature This rival community in the heart of Arabia meant a serious danger to the young faith of Islām Therefore when the first attempts to repress it had failed, Abū Bakr sent his ablest leader Khālid b al-Walīd against Musailima and the Banū Hanīfa A battle was fought at ʿAkrabāʾ [q v] in 12 A H which at first went against the Muslims, but Khālid's superior strategy finally prevailed and Musailima and many of his followers fell martyrs for their faith The battle was unusually fierce and the Muslims also suffered heavily, among the fallen being a number of the best authorities on the revelations of Muhammad

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, ed Wüstenfeld, p 945 *sq*, 964 *sq*, 971, 996 *sq*, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 86 *sqq*, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1737—1739, 1748—1750, 1795—1797, 1871, 1880, 1915—1921, 1929—1957, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 206, Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, in *B G A*, vii 275, 284 *sq*, Baihakī, *Kitāb al-Mahāsin*, ed Schwally, p 32, Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p 31, 38—46, Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv 102, 115, 156 *sq*, vi 15—19, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 450 *sq*, 635–648, 727–738, Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, p 25, D S Margoliouth, in *J R A S*, 1903, p 485 *sqq*, against him Lyall, *ibid*, p 771 *sq*, Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, i 382 (Fr Buhl)

MUṢALLĀ (A), part pass II of *ṣ-l-w*, place where the salāt is performed on certain occasions When Muhammad had fixed his abode in Madīna, he performed the ordinary *salāt*'s in his *dār*, which was also his *masdjid* not in the sense of temple) The extraordinary *salāt*'s, however, were performed on a place situated outhwest of the city in the territory of the Banū alima, outside the wall, northeast of the bridge in the wādī, where at present the street from he suburb al-ʿAnbarīya reaches the market place arr al-Munākha (cf Burton, *Personal Narrative*, lan opp i 256, picture of the musallā as well s of the mosque of ʿUmar situated on the place, pp i 329, al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al Hidjāzīya*, nd ed, plan of Madīna opp p 252, part of the arr al-Munākha, *ibid*, opp p 264, Caetani, *Annali*, ol II/1, opp p 72)

On this spot the *salāt* was performed on the st Shawwāl and on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (Tabarī, 1281, 1362) On the latter day the *salāt* was ombined with the slaughtering of two spotted ams (Bukhārī, *Adāhī*, bāb 6) On the two days f festival Muhammad and his followers on their vay to the musallā were preceded by Bilāl who ore the spear (*ʿanaza*, q v)

It is also said that the *ṣalāt* for rain was held n the musallā (copious *data* in Tradition, cf Wensinck, *Handbook*, s v Rain, and do, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p 141) Further it is related that the service for the dead was performed on this spot (Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 4, 61, Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p 140) Finally the musallā is mentioned as the place where executions took place (Bukhārī, *Talāk*, bāb 11, Tabarī, i 1903) The sacred character of the place appears in the fact that menstruating women were taught to avoid it (Bukhārī, *Haid*, bāb 23) According to Caetani (A H 1, § 55, note 3, cf A H 2, § 24, note 1), the musallā was used more frequently

It was not only in Madīna but in a large number of other places that the rites mentioned, or some of them, were performed on a musallā According to al-Nawawī (commentary on Muslim's *Sahīh*, Cairo 1283, ii 296), this was the practice of most of the capitals The custom prevails up to the present day According to Doutté, the North African musallā is used for the rites of the 10th Dhu 'l Hidjdja It is a large threshing-floor, with a wall provided with a *mihrāb*, there is also an elevated place for the *khatīb* This is the form of the musallā in many towns of Morocco

To the doctors of the law it was questionable whether the festival ceremonies should be performed on the musallā or in the mosque There was divergency of opinion on this point, even within the *madhhab*'s (Abū Ishāk al Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed Juynboll, p 41, where "the field" (*al sahrāʾ*) is mentioned side by side with the mosque, Zurkānī, comm on the *Muwatta*ʾ, i 328, Khalīl b Ishāk, *Mukhtasar*, Paris 1318, p 33 *sq*, al-Nawawī, *op cit*, ii 296)

Wensinck has conjectured that even in pre-Islāmic times rites of several kinds were performed on an open area, threshing-floor, musallā or the like The connection between all those rites and the special place is sought by him therein, that they had a special connection with the fertile earth, of which the threshing-floor and the like were symbols

Bibliography Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, A H 2, § 7, 24, note 1, 67, 91, 101, A H 6, § 19, A H 11, § 55, note 3, 159[1], Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl Schaeder, Leipzig 1930, p 205, 233, R Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage*, London 1857, i 378, Wensinck *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p 25, 138—142, do, *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v, do, *Rites of Mourning and Religion*, in *Verh Ak Amst*, N R, vol XVIII/1, p 1 *sqq*, Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, p 462, Samhūdī, *Khulāsat al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1285, p 187 *sqq*, Wustenfeld, *Gesch der Stadt Medina*, in *Abh G W Gott*, IX, separate ed, Gottingen 1860, p 127 *sqq*, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, ii 89, al-Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 47, al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, ii 14, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 104, 703, iv 51 (poetic references), Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s v *mosellay* (A J Wensinck)

MŪSĀWĪ [See Mecca, ii 4]

AL-MUṢAWWIR [See Alī ʿAbd al-Rahmān II]

MŪSH, town in Western Armenia near the southern bank of the Murād Ṣu (Arsanias), some 70 km as the crow flies to the west of Khilāt In pre-Muhammadan times it was the principal town of the district of Taraun (Hübschmann, *Idg Forsch*, xvi 326, J Saint-Martin, *Memoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Armenie*, i, Paris 1818, p 102) In Islāmic times the name Tarūn

(as spelled by Yāḳūt, IV 534) is sometimes used for the town itself as in Ṭabarī, III 1408 (cf J Markwart, *Sud Armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p 354) The tradition of the Armenian historians connects the foundation of Mūsh with Mushel Mamikonean, the ancestor of the powerful, originally non-Armenian family of the Mamikoneans, who lived in the IVth century A D To him is ascribed the construction of a castle, the ruins of which are still visible on one of the hills that dominate Mūsh This town itself is situated at the mouth of a mountain gorge and before it extends, as far as the river, a large fertile plain, the "plain of Mūsh" During the first centuries after the Muhammadan conquest, Mūsh remained a centre of Armenian national life, from 825—851 it was the residence of the Bagratid Bagrat After the abduction of this prince to Baghdād in 851, the inhabitants revolted and killed the Muhammadan governor Yūsuf b Abī Saʿīd al Marwanī (Ṭabarī, III 1408 *sq*) Later on it was part of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids Occasionally it was occupied by Muhammadan adventurers, as in the days of Sayf al-Dawla (Ibn al Athīr, VIII 408) in 353 (964) About this time the name Mūsh appears for the first time in Islāmic geographical literature (al-Makdisī, p 150) In Saldjūk times the influence of Islām became stronger, the atabegs of the Armanshāh dynasty disputed the territory of Khilāt and Mūsh with the Urtukids and even the Ayyūbid Nadjm al Dīn laid siege to Mūsh in 604 (1207) (Ibn al Athīr, XII 169, 180), and in 625 (1228) Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh was master of the country, in that year a battle was fought by him and lost on the plain of Mūsh against the Saldjūk ruler of Erzerūm (Ibn al-Athīr, XII 314, Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān gushā*, II 181) This accounts for the ruined state of the town in the middle of the XIVth century (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī) After the Mongol period Mūsh was raided by Timūr in 1386, when he invaded the possessions of the Kara Koyunlu (Sharaf al-Dīn, Bitlis, 419) In 1473 the power of the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan was definitely broken in Armenia and from that time on Mūsh belonged to the Ottoman Empire At that time the population of its surroundings was already strongly mixed with Kurds and Turcomans The direct authority was exercised by Kurdish local chieftains, who, in the ruling system of the Empire, were subordinated, as sandjak begs, either to the pasha of Bitlis or to that of Wan At the beginning of the XIXth century ruled the Kurdish *mīrmīrān* Emīn Pasha, who was deposed in 1828—1829 (Ritter, X 676 and *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, I 426) In the middle of that century, Mūsh became the chief town in the *merkez kazā* Mūsh, in the *sandjak* Mūsh in the *wilāyet* of Bitlis, and in the Turkish republic it is a *kazā* in the *wilāyet* of Bitlis The population of the town (some 5,000 inhabitants) was, until the Great War, half Armenian and half Muhammadan, one of the Armenian churches had been converted in 979 (1571) into a mosque, according to an inscription (Ritter) The environs of Mūsh had also a mixed population, where, however, ancient Christian sanctuaries had long continued to exist, such as the monastery of Surb Karapet, called by the Turks Čanlī Kilise and described by Ewliyā Čelebi

During the Armenian troubles in the last years of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's reign, in 1905, there began in Mūsh a revolutionary movement of Armenian tashnakists, which brought about an intervention of the Kurds and a suppression by government troops, in which the population suffered much In the Great War the Russian advance in Armenia had gone as far as Mūsh, when, in accordance with the treaty of Brest-Litowsk (1917), the Russian troops retired in 1918, leaving this part of Armenia again in Turkish possession

Bibliography Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV 682, Abu 'l Fidā', ed Reinaud, p 392—393, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p 106, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, ed Constantinople, p 416, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat nāme*, III 228, C Ritter, *Erdkunde*, X, Berlin 1843, p 662 *sqq*, 676 *sqq*, V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I, Paris 1841, p 551, 575

(J H KRAMERS)

AL-MUSHABBIHA [see TASHBĪH]

MUSHAF (A), Ethiopic loanword (cf Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, p 49 *sq*, the forms *mishaf* and *mashaf* occur also, according to some grammarians they are less correct, especially the latter), codex, or, according to the definition of Arabic lexicographers, leaves (*suḥuf*, plural of *ṣaḥīfa*), when they are bound together between two covers In the tradition on the redaction of the Kurʾān [q v] by Ḥudhaifa b al Yamān during ʿUthmān's caliphate, it is said indeed, that the collection of leaves that had been made by Zaid b Thābit at ʿUmar's instigation, was copied and arranged into *maṣāḥif* These were sent to all regions (as standard copies), the *suḥuf* were restored to ʿUmar's daughter Ḥafṣa, in whose possession they had been ever since her father's death Other *suḥuf* were annihilated as often as occasion offered itself (Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al Kurʾān*, bāb 3, *ʿIlm*, bāb 7, *Djihād*, bāb 12, *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, bāb 20, *Aḥkām*, bāb 37, Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, trad 19)

From the time of the redaction of the Kurʾān under ʿUthmān *maṣāḥif* are frequently mentioned in Arabic literature In a tradition on ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣ's well known stratagem during the battle of Ṣiffīn it is said that a huge mushaf from Damascus was tied to the points of three lances (al Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Akhbār al ṭiwāl*, ed Girgass, p 201 *sq*, Naṣr b Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Bairūt 1921, p 350, cf p 353), in other traditions "copies of the Kurʾān" in several numbers are mentioned (e g Ṭabarī, I 3329)

In a tradition on the *ṣalāt* it is assumed that in the mosque of Madīna the mushaf had a fixed place (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 95, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 263, 264), nowadays this place is by the *dikka* (cf Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap Religion and Laws, and *supra*, art MASDJID, I, D, f)

It is said that ʿĀʾisha had a mushaf copied for her private use by her mawlā Abū Yūnus (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, trad 29, cf Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān*, bāb 6)

Maṣāḥif were taken into the field by Muslim soldiers (cf Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 28, Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, bāb 135), this practice met, however, with objections (cf Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 129, Muslim, *Imāra*, trad 92, 93), founded on the fear that they might fall into impure hands For a similar reason persons impure in a ritual sense were prohibited from touching *maṣāḥif*, save in a special cover (*ʿalāka*, Bukhārī, *Ḥaiḍ*, bāb 3)

Bibliography The lexicons, s v

(A J WENSINCK)

MUSHĪR (A), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *mūshīr* and *mushur* (modern orthography *muşur*) with meaning "Marshal" *Mushīr* literally means "one who points out, advises" Cf also the article MUSTASHĀR

According to some authorities, mushīr was at first (before the ʿAbbāsids) the title of the ministers (later *wazīr*, q v) or secretaries of state (*kātib*) So at least we are told by Ibn al-Tiktakā' (ed Derenbourg, p 206, transl Amar, p 244) Khalīl al-Zāhirī (ed Ravaisse, p 106 and 114) says that "formerly" an official to whom he gives fourth rank in the hierarchy, which shows he clearly distinguishes him from the *wazīr*, bore the title of mushīr We seem however to have very little other information about this dignitary On the other hand, the word mushīr in a non-technical sense is often found along with *wazīr* of which it sometimes seems to be a doublet or synonym (cf Makrīzī, ed Wiet, iv, fasc 1, p 20 and 74, Noldeke, *Die Erzahlungen vom Mäusekonig und seinen Ministern*, Gottingen 1879, p 53 *mushīr nāṣih*, *wazīr nāṣih*)

We may note however that this older and broader conception did not survive According to Ibn Khaldūn the *wazīr* is, it is true, an "assistant" to the sovereign, but to his predecessor Māwardī (*Les statuts gouvernementaux*, transl Fagnan, p 43 *sqq*) the *wazīr* is not the adviser of the *imām* but his delegate

If Ibn al-Tiktakā"s statement is correct we must see a survival of this older state of affairs in the usage of the Mamlūk chancellery where we find among the honorific *lakab*s of the *wazir* that of *mushir al-dawla* (or *al saltana* or *al mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn*) Cf Kalkashandī, vi 70

The same usage, which perhaps came from the Saldjūks, is still more clearly established in the Ottoman chancellery We actually find the word mushīr among the *alkāb* of the Turkish *wazir* (*vezīr*) and almost at the head of the formula, which shows its importance *dustūr-i mukerrem*, *mushir-i mufakhkham*, *nizām ul-ʿālem* etc Whence in the epistolary style the epithets *mushirī* and *mushīrāne* used along with *dustūri* and *dustūrāne* or *khidiwi* and *khidiwāne* to designate all that belongs to an official of the rank of *wezir*

Mahmūd II in creating the principal ministries naturally thought of again giving a real value to this title of mushīr, which he gave to the principal ministers, and in the reign of his successor ʿAbd al-Madjīd "the privy council (*medjlis i khāss*, a regular council of ministers) consisted of the grand vizier, the *sheikh al islām*, eleven mushīr and three officials of the first rank" (Bianchi, *Le premier annuaire imperial de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1848, p 7, Bianchi translates mushīr by "councillor or under secretary of state" and has been followed by Barbier de Meynard in his *Supplément*, the references in which should be taken with this reservation) In 1250 (1834—1835) the title of mushir was given to the new *nāzir* of the Interior (*mulkiye nāziri* = the former *ket khūdā*) and of Foreign Affairs (*khāridjiye nāziri* = the former *rēis ul-kuttāb*, cf Lutfī, v 29) The *zabtiye mushirliyi* was created in 1262 (1846) (Lutfī, viii 87)

Mahmūd II also created the post of *beylei beyi wezir* or chief of the imperial guard, who bore the title *mushīr-i ʿasākir-i khāṣṣe* (*pasha*), an officer who took rank after the serʿasker or War Minister (Hammer, *Hist de l'Emp Ott*, xvii 188 and 189) This title was soon to be contrasted with that of *mushir i ʿasākir-i shāhāne* by the other troops (Lutfī, v 28)

The ministers did not long bear the title of mushīr which gave place to *nāzir*, but the former of these titles, perhaps under the influence of the word "marshal", which it more or less resembles, became a special military title It became the highest rank in the army, corresponding to vizier in the civil service and of *kazasker* in the religious hierarchy At first the title *redif i manşūre mushīri* (cf Lutfī, v 68, 74) was given to the *wālī*s of certain provinces, or simply mushīr of such and such a province (*ibid*, p 165 *sqq*, vi 102, 103, vii 70) This corresponded to the demarcation of the army corps

The number of mushīr or "marshals" soon increased and in the reign of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II, there were 39 in 1890 and in 1895, 31 (see the *Salnāme i ʿaskerī* of the years 1306 and 1311) Those who had the right to this title were the serʿasker, the *topkhāne i ʿāmire mushiri* or "grand master of artillery", the *sarāy mushīri* or "grand master of the Palace" (replacing the old *cawush bashi*, according to Ahmad Rāsim, *Taʾrikh*, i 156 and 186), the *khāṣṣe mushiri* (as under Mahmūd II), the commanders of the seven army corps (*kol ordu*), the heads of the army services, the aides de camp to the sultān (*yāwer i ekrem*) The only duty of five of the mushīr was to superintend the ceremony of the Selāmlik (*selāmlik resm i ʿālisine meʾmūr*) The officer in charge of the police station (*merkez*) of Beshiktash, near the Yildiz Kiosk, was also a mushīr (*M S O S*, vii, 1908, part 2, p 40) Instead of *sarāy mushiri* the more usual phrase was *mā-beyn mushir* (Lutfī, vii 62)

The honorific form of address for a mushīr was *dewletli* (*dewletlu*) *efendim hazretleri* In the plural the Persian form *mushirān* or with epithet *mushīrān i ʿizām* The name of the office is *mushirīyet* or *mushirlik*, more rarely *mushīrī* (Lutfī, v 91)

The title of mushīr, which has been borne by Mustafā Kemāl Pāshā himself, has survived in the Turkish republic but there is at present only one mushir in office, the Chief of the General Staff, Fewzī Pasha

In Khedivial Egypt they stopped at a stage where the influence of the reforms of Mahmūd II was still felt The *rutbet mushir* there was down to the present reign exclusively the highest grade of officers but without distinction between military and civil offices It was also in theory a civil rank (*rutba mulkiya*) to which all the princes of the khedivial house had a claim

In Persian the title *mushir* has been rarely used Cf however the case of the *mushīr ed dowle* (cf the similar title above) borne by an aide de-camp of Nasr al Dīn Shāh (Feuvrier, *Trois ans a la Cour de Perse*, p 135—136)

Bibliography Cf J Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, index, s v *mouchir*, Mme Kibrizli Mehemet Pacha, *30 ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, Paris 1875, p 126 (description of a ceremonial presentation of a mushīr's firmān), on the word *mushirīye* in actual use in Damascus, cf Saussey, *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *Mel de l'Inst fr de Damas*, i, 1929, p 117

(J DENY)

MUSHRIK. [See SHIRK]

AL-MUSHTARĪ, the planet Jupiter, Pers *Hurmuzd* < *Aurmazd* (*Ahura-mazdāh*) The name of the planet is in Sumerian *Shulpa'e*, later also *Mulu-babbar* "the white star" (= Μολοβαβαρ in Hesychios, cf Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1925, ii 404), in the later Accadian period it is always identified with the numen supremum Marduk (Biblical Merodach) In Hebrew it is called *Sedek*, in Greek — just as among the Babylonians, as the symbol of the highest deity — ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ As a synonym of al-Mushtarī we find (e g in Hadīth) the name *Barǧīs* (cf *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii 323)

The Arab astronomers, like Pythagoras and Ptolemy, put Jupiter in the sixth sphere (*falak*) from within i e the third from without On the interior it adjoins the outer surface of the sphere of Mars and on the exterior the inner surface of the sphere of Saturn The following table gives the least, mean and greatest distance of Jupiter from the centre of the earth, expressed in radii of the earth, as given by al Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed Nallino, ch 50), al-Farghanī (*Compilatio*, ch 21), Ibn Rusta (*Kitāb al-Aʿlāk*, ed de Goeje, p 18–20) and Abrāhām bar Hīyā (*Sphaera mundi*, ch 9), as well as the Hindu values given by al-Bīrūnī from the compilation by Yaʿkūb b Tārik of the year 161 A H, and the modern figures for these distances

	least distance (*perigee*)	mean distance	greatest distance (*apogee*)
al-Battānī	8,022 rad of the earth	10,473 rad of the earth	12,924 rad of the earth
al Farghānī	8,876 "	$11{,}640\frac{1}{2}$ "	14,405 "
Ibn Rusta	8,820 "	$11{,}503\frac{1}{2}$ "	14,187 "
Bar Hīyā	8,000 "	10,200 "	12,400 "
Hindu (al-Bīrūnī)	$8{,}019\frac{1}{21}$ "	$10{,}866\frac{2}{3}$ "	$13{,}714\frac{2}{7}$ "
Modern	92,500 "	122,250 "	152,000 "

The radius of the earth is here estimated at 3,250 (al Battānī, al-Farghānī and Bar Hīyā) and 3,818 Arab miles respectively (Ibn Rusta) while, according to al-Bīrūnī, the Hindus give it as 1,050 farsakh = 3,150 Arab miles (1 Ar m = 1,973 metres, cf Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*) The true geocentric distances of the planet Jupiter are actually about $11\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than given by al-Battānī for example It should however be pointed out that the relation of 37 23 ∞ $1^{11}/_{18}$ for the greatest and least observed apparent diameter taken by this scholar, with the help of which the distance of the apogee was calculated from the estimated distance of the perigee at 8,022 radii of the earth agrees remarkably well with the modern estimate The apparent diameter of Jupiter at the mean distance is given by al Battānī as $\frac{1}{12}$ of the diameter of the sun From this and the mean distance he calculates the true diameter of Jupiter at $4\frac{1}{3}$ diameters of the earth (= $8\frac{2}{3}$ radii), and its volume at 81 times that of the earth (i e $[4\frac{1}{3}]^3$) The true values are 2 56 (i e 170 times larger) diameter of Jupiter = 11 14 diameters of the earth, volume = 1,380 times the volume of the earth

Following Ptolemy (*Almagest*) al Battānī gives the greatest observed northern (geocentric) latitude as 2° 4′, the greatest southern as 2° 8′ On the other hand, he points out (ch 31 and 45) that he found the length of the apogee of the eccentric circle from his observations to be about 8° smaller (in 879 A D, 164° 28′) than was to be expected from the *Almagest*, taking into account the precession

The movement of Jupiter is as in the *Almagest* represented to be through four circles ("spheres", *aflāk*) (cf al-Battānī, *Op astr*, ch 31) The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value of 5′ Its period of sidereal revolution is given by al Kazwīnī (*Āthār*, ed Wustenfeld, i 26) at 11 years, 10 months, 15 days

Al-Mushtarī in astrology Al-Mushtarī is the ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Kāmil* (Sagittarius, night-house) and *al-Hūt* (Pisces, day-house), also night-ruler of the 1 *Muthallatha* (*Triquetrum*), which consist of *al Hamal* (Aries), *al-Asad* (Leo) and *al Rāmī* (Sagittarius), whose ruler by day is the sun, and finally companion (*rafīk*) of the 3 *Muthallatha* It has its *Sharaf* (exaltation) in the 15° of *al-Saratān* (Cancer), its *Hubūt* in the 15° of *al-Djady* (Capricornus) According to al Kazwīnī (i 22), "the astrologers call al Mushtarī the larger star of fortune", *al-Saʿd al-akbar*, because its good influence surpasses that of Venus, they attribute to it numerous happy states and the greatest good fortune The idea that the planet Jupiter is a star of good fortune is general among other peoples also, we also find it in Babylonia, India and China For further details of the part played by Jupiter in Arab astrology see the works of Abū Maʿshar

Bibliography See that of the articles ʿUṭārid and Minṭaka (W Hartner)

MŪSĪKĪ or موسيقا or موسيقى as it was written in the West (al Fārābī, *Ihsā' al-ʿUlūm*, Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico* = Latin *musica*), is the name given to the science of music It is a post classical word derived from the Greek μουσική, and was already current at the time of Ishāk al-Mawsilī (d 236 = 850) [q v] In the *Mafātih al-ʿUlūm* (ivth = xth century) *mūsīkī* is one of the four mathematical sciences Its author says "As for *mūsiki*, its meaning is the [science of the] composing of melodies (*alhān*) It is a Greek word, and it is named the *muṭrib* And the composer of the melodies is the *mūsikūr* or *mūsikār* (p 236)" The contemporary Ikhwān al-Safā' say (i 87) "*Mūsikī* is *ghinā'*, and the *mūsikār* is the *mughannī*, and the *mūsikāt* (*mūsikārīya* in Dieterici) is the instrument of music (*ghinā'*)" *ʿIlm al-mūsiki* was the name given by the Arabs to the Greek or mathematical theory of music as distinct from *ʿilm al-ghinā'* which was the Arabian practical theory, as we know from the *Kitāb al Aghānī* and Yahyā b ʿAlī b Yahyā b Abī Mansūr (d 300 = 912) The latter tells us (Brit Mus MS, Or 2361, fol 236v) of the "disagreement between the masters of Arabian *ghinā'* and the masters of [Greek] *mūsiki*" Of course, the Arabs and Persians possessed a theory of music long before they became influenced by the translations made from the Greek

at the end of the IIth (VIIIth) and beginning of the IIIth (IXth) century

The Pre-Islāmic System The source of both Persian and Arabian theory of music was an older Semitic one which had influenced, if it had not been the actual foundation of Greek theory (cf Farmer, *Hist Facts* , p 123) No Persian or Arabic technical nomenclature of a theory of *mūsīkī* (i e speculative theory) has come down to us from pre Islāmic times, although it must have existed Al-Fārābī (d 339 = 950) describes a musical instrument, still used in his day, called the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī* or *al-mīzānī*, the frets (*dasātīn*, a Persian word) of which gave a "pre-Islāmic scale" (Kosegarten, *Lib cant*, p 89, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*) It was a quarter tone scale which was arrived at by dividing a string into forty equal parts The idea could be traced to Eratosthenes (Ptolemy, *Harm*, ed Wallis, II 14) but probably was of far greater antiquity (Farmer, *Influence of Music*, in *Proceedings*, *Musical Association*, 1926, p 121) Although al-Fārābī's instrument did not actually give the following scale, yet the theoretical division mentioned above would produce a scale which, expressed in cyclic cents, would register

Fret	Nut	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
Cents	0	89	182	281	386	498

J P N Land was of opinion that the later Pythagorean lute scale of the Old Arabian School was derived from the system of the *tunbūr al-baghdādī* It is more likely however, that there was an earlier lute scale than that of the Old Arabian School, as has been hinted elsewhere (Farmer, *Hist of Arabian Music*, p 70) This was a one octave scale fixed by the accordatura (*taswiya*) C-D-G-a, the frets of which gave the following scale

Cents 0 204 408 498 702 906 1110 1200

For a discussion of this scale see Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p 27, do , *Hist Facts* , p 310

The Old Arabian System In the Ith (VIIth) century we get definite glimpses of a theory in the music of the Arabs and Persians We read of a certain Ibn Misdjah [q v] (d ca 97 = 715) who had learned Persian music (*ghinā'*) and accomplishments in playing (*darb*), and had received instruction from Byzantine (*rūmī*) barbiton players (*barbaṭiya*) and theorists (*ustūkhūsīya* = στοιχειαται) These borrowings from abroad he incorporated into a system which came to be recognized throughout the peninsula (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, III 84) We are told however, that Ibn Misdjah rejected from Persian and Byzantine methods what he found to be "alien to Arabian music" (*ghinā'*) This would appear to show, as Land once pointed out (*Remarks*, p 156), that these foreign importations "did not supersede the national music, but were grafted upon an Arabic root with a character of its own" We know that about the same time, or perhaps slightly later (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, I 98), that the Arabs adopted the Persian lute in the place of their own instrument This latter, as we have seen, gave a one-octave scale based on the accordatura C-D-G-a, whilst the Persian lute was tuned in fourths thus A-D-G-c, which enabled the performer to attain (with a shift) the double octave Yet only the highest and the lowest strings of their old lute needed to be altered, and these were given the Persian names of *zīr* and *bamm*, whilst the second and third strings retained their old Arabic names of *mathnā* and *mathlath* The new accordatura of the lute brought about a change in the scale (*ṭabaka*) as the following distribution of the frets shows (Brit Mus MS, Or 2361, fol 237) The lute with the Arabs was the basis of all "theory", just as the lyre was with the Greeks

FRETS	STRINGS			
	Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*
Muṭlak (Open string)	0	498	996	294
Sabbāba (1st Finger)	204	702	1200	498
Wusṭā (2nd Finger)	294	792	90	588
Binṣir (3rd Finger)	408	906	204	702
Khinṣir (4th Finger)	498	996	294	792

Nevertheless, this scale did not satisfy everyone, and we find that the Persians introduced a new *wusṭā* fret at 303 cents, whilst later a famous musician at Hārūn's court named Zalzal [q v] (d 175 = 791) adopted a fret at 355 cents, half way between the new Persian *wusṭā* fret and the *binṣir* fret By the time of Ishāk al Mawṣilī (d 236 = 850) these Persian and Zalzalian frets seem to have created such confusion that this musician attempted to recast the lute scale in its old Pythagorean mould, which, we are told, he did without recourse to Euclid or a solitary book of the "Ancients" as the Greeks of old were called (*Kitāb al Aghānī*, V 52—53, *ʿIḳd al farīd*, III 188) His reform appears to have been successful in ʿIrāk and lasted there until the IVth (Xth) century (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, I 2, *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, I 98) Elsewhere however, the Persian and Zalzalian notes continued in favour, as we know from al Fārābī (Kosegarten, *Lib cant*, p 85) and the *Mafātīḥ al ʿUlūm*, p 239 A century later, whilst the Persian note of 303 cents had disappeared, that of Zalzal was still popular (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifā'*, India Office MS, fol 173v)

There is but little preserved of the writings of the theorists of the Old Arabian School Whether the books of Yūnus al Kātib (d ca 148 = 765) [q v] and the more famous al-Khalīl (d 175 = 791) [q v] on music (*nagham* and *īlā'*) dealt with these theories we know not since they have perished (*Fihrist*, p 43, 143) A similar fate appears to have overtaken the music books of ʿUbaid Allāh b ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir (d ca 300 = 912), ʿAlī b Hārūn b ʿAlī b Yahyā b Abī Mansūr (d 352 = 963) and Sulaimān b Ayyūb al-Madīnī (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, V 45, *Fihrist*, p 144, 148) Beyond the sparse information given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī (VIII 89 *sq*), we have only the *Risāla fi 'l-Mūsikī* of Yahyā b ʿAlī b Yahyā b Abī Mansūr (d 300 = 912) to depend on, since the *Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l Malāhī* of Ibn Khurdādhbih (d ca 300 = 912) [q v] is in private hands (*Hilāl*, XXVIII 204)

Although we read that Ishāḳ al-Mawṣilī made his calculations by *hisāb* (Yahyā b ʿAlī, fol 237v), yet the Old Arabian School, so far as we know from Yaḥyā b ʿAlī b Yahyā, did not adjust the

frets of the lute (*ʿūd*) or pandore (*ṭunbūr*) by this method Their rule for fixing the frets was based on tuning a note with its octave or, as they termed it, its *ṣiyāh* or *diʿf*, although the latter term shows that they recognized the interval ratio 1 2 When the Greek scholiasts came to deal with the theory of music all this was changed

The Greek Scholiasts By the middle of the IIIth (IXth) century, the effects of the writings of the ancient Greeks on music, which had been translated into Arabic, began to be felt Among these treatises were Aristotle's *Problems* and *De anima*, the commentaries of Themistius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis on the latter, two works by Aristoxenus — including the *στοιχεῖα* it would seem, the two books on music attributed to Euclid, a treatise by Nicomachus, presumably the lost book, and the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy, all or most of which had been translated by the first half of the IVth (Xth) century at least, as we know from al-Fārābī (*Fihrist*, p 266, 269, 270, Ibn al-Kiftī, p 65, al-Makkarī, *Anal*, II 87, *ʿIkd al farīd*, III 186, *B G A*, VII 128, *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al Safāʾ*, I 102, and Farmer, *Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation*, in *Isis*, XIII, p 325)

The *ʿilm al mūsīkī* now became one of the courses of the *ʿulūm riyādiyya* or *quadrivium*, and was studied by most savants at this period although later a few fought shy of the subject probably, as in Western Europe (Farmer, *Hist Facts* , p 184), because it was too abstruse (Ibn Khallikān, III 471) The early scholiasts dealt with the theory of sound (*sawt*), intervals (*abʿād*), genres (*adjnās*), species (*anwāʿ*), systems (*djumūʿ*, *djamāʿāt*), mutation (*intikāl*) and composition (*taʾlīf*), after the manner of the Greeks, and from the above order we see that Euclid influenced them in this respect To this was added rhythm (*īkāʿ*) All this was of immense value to Arab theorists and their later copyists, the Persians and Turks Instead of the old method of describing intervals according to their frets they were now given definite names and recognized by ratios The octave became *al-kull* ("the whole"), whilst the fifth, fourth, and ditone were given identical names in Arabic The tone was variously known as the *ṭanīn*, *ʿawda* or *mudda* The semitone or *nuṣf ṭanīn* was recognized in its two forms, the *inṣāl* or ἀποτομή, and the *bakīya* or *fadla* which was the λεῖμμα, whilst the quarter tone was the *irkhāʾ* In some ways the Scholiasts were slavish and diffuse in what they borrowed, although in others they were eclectic On the question of the physical bases of sound however, and their treatment of musical instruments, they pushed ahead of their masters

The first to take advantage of the newly found treasures of the "Ancients" was al-Kindī (d 260 = 874) [q v] Seven treatises on music theory appear under his name (*Fihrist*, p 255—257, Ibn al-Kiftī, p 370, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 210), and four of them would seem to have survived (Farmer, *Hist of Arabian Music*, p 127, do, *Some musical MSS identified*, p 91) Three of them are at Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz*, Nrs 5503, 5530, 5531) *Risāla fī Idjzāʾ khabarīya al-Mūsīkī*, *Risāla fi ʾl Luhūn*, and another without title The fourth, the *Risāla fī Khubr Taʾlīf al-Alhān*, is in the British Museum (Or 2361), and is probably later than the others In the latter we see the author's indebtedness to Euclid and Ptolemy He had written a *Risāla fī Kismat al-Kānūn*, presumably Euclid's *Sectio canonis* He uses a one-octave alphabetic (*abdjad*) notation which was an improvement on Greek methods, but his pointing the way to a reform of the scale was probably of greater import to the Arabs By introducing a fifth string on the lute, so as to reach the double octave without recourse to the shift, he obtained the Complete System (*djamʿ al aʿṣam* Ptolemy's *σύστημα τέλειον*) To accomplish this a fret called the *mudjannab* had to be introduced at 114 cents between the *muṭlak* and the *sabbāba* fret, which in itself created another problem, and eventually led to frets being tried between the *mutlak* and the above *mudjannab* at 90 cents and between the *wusṭā* and *binsir* frets at 384 cents Here was the germ of the *limma*, *limma*, *comma* scale of the later *tunbūr al-khurāsānī*, the forerunner of the Systematist scale

After al Kindī, we have a gap of a century in actual documents There are names of theorists in abundance but their works have not survived Al Kindī's two disciples, Ahmad b Muhammad al-Sarakhsī (d 286 = 899) and Mansūr b Talha b Talhī, contributed works on the theory of music, the former writing six (*Fihrist*, p 117, 149, 261) More important perhaps, were the three books of Thābit b Kurra (d 288 = 901) [q v], as well as those of Muhammad b Zakariyā al Rāzī (d 320 = 932) [q v] and Kustā b Lūkā (d ca 320 = 932) [q v] (*Fihrist*, p 276, 295, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, I 309, *Kitāb al Aghānī*, VIII 54, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, V 161) The greatest of all the scholiasts however was al-Fārābī (d 339 = 950) [q v] (Ibn al Kifti, p 277, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, II 134, Steinschneider, *al Fārābī*) Although we lack two of his books on music, the *Kalām fi ʾl Mūsīkī* and the *Kitāb fī Ihsāʾ al Ikāʿ*, yet his greatest work, the *Kitāb al-Mūsīkī al-kabīr*, has been preserved This treatise, so he tells us, was written because he found an "incompleteness" in what had been handed down from the Greeks It has been called "the most important treatise on the theory of Oriental music" (cf vol II 54), but it probably deserved to rank as one of the greatest works that had been written on music His treatment of the physical and physiological principles of sound and music is certainly an advance on the Greeks, whilst he was the first to devote a detailed study to musical instruments, a subject on which nothing has come down to us from the Greeks Al-Fārābī was a good mathematician and physicist, and that enabled him to do justice to what the Arabs called the *ʿilm al nazarī* or speculative theory, even to not repeating the errors of the Greeks (Farmer, *Hist Facts* , p 292—293) Yet he was something more He was a practical musician and could appreciate the art as well as the science, which was more than Themistius could do, as al Fārābī himself mentions As a performer with a reputation (Ibn Khallikān, III 309, *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al Ṣafāʾ*, I 85) he could bring the *ʿilm al-ʿamalī* or practical art to bear upon the discussions So whilst he was more thorough than the Greeks in handling the physical bases of sound, he could also make valuable contributions to physiological accoustics, i e the sensations of tone, a question which the Greeks left practically untouched

By the time of al-Fārābī further additions had been made to the scale The principle by which the Persian and Zalzalian *wusṭā* frets at 303 and 355 cents had been determined, was also applied to the insertion of corresponding *mudjannab* frets,

between the *muṭlak* and the *sabbāba*, at 145 and 168 cents, with the result that there were now three *muḏannab* frets known respectively as the Ancient, Persian and Zalzalian, whilst the one at 114 cents had disappeared Here is the fretting of the lute in al-Fārābī's day

FRETS	STRINGS				
	Bamm	*Maṯlaṯh*	*Maṯnā*	*Zīr*	*Ḥādd*
Mutlak	0	498	996	294	792
Ancient muḏannab	90	588	1086	384	882
Persian muḏannab	145	643	1141	439	937
Zalzalian muḏannab	168	666	1164	462	960
Sabbāba	204	702	1200	498	996
Ancient wusṭā	294	792	90	588	1086
Persian wusṭā	303	801	99	597	1095
Zalzalian wusṭā	355	853	151	649	1147
Binṣir	408	906	204	702	1200
Khinṣir	498	996	294	792	90

Al-Farābī also noted the scale of the *tunbūr al-khurāsānī* proceeding by a *limma*, *limma*, *comma*, which doubtless was prompted by al-Kindī's speculations It became the parent of the later theory of the Systematist School In describing the scales of the *ʿūd* or rebec he shows one that gave the just minor third (316) and just major third (386)

The next great writer after al Fārābī was Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī (d 388 = 998) [q v], the most eminent of the Arabic writers on mathematics His book on rhythm (*īkāʿ*) has unfortunately disappeared, although its importance has been testified to (*Bibl Ind*, 1849, p 93) The contemporary encyclopædists, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ in their *Rasāʾil*, and Muhammad b Ahmad al-Khwārizmī in his *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm*, also deal with the theory of music The latter does not break fresh ground although his work is helpful in controlling others The former, however, are of considerable import because of their able and lucid treatment of accoustics Here is an instance According to Helmholtz (*op cit*, p 10), musical tones are distinguished by their force, pitch, and quality, and the force of a musical tone, he says, increases and diminishes with the extent or so-called amplitude of the oscillations of the particles of the sounding body Preece and Stroh refused to accept this definition and pointed out that loudness does not depend upon amplitude of vibration only, but upon the quantity of air put in vibration (*P R S*, xxviii, p 366) The Ikhwān al Safāʾ had already enunciated this opinion "Hollow bodies" they say, "like vessels will resound for a long time after they are struck, because the air within them reverberates time after time until it becomes still Consequently, the wider the vessels are, the greater the sound, because more air is put in vibration" (i 89) They also recognized the spherical propagation of sound (i 88), which was an improvement on the Aristotelian *De audibilibus* (802, a) which said that "the direction of sound follows a straight line" (cf Vitruvius, *De arch*, v 3)

The next writers whose works have been spared us are Ibn Sīnā (d 428 = 1037) [q v] and Ibn Zaila (d 440 = 1048) Two treatises on music stand to the credit of Avicenna, as he was known in Europe, and they are contained in the *Shifāʾ* (India Office MS, 1811) and the *Naḏjāt* (Bodleian MS Marsh, 521) (Ibn al Kiftī, p 413, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 2, cf Casiri, i 271) Unlike al-Fārābī, the *shaikh al-raʾīs* was not a practical musician, yet his biographers claim that he dealt with questions on the theory of music which were neglected by the Greeks He is scientific and philosophic in his approach, and even critical at times, but he displays little of that originality that is so apparent in his other writings Ibn Zaila was his disciple and echoed his opinions, although some fresh details emerge when dealing with the practical art He quotes from al-Kindī on the question of rhythm, and is useful on that account

Egypt also contributed its quota of music theorists, two outstanding writers being Ibn al-Haitham (d 430 = 1039) [q v] and Abu 'l-Salt Umaiya (d 528 = 1134) Ibn al Haitham appears however to have written commentaries on both the κατατομὴ κανόνος and the Εἰσαγωγὴ ἁρμονική of Euclid (Ibn al-Kiftī, p 168, Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 90) Although there were several Arabic commentaries on Euclid's *Canon* not one appears to have survived Yet we have two at least in Hebrew whose authors probably depended on Arabic works One of these was Moses Nievy (Halevy) who quotes Shem Ṭob b Isaac Shafrūt, and the other was Isaiah b Isaac (*Beth osar hassphārōth*, Year i, xxix, xxxi) The *Risāla fi 'l Mūsīkī* by Abu 'l Ṣalt was probably of some importance since it is quoted by Jewish writers (Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa, ii 52, Ahlwardt, *Verz*, N⁰ 5536 [5], P Duran, *Grammar*, Vienna 1863, p 37) In Syria we have Ibn al-Nakkāsh (d 574 = 1178), Abu 'l-Hakam al-Bāhilī and his son Abu 'l-Maḏjd Muhammad (d 576 = 1180), and ʿAlam al Dīn Kaisar (d 649 = 1251), all of whom were interested in music theory (Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa, ii 144, 155, 162, 181, Ibn Khallikān, iii 471), whilst further East we have such names as Ibn Manʿa (d 551 = 1156), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b Ṣafi al-Dīn (vith = xiith century?), Fakhr al Dīn al Rāzī (d 606 = 1209) [q v], and Nasīr al Dīn al Ṭūsī (d 673 = 1274) [q v] (Ibn Khallikān, iii 467, Bodleian MS Ouseley, N⁰ 117, Brit Mus MS Or 2972, Paris Bibl Nat MS, Arabe, N⁰ 2466) In the West, the two theorists of consequence are Ibn Bāḏjḏja (d 532 = 1138) [q v] whose book on music enjoyed the same reputation in the West as that of al-Fārābī in the East (al-Makkarī, *Anal*, ii 125), and Ibn Rushd (d 594 = 1198) [q v] whose commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* reveals that lucidity of treatment in the section dealing with the phenomena of sound that made him so famous on other questions

The Systematist School After Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila, the most thorough exposition of the theory of music, so far as existing documents show, was made by a musician in the service of the last Caliph of Baghdād, named Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b Fākhir (d 692 = 1294) [q v], the author of two estimable works, the *Risālat al Sharafiya* and the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, which almost every subsequent writer in music uses as his principal authorities A later theorist, ʿAbd al-Kādir b Ghaibī, frankly admitted that Safī al Dīn was the fountain head in music theory, whilst a modern has called him "the Zarlino of the Orient" (Kiesewetter, p 13), and many commentaries have been penned on his theories Safī al-Dīn was no mean physicist, and he attacks both al Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā when

e finds that their terms and definitions are inexact luch of it may be mere quibbling over verbal iceties, but it redounds to his credit that he ealized that in a science we must start off with erminological exactitudes Like al-Fārābī, he was practical musician, and the reform of the scale, hich must be attributed to him (cf Helmholtz, 280), was possibly due to this fact The Greek choliasts had done much to stabilize Arabian usic theory, yet anomalies still existed The ost notable was the Zalzalian *wusṭā* note at 55 cents together with its attendant sixth at 53 cents These did not conform to the scholiasts' cale which produced a succession of fourths (cf Helmholtz, p 281) It was to remedy this defect, t would seem, that Safī al Dīn laid down a new heory of the scale in which the octave was divided nto seventeen intervals in the succession of *limma*, *imma* and *comma*, which enabled him to embrace he fractious Zalzalian notes of 355 and 853 cents y close approximations which worked out at 384 nd 882 cents This scale, which has been con idered "the most perfect ever devised" (Parry, *Art of Music*, 1st ed, p 29), gave consonances urer than our scale of equal temperament can fford us (Riemann, *Catechism of Musical History*, 65) It is no wonder therefore that Helmholtz has onsidered the theory of the Systematist School so noteworthy in the history of the development of usic" (p 283) Here is the scale of Safī al-Dīn

FRETS	STRINGS				
	Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*	*Ḥadd*
Muṭlak	0	498	996	294	792
ʿaud	90	588	1086	384	882
Mudḏannab	180	678	1176	474	972
abbāba	204	702	1200	498	996
Persian wusṭā	294	792	90	588	1086
ʿalzalian wusṭā	384	882	180	678	1176
Binṣir	408	906	204	702	1200
Ḫinṣir	498	996	294	792	90

After the fall of Baghdād (654 = 1256), the hub f culture moved further East, and the writings of he Systematist School have to be sought as much n Persian as in Arabic Most of this literature as been preserved Kutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d 710 = 310) [q v], who devoted a valuable *ḏjumla* to the science of music" in his *Durrat al Tāǧ* (Brit Mus, MS Add 7694), was the first of these writers in ersian He was followed by Muhammad b Mahmūd l-ʿĀmulī (viiith = xivth century), whose *Nafāʾis l-Funūn* also has a section on music (Brit Mus, MS Add 16827) Another xivth century Persian ork deserving of mention is the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* Brit Mus MS, Or 2361) More important were he four works of ʿAbd al-Kādir b Ghaibī (d 839 = 435) [q v], entitled the *Ḏjāmiʿ al-Alḥān*, with its wo epitomes the *Makāṣid al-Alḥān* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Alḥān* (?) (Bodleian MSS, Marsh, N° 282, Ouseley, N° 264, 385), and the *Sharḥ al Adwār* a fifth work, the *Kanz al-Alḥān*, the most precious of ll since it contained noted music, has disappeared bn Ghaibī depends on al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and afī al-Dīn, but is by no means servile What he dds to our knowledge of the music of his day oncerns the practical art Both his son and his grandson were theorists, and their works still exist, the *Nakāwat al-Adwār* and the *Makāṣid al-Adwār* (Nūrī ʿUthmāniya Library, Nrs 3646, 3649) They were in the service of the Turkish sultāns, who were now patronising this class of savants, and we find two theorists, Ḫiḍr b ʿAbd Allāh and Ahmad Ughlū Shukrullāh, writing in Turkish, the latter translating the *Kitāb al-Adwār* of Safī al-Dīn (Lavignac, N° 2978) They were eclipsed, however, by two Arabic writers, the author (*fl* 855—886 = 1451—1481) of the *Muhammad b Murād Treatise* (Brit Mus, MS Or 2361), and Muhammad b Abd al-Hamīd al Lādiḳī (*fl* 886—918 = 1481—1512), the author of the *Risālat al Fathīya* (Brit Mus, MS Or 6629) Al Lādikī is the last writer to deal in an appreciable way with the speculative theory of music which had been suscitated by the Scholiasts (cf Kiesewetter, p 88) As for the author of the *Muhammad b Murād Treatise*, we have in him an able mathematician who places the *Arithmāṭīkī* of Nicomachus and Ibn Sīnā under contribution He is replete with argument and carefully examines the statements of his predecessors on questions of acoustics We find him saying that he had put certain theories to practical test and found them wanting He gives divisions of the string other than those laid down by Ṣafī al-Dīn

The contemporary encyclopædias also contain a section on music, the most notworthy being the *Durr al-Nazīm* (Vienna MS, NF, N° 4) or *Irshād al-Ḳāṣid* (*Bibl Ind*, 1849) of Muhammad b Ibrāhim al-Akfānī (d 749 = 1348), the *Makālid al-ʿUlūm* (Brit Mus, MS Or 3143) attributed to ʿAlī b Muhammad al Djurdjānī (d 816 = 1413), and the *Unmūdhaḏ al-ʿUlūm* (Vienna MS, N F, N° 7) of Muhammad Shāh Čelebī b Muhammad al Fanārī (d 839 = 1435) To al-Djurdjānī may also be ascribed the *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh*, the most thorough and illuminating commentary on the theories of Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al Muʾmin, and the most strikingly original treatment of the physical and physiological rudiments of sound (Brit Mus, MS Or 2361) After the close of the ixth (xvth) century, treatises on the *ʿilm al-mūsīḳī* are rare Writers abound who profess to deal with it, but actually they are only concerned with the practical art If any *ʿilm* is displayed in these later books it is the *ʿilm al-nuḏjūm*, and authors fill their pages with astrological tables linking up the twelve *buyūt* of the heavens with the twelve *makāmāt*, and so forth Many treatises are written in verse, a form which, however much it may attract the pure *adab* lover, is scarcely suitable in dealing with a science The author of one of these however, Shams al-Dīn al Saidāwī al Dhahabī (or al-Dimashḳī), is worthy of attention by reason of his use of a stave for the purpose of a musical notation, a device which may be traced to the year 1200 at least (Bodleian MS, Marsh, N° 82, Paris Bibl Nat MS, Arabe, N° 2480) In the West, treatises on the theory of music are scarcer still Ibn Khaldūn (d 809 = 1406) [q v] gives a glimpse of what was taught under this heading in his day (*Prol*, ii 410), but actual works are rare A certain ʿAbd al Rahmān al Fāsī wrote a treatise in 1650 entitled the *Kitāb al-Ḏjumūʿ fī ʿIlm al-Mūsīḳī wa 'l-Tubūʿ* (Ahlwardt, *Verz*, N° 5521), but its author borrows his theory from older authorities (Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p 14)

The Modern School The chief feature of this school is the so called quarter tone system, and its most important theorist is Mīkhā'īl Mushāka (d 1888) [q v] The system was not invented or introduced by him as Parisot thought (*Rapport*, p 21) because Mushāḳa himself tells us that it existed before his day (*M F O B*, vi 52, 105) Nor can we say that the xixth century was the period of its origin (cf Lachmann, *Grove's Dict of Music*, iii 576) since we know that it was practised in the xviiith century as Baron de Tott (La Borde, i 436–439), Toderini (i 243) and Murat (Fétis, ii 363) have shown Nor can it be traced in a MS mentioned by Villoteau, as Land suggested (*Recherches*, p 77–78), because this work can be identified with a MS entitled *al-Shadjara dhāt al Akmām* (Brit Mus, MS Or 1535) in which there is no mention of the quarter-tone theory How did the system originate? Dr Lachmann holds that it was due to the needs of transposition (*Grove's Dict of Music*, iii 567) On the other hand, Collangettes avers that in actual practice (for the lute is no longer fretted) it is simply the Systematist scale to which several smaller intervals have been added (p 419) Some of the technical terms used in the system are of Persian origin such as those for the quarter tone, three quarter tone, and tone, *nim ʿaraba*, *tik ʿaraba*, and *barda* Further, as early as the xvth century, as we know from Ibn Ghaibī, Shihāb al Dīn al-ʿAdjamī, and the author of the Muhammad b Murād Treatise, intervals finer even than those of the Systematist School were being used in the newly adopted *shuʿab* or modal extensions, which were not used in the time of Safi al Dīn ʿAbd al Muʾmin, although they are part of the earlier (?) Persian system as reflected in the *Bahdjat al-Rūh* by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b Safi al Dīn (Bodleian MS, Ouseley, N° 117) A Persian origin of the quarter-tone system is, therefore, not unlikely, although Mahmūd Rāghib, a well known writer on Turkish music, argues in favour of a Greek origin (see the Turkish journals *Milli Madjmūʿ*, May-Oct, 1927, and the *Turkische Post*, June and Aug, 1928) In the xviiith century we have evidence (La Borde, i 436) that the octave was divided into twenty-four equal parts of 50 cents each producing a scale comprising three major tones of 200 cents, each divided into four quarter tones, and four minor tones of 150 cents, each divided into three quarter-tones

TONES	*Rast*	*Dūkāh*	*Sīkāh*	*Djahārkāh*	*Nawā*	*Husainī*	*Awdj*	*Māhūr*	
CENTS	200	150	150	200	200	150	150	Total	1200

Mushāka tells us that he was dissatisfied with the theorists of his day in regard to their division of the octave (cf Murat's division of the octave into 55 *commas*) There was certainly a difference so far as Egypt was concerned, since one theorist divided even the minor tones into four parts as well as the major tones, thus giving twenty-eight intervals to the octave (Muhammad b Ismāʿīl Shihāb al-Dīn) At any rate, Mushāka attempted to lay down a principle that would establish the quarter tone (*rubʿ*) system on a proper basis His method is by no means clear (Land, *Recherches*, p 75, Collangettes, p 417, 418), but Ellis (*J S A*, p 497) and Parisot (*Mus orient*, p 15—16) believe that he was aiming at a quarter-tone scale of equal temperament, twenty-four to the octave, which was actually the scale (see La Borde, i 436) that he found in use (cf Collangettes, p 419)

NOTES	*Yakāh*	*ʿUshairān*	*ʿIrāk*	*Rast*	*Dūkāh*	*Sīkāh*	*Djahārkāh*	*Nawā*
CENTS	0	200	350	500	700	850	1000	1200

This is the same scale as the preceding with the exception that the base has been given a lower note in the system, i e *yakāh* instead of *rast* The system of the quarter-tone scale is generally accepted to day throughout the Islāmic Near East (Collangettes, p 415), and even the Middle East (ʿAlī Nakī Khān Wazīri)

Although in the Maghrib very little is written about the theory of music nowadays, yet in Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Turkey, there is no lack of books on the subject, as the *Bibliography* will show, although many of the treatises are merely manuals for practitioners Even in Turkestān, under the auspices of the Soviet, works are being published During the last decade a great fillip has been given to the study of the theory of music by the establishment of conservatories of music in the great Oriental capitals and chief cities, notably the *Dār al-Alhān* at Constantinople and the *Nādi 'l Mūsīkī al-Sharkī* at Cairo

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(H G FARMER)

MUSLIM (A), part IV of *s-l-m*, denotes the adherent of Islām [q v] The term has become current in some European languages (also in the forms *moslim*, *moslem*), as a noun or as an

adjective or as both, side by side with *Muhammadan* (in different forms) It has replaced *Musulman* (in different forms), except in French, where the latter term is used as a noun and as an adjective The origin of *musulman* is probably *muslim* with the ending *ān* of the adjective in Persian In some countries, e g Germany and the Netherlands, popular etymology has taken *man* for the vernacular "Mann, man", whence the plural forms *Muselmänner, muzelmannen* etc These forms have, however, become antiquated — In Arabic literature the term Muslim is and has always been used to denote the adherents of Islām See further the artt IMĀN, AMĪR AL MUSLIMĪN

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(A J WENSINCK)

MUSLIM B ʿAKĪL, cousin of Husain b ʿAlī The latter, taking refuge in Mecca after the death of Muʿāwiya I, sent him to study the situation in Kūfa where the partisans of ʿAlī were inviting him to come and proclaim himself caliph Muslim there received promise of support from thousands of Shiʿīs He wrote to Husain imploring him to hasten there and take command of the movement in person In the meanwhile, the energetic ʿUbaid Allāh b Ziyād had replaced the irresolute Nuʿmān b Bashir [q v] Realising the seriousness of this change Muslim took refuge with Hānīʾ b ʿUrwa [q v] A stratagem devised by the new governor soon revealed his hiding place Hānīʾ having been captured, Muslim, abandoned by all his followers, wandered from one place of concealment to another The descendants of Ashʿath b Kais [q v] revealed the secret of his last hiding place — a deed which earned the family the hatred of the Shiʿa The unfortunate ʿAlid when discovered surrendered without resistance to the minions of ʿUbaid Allāh His head was sent to the caliph Yazīd I

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(H LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B AL-HADJDJĀDJ ABU 'L-HUSAIN AL-KUSHAIRĪ AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ was born at Nisābūr in 202 (817) or in 206 (821) He died in 261 (875) and was buried at Nasrābād, a suburb of Nīsābūr An anecdote regarding the cause of his death is related by Ibn Hadjar (see *Bibliography*) His fame is based upon his *Sahīh*, which, along with Bukhārī's book of the same name, enjoys the highest fame among the collections of traditions

Muslim travelled widely to collect traditions, in Arabia, Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāk, where he heard famous authorities such as Ahmad b Hanbal, Harmala, a pupil of Shāfiʿī, and Ishāk b Rāhūya His *Sahīh* is said to have been composed out of 300,000 traditions collected by himself He wrote a large number of other books, on *fikh*, traditionists and biography, none of which seems to have survived

The *Sahīh* differs from the other collections of canonical *hadīth* in that the books are not subdivided into chapters, whereas in Bukhārī's work the traditions act as examples of the *tardjama*'s Still, it is not difficult to trace in the order of the traditions in Muslim's *Sahīh* a close connection with corresponding ideas of *fikh* As a matter of fact the groups of traditions have been provided with superscriptions which may be compared with Bukhārī's *tardjama*'s, this was not, however, done by Muslim himself, as appears from the fact that the headings are not uniform in the different editions of the *Sahīh*

A second difference between Muslim and the other collections consists in the fact that he pays peculiar attention to the *isnād*'s, to such an extent that a tradition in his work is often followed by several different *isnād*'s which serve as an introduction to either the same or to a slightly different *matn* Such a new *isnād* is indicated in the text by ~ (*tahwil* or *hawāla* "change") Muslim is praised for his accuracy regarding this point, in other respects, however, Bukhārī is superior to him, as is even recognised by a man so devoted to him as al Nawawī, who wrote upon the *Sahīh* a commentary, which in itself is a work of immense value for our knowledge of Muslim theology and *fikh*

Muslim has prefixed to his work an introduction to the science of tradition The work itself consists of 52 books which deal with the common subjects of *hadīth* the five pillars, marriage, slavery, barter, hereditary law, war, sacrifice, manners and customs, the Prophets and the Companions, predestination and other theological and eschatological subjects The book closes with a chapter on the Kurʾān (*Tafsīr*), the shortness of which is several times outweighed by the value of the *Kitāb al-Īmān*, which opens the work, and which is a complete survey of the early theology of Islām

On the commentaries upon the *Sahīh* see Brockelmann, *GAL*, i 160, to which may be added ʿAlī b Sulaimān al Maghribī, *Washy al-Dibādj ʿalā Sahih Muslim b al Hadjdjādj*, Cairo 1298

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(A J WENSINCK)

MUSLIM B ḲURAISH SHARAF AL DAWLA ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM of the Arab family of the ʿUḳailids [see ʿOKAILIDS] was the most important ruler of the last great Arab dynasty in the Nearer East, during his reign the struggle between Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids for supremacy in Syria and Mesopotamia was decided in favour of the latter In the year 433 (1042) the 20 year old Muslim was chosen chief of the tribe after the death of his father Kuraish b Badrān and succeeded him as ruler of Mōsul Like most Arab rulers of the lands of the Euphrates he recognised the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo as his suzerain partly because he was himself a Shiʿī Quite early in his reign he began to cherish the ambitious plan of gradually extending the rule of his tribe over Mesopotamia Every means of extending his power was taken by him The first opportunity occurred

when in 458 (1066) the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Alp Arslān [q v] after conquering the Khwārizmians was proceeding to establish his supremacy in Syria For this he had to entice the Arab chiefs from the sphere of influence of the Fāṭimid caliph and win them over to an alliance with him and to a recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph He therefore concluded an alliance with Muslim and granted him several towns in Mesopotamia As a partner in this alliance Muslim defeated the Banū Kilāb who were vassals of the Fāṭimids In 463 (1070) Alp Arslān died The alliance was renewed with his son Sultān Malik Shāh [q v] With his help Muslim was able a few years later to extend his power into Syria and take Aleppo In 472 (1079) this town had no strong owner, the town was ruled by the Kādī al-Khuta'ītī, and the citadel by one of the last Mirdāsids [cf the article HALAB] There was a lack of provisions, as the town was continually threatened by enemies and the roads to it were cut off

Damascus was in possession of Sultān Tutush [q v], to whom his brother Malik Shāh had granted Syria, which was still to be conquered It was natural for Tutush to wish to bring Aleppo also into his power but the people did not care for him because of his cruelty and greed, shut their gates against him and appealed for help to Muslim After Tutush had withdrawn, Muslim approached the town with large supplies of provisions and after lengthy negotiations both town and citadel were handed over to him [see HALAB] and the Mirdāsid chiefs received some smaller towns in compensation He received a grant of confirmation from Malik Shāh who did not want his brother to become too powerful, on paying a considerable annual tribute (£ 150,000) Muslim extended his territory by adding to it Ruhā (Edessa), Harrān and a number of smaller fortresses, out of which he drove the leaders of Turkish bands so that his power stretched from Northern Syria to the Euphrates Instead of being content with this his unbounded ambition made him overestimate his strength Like Tutush he had dreams of conquering all Syria, especially Damascus He could not obtain the town from Malik Shāh who had granted Central Syria to Tutush He therefore again joined forces with the enemy of the Saldjūks, the Fāṭimid caliph, who promised to send troops to assist him to take Damascus Muslim took advantage of the absence of Tutush who was engaged in a campaign against the Byzantines in Antioch, to advance on Damascus He occupied several towns in Central Syria, including Baalbek [q v] But the Fāṭimid help did not materialise and Tutush was called back by his vassals who hated Muslim These circumstances and a rising in Harrān forced him to retire To replace Muslim who had deserted him, Malik Shāh bestowed his favour on the sons of a former vizier of the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn Djahīr, and sent them against a supporter of the Fāṭimids, the Marwānid Mansūr, to deprive him of his chief possession Āmid The latter found support from Muslim They joined forces, were attacked at Āmid and withdrew into the fortified town leaving their other possessions undefended Sultān Malik Shāh seized the opportunity to send ʿĀmid al-Dawla, another son of Djahīr, to Mōsul, to take this city from Muslim who had in the meanwhile escaped from Āmid When Muslim saw that he had lost his possessions he made overtures to the Sulṭān through the son of the vizier Nizām al-Mulk and humbly begged for mercy The Sultān, who thought Muslim no longer dangerous, pardoned him and restored his lands to him but Muslim could not be at peace Perhaps in secret agreement with Malik Shāh, he turned in 477 (1084) against a Saldjūk prince of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b Kuṭulmish, who had taken Antioch from the Byzantines and demanded from him the same tribute as the Byzantines had paid When Sulaimān refused to pay, he advanced against him with a force of Arabs and Turkomans In the neighbourhood of Antioch in Ṣafar 478 (May 1085) the forces met, unexpectedly for Sharaf al Dawla, his troops, who hated Muslim, went over to Sulaimān Muslim was defeated and slain along with 400 of his Arabs (cf Ibn al-ʿAdīm, fol 68b) With his death the power of the ʿUkailids was at an end They lost Aleppo on Muslim's death and only survived a few years longer (till 489 = 1090) as governors of Mōsul [see ʿOKAILIDS] Muslim is described as an able and just man and his tolerance of Christians was remarkable His rule is said to have been able and orderly and indeed he did bring the finances of Aleppo into order in a very short time after taking it In any case he had wide vision and successfully endeavoured to maintain the power of the Arab tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia It ceased with him, Turkish generals became the rulers of Syria and Mesopotamia

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MUSLIM B **ʿUKBA** of the tribe of the Banū Murra, a famous leader in the armies of the Sufyānid caliphs We know very little about the early stages of his career We find him early established in Syria to which he probably came with the first conquerors Completely devoted to the Umaiyads and of great personal valour, he led a division of Syrian infantry at the battle of Siffīn But he failed in an attempt to take the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal [q v] from ʿAlī The caliph Muʿāwiya appointed him to take charge of the *kharādj*, the finances, of Palestine, a lucrative office in which he refused to enrich himself Muslim was prominent at the death-bed of Muʿāwiya The caliph had charged him and Dahhāk b Ḳais [q v] with the regency until the return of Yazīd who was in Anatolia at the head of his troops The confidence which the great Sufyānid had in his loyalty is seen in his advice to his heir "If you ever have trouble with the Ḥidjāz, just send the one eyed man of the tribe of Murra there" (Muslim had only one eye) This time had now come

Muslim had been a member of the embassy sent to Medīna to bring the Ansār back to obedience All other efforts at conciliation having failed, Yazīd I decided to resort to force In spite of Muslim's age and infirmities, Yazīd felt he was the man to command the expedition He was obliged to travel in a litter so infirm was he At Wādi 'l Kurā, Muslim met some Umaiyads who had been driven out of Medīna, these exiles informed him of the military situation of the town When he reached the oasis of Medīna, Muslim encamped on the *ḥarra* of Wākim and for three days awaited the result of the negotiations begun with the rebels, Ansār and descendants of the *muhādjirun* of the Kuraish On the fourth day, all overtures

having been rejected, he made his plans for battle It was a Wednesday, the third last day of Dhu 'l Hidjdja 63 (Aug 26 27, 683) After a slight initial advantage for the Ansār, the battle ended at midday in the complete rout of the rebels The Syrians followed them into Medina and began to plunder the city Anti-Umaiyad legend has much exaggerated the horrors and the duration of this pillaging which it extends to three days On the day after the battle, Muslim's intervention restored order and he used the next few days in drawing up the case against and trying the principal leaders of the rebellion who had fallen into his power

Having established order in the town, which he left in charge of Rawh b Zinbāʿ, in spite of the aggravation of his malady, he resumed his march on Mecca to deal with ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair [q v] who had rebelled against the Umaiyads Arriving at Mushallal [q v] he became so ill that he had to stop In obedience to the caliph Yazīd's instructions, he appointed to succeed him in command of the army Husain b al-Numair [q v], his second in command He died at Mushallal, where his tomb long-continued to be stoned by the passers-by Writers with Shiʿa sympathies are fond of twisting the name Muslim into *Musrif* (criminal an allusion to Kurʾān, v 36, vii 79, xl 29, 36 and *passim*) One statement which must be a ridiculous exaggeration puts his age at 90 Every thing, however, points to his having been born before the Hidjra He died a poor man This disinterestedness is not the only feature in his character which makes us take him as one of the most representative of the types of this generation of soldiers and statesmen, whose talents contributed so much to establish the power of the Umaiyads Dozy described him as "un Bedouin mécréant" Muslim, it is true, retained all the proverbial uncouthness (*djafāʾ*) of the Banū Murra But his whole career reveals the Murrī general as a convinced Muslim of a rectitude rare in this period of unsettlement, which saw so many extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune and wavering loyalties

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MUSLIM B AL-**WALĪD** AL-ANSĀRĪ (called *Sarīʿ al-Ghawānī* = "he who is laid low by the fair ones", as was al-Kutāmī [q v] before him), an Arab poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, born in Kūfa c 130—140 (747—757), d 208 (823) in Djurdjān His father, a *mawlā* [q v] of the Ansār [q v], was a weaver Nothing is known of the poet's education He probably got his literary training not from particular teachers or from books but in the busy life of the Mesopotamian cities, the intellectual life of which had risen to a still higher level with the advent of the ʿAbbāsids Like most of his contemporaries he earned his living as a poet by writing panegyrics and was acquainted with many statesmen and emīrs Among the former were the general Yazīd b Mazyad al-Shaibānī (see *Dīwān*, N° 1, 6, 10, 16, 49), Dāwūd b Yazīd al-Muhallabī (N° 20), Mansūr b Yazīd al-Himyarī (N° 31) and many others He gradually won the favour of the influential Barmakids (cf N° 17, 40, 45) and of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (N° 14, 41, 57), according to one story, he received his nickname from the latter on account of a verse of his (N° 3, 35, cf also N° 23, 39) He even mentions the caliph's sister ʿAbbāsa in an ode (N° 57, 10) The fall of the Barmakids about 187 (803) did not affect his career he dedicated some of his odes to al-Amīn (N° 7, 28, 30) but his principal patron in later times was al-Maʾmūn's vizier Fadl b Sahl [q v] Through his intervention he received from al-Maʾmūn an official post (probably *sāhib al-barīd*) in Djurdjān He remained faithful to Fadl b Sahl until his death in 202 (818), and out of grief for him he wrote no more There is a story told by his rāwī according to which he destroyed a considerable part of his poems before his death

As regards the matter and style of his poems he was on quite traditional ground In addition to his old-fashioned odes and elegies his satires are particularly interesting in this respect, in his polemics with the (otherwise little known) poet Ibn al-Kanbar on the merits of the Ansār and Kuraish he revived the coarse and bitter tone of the polemics of an al Farazdak [q v] or an al-Tirimmāh [q v] on a similar subject The two hundred years of development of Arabic poetry were naturally not without influence on him, in his *nasībs* we frequently find the style of an ʿUmar b Abi Rabiʿa or al-ʿAbbās b al-Ahnaf [see IBN AL-AHNAF], Muslim's contemporaries His drinking songs deserve special mention Although Noldeke only very rarely finds in them "the natural effusion of Bacchantic joy as so frequently in Abū Nuwās [q v]", Arab critics are of another opinion These two poets are to them practically the same in this respect and we must confess they are right His drinking-songs are not only of great value for the descriptions of society and social life in the cities but from the point of view of poetry they are among the best of Muslim's work If we must, as regards subject matter, number Muslim among the imitators of the old poets, in style he belongs to a more modern period The historians of Arabic literature frequently mention him as the first to introduce the "new style", *al badīʿ*, with its tropes and figures This is however not quite such a simple point, the "new style" arose only gradually in Arabic poetry, although Muslim with his contemporaries, Bashshār b Burd [q v], Abū Nuwās etc, was one of the first who definitely struck out on the new path The younger generation, especially Abū Tammām [q v], drove this new style to banality

Muslim was on terms of friendship or enmity with many contemporary poets, e g Abū Nuwās, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [q v], al ʿAbbās b al-Ahnaf (who maliciously called him *Sarīʿ al Ghīlān* or *Sarīʿ al-Kās*, cf *Dīwān*, N° 44), Abu 'l Shīs [q v], al-Husain al Khalīʿ etc His literary influence was not inconsiderable Diʿbil [q v] was his pupil (which did not prevent him exchanging satires with Muslim), Abū Tammām was particularly fond of studying his poems His *Dīwān* has been transmitted in very unsatisfactory fashion, it was collected in alphabetical order by al-Sūlī [q v] but this edition has not come down to us (there are a few traces of it in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*), another story speaks of the collection made by the philologist al Mubarrad The only known European manuscript (Leyden)

on which de Goeje's edition is based, contains only a portion of his poems (including a few spurious, see Barbier de Meynard, *op cit*, p 17 *sq*), it represent an unknown edition and is of little importance for the criticism of the text

Bibliography *Diwan Poetae Abu-'l-Walid Moslim ibno-'l-Walid al-Ançâri cognomine Çario 'l-ghawani*, ed de Goeje, Leyden 1875 (unfortunately without an index of rhymes), the Cairo edition of 1325 (Matbaʿat Madrasat Wāliddat ʿAbbās al Awwal, 8°, p 97) although called *al-Tabʿa al ūlā*, repeats de Goeje's text in an alphabetical arrangement, the Bombay lithograph of 1303 (1886) is not accessible to me (see Rescher, *op cit*, it claims to give a better text than the Leyden edition, see Sarkis, *op cit*) Most of the sources are given by de Goeje in his edition (p 228—310), the most important is of course the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (p 228—271) Of others we may note Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed de Goeje, p 528—535, *passim* (s index), Ibn al Muʿtazz, *Tabakāt al-Shuʿarāʾ al-muhdathīn* (MS Escurial, N° 279), fol 15r—15v, al Marzubānī, *al Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343 (*al-Matbaʿa al-salafīya*), s index — Modern literature Th Noldeke, review of de Goeje's edition, in *G G A*, June 9, 1875, p 705—715, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 77, N° 7 (with misprint in date of death 803 for 823), M Barbier de Meynard, *Un poete arabe du IIème siecle de l'hegire* (*Actes du XIeme Congres des Orientalistes*, section iv, Paris 1899, p 1—21), Cl Huart, *Litterature arabe*², Paris 1912, p 72—74 (with the same error as in Brockelmann), Djirdjī Zaidān, *Taʾrīkh Ādāb al Lugha al-ʿarabīya*, ii, Cairo 1912, p 66, A F Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, Cairo 1927, p 374—392, J E Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopedique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1930, col 1746—1747, O Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Lieferung IV, Stambul 1929, p 12—15

(Ign Kratschkowsky)

MUSNAD [See Hadīth, iv]

AL-MUSTADĪ' BI-AMR' 'LLĀH, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan, ʿAbbāsid caliph, born on 23rd Shaʿbān 536 (March 23, 1142), son of al-Mustandjid and an Armenian slave named Ghadda After his father's death on 9th Rabiʿ II 566 (Dec 20, 1170) al Mustadī' succeeded him and at the beginning of the following year was formally recognised as caliph in Egypt also, which passed into the hands of the Ayyūbids at this time [see the article Fāṭimids, ii 96] The assassins of al Mustandjid soon quarrelled among themselves ʿAdud al-Dīn [q v] whom al-Mustadī' had been forced to make vizier was dismissed by 567 (1171—1172) at the instigation of the emīr Kaimaz In Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 570 (May 1175) the latter was about to attack the treasurer Zāhir al-Dīn b al-ʿAttār, but the latter fled to the caliph whereupon Kaimaz began to besiege the palace of the latter Al-Mustadī' appealed to the people to help him, the house of Kaimaz was pillaged and he himself fled but died soon afterwards and ʿAdūd al-Dīn again became vizier Al-Mustandjid already had quarrelled with Shimla, lord of Khūzistān In 569 (1173—1174) a war broke out between the latter's nephew Ibn Shankā and al-Mustadī', Ibn Shankā was soon taken prisoner and put to death The insignificant al-Mustadī' died on the 2nd Dhu 'l Kaʿda or, according to another statement, at the end of Shawwāl 575 (end of March 1180)

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, xi 237 *sqq*, Ibn al Tiktakā, *al Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 428—433, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al Wafayāt*, i 137 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 525 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh i Guzīda*, ed Browne, i 367—369, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 337—363, Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii 304, I e Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 87, 195, 260, 280 (K V Zetersteen)

MUSTADJĀB KHĀN BAHĀDUR (NAWĀB), thirteenth son of the celebrated Rohilla leader Hāfiz al Mulk Hāfiz Rahmat Khān (1707—1774) and author of a biography of his father, which he wrote in Persian under the title *Gulistān-i Rahmat* Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, who was an Afghān of the tribe of Yūsuf-zāi by descent, had been since 1748 a chief in Rohilkhand (Katehr) and throughout his life waged a bitter warfare with the Mahrātās He fell in 1774 in a fight at Mīrānpūr Katra where he was fighting against the combined forces of the Nawāb of Oudh Shudjāʿ al Mulk and the English Warren Hastings' act in supporting the Nawāb with English troops became the subject of a judicial investigation Mustadjāb Khān's book describes Hāfiz Rahmat Khān as a fine representative of Afghān chivalry and contains much of value for studying the relations between the individual Afghān tribes

Bibliography I do not know of any edition of the original text of the *Gulistān-i Rahmat* There is an abbreviated English translation by Ch Elliott, *The Life of Hafiz oolmoolk, Hafiz Rehmut Khan, written by his son the Nuwob Moostʿujab Khan Buhadoor and entitled Goolistan-i Rehmut*, London 1831, H Hamilton, *The East-India Gazetteer*², London 1828, ii 468, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, London 1908, xx 138 and xxi 307 *sq*

(E Berthels)

MUSṬAFĀ I, the fifteenth Ottoman Sultān, was born in the year 1000 (1591) as son of Muhammad III He owed his life to the relaxation of the *kānūn* authorising the killing of all the brothers of a new sultān and was called to succeed his brother Ahmad I at the latter's death on November 22, 1617 But his weakmindedness — which is said to have him made escape death on account of superstitious fear of Ahmad — made him absolutely incapable of ruling Ahmad's son ʿOthmān, who felt himself entitled to the succession, had little difficulty in procuring Mustafā's deposition in a meeting of the Imperial *Dīwān*, by the *khizlar agha*, the *muftī* and the *kāʾimmakām*, the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha [q v] being absent This happened on February 26, 1618

Unexpectedly Mustafā I was again called to the throne when, on May 19, 1622, the rebellion of the Janissaries broke out against ʿOthmān II He was taken by force from his seclusion in the haiem and the Janissaries forced the *ʿulamāʾ* to acknowledge him as sultān The next day ʿOthmān was killed and until June the grand vizier Dāwūd Pasha, the man responsible for the murder, remained in power Then he was deposed by the *wālide* The real masters were the Janissaries and Sipāhī's, several grand vizieis were nominated and deposed again at their pleasure The Sipāhī

party began, after some time, to exact vengeance for ʿOthmān and in January 1623, when Gurdjī Muhammad Pasha [q v] was grand-vizier, Dāwūd Pasha was killed Soon the Janissary party came again to influence under the grand-vizier Mere Husain Pasha (Feb 3) The latter succeeded in maintaining himself until August 20, then the general feeling amongst the *ʿulamāʾ* and the people, combined with the steadily growing opposition in the provinces against the tyranny of the militiar in the capital, as manifested by the action of Saif al-Dīn Oghlu in Tripolis and still more by the revolt of Abāza Pasha [q v] in Erzerūm, brought about Mere Husain's deposition The new grand-vizier, Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha, together with the *muftī*, deposed the sultān on Sept 10, 1623 and called Ahmad's son Murād to the throne

During all his reign Muṣṭafā had continued to give signs of his complete mental aberration, he died in 1638 and was buried in the Aya Sofia The only important international act that took place during his reign was the peace concluded with Poland in February 1623

Bibliography The Turkish sources for this period are the historical works of Naʿīmā, Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke*), Pečewī, Hasan Bey Zāde and Tūghī Contemporaneous reports in in the Memoirs of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe Further the general historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga

(J H KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ II, the twenty second Ottoman sultān, was a son of Muhammad IV Born in 1664, he succeeded to his uncle Ahmad II on February 6, 1695, at a time when the empire was at war with Austria, Poland, Russia und Venice The new sultān in a remarkable *khatt-i sherīf* proclaimed a Holy War and carried out, against the decision of the *Dīwān*, his desire to take part in the campaign against Austria Before his departure a mutiny of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Defterdār ʿAlī Pasha his life (April 24, 1693) and the campaign was led by the new grand vizier Elmās Muhammad Pasha [q v] The Turkish army operated not without success in the region of Temesvár, taking Lippa, Lugos and Sebes The Venetians had been beaten in February near Chios and were beaten again in September In October Azof was delivered from the Russian siege Next year the sultān and his army were again successful in raising the siege of Temesvár, but no part of the lost territory could be recovered from the Austrians That year, however, the Russians took Azof The campaign of 1696 is memorable for the heavy defeat inflicted on the Turks near Zenta on the Theiss (Sept 11), where Elmās Muhammad lost his life, while the sultān, who had already crossed the river, had to fly to Temesvár The imperial seal fell into the hands of the Austrians From Temesvár Mustafā nominated ʿAmūdja Zāde Husain [q v], of the Koprülu family, his grand vizier Under this very able statesman peace was at last concluded In 1698 the grand vizier went to the frontier, while the sultān stayed at Adrianople, but the peace negotiations were pursued more earnestly than the war In October of that year began the peace negotiations at Karlowitz (Turk Karlofča, see CARLOWITZ) on the Danube, where on February 26, 1699 peace was concluded with Austria, Poland and Venice With Russia only an armistice was concluded to be followed in 1700 by a definite peace The English and Dutch ministers took part in the negotiations as intermediaries The peace treaty meant the loss of Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the district of Temesvar, Poland recovered Kamenicz, while Venice had to cede Lepanto and some other towns in Morea With Russia the Dniestr became the frontier

The peace enabled the grand vizier to bring order into the affairs of state, which had suffered by the long and disastrous war The Reʾīs Efendi Rāmī and the *muftī* Feizullāh, who had great influence with the sultān, were his collaborators Some interior troubles were easily appeased, only in 1701 a campaign in ʿIrāk was needed to take Basra from the hands of a local party that had submitted to Persia Fortresses were put in a better state of defence and a new *Kānūn-nāme* was issued for the fleet Husain Pasha resigned his offices in Sept 1702 and died soon afterwards His deposition was partly the work of the *muftī* Feizullāh, who made the sultān appoint in his place Daltaban Muhammad Pasha When the latter showed himself of too warlike a disposition and caused at the same time unrest in the capital by favouring the claims of the Tatar Khān, the influence of the *muftī* caused his deposition and execution (Jan 1703) Rāmī [q v] became grand-vizier Rāmī's measures to enforce the authority of the central government were salutary but made him many enemies, moreover the Janissaries were not contented with a grand-vizier who was not a military man The general unrest was increased by the permanent residence of sultān Mustafā in Adrianople All these circumstances brought about in July 1703 a Janissary revolt in Constantinople, directed at first against Rāmī Pasha and against the *muftī* The latter's deposition was obtained without much difficulty, but the rebellion continued under the leadership and organisation of a certain Hasan Agha A deputation of the rebels to Adrianople was imprisoned and treated in an insolent way Too late the sultān promised to come himself to Constantinople, the *ʿulamāʾ* were constrained to give a *fatwā* authorising the sultān's deposition In August 1703 a rebel army went on its way to Adrianople, after having agreed on Mustafā's brother Ahmad as successor to the throne When Mustafā saw himself at last abandoned by his own Janissaries he resigned on August 21 He died soon afterwards on Dec 31, 1703 and was buried in the Aya Sofia He is rightly considered as a wise and good ruler, as is proved by his careful choice of able statesmen He wrote poems under the *takhallus* of Meftūnī and Ikbālī Under him the imperial *tughra* appeared for the first time on the Ottoman coins

Bibliography The chief source is the *Taʾrīkh* of Rāshid, besides an anonymous historical work, used by von Hammer and only mentioned in a note by Babinger, *G O W*, p 247 and 248 Useful information also in the history of the Crimea by Mehmed Girāy (*G O W*, p 235) and Saiyid Mehmed Ridā (*G O W*, p 281) The *Inshāʾ* of the grand-vizier Rāmī Pasha (not mentioned in *G O W*) has importance as containing contemporary documents Further the general histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga

(J H KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ III, the twenty-sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was one of the younger sons of Ahmad III and was born on Safar 14, 1129 = January 28, 1717 (*Sidjill-i ʿoṯhmānī*, i 80) When he succeeded to the throne, after ʿOṯhmān III's death on October 30, 1757, his much more popular brother and heir to the throne, Muhammad, had recently died, in December 1756 Turkey enjoyed at that time, since the peace of Belgrad of 1739, a period of peace with her neighbours Since December 1756 the very able Rāghib Pasha [q v] was grand vizier and remained the real administrator of the empire until his death in 1763 Rāghib had removed from the capital all those who might have counteracted his influence, taking at the same time wise financial measures and endeavouring to keep the military forces in good condition The sulṭān meanwhile, who was of a vivid and active temperament, busied himself, like his predecessor, with regulations concerning the clothes of his non-Muslim subjects and the appearance in public of Muhammadan women, at this time there was also taken up again the never realized plan of linking the gulf of Iznik with the Black Sea [see SABANDJA] The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756—1763) had not remained without influence on the policy of the Porte, after long hesitation Turkey agreed at last to conclude a treaty of friendship with Prussia (March 29, 1761) Rāghib himself was inclined to conclude even an alliance, but the sultān and the influential *ʿulamāʾ* were peacefully minded

After Rāghib's death Mustafā began to reign himself and different grand viziers succeeded one another at short intervals From 1765 to 1768 the grand vizierate was held by Muhsin Zāde Muhammad Pasha, under whom the disastrous war with Russia broke out Difficulties with Russia had already commenced in 1762, when Russia had supported the ruler of Georgia against the Turkish Pasha of Akhiskha (Čaldīr), here, as well as in Montenegro, Russian emissaries worked in secret against the Turkish rule Moreover the Khān of the Crimea repeatedly complained about Russian military measures on his northern frontier, while the party of the Confederates in Poland urgently appealed for the intervention of the Porte against the aggression of Catherine's government on Polish liberty In these circumstances the Porte had no more interest in seeking the alliance of Prussia, where, in 1764, Ahmad Rasmī Efendi had gone as envoy, of which embassy he afterwards wrote his well known *Sefāret nāme* The sultān himself was decidedly anti-Russian, but the diplomacy of the Russian minister Obreskoff and the pacifism of the *ʿulamāʾ* delayed the war, until, in August 1768, Mustafā obtained from the then *muftī* Walī al-Dīn a *fatwā* authorizing the war with Russia War was declared only on October 6, after the dismissal of the grand vizier Muhsin Zāde, who had advised delay until the spring Obreskoff was imprisoned in Yedi Kule

The war began in January with destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars in southern Russia under their newly appointed Khān Kirīm Girāy, at that time de Tott was an eye witness with the Tatar army In March 1769 the then grand-vizier Muhammad Emīn Pasha left Constantinople with the Holy Banner, on this occasion there was an outburst of Muhammadan fanaticism against the Austrian internuntio and his party, who had come to witness the procession While the grand vizier went to the Dobruča, the Russians made an attack on Chotin (Turk Khočin), which they were able to take only in August In the meantime the grand vizier had been deposed and executed, his place was taken by Moldowandji ʿAlī Pasha, who had encounters with the Russians on both sides of the Dniestr Other Russian armies took Jassy and Bucarest and advanced into Transcaucasia The year 1770 was still more disastrous for Turkey The Russians reached, through Rumania, the Danube and in the autumn they took Kilia, Bender and Braila, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish general headquarters in Baba Daghī In the same year a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, several towns in Morea were conquered and evacuated again, but the heaviest blow was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Česhme (July 1770) Moldowandji ʿAlī — already dispossessed of his grand vizierate — was sent to strengthen, with de Tott, the defences of the Dardanelles But the Russian fleet had ceased to be a danger and the Danube campaign of the following spring also was rather favourable for the Turks In the beginning of 1771 the military organisation had been improved That year, however, the Russians forced the isthmus of Perekop and conquered the entire Crimea This was a definite loss for Turkey, and a great majority of the Tatars declared their allegiance to the Russian empress The Turks were able, however, to remain in Očakow and Kilburnu In Constantinople meanwhile laborious diplomatic negotiations went on with the envoys of the European powers who offered to mediate, notably Austria and Prussia With Austria the Porte concluded in July 1771 a secret "treaty of subsidy" for diplomatic services, while the Porte disinterested herself completely in Polish affairs, going so far as to propose a partition of Poland The result was an armistice, concluded in June 1772 at Giurgewo, followed by the peace congress of Focani (August 1772), where Turkey's chief representative was the arrogant *nishāndji* ʿOṯhmān Efendi After the failure of the negotiations the armistice was prolonged and a new conference began at Bucarest in November These negotiations were again broken off in March 1773, mainly from lack of agreement on the subject of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea, as to the Crimea, Turkey had already agreed to a formula such as was later adopted in the peace of Kučük Kainardji In Constantinople it was chiefly the *ʿulamāʾ* who had opposed the Russian peace conditions The war in 1773 was not very eventful, the general headquarters had been transferred to Shumna after Muhsin Zāde had become grand vizier a second time (Dec 1771) The Russians won a victory at Karasu in the Dobruča, but attacked Silistra and Warna in vain Bairūt was bombarded by Russian ships in connection with the rebellion of the Mamlūk ʿAlī Bey [q v] in Egypt, who was supported by them In the summer of 1773 sultān Mustafā made known his desire to accompany the army against the Russians, but he was prevented from doing so by his entourage and by his illness, to which he succumbed on December 24, 1773, to be succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Hamīd I Mustafā was buried in his own *turbe*, connected with the Lāleli Djāmiʿi, which he had begun to build in 1759 (*Hadīkat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i 23).

Muṣṭafā III is praised in the Turkish sources as a good ruler He had a special liking for religious disputations in his presence and was particularly interested in astrological calculations He took an interest in the least important affairs and this prevented him from such a real statesmanlike insight as was much wanted in the later years of his reign In his way he was an "enlightened despot" But even a more able ruler would probably have failed to save Turkey from her military inferiority against the Russian armies, measures of military organisation were taken with the aid of de Tott, but this could not prevent the desertion of the troops from assuming disastrous dimensions during certain episodes of the war Besides the Lāleli Djāmiᶜ, Mustafā built the Ayazma Djāmiᶜi at Scutari for his mother, he caused a new suburb of Stambul to be built outside the Yeñi Kapu His reign is further marked by the extremely severe earthquake that laid large parts of the capital in ruins in 1766

Bibliography The *Taᵓrīkh* of Wāsif [q v] is the chief historical source for Mustafā's reign, Wāsif himself played a prominent part as secretary during the long-drawn-out peace negotiations with Russia It is completed by the *Taᵓrīkh* of Enwerī The *Wakāᵓiᶜ-nāme* of Diyāᵓī, son of Ḥakīm Oghlu ᶜAlī Pasha, seems not to be preserved (*G O W*, p 300) The well-known Aḥmad Rasmī Efendi wrote a history of the war with Russia under the title *Ḫulāṣat al-Iᶜtibār* (*G O W*, p 310) The *Talkhīṣāt* of the learned grand vizier Rāghib Pasha (*G O W*, p 288) give documents from the beginning of Mustafā's reign A contemporary western source is the *Memoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* of Baron Fr de Tott, Maestricht 1785 Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga

(J H Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ IV, twenty-ninth sultān of the Ottoman Empire, was a son of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd I and was born on Shaᶜbān 26, 1193 = Sept 19, 1778 (Mehmed Thüreiyā, *Sidjill-i ᶜothmānī*, i 81) When the anti-reform party, headed by the *kāᵓim makām* Mūsā Pasha and the *muftī*, and supported by the Janissaries and the auxiliary troops of the Yamaks had dethroned Selīm III [q v] on May 29, 1807, Mustafā was proclaimed sultān Immediately afterwards, the unpopular *nizām i djedīd* corps was dissolved and Kabakdji Oghlu, the leader of the Yamaks, was made commander of the Bosporus fortresses Turkey was at that time at war with Russia and England, but peace negotiations had already begun and, moreover, the foreign affairs of the empire were really governed by general European politics A secret article annexed to the peace treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) had in view — already at that time — a conditional partition of Turkey Turkey's ally, France, tried to urge a peace with Russia and obtained a Russo-Turkish armistice at Slobosia (near Giurgewo), by the terms of which the Danube principalities were to be evacuated When in the end Russia was unwilling to put into effect the terms of the armistice, relations with France became strained (departure of Sebastiani in April 1808) and new preparations for war followed, while overtures were made to England, the English admiral Codrington had already entered into negotiations with ᶜAlī Pasha of Yanina

Meanwhile the *kāᵓim makām* and the *muftī* were the real rulers in Constantinople, the grand vizier Čelebi Mustafā Pasha remained with the army in Adrianople and had no influence The Janissaries and Yamaks, however, continued to be rebellious, measures had to be taken against them and the sultān himself went so far as to favour secret plans for restoring the *nizām-i djedīd* under another name In December 1807 Mūsā Pasha was dismissed from the office of *kāᵓim makām* — on account of dissension with the *muftī* — and was succeeded by Taiyār Pasha The latter, dismissed in his turn, fled to Bairakdār Mustafā Pasha [q v], an acknowledged friend of the reform party, in Ruščuk From here began the action against the régime in the capital Bairaḳdār went first to Adrianople and joined forces with the grand vizier in June 1808 They arrived in July before the gates of Constantinople at Dāwūd Pasha Sultān Mustafā came there on July 23 to accept their terms, which for the moment were only the destruction of the ruling party and of the Yamaks On July 28 Bairakdāi, after having seized the sultān's seal from the grand vizier, began to act on his own account He went with his troops to the palace, where the sultān — who had left shortly before for an excursion — returned in haste He had only the time to order the execution of Selīm III but was deposed immediately afterwards by the intruders, who put his younger brother Mahmūd on the throne After having passed some months in confinement, he was killed by order of the new sultān on November 16, in the days of the general revolt against Bairaḳdār's régime, when the existence of the former sultān had become a real danger for Maḥmūd's position Mustafā was buried in the *turbe* of his father ᶜAbd al Ḥamīd I, near the Yeñi Djāmiᶜ

Bibliography Djewdet Pasha, *Taᵓrīkh*, 2nd ed, viii (Stambul 1303), p 145 *sqq*, ᶜĀsim, *Taᵓrīkh*, ii (where large use has been made of Saᶜīd Efendi's *Taᵓrīkhce*, cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 338), A de Juchereau de St Denis, *Revolutions de Constantinople de 1807 et 1808*, new ed, Paris 1823, Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii

(J H Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ, name of several princes belonging to the Ottoman dynasty

1 Mustafā Čelebi, eldest son of Bāyazīd I, the date of his birth is not recorded He disappeared in the battle of Angora (July 1402) This Mustafā is the first Ottoman prince to bear this name, which, like such other names as Bāyazīd and Murād, originated in mystical circles in Asia Minor in the xivth century According to the Byzantine sources, this Mustafā is the same as the person called by the majority of the Turkish sources

Dozme Mustafā, who came forward in 1419 as pretender to the Ottoman throne against Muhammad I He was supported by Mirče of Wallachia and by the Izmīr Oghlu Djunaid [q v] Near Selānik they were beaten by Muhammad and Mustafā took refuge in the town together with Djunaid, the Byzantine commander refused to give them up to the sultān and sent them to Constantinople In a treaty concluded with the emperor Manuel, the sultān promised to pay a yearly subsidy to provide for the maintenance of the prisoners, while the emperor undertook to keep them in custody This treaty was observed until Muhammad's

death, Muṣṭafā was relegated to a monastery on the island of Lemnos After Muhammad's death, however, he was released and the emperor supported him against Murād II [q v] In a short time he was master of the Ottoman territories in Europe, the army sent against him under Bāyazīd Pasha went over to his side at Sazlī Dere between Seres and Adrianople He was joined likewise by great feudal lords like the sons of Ewrenos He soon felt strong enough to break his alliance with the Greeks and expelled them from the recently taken Gallipoli After having resided some time in Adrianople, he went together with Djunaid to Asia Minor, where they met Murād's army in a battle near the bridge of Ulubad By the treacherous retreat of Djunaid, Mustafā was beaten and fled to Gallipoli and Adrianople, from here he tried to reach Wallachia, but was taken by Murād's troops and executed at Adrianople All this happened in the first year of Murād II's reign (1421—1422)

Bibliography Ducas and Chalcondylas relate the events before Muḥammad's death, so does the chronicle of Neshrī, but the other early Turkish chronicles know only of what happened in the beginning of Murād's reign On coins struck by Mustafā *T O E M*, xv 387, von Hammer, *G O R*, 1, Mehmed Zekī, *Maktūl Shehzādeler*, Constantinople 1332, p 45 *sqq*

2 Mustafā, son of Muhammad I and younger brother of Murād II, was supported as pretender against the latter in 1423, while Murad besieged Constantinople This Mustafā was about 13 years of age, he had fled to the Karaman Oghlu with his *lālā* Ilyās From here they took Iznik and marched against Brusa Mustafā even went for some time to Constantinople, but Murād, raising the siege, returned to Brusa, where Mustafā was delivered to him by the treachery of Ilyās, he was executed by the sultān's orders

Bibliography The Byzantine writers Ducas and Chalcondylas, the old Turkish chronicles and after them the later historians, von Hammer, *G O R*, 1, Mehmed Zekī, *Maktūl Shehzādeler*, p 53 *sqq*

3 Mustafā, son of Sulaimān the Magnificent, was born in 921 (1515) (Mehmed Ḥüreiyī, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, 1 79) He had been made, in 1533, governor of Sarukhān in Maghnisa, later he became governor of Konya, while Sulaimān's favourite son Muhammad was given Sarukhān When Muhammad died in 1545, Sarukhān was given to Mustafā's younger half-brother Selim and he himself was placed in Amasia This setting aside of the elder, more talented and more brilliant son was the work of Khurram Sultān (Roxelane), mother of Selīm, and of her son in-law, the grand vizier Rustam Pasha Already some years before there had been signs of Sultān Sulaimān's lack of confidence in Mustafā's loyalty When, in 1553, a new campaign had been planned against Persia, of which Rustam was to be the commander, Sulaimān decided at the last moment to accompany the army himself, being warned again against Mustafā through the intermediary of Selīm's favourite Shamsī Agha Selīm joined him on the way and, when at Eregli near Konya, prince Mustafā came to pay homage to his father, he was killed by order of Sulaimān on October 6, 1553 His corpse was conveyed to Brusa and buried in the *turbe* of Murād II This execution of an Ottoman prince is one of those events that made the deepest impression in the empire It caused immediately the threatening of a Janissary revolt, which could only be appeased by the dismissal of the grand vizier Rustam Pasha It is said that his brother Djihangīr died soon after him of grief, a minor son of his was killed in Brusa shortly after his execution Mustafā had also made himself beloved as a patron of poets and scholars, amongst whom Surūrī is to be mentioned in the first place Several poets lamented his death in elegies, in which Rustam and others were openly accused of having caused the murder, best known is the *merthiye* of the poet Yahyā Bey Mustafā wrote poetry under the *takhallus* Mukhlisī There is further strong evidence for the probability that Mustafā wrote a history of his father's reign, a *Sulaimān-nāme*, under the pseudonym Ferdī (cf *G O W*, p 83)

Bibliography The historical works of ʿĀlī, Solak Zāde and Pečewī The tragic death of the prince is also treated with more or less veracity in contemporary sources, as the *Letters* of Busbecq In later times von Hammer, *G O R*, III, ʿAlī Djewād, *Taʾrīkhiñ kanlī Sahifeleri Shehzāde Sultān Muṣṭafā*, Constantinople, n d (cf Fr Babinger, *G O W*, p 398), Ahmad Rafīḳ, *Kadīnlar Saltanatī*, 1, Constantinople 1914, Mehmed Zekī, *Maktūl Shehzādeler*, Constantinople 1336, p 223 *sqq* (J H KRAMERS)

MUSṬAFĀ KĀMIL PASHA, leader of the second nationalist movement in Egypt (on the first, see the articles ʿARĀBĪ PASHA and KHEDIVE)

The son of an Egyptian engineer, he was born in Cairo on 1st Radjab 1291 (Aug 14, 1874), studied at the Khedivial school of law there and after taking his examination went to study in Toulouse where in 1894 he took his "licence en droit" When still a student of 18 he began his political activity and entered into personal relations with the Khedive ʿAbbās II [q v] On his return from France he founded in 1894 the second Egyptian national party (*al Hizb al watanī*) with the object of inducing England by appeals to justice to abandon the occupation and restore the complete independence of Egypt Later he also aimed at getting the Sūdān handed back to Egypt and tried to prepare the Egyptians by modern education for parliamentary government As the representative of his party he spent each year a considerable time in Europe, especially France where he consorted with politicians and journalists and conducted a vigorous propaganda for his object All his life he was very friendly with the journalist Juliette Adam, he had dealings with Rochefort, Drumont, Col Marchand, Pierre Loti and in 1896 had a correspondence with Gladstone Later he visited Berlin, London, Vienna, Budapest, Geneva and Constantinople where he was highly thought of because he insisted on the Sultān's suzerainty over Egypt, Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamīd II [q v] gave him in 1904 the title of Pasha In Cairo he founded in 1898 a school for training the youth in nationalist ideas, and in 1899 started the newspaper *al-Liwāʾ* (The Banner), which appeared early in 1900, had a great success and from 1907 appeared also in English and French editions From 1902 he published the nationalist quarterly *Madjallat al-Liwāʾ* In his speeches and articles he emphasised his aims with fiery eloquence, at the same time he expressed his approval of the building of the Turkish strategic Hidjāz railway and his sympathy with the Japanese

in their war with Russia (1904—1905) Muṣṭafā Kāmil also regularly emphasised the privileged position of Muslims as belonging to the state religion and recognised the sultān as caliph and head of Islām and thus contributed to the pan-Islāmic movement which began early in the twentieth century

The "Entente Cordiale" concluded on April 8, 1904 between England and France was a severe blow to him and the nationalist party, by it France, in return for a free hand in Morocco, dropped its objections to the English occupation of Egypt The Egyptian nationalists thus lost all hope of open or secret support from the French government and were thrown upon their own resources This situation caused Muṣṭafā Kāmil to redouble his energy and in vigorous speeches and writings against France and England, in travelling and negotiating with statesmen of different lands, he endeavoured to make Egypt's point of view clear As a result of the intensity of his agitation there was a breach between him and the Khedive ʿAbbās II (Oct 1904), on the other hand, his following in Egypt rapidly increased and began to be troublesome to Lord Cromer who had so far treated the new nationalism created by Mustafā Kāmil as a "quantité négligeable" The Dinshawā'ī (a village near Tantā in the Delta) affair gave the nationalists a great stimulus, on June 13, 1906, some English officers out shooting were said to have wounded an Egyptian woman and were attacked by fellāhīn with clubs and one of the officers was killed A special court set up by the English government sentenced four fellāhīn to death and 17 to prison or flogging and the sentence was carried out next day The indignation in Egypt and Europe rose to great heights and even in the House of Commons the authorities were criticised Mustafā Kāmil hurried to London and discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whom he endeavoured to convince of the necessity of recalling Lord Cromer and giving greater freedom to Egyptians On this occasion he mentioned as suitable representatives in a parliamentary system of government all those Egyptians who in the later political movement after the war played important parts On his return to Egypt, through the press and mass meetings in which he urged Egyptians to unite against England, he gave a great stimulus to the nationalist movement and soon had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Cromer recalled — although he was not at all the only cause of this — and replaced by Sir Eldon Gorst The latter adopted a milder tone with the Egyptians, was on good terms with the Khedive and endeavoured to support him with a newly founded party Mustafā Pasha attacked this representative of England vigorously also, in Oct 1907 put his national party on a broader basis and summoned it to a "national congress", which met on Dec 7 of the same year in Cairo, 1,017 delegates from all over Egypt appeared and after a speech by Mustafā Kāmil which carried them away the latter was elected life-President of the party This was however his swan-song — he had been ill since the summer of 1906, he died on Feb 10, 1908 (8th Muharram 1326) at the age of 34 of a slow internal trouble (intestinal tuberculosis) The rumour spread that he had been poisoned at English instigation His funeral was an impressive expression of the national grief Mustafā's creations did not long survive him and his party, which produced no leader to equal him and was broken up by dissensions, gradually sank into insignificance Although he obtained no positive results by his agitation, he prepared the way for the third and greatest nationalist movement (under Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha from Nov 13, 1918) It is to his credit that he conducted his whole campaign without any appeal to force, which would have been quite useless against the British Empire, and without bloodshed

Of his numerous writings only the more important can be mentioned, many of them were only printed after his death, some in the great (never completed) biography by his brother ʿAlī Bey Fahmī Kāmil *al-Masʾala 'l-sharḳiya* (1898 and 1909), *Miṣr wa 'l-Iḥtilāl al inḏjlīzī* (collection of speeches and essays, Cairo 1313), *Difāʿ al-Miṣrīʿ ʿan Bilādihi*, Cairo 1324 (1906), *al Shams al-mushriḳa* (Cairo 1904, on the Russo-Japanese war), *Lettres françaises-egyptiennes* (Cairo 1909, also in Arabic and English transl His letters to Juliette Adam), *Egyptiens et Anglais*, Paris 1906 (speech of July 4, 1895 in Toulouse), *Le peril anglais*, Paris 1899, *What the National Party wants* (Cairo 1907, speech of Oct 22, 1907)

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(MAX MEYERHOF)

AL-MUṢṬAFĀ LI-DĪN ALLĀH [See NIZAR B AL-MUSTANSIR]

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA BAIRAḲDĀR, Turkish grand vizier in 1808, was the son of a wealthy Janissary at Ruscuḳ, born about 1750 He distinguished himself in the war with Russia under Mustafā III, and acquired in these years the surname of *bairakdār* After the war he lived on his estates near Ruscuḳ, and acquired the semi-official position of *aʿyān* of Hezārgrād and later of Ruscuḳ With other *aʿyāns* he took part in an action against the government at Adrianople, but became finally a reliable supporter of the govern-

ment Having already received the honorary offices of *kapïdjï bashï* and of *mīr akhor*, he was, in 1806, promoted to the rank of Pasha of Silistria and at the same time was appointed *ser-ʿasker* on the Danube frontier against the advancing Russian army This made him one of the most influential men in Rūm-ili He had become a zealous supporter of Selīm III's reform policy and, after that sultān's deposition, it was to him that the enemies of the new reactionary government turned In June 1808 he was joined by the dismissed *kāʾim-makām* of the grand vizierate in Constantinople, Taiyār Pasha, from Ruscuk they went to Adrianople, where they joined forces with the grand vizier Čelebi Mustafā Pasha So the entire Rumelian army marched against the capital, where they dictated their will to sultān Muṣtafā IV (July 23) On July 26 Bairakdār (or ʿĀlemdār as he was called officially) was appointed commander in chief and on July 28, after having taken by force the sultān's seal from the weak grand vizier, he marched with his troops to the palace of the sultān, under the pretext of bringing back the holy standard of the prophet At first he was allowed only to enter the first court of the serāy, while sultān Mustafā — who had been absent — returned in haste from the seaside As Bairakdār had made known his intention of restoring Selīm III to the throne, Mustafā had just time to have his predecessor killed But immediately afterwards he was himself deposed and Bairakdār now recognized Mahmūd II [q v] as sultan

After this began the short personal regime of Bairakdār Mustafā Pasha as grand vizier He had a number of the supporters of the former sultān executed, arranged a magnificent funeral for Selīm III and began to form a corps of troops called this time *nizāmīʾ ʿasker* At the same time he summoned a great imperial conference in the capital, to which all the high-placed officials of the empire were invited Many of them answered the appeal and subscribed to the extensive programme of reforms which the grand vizier laid before them in a solemn meeting in the first days of October and which was also approved of by a *fatwā* of the *muftī* But the precipitation with which the new measures were taken in hand and the tactless procedure in the abolition of long established abuses, made him ever more unpopular The influential *ʿulamāʾ* were also alienated by the exaggerated reforming zeal His only support were his Rumelian troops and a small number of friends, such as Begdjī Efendi and Rāmiz Pasha, together with Kādī Pasha of Karamān who had remained in the capital after the imperial conference Matters came to a head on November 14, 1808, in the last days of Ramadān 1222, by a rebellion of the Janissaries The night following that day they surrounded the grand vizier's residence and set the quarter on fire Bairakdār, surprised by the fire, saw no way of escape, he hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days afterwards, after the fire was quenched The rumour had been spread that Bairakdār had escaped, which had caused much uncertainty

The grand vizier was buried in the fortress of Yedi Kule, where his bones were dug up in 1911 during railway works, they were transported to the mosque of Zeineb Sultān

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(J H KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA BUSHATLÎ, the last hereditary wazīr of Scutari (hence often called ISHKODRALÎ), the son of the celebrated Kara Mahmūd Pasha Bushatlî [q v], succeeded his uncle Ibrāhim Pasha about 1810 and received the rank of wazīr in 1812 In 1820 the sandjak of Berat and in 1824 those of Ohrid and Elbasan were put under his government and he received the title of Serʿasker Nevertheless like his father he aimed at greater independence and when Mahmūd II's reforms threatened to deprive him of his hereditary rights and privileges, he became strongly hostile to the Sultān and maintained friendly relations with the Serbian prince Miloš, the discontented Bosniaks (cf 1, p 757) and the Egyptian Muhammad ʿAlī (cf J Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p 264 and 553) He therefore maintained quite a passive attitude in the Russo-Turkish war (1828) and only towards the end of it, in May 1829, did he appear with his Albanians on the Danube (Vidin, Rahovo), then went on to Sofia and Philippopolis, but without taking any active part in the fighting

On the conclusion of peace the Porte (beg of 1831) demanded of Mustafā Pasha that he should hand over the districts previously held by him (Dukakin, Debar, Elbasan, Ohrid and Trgovište) to the grand vizier Reshīd Mehmed Pasha (on him cf *Sidjill i ʿothmānī*, II 391) and carry through certain reforms in Scutari itself Mustafā Pasha resisted and with the financial and moral support of prince Miloš, led an army in the middle of March 1831 against the grand vizier He was joined by the other Pashas of northern Albania and old Serbia who objected to reforms The rebels had at first certain successes including the occupation of Sofia but they were completely routed at Prilep by the regular troops led by the grand-vizier (beginning of May) Mustafā Pasha hurried back to Scutari via Skoplye and Prizren and shut himself up in the fortress When he surrendered on Nov 10, 1831 after six months' siege, he was pardoned on Metternich's intercession and taken to Constantinople

Fifteen years later he again held various governorships, chiefly in Anatolia (from 1846), then in the Herzegovina (1853) and lastly in Medīna where he died on May 27, 1860

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MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA KÖPRÜLÜ [See KÖPRÜLÜ]

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA LALA, a famous military commander in the Ottoman history of the XVIth century The date of his birth is not given He was a native of Şokol, the

same Bosnian locality from which came the grand vizier Sokollı [q v], and began his service in the imperial seray He rose in rank under the grand vizier Ahmad (1553—1555), but was not in favour with the latter's successor Rustam Pasha, who made him in 1556 *lālā* to prince Selīm with the object of ruining him The outcome of this nomination was the contrary of what was expected, Mustafā became the chief originator of the intrigues by which Selīm came into conflict with his brother Bāyazīd and which ended with Bāyazīd's execution in Persia [cf SELĪM II] After these events Rustam Pasha managed to relegate the intriguer in administrative functions to different parts of the empire, for eight years he was *wālī* in Damascus Nor was the grand vizier Sokollı favourably disposed to Mustafā, but in the beginning of 1569 Sultān Selīm II called back his former *lālā* as *kubbe weziri* in the capital Very soon afterwards Sokollı appointed him *ser-ʿasker* in the Yaman, Mustafā went to Cairo to take charge of his command, but here he became involved in serious disputes with the *wālī* Sinān Pasha on the equipment of his army The end was that Sinān was appointed in Mustafā's stead and the latter had to return to Constantinople Sultān Selīm's protection saved him from death and in the beginning of the following year he was appointed again *ser-ʿasker* of the army destined for the conquest of the island of Cyprus Lala Mustafā Pasha led this memorable campaign with complete success, Nicosia was taken in July 1570, while Famagusta surrendered in August 1571 With the surrender of this town is connected the brutal and cruel execution of the Venetian commander Bragadino After his return he became a serious candidate for the grand vizierate, should Sokollı disappear from the scene His only rival was Sinān Pasha When in 1577 the war with Persia broke out [cf MURĀD III] both were appointed *ser-ʿasker*, but, on account of Sinān's arrogant character, the latter's appointment had to be withdrawn In April Lala Mustafā began his campaign in Georgia, fought the memorable victory of Čaldīr (August 1578) and took Tiflis besides a number of other towns These military glories did not bring him to the ambition of his life After Sokollı's assassination, Rustam's son-in law Ahmad Pasha had been made grand vizier and, on the latter's death in May 1580, it was Sinān [q v] who got the sultān's seal Lala Mustafā died in October of the same year and was buried in the court of the mosque at Ayyūb Apart from the unquestionably important events in which he played a prominent part, Lala Mustafā Pasha has a particular importance in Ottoman historiography because the historian ʿĀlī [q v] had been attached to his person as scribe since the beginning of his career Therefore his able, but intriguing and reckless character is known better than that of many other Turkish statesmen or generals By his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last Mamlūk Sultān Kānsū Ghūrī he was a very wealthy man, who, notwithstanding his reputed avarice, founded several mosques (as in Erzerūm) and many buildings of public utility in the different places where he resided as governor

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(J H KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA RASHĪD [See RASHĪD]

MUSTAHABB [See SHARĪʿA]

MUSTAʿIDD KHĀN, MUHAMMAD SĀḲĪ, born about 1061 (1650), was brought up as an adopted son by Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, whom he faithfully assisted in various capacities After the death of his patron he passed into the service of Awrangzēb In the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I (1118—1124 = 1707—1712), he became the secretary of ʿInāyat Allāh Khān, son of Mirzā Shukr Allāh, the minister of Bahādur Shāh, and by his desire Mustaʿidd Khan composed the history of the reign of Awrangzēb, entitled *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīri* Part I is a mere abridgement of Mīrzā Kāzim's history of the first ten years of the emperor's reign, part II contains the history of the last forty years of ʿĀlamgīr's reign (edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1870—1871)

He died at the age of seventy five at Dihlī in 1136 (1723)

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AL-MUSTAʿĪN BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AHMAD B MUHAMMAD, an ʿAbbāsid caliph His father was a son of the caliph al-Muʿtasim, his mother a slave girl named Mukhārik of Slav origin After the death in Rabīʿ II 248 (June 862) of al Muntasir the praetorians appointed his cousin Ahmad caliph under the name al-Mustaʿīn The choice aroused discontent in Sāmarrā and unrest broke out among those who supported al-Muʿtazz [q v] which was only put down after much bloodshed by the Turkish soldiers When al-Mustaʿīn was recognised as caliph he confirmed the governor of Baghdād, Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh b Ṭāhir [q v], in office He bought all the property of al-Muʿtazz and his brother al-Muʾayad and then had them arrested The Turks wanted to put them to death but they were protected by the vizier Ahmad b al-Khasīb who soon afterwards fell into disgrace and was banished to Crete In 249 (863) trouble broke out as a result of a defeat of the army by the Byzantines, the rebels were however scattered by the vizier Utāmish and the two Turkish generals Wasīf and Bogha Junior Utāmish was soon afterwards murdered at the instigation of the latter As the caliph no longer felt safe in Sāmarrā he went to Baghdād in Muharram 251 (Feb 865) Al Muʿtazz was then taken by his supporters out of his prison in Sāmarrā and a war broke out which ended in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 252 (Jan 866) in the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn [cf BAGHDĀD] By the arrangement made the latter was to live in Medīna in future, but he was detained in Wāsit and murdered in Shawwāl 252 (Oct 866) at the age of 35 See also the article MUHAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH B ṬĀHIR

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(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-**MUSTAKFĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-KĀSIM ʿABD ALLĀH, ʿAbbasid caliph, son of al-Muktafi and a slave girl After the Amīr al-Umarāʾ Tuzun had deposed the caliph al Muttakī, he chose al-Mustakfī as his successor on the same day in Safar 333 (Sept–Oct 944) The new caliph was only a tool in the hands of Tuzun and his successor Abū Djaʿfar b Shīrzād Baghdād began to suffer from a constant famine and neither food nor money could be raised for the troops When the Būyid Ahmad b Abī Shudjāʿ approached [cf MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA], the caliph had to declare himself ready to recognise the Būyids as the legitimate rulers in all the provinces conquered by them, and in Djumādā I 334 (Dec 945) Ahmad entered Baghdād and was given by the caliph the title of honour Muʿizz al-Dawla and the fullest power in all secular matters But the new ruler suspected that the caliph was in communication with the enemies of the Būyids so he had him blinded (on 22nd Djumādā II or Shaʿbān 334 = Jan 29 or March 946) and deposed Al Mustakfī died in Rabīʿ II 338 (Sept–Oct 949)

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(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-**MUSTAʿLĪ BI 'LLĀH** ABU 'L-KĀSIM AHMAD B AL-MUSTANSIR, ninth Fātimid Caliph, born 20th Muharram, 467 [Sept 16, 1074] (so in all the best sources and in al-Mustansir's letter to Ahmad b ʿAlī al Sulaihī, quoted in Idrīs, VII 152), the youngest son of his father At this time it was generally assumed in the Ismāʿīlī organization that the eldest son, Nizār (born 437), would, in accordance with custom, succeed his father in the imāmate, although no formal investiture with the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* appears to have been made The influence of the all powerful wazīr Badr al-Djamālī, however, and of his son al-Afdal, was thrown into the scale in favour of Abu 'l-Kāsim and al-Mustansir's consent obtained to the marriage of Abu 'l-Kāsim with Sitt al Mulk, the daughter of Badr (the statement in al Fārikī [ap Ibn al Kalānisī, ed Amedroz, p 128] that he was the son of Badr's daughter is evidently a misunderstanding) According to the tradition of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs [see BOHORĀs], Abu 'l-Kāsim was invested with the succession at the time of this marriage, in another version (Ibn Muyassar, p 66 *sq*) al-Mustansir confided his nomination of Abu 'l-Kāsim to his own sister, who divulged it after his death On the death of al-Mustansir on 18th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 487 (Jan 10, 1094), the Shīʿite *ʿId al-Ghadīr*, al-Afdal secured the accession of al-Mustaʿlī without serious difficulty The subsequent revolt of Nizār [see NIZĀR B AL-MUSTANSIR] at Alexandria failed owing to the opposition of the army, and al-Mustaʿlī's succession was generally recognized, except by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia [see AL HASAN B AL-SABBĀH]

Throughout his reign the actual power was entirely in the hands of al-Afdal [q v] At first some successes were gained in Syria, Ḥamīya (Apamea) made a voluntary submission in 489, and Tyre was recovered from a rebel governor in 490 A project of alliance with the Saldjūkid Ridwān of Aleppo against Damascus in the same year fell through On the appearance of the Crusaders in Syria (490 = 1097) an Egyptian embassy was sent to open negotiations with them, and in 491 (July–Aug, 1098) Jerusalem was recaptured from the Ortukids Sukmān and Il-Ghāzi The advance of the Crusaders in the following year took al-Afdal by surprise, Jerusalem was again lost, and the defeat of the Egyptian army near ʿAskalān (14th Ramadān, 492 = Aug 5, 1099) definitely established them in possession Two years later (17th Safar, 495 = Dec 12, 1101) al-Mustaʿlī died and was succeeded by his son al-Mansūr (al Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh)

The personal character of al Mustaʿlī is highly praised by his Sunni contemporary Ibn al-Kalānisī, later writers speak of him as a fanatical Shiʿite, and it would seem that the Fātimid organization and propaganda was intensified in his reign Idrīs refers especially to his close relations with the *daʿwa* in the Yaman, represented by al-Malika al Hurra and her *dāʿī* Yahyā b Lamak b Mālik al-Hamādī In the capable hands of al-Afdal, order and good government were maintained, and Egypt continued to enjoy prosperity, except for a famine in 492 or 493, due to the influx of Syrian refugees

Bibliography The fullest sources are Ibn al-Kalānisī (ed Amedroz), p 128—141, and Ibn Taghrībirdī (ed Popper), II, part 2, p 298—325, the chronology of the latter is defective, Ibn al Athīr (x 161—224), Djamāl al-Dīn al-Halabī (Brit Mus Or 3685, foll 74b—77a), Ibn Muyassar (ed Massé), p 34—40, and the other sources mentioned under the article AL-AFDAL add little of importance The Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī tradition is given in *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* of the *dāʿī* Idrīs b al-Hasan [d 872] (MS in possession of H F al-Hamdani), VII 151—175 — For relations with the Crusaders *Gesta Francorum* (ed Bréhier), p 86, 96, 208—216, *Fulcher Carnotensis*, I 19, II 10—12, Hagenmayer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, Innsbruck 1901, p 151, 286 The general European literature is given in the articles FĀTIMIDS and AL-MUSTANSIR

(H A R GIBB)

AL-**MUSTANDJID** BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF, ʿAbbāsid caliph, born on 1st Rabīʿ II 510 (Aug 13, 1116), son of al-Muktafī and a Greek slave girl named Nardjis or Tāʾūs After his father's death on 2nd Rabīʿ I 555 (March 12, 1160) al Mustandjid succeeded him as caliph While al-Muktafī was dying and hope of his recovery had been abandoned, the mother of his son Abū ʿAlī endeavoured to dispose of the future caliph who had already been selected heir apparent in 542 (1147) After winning over several emīrs for her plot, she armed her slave-girls with daggers

to murder the heir-apparent when he entered his father's apartment Al-Mustandjid however heard of the plot and had the instigator and her son arrested A few years after his accession the Mazyadīs were expelled [q v] The end of the Fātimids also fell within his reign although the ʿAbbāsids were only officially recognised as caliphs of Egypt under his successor al-Mustadīʾ In 562 (1166—1167) Shimla, lord of Khūzistān, invaded the ʿIrāk and demanded from the caliph the grant of a portion of the lower Euphrates territory as a fief The caliph however sent an army against him Shimla's nephew, Kīlīdj, was routed and Shimla returned home Al-Mustandjid died on 9th Rabīʿ II 566 (Dec 20, 1170) When he was very ill, his physician arranged with his chamberlain Adud al Dīn [q v] and the emīr Kutb al-Dīn Kaimaz to give him a bath to hasten his end The caliph refused to agree, he was nevertheless shut up in the bath until he died

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, xi 81, 169 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktaḳā, *al Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 425—428, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, p 522 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzida*, ed Browne, i 365—367, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 307—336, Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs a l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii 223, 289, 291—294

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTANṢIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-MANṢŪR B AL-ZĀHIR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, like his father whom he succeeded on the 14th Radjab 623 (July 11, 1226), he is described as a just and devout man and was generally liked although he played no great part in politics He acquired Irbil by a legacy in 630 (1232—1233) and eight years later his lands were increased by the acquisition of the town of ʿĀna which he bought from its previous owner About this time the Mongols began to threaten the lands of Islām Čingiz-Khān [q v] had died in Ramadān 624 (Aug 1227) but his sons continued his campaigns of conquest In 635 (1237—1238) the Mongols were defeated by the caliph's troops, the strongest defender of Islām however was Djalāl al-Dīn, Shāh of Khwārizm [q v] Al-Mustansir died on 20th Djumādā I or 10th Djumādā II 640 (Nov 15 or Dec 5, 1242) According to Ibn Khaldūn however, he did not die till the following year The al Mustansirīya university founded by him in Baghdād bears his name

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, xii 299, Ibn al-Tiktaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 445—446, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 535 *sq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzida*, ed Browne, i 370 *sq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 453—469, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 194 *sq*, 266 *sqq*, 337 *sq*

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTANṢIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ TAMĪM MAʿADD B ʿALĪ AL-ZĀHIR, eighth Fāṭimid Caliph, born 16th Djumādā II, 420 (July 2, 1029) (according to Idrīs, on 16th Ramadān = Sept 29), succeeded his father al Zāhir [q v] 15th Shaʿbān 427 (June 13, 1036), and died 18th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 487 (Jan 10, 1094), after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement

Internal history During the childhood of al-Mustansir the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's wazīr Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Djardjarāʾī On his death (7th Ramadān 436 = March 28, 1045) it was seized by the evil genius of al Mustansir's reign, his mother, who was a Sūdānī slave, and her former master, the Jewish merchant Abū Saʿd al-Tustarī When Abū Saʿd was assassinated in 439 (1047), after an outbreak of rioting between the Turkish and Berber troops, his place as the queen-mother's agent was taken by his brother Abū Nasr Hārūn (see however the documents published by Mann [*Bibl*]) and the ḳādī Abū Muhammad al Hasan al-Yāzūrī, who eventually accepted also the wazīrate (7th Muharram 442 = June 1, 1050) and held it for eight years [cf AL-YĀZŪRĪ] Meanwhile there was considerable unrest and perhaps also economic unsettlement in the country If a statement in al-Makrīzī (i 82 [99], ed Wiet, ii 4 [67]) is to be believed, the *kharādj* of the Egyptian provinces amounted only to one million dinārs in the time of al-Yāzūrī, but this may have been exceptional, though it is plain from other sources that the government had already been forced to the familiar expedient of confiscations and indemnities The Delta was disturbed by Arab risings, the most serious of which, that of the Banū Kurra, was put down only with great difficulty by Nāsir al-Dawla (see below) with the Tayy and other Arab troops at Kōm Sharik in 443 (1051) (cf Ibn al-Sairafī, p 42 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr, ix 396 *sq* and for the date Ibn al-Kalānisī, p 85) At the capital there was an increasing state of tension between the Turkish and Berber troops and the enormous bodies of Sūdānī slaves raised by the Caliph's mother (cf Makrīzī, i 94 [ed Wiet, ii 45] and p 335, detailed but probably unreliable figures also in Nāsir i Khusraw, ed Kaviani, p 66) In striking contrast to this is the magnificence of the court and prosperity of Misr-Fustāt as described by Nāsir i Khusraw [q v] There can be little doubt that the source of much of this prosperity, apart from the manufacture and supply of luxuries to the court, is already to be sought in the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian Ocean on the one hand (cf Nāsir i Khusraw's account of ʿAidhāb) and Constantinople on the other The general insecurity deepened after the execution of al-Yāzūrī, who was the last wazīr to attempt to control the situation He was followed by a rapid succession of puppets in office, many of whom, despite the pompous titles duly recorded by Ibn al-Sairafī, held the position for no more than a few days at a time

The Fāṭimid Caliphate was now destined to pass in a few shattering years through the same agony as the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate at Baghdād had suffered in the early part of the previous century The breakdown of the civil administration and subsequent exhaustion of the treasury gave a free hand to the military, and the sinister policy of the Caliph's mother brought matters speedily to a head In a pitched battle at Kōm al-Rīsh (close to Cairo) in 454 (1062) (sometimes confused with the previous battle at Kōm Sharik) the Turkish and Berber troops led by Nāsir al-Dawla Ibn Hamdān, a descendant of the Hamdānids of Mōsul, defeated and drove the Sūdānīs into the Saʿīd, but the struggle continued for some years and the blacks were not finally routed and driven out until 459 (1067), thereafter they were confined to the Saʿīd,

which suffered severely from their plundering and devastations Nāṣir al-Dawla in turn quarrelled with the Turks, and, defeated in battle by a force commanded by al-Mustanṣir in person (461 = 1068—1069), appealed to the Saldjūkid Alp-Arslān [q v] Without waiting for his help, however, he regained control of Cairo and the Delta with the aid of the Arabs and Lawāta Berbers, reduced al Mustanṣir (it is said) to the state of a pensioner on a hundred dīnārs a month, assumed the title of Sultān al-Dawla, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to restore the ʿAbbāsid *khutba* In Radjab 465 (March 1073) he and all his house were killed by the rival Turkish faction, led by Ildeguz, under whom the Caliph fared little better Meanwhile the constant anarchy and remorseless plundering of the country by the troops brought agriculture to a standstill (although the Nile floods seem to have been uniformly good) The result was a famine which lasted from 459 to 464 (1067—1072) and became progressively more severe During these years the country was a prey to the utmost misery, the royal city and palaces were looted, and Fusṭāṭ was twice plundered and even burned by Nāṣir al Dawla Large numbers of the population, including even the Caliph's own family, sought refuge in Syria and ʿIrāk (for the depopulation and shrinkage of Fusṭāṭ cf Makrizī, I 5, ed Wiet, I 12, on the fate of the royal library see also Olga Pinto, *Le Biblioteche degli Arabi*, Rome 1928, p 25—26) The Sunnī historians dwell on this famine with some complacence, regarding it as the retribution for the impious attack of al Basāsīrī on the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate (see below), and circumstantial stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al Mustanṣir himself was reduced That these must be accepted with some reserve is clear from such passages as Ibn Taghribardī, II/II 186, 18—19

At length in 465 (1073) al-Mustanṣir, taking courage of despair, secretly invited the governor of ʿAkkā, the Armenian general Badr al Djamālī, to assume supreme control in Egypt Badr accepted the commission, on condition of bringing his own troops with him, and sailing from ʿAkkā in the winter, reached Cairo on 28th Djumādā I, 466 (Jan 29, 1074) His rapid and energetic movements took the Turks by surprise, and he put to death the whole body of their leaders, together with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials For his further military and administrative measures, by which he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt (the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, which in 466 had amounted to 2,800,000 dīnārs, rose by 483 to 3,100,000 dinārs Makrizī, I 100, ed Wiet, II 68, cf Abū Sālih, fol 7b—9a) see the article BADR AL-DJAMĀLĪ The alliance between general and caliph was cemented by the marriage of Badr's daughter to al-Mustanṣir's youngest son Ahmad, the future Caliph al-Mustaʿlī [q v] The Fātimid Caliphate was saved but, like its ʿAbbāsid rival, at the cost of abandoning its temporal authority to a series of military commanders, entitled *umarāʾ al djuyūsh*, from whose control it never afterwards succeeded in emancipating itself

Al-Mustanṣir is described in contemporary sources as upright and amiable in character, and just and equitable in his dealings, but as a ruler his personality is entirely obscured by the successive wazīrs and generals who kept him virtually a prisoner The statements of the later anti Fāṭimid writers must, of course, be entirely discounted, the Fātimid sources, on the other hand, praise his sagacity and infallibility (*ʿiṣma*) as Imām

External relations The empire to which al Mustanṣir succeeded was beyond any doubt the most powerful Muslim state of its time It extended from Ifrikiya and Sicily to Mecca and Central Syria, and maintained an active propagandist organization in ʿIrāk, Persia and Khurāsān (see the following section) Within a few years of his accession its territories were still further expanded by Anūshtagin's conquest of Aleppo in Shaʿbān 429 (May 1038) [cf the articles FĀṬIMIDS and HALAB] and extension of his authority even across the Euphrates, on the one hand, and on the other by the conquests of ʿAlī al Sulaihī in the Yaman, after establishing himself at Masār in the same year (cf SULAIHĪ, also H F al-Hamdani, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 1931 p 505 *sqq*, and in *J R A S*, 1932, p 126 *sqq*) After the deaths of Anūshtagin and the wazīr al-Djardjarāʾī, who in spite of their rivalry zealously maintained the interests of the dynasty, the power and prestige of the Egyptian court steadily declined The Arab tribes in Syria, though defeated in the field, remained unsubdued, and the Caliph had to be content with the little more than nominal allegiance of the Mirdāsids [q v] at Aleppo At Damascus, the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops and the hostility of the citizens reduced the governors to impotence The disturbed state of Syria was the more disastrous that it made it impossible for the Fātimid government to give effective support to the amīr al-Basāsīrī (q v, see the list of war material and subventions sent from Egypt Ibn Taghribardī, p 177) in his attempt to oppose the advancing Saldjūk power, with the result that his occupation of Baghdād and proclamation of al Mustanṣir in 459 (1058—1059) was speedily brought to an end The subsequent military and economic disorders in Egypt allowed a free hand to the Turkmen (Ghuzz) bands, who had appeared in Northern Syria as early as 447 (1055), though it was not until 463 (1071) that the first Saldjūkid armies entered Northern Syria and the Ghuzz bands under Atsiz [q v] occupied Palestine and began to harass Damascus In many of the other towns and districts of Syria the authority was seized by local chiefs, such as the kādis Ibn ʿAmmār (q v, also G Wiet, in *Mem Henri Basset*, p 279 *sqq*) at Tarābulus and Ibn Abī ʿAkil at Tyre, though both of these acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Fātimid Caliph (cf also the account of the foundation of the castle of Saikhad by Hassān b Mismār al Kalbī in 466 [1073—1074], quoted from Sibt b al Djawzī in Ibn Taghribardī, p 253) The menace of the Saldjūkids became more substantial after the arrival of Tutush [q v] in 470 (1077—1078), but the latter never actually organized a full campaign against the Fātimids On the contrary, the offensive was taken by Badr, who succeeded in restoring Egyptian control on the coast as far as Tyre, Sidon and Djubail in 482 (1089), but not in recovering the interior of Palestine and Damascus (lost in 468), in spite of a certain revulsion of feeling in Syria in favour of the Fātimids It is difficult to know how much weight to lay on the story (Ibn Taghrībardī,

p 272—273) that Tutush at one time proposed to ally himself in marriage with Badr

The success of the Saldjūkids also affected the position of the Fātimids in Arabia In 462 (1069) the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities, and after a brief return to the Fātimid obedience between 467 and 473 the Hidjāz passed definitely to the ʿAbbāsid cause In the Yaman, the Sulaihids in the interior and the Zuraʿids in the important commercial centre of ʿAden maintained the suzerainty of the Fātimids, the latter until the Ayyūbid conquest by Tūrānshāh in 569 (1173) [cf the art SALADIN]

Meanwhile the Fātimid empire had been similarly shorn of its possessions in the West About 435 (1043–1044) al-Muʿizz b Bādīs [q v], the Zirid lieutenant of the Fātimid Caliph in Kairawān, began a series of repressive measures against the Shīʿites of Ifrīkiya, in 440 he seems to have made the first overt gesture of independence, and in 441 superseded the Fātimid coinage, but it was not until 443 (1051) that he formally renounced the Fatimid suzerainty and obtained an investiture from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph According to the traditional account (already fully developed in Ibn al Sanafi), the wazīr al Yāzūrī in revenge launched against him the nomad bands of the Banū Hilāl (q v, the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian sources are Zughba, Riyah, al-Athbadj, and ʿAdiy), who had been a cause of much trouble to the government in the Saʿid and were now given a free hand to plunder the territories of the Zirids [cf TUNISIA, vol iv 851a] As Wustenfeld has already indicated (p 234 n), the story as it stands is open to serious objections, and there can be little doubt that it has been amplified by popular legend The westward movement of the Hilāl tribes began as early as 440, and there is no reason to reject the account of Ibn ʿIdhārī that it was al-Muʿizz himself who invited the Arab tribes, then in Barka, to enter Ifrīkiya as his *djund* (since he was not on good terms with the Sanhādja), and that they, having set out in response to his invitation, began to plunder on their own account and already before the close of 443 had inflicted a severe defeat on his troops The two traditions are not, however, mutually exclusive and may be reconciled by supposing that the Banū Hilāl were transported in the first instance to Barka (the governor of which had thrown in his lot with al Muʿizz), and that their advance into Ifrīkiya was facilitated, for opposite reasons, by both al-Muʿizz and the wazīr (cf also Ibn al-Athīr, ix 387—388) During the first years of his reign, the son and successor of al-Muʿizz, Tamīm (453—501 = 1061—1107), temporarily returned to the Fātimid allegiance (Lane Poole, p 138 n 1), but with the conquest of Sicily by the Normans in 463 (1070) Barka became the western limit of the Fātimid state

The diplomatic relations of al-Mustansir with non-Muslim states covered a wide field In 429 (1038) the existing treaty with the Byzantine Emperor was renewed and relatively cordial relations established If Nāsir-i Khusraw (ed Kaviani, p 67) is to be trusted, the Egyptian government was in communication in 439 (1047) also with the Georgians, the Dailamites, the Khākān of Turkistān and even the rādjā of Dihlī, all of whom shared with Egypt a common hostility to the Saldjūkids and the Ghaznevids The friendly relations with Constantinople, however, were broken off in 446 (1054), when the Empress Theodora demanded an offensive alliance against the Saldjūkids Egyptian troops were despatched on an unsuccessful expedition against al-Ruhāikīya, the Empress retaliated by opening negotiations with the Saldjūkids, and al-Mustansir seized the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-Kumāma*) This breach with Constantinople had important consequences for the future of Egypt, since to it may perhaps be ascribed the opening up of direct commercial relations with the Italian trading cities, though documentary evidence on the point is lacking (cf Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i 105, 124)

Religious Conditions The wide expansion of the Fātimid power under al-Mustansir is reflected also in the religious situation Propaganda on behalf of the Fātimids is synonymous with the dissemination of the official state religion of the Fātimids, the Ismaʿili-Shiʿite faith Not only in Egypt and other lands in actual subjection to the Fātimid authority, but in all quarters of the Islāmic world, we learn of missionaries (*duʿāt*), who during the long reign of al Mustansir struggled, in part with great success, to secure recognition of his claim to be the religious Imām In the East, in Persia, and especially in Shīrāz, at the court of the Būyid prince Abū Kalidjār [q v], we can trace the activities at least since 429 (1037—1038) of the *dāʿī* Abū Nasr Hibat Allāh b Mūsā al-Muʾayyad fī Dīn Allāh [see AL-MUʾAYYAD], doubtless the most prominent personality of his time in the Ismāʿilī *daʿwa* He endeavoured to win over the court and the Dailamite troops to the Fātimid cause, but was forced to leave his post in 439 (1047—1048) as the result of pro-ʿAbbāsid intrigues In the first part of his autobiography (see *Bibl*) al-Muʾayyad gives a detailed account of his activity, and in particular publishes his correspondence with an unnamed Sunnī from Khurāsān, in which he explains the religious and political principles of his mission To what an extent the power of the Fātimids and the success of their emissaries in ʿIrāk and Persia was feared at Baghdād is shown by the fact that several times and latterly in 444 (1052), there was published a document, to which the ʿAlids also subscribed, with the object of declaring false the claim of the Fātimids to descent from ʿAlī At the same time the Fātimid cause gained also new ground in the Yaman After the political power of the Fātimids had been reduced there to a minimum in the course of the fourth century, it now acquired in the Sulaihid ʿAlī b Muhammad a powerful supporter He and his successors regarded themselves not only as political but also as religious representatives of the Fātimid Imām in the Yaman The voluminous correspondence between the Sulaihid rulers and al-Mustansir, which is still preserved, collected in a separate work (*Kitāb al-Sidjillāt wa 'l-Tawkiʿāt wa 'l-Kutub li-Mawlānā al-Mustansir bi 'llāh*, MS Sch Or St, many of these letters are also reproduced in Idrīs, vol vii [see *Bibl*]), deals, along with political questions, in the first place with the position of the *daʿwa* in the Yaman and in the Fātimid state

In Egypt itself, soon after the accession of al-Mustansir, the doctrines of the moderate official Ismāʿīlīya were threatened by the appearance of extremists related to the Druzes [q v] A pretender, al-Sikkīn, together with his associate al-ʿĀnī, gave himself out as the returned Caliph al-Hākim, but

was promptly unmasked (Idrīs, vi 296) Al-Mu'ayyad, who came to Cairo in 439 and won the goodwill of Mustansir, was entrusted with the leadership of the religious mission as *Dā'ī 'l Du'āt* (it should be remarked, however, that al Yāzūrī during his wazirate also held the title of *dā'ī 'l-du'āt*, cf Ibn al-Ṣairafī, p 40) In the reopened seminary in Cairo, where the *du'āt* of the various countries received instruction, he gave his lectures and gathered into his hands the strings of the whole *da'wa* He appears to have exercised a special influence over the development of the *da'wa* in the Yaman, as the future Yamanite *dā'ī* Lamak b Mālik was numbered amongst his pupils From Persia the newly-converted Ismā'īlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw [q v] came to Egypt, to find his master in him At the same time al-Mu'ayyad seems also to have played an important political role In his autobiography he quotes numerous letters which he wrote to al Basāsīrī and other generals of the Fatimids in Syria and Mesopotamia In particular it was at his instigation that the *khuṭba* for the Fāṭimids was introduced into the prayer at Baghdād in 450 (cf Ibn Muyassar, p 8, 1, 10, 6–7) In his poems he eulogizes the Imām al-Mustansir in a similar manner to Nāṣir i Khusraw Other Ismā'īlī authors of this period were the poet Ḥasan b Mahbūb, the *dā'ī* Aḥmad b Ibrāhīm al Nīsābūrī, and the author of the *Kitāb al Madjālis al-Mustansiriyya* (lectures in which the imāmate of al Mustansir is demonstrated with the aid of the Ismā'īlī *ta'wīl*), which are ascribed by the Fāṭimid tradition to Badr al-Djamālī — For the Fāṭimid propaganda in Transoxania see also Barthold, *Turkestan*², *G M S*, p 304—305

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(H A R GIBB and P KRAUS)

MUSTA'RIB(A) (A), "arabicised", the name of one of the groups into which the Arab genealogists divide the population of Arabia The first is the *'arab 'āriba*, the original Arabs of pure stock, they numbered nine (some say seven) tribes which are regarded as the descendants of Aram b Sām b Nūh [q v] and the first settlers in Arabia 'Ād, Thamūd, Umayyim, 'Abīl, Tasm, Djadīs, 'Imlik, Djurhum and Wabār These are extinct except for a few remnants incorporated in other tribes The second group comprises the *muta'rriba* [q v] who are not pure blooded Arabs They are regarded as descendants of Kahtān (the Yoktān of the list of nations in Gen x 25 *sq*) and live in southern Arabia The third group is called *musta'riba*, this name is also applied to tribes who were not originally Arabs, they trace their descent from Ma'add b 'Adnān, a descendant of Ismā'īl [q v] All the north Arabian tribes are included among the *musta'riba*, so that the Banū Kuraysh to which Muḥammad belonged is one of them, his genealogy is in this way traced back to Abraham and he thus thought he could prove his connection with the Biblical prophets The old term *musta'riba*, for tribes not originally of Arab descent, obtained a new meaning after the conquest of Spain It was applied to the Christian Spaniards who adopted Islām, the word *musta'riba* was corrupted to Mozarab [q v]

Bibliography Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, § 43, do, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, i 306, *sq*, Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i 6 *sqq*, C Ritter, *Arabien*, i 57, al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, 1st Naw', *Tādj al-'Arūs*, i 371, cf Lane, *Lex*, s v

(IIsf LICHTENSTADTER)

AL **MUSTARSHID** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-FADI, 'Abbāsid caliph, born in 486 (1093—1094), son of al-Mustazhir and a slave girl Al-Mustarshid, who was proclaimed his father's successor after the latter's death on 16th Rabī' II 512 (Aug 6, 1118), was the first caliph since the occupation of Baghdād by the Būyids who was not content with spiritual supremacy but also endeavoured to revive the caliph's authority in temporal matters The Saldjūk sultān had died before al Mustazhir (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511 = April 1118) and his son Maḥmūd [q v] was appointed his successor His uncle Sandjar and his brother Mas'ūd both rebelled against the new sultān and the turbulent Mazyadī Dubays b Ṣadaka [q v] was raising trouble in the 'Irāk and had also quarrelled with the caliph The latter defeated him in 517 (1123) and after al-Mustarshid had repelled a regular attack on the capital he was able to adopt a more independent attitude to the Saldjūks But as his increasing power aroused the misgivings of the governor of Baghdād, the latter in Radjab 520 (July–Aug 1126) went to Sultān Maḥmūd and asked him to put a limit to the caliph's powers Maḥmūd agreed and attacked the capital while al-Mustarshid sent an army against Wāsiṭ in order to seize this town The attempt failed however, towards the end of the year Maḥmūd entered Baghdād and al Mustarshid could not hold out indefinitely but had to make peace, whereupon the sultān appointed 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī governor of Baghdād and all the 'Irāk But in Djumādā II 521 (July 1127) the latter was given the governorship of al-Mawṣil and after Maḥmūd's death (525 = 1131) the succession was again disputed In 526 Dubays and Zangī undertook a campaign against Baghdād but were defeated by the caliph at the

end of Radjab (June 1132) and in the same year Masʿūd [q v] had to give him complete control of Baghdād and the surrounding country After some time he attacked the sultān but was taken prisoner in Ramadān 529 (Jan 1135) and murdered in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda of the same year (Aug 1135) [cf the art DUBAIS B ṢADAKA]

Bibliography Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, x—xi, see index, Ibn al-Ṭiktakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 406—415, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii 124 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 495 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh i Guzīda*, ed Browne, i 361 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 212–253, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii 127 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed, p 583 *sqq*, Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs a l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii 104, 120, 152, 160, 174—178, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 195, 259, 275 (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSTASHĀR (A), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *musteshār*, meaning "general secretary to a ministry" or "under secretary of state" The word which means literally "one who is consulted" comes from the same root as *mushīr* [q v] which properly means "he who gives advice" Sāmī Bey regards the word *musteshār* as a synonym of the old Turkish *inal* — The office was called *musteshārī* or more simply *musteshārlīk*

Like the title *mushīr*, that of *musteshār* was created by Mahmūd II There were at first two *musteshār* in the grand-vizierate, one for foreign and the other for home affairs The latter was later replaced by a Minister of the Interior who had in his turn a *musteshār* The number of *musteshār* gradually increased but some less important departments had *muʿāwin* "assistant, deputy" (in 1296 for example there were *muʿāwin* in the finance and police departments) The office has been retained under the present republic and each ministry or *wekālet* has its *musteshār*, that of national defence has three (for army, navy and air force)

The chief judge of Istanbul used to have a *musteshār* According to Lutfī Efendi, the post of *musteshār* of the Navy was created in 1253 (v, p 91) and that of *musteshār* of the *sadreyn* or of the two *kazaʿker* in 1262 (viii, p 127) On the honorary grades of *musteshār* cf the same author, vi, p 66, cf also p 103, line 8 from below

Musteshār is also the name given to the "councillors" of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations The title of *mustashār awwal* borne by the ambassador himself, sent by the Sultān of Morocco to Stambul in 1197, is inexplicable to us (cf Djewdet Pasha, edition 1309, ii, p 251, cf *Recueil de Memoires Orientaux de l'Ec des Langues Orientales à Paris*, 1905, p 6)

As to the term *mushāwir*, a synonym of the preceding and from the same root, it is applied to technical advisers, whether foreigners or not, *hukūk mushāwirī* "legal adviser"

Bibliography Cf the various Ottoman calendars The historians Ahmed Djewdet and Lutfī, following their predecessors, give no details of the administrative organisation (J DENY)

AL-MUSTAʿṢIM BI' ALLĀH, ABŪ AḤMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B AL-MUSTANSIR, the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād, born in 609 (1212/3) After the death of his father in Djumādā I or II 640 (Nov /Dec 1242) he was raised to the caliph's throne but he had neither the talent nor the strength to avert the catastrophe threatening from the Mongols, he allowed himself to be guided by bad councillors who were not agreed among themselves but working against one another In 683 (1255/6) the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū [q v] demanded that the Muslim rulers should make war on the Ismāʿīlis The caliph did not trouble about this and in Rabīʿ I 655 (March/April 1257) a Mongol embassy came to Baghdād and demanded that al Mustaʿṣim should raze the defences of the city and appear in person before Hūlāgū for further negotiations or send a deputy As the caliph refused to meet these demands, Hūlāgū threatened him with war After another message in which al-Mustaʿṣim tried to intimidate Hūlāgū, the latter set out against the ancient city of the caliphs On the way he met another embassy, offering him an annual tribute but this effort to appease the cruel foe was useless and by Muharram 656 (Jan 1258) the Mongols were at the gates of Baghdad Preparations for the siege advanced rapidly and after all attempts to resume negotiations had failed against the relentless Hūlāgū, al-Mustaʿṣim had to surrender on 4th Ṣafar (10th Feb) and the city was sacked Ten days later Hūlāgū had the caliph with some of his relations put to death [cf the art BAGHDĀD]

Bibliography Ibn al Ṭiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 448—458, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i 237—239, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 536 *sqq*, Rashīd al Dīn (ed Quatremere), i 228 *sqq*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed Browne), i 371–373, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 470–478, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index, A Muller, *Der Islam*, i 640, ii 228 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate*, new ed, p 590 *sqq* (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSTAWFĪ, an official in charge of government accounts Under the Turkish systems, e g under the Ghaznawids and Saldjūks, the title was borne by a functionary of high rank who was at the head of the *dīwān* concerned with keeping the tally of public income and expenditure Under the Nizām al Mulk the office of the mustawfī was second only to that of the vizier (Bundārī, ed Houtsma, p 100) and appears to have corresponded to the *dīwān al-zimām* or *dīwān al azimma*, the "Bureau of (Financial) Control" of the ʿAbbāsids (Tabarī, iii 522), although the Saldjūks also had a *dīwān* of this name tenable by the mustawfī himself (Bundārī, p 58) The qualities requisite in him were such as to fit him for the vizierate itself (*ibid*, p 96), and indeed there were duties which were common to the two offices so that the same man could act as the *nāʾib* in both (*ibid*, p 129, last line) The vizierate might be refused by a powerful mustawfī holding all the reins of government in his hands and reluctant to expose himself to the dangers inherent in the nominally more exalted office (*ibid*, p 136, 141) But no officer was safe from a capricious or greedy monarch and the mustawfī Safī al-Dīn suffered death and the confiscation of a large part of his property at the hands of Sultān Masʿūd (*ibid*, p 171) It is probable that the actual title of the State mustawfī was *mustawfi 'l-mamlaka* or something similar (*ibid*, p 31), the ordinary mustawfī, or accountant, holding a subordinate position (*ibid*, p 31, 3)

Under the Mongols the title was given to the superintendents of provincial finances (e g Hamd Allāh Mustawfī and his great grandfather, cf E G Browne, *Lit Hist of Persia*, III 87), and under the Timūrids, Safawids and Kādjārs, the *mustawfi 'l-mamālik* filled the office of a secretary of state in charge of the public treasury accounts while the ordinary mustawfī was one of the lesser officers of the court (R du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed Schefer, Paris 1890, p 26, 178 *sq* , A Olearius, *Voyages and Travels*, London 1669, p 274, Sir J Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, II 437, R G Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, p 16 *sq*) *Mustawfi 'l-mamālik* might however, under the latest Kādjārs, be a title personal to a particular individual, who might be the Minister of the Interior (as in 1890) or even Prime Minister (as in 1910)

In Egypt, under the Fātimids and Mamlūks, the mustawfī might be the head of a *dīwān* (as of the *dīwān al-djaish*) or hold a less exalted, but still important, position as financial controller in such matters as the *ikta'āt*, or military fiefs (cf Makrīzī, *Khitat*, Būlāk 1270, II 193, middle and p 227, under *nazr al djaish*) The ordinary mustawfī was a minor official of the status of a clerk employed under a *shādd*, or overseer, in land-surveys or crop estimation or else in a government office such as the depot of the government grain monopoly (*op cit*, ed Wiet, II, ch 32, p 23—25)

Bibliography In addition to works cited in the article, see Quatremère, *Hist des Sultans mamlouks de Makrizi*, I/i , p 202 *sq* , Mīrzā Muhammad Kazwīnī, *Mukaddama* to Djuwainī, *Ta'rīkh i Djahān-gushā* (in *G M S*), I/xi (L)

(R Ievy)

MUSTAWFĪ [see Hamd Allāh]

AL-MUSTAZHIR BI 'LLĀH, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b al-Muktadī, 'Abbāsid caliph After the death of his father in Muharram 487 (Feb 1094) the young al-Mustazhir succeeded him, about this time the power of the Saldjūks was beginning to be weakened by internal dissensions [cf BARKIYĀRŪK] The Assassins, who had already appeared on the scene in al Muktadī's reign, were able to take advantage of the situation and fighting this dangerous sect soon became one of the most important tasks of the sultāns and caliphs The Crusades also began at this time In Sha'bān 492 (July 1099) Jerusalem was taken and in the following years numerous fugitives reached Baghdād who urged Sultān Muhammad to take part in the struggle He therefore sent an army under the emīr Mawdūd against the Crusaders in 505 (1111/12) Al Mustazhir, who is hardly ever mentioned in the political history of this period, died on 16 Rabī' II 512 (Aug 6, 1118) at the age of 41

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), X 154 *sqq* , Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 403—406, Ibn Khaldūn, *al 'Ibar*, III 480 *sqq* , Hamd Allāh Mustawfī i Kazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (ed Browne), I 360 *sq* , Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, III 138 *sq* , Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed , p 582 *sq* , Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, II 83, 95, 119, 261, 265, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index

(K V Zetterstéen)

MUSULMAN [See Muslim]

MU'TA, a town in the centre of a fertile plain in the land east of Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, about two hours' journey south of Kerak, celebrated for the defeat of the Muslims there in Djumādā I of the year 8 According to the Arabic account, the reason why Muhammad sent 3,000 men to this region was that an envoy whom he had sent to the king (presumably the imperial commandant) of Bosrā had been murdered by a Ghassānid, but the real reason seems to have been that he wished to bring the (Christian or pagan) Arabs living there under his control If the story is correct that he chose three leaders for the expedition, Zaid b Hāritha [q v] and if he fell his cousin Dja'far b Abī Tālib [q v] and if he also fell the poet 'Abd Allāh b Rawāha [q v], he must have fully recognised the hazardous nature of the enterprise, but the tendency of the stories to describe the dangers of the expedition and the overwhelming nature of the opposing force as very great in order to put the unfortunate result of the battle in a better light is quite evident In Hassān b Thābit (xxi , cf cxlviii) we are only told that the three leaders above mentioned fell in succession When the Muslims arrived in Ma'ān in eastern Edom, they learned that no less than 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and Beduins — a much exaggerated figure which Ibn Hishām doubles — had assembled in Ma'āb Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, I 29) locates this Ma'āb, which according to Tabarī, I 2108, was not a town but a camp (*fustāt*), at Ladjdjūn, a place near a spring with traces of an old Roman camp But Abu 'l-Fidā' identifies it with al Rabba which he describes as a village on the site of the former capital of the district, i e Rabbot Moab or Areopolis (P Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, p 25, Brunnow, *M N D P V*, 1895, p 70 *sq* with photographs, Musil, *op cit*, p 370 *sqq* , 381) According to the Arab story, it was the emperor Heraclius himself who assembled this great army in Ma'āb, which is of course not true When the Muslims heard this, we are told, they lost courage and wanted to wait until the Prophet could send them reinforcements but 'Abd Allāh b Rawāha was able to fill them with such enthusiasm for a possible martyr's death that they marched on the imperial army According to Ibn Hishām, the latter met them at a village belonging to Balkā' called Mashārif, but this must be a misunderstanding as this term means the Syrian fortresses on the edge of the desert At the sight of the great force of the enemy, they withdrew to the south but fighting began at the village of Mu'ta and they were routed When the three leaders named by Muhammad had fallen in the order indicated, they wanted Thābit b Aikān to take command but he gave it to Khālid b al Walīd who succeeded in saving the rest of the force, this was the first occasion on which his military talents benefitted the Muslims, how he did it, we do not know as the stratagem related by Wāķidī, p 312 is not to be taken seriously Besides the Muslim account, we have a Byzantine one, the earliest in the history of the Prophet, by the historian Theophanes, whose version bears the stamp of veracity According to him Muhammad sent four chiefs to the land east of Jordan against the Christian Arabs there They went to a village named Mucheon, which de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*[2], p 6 *sqq* , takes

to be a copyist's error for Ma'āb, while Musil, *op cit*, p 153, identifies it with Khirbet al Mahna which lies in a broad depression, in order to fall upon the Arabs on a feastday (*ἡμέρᾳ τῆς εἰδωλοθυσίας αὐτῶν*, which seems to indicate a heathen rather than a Christian population) but the *vicarius* Theodoros there learned of their plans and rapidly collecting the garrisons of the fortresses, fell upon the Muslims at Mu'ta and defeated them Three of the leaders and most of the force were killed and Chaledos who was called the "sword of God", alone succeeded in escaping The tombs of the martyrs who fell there used to be pointed out at Mu'ta, where a mausoleum was built over them

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 791 *sqq*, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1610 *sqq*, Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, Ibn Sa'd, ed Sachau, II/i 92 *sqq*, cf III/II 82, 14, IV 22 *sqq*, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II 80—88, Mas'ūdī, *B G A*, VIII 327, Theophanes, ed de Boor, I 335, Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p 176, Ya'kūbī, *B G A*, VII 326, Mukaddasī, *B G A*, III 178, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wüstenfeld, IV 677, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud and de Slane, p 247, Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, I 152, Probst, *Die geogr Verhältnisse Syriens u Palastinas nach Wilhelm v Tyrus* (*Das Land der Bibel*), 1927, I 73 (FR BUHL)

MUT'A (A), temporary marriage (according to the Arab lexicographers "marriage of pleasure"), a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period on rewarding the woman

I Before Islām According to Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV 4, 4, temporary marriage was in use among the Arabs already in the fourth century A D, but this can hardly be a reference to mut'a as the woman brings a lance and tent to the man and can leave him if she likes after the period has elapsed It is also doubtful if there is a distinct mu'ta character in the marriage of Hāshim with Salma bint 'Amr, whom he married during a temporary stay in Yathrib and left with her family there after the birth of her child (Caetani, I 111, § 92) From the passage *Aghānī*, XVI 63 (*matti'ūnī biha 'l-latīa*) as well as from Muslim traditions it may be concluded that mut'a was known in the Djāhilīya If we remember that the same kind of temporary marriage as the mut'a was known in Erythraea (Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario*, Rome 1916, p 189, 249) it seems to me certain that mut'a is an old Arabian institution (Temporary marriage is also found among other peoples cf Wilken, p 21 *sq*, Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London 1925, III 267 *sq*, cf also the *ἄγραφος γάμος* in Egypt, to which Griffini, p 327 calls attention, in a demotic document there is a reference to such a marriage for five months cf Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzuge der Papyruskunde*, II/i, p 203 *sqq*)

II In the Kur'ān there is undoubtedly a reference to this form of marriage in the Medīna sūra IV 28, although the orthodox explanation of this passage as early as the first century refers it to the ordinary *nikāh*, after giving a list of the classes of women with whom marriage is forbidden, it goes on "And further you are permitted to seek out wives with your wealth, in modest conduct but not in fornication, but give them their reward (*udjūr*) for what you have enjoyed of them (*istamta'tum*) in keeping with your promise" After *istamta'tum*, Ubaï b Ka'b and Ibn 'Abbās read the words *ilā adjalin musamman* "for a definite period" (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, V 9), a reading which naturally has not found its way into Sunnī circles but is often added in Shī'a books

III The traditions are contradictory on the question of mut'a According to some, it was in use in the time of the Prophet and he was even said to have practised it (*matta'ahā* Tabarī, *Annales*, I 1775, 1776, cf Caetani, II 478, N° 17 and 19) In return for a robe or a handful of dates one could take an unmarried woman (*uyyām*) for a period of cohabitation (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 13, 17, Tayālisī, N° 1637) Especially when a man came to a strange town he could marry a woman there for the period of his stay so that she could look after him (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28)

On the other hand, according to one tradition related by 'Alī, it was forbidden by the Prophet on the day (or in the year) of Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 38, *Dhabā'ih*, bāb 28, *Nikāh*, bāb 31, Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 31—34, Nasa'ī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71 ["on the day of Hunain" must here be a mistake for Khaibar], *Said*, bāb 31, Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44, Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28, *At'ima*, bāb 6, Mālik, *Nikāh*, II 41, Ahmad b Hanbal, I 79, 103, 142, Tayālisī, N° 111, Zaid, *Madjmū'*, N° 718)

According to other traditions, he is said to have permitted it for a short time on particular occasions In this connection we have a group of traditions which goes back to Sabra b Ma'bad, the various accounts of this, some long, some short, which supplement one another are in part given without date (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 20, 26, Nasā'ī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71, Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāh*, bab 13, Ahmad b Hanbal, III 404), in part referred to the conquest of Mecca (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, Dārimī, *Nikāh*, bāb 16, Ahmad b Hanbal, III 404, 405), and in part to the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44, Dārimī, *Nikāh*, bāb 16, Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāh*, bāb 13, Ahmad b Hanbal, III 404 *sq*) Their substance is as follows The Prophet permitted mut'a, Sabra therefore went with a companion to a woman and each offered her his cloak She chose the younger with the shabbier cloak and slept three nights with him, thereupon the Prophet forbade it According to the stories associated with the farewell pilgrimage, the woman wished mut'a only for a fixed period so that ten days or nights was agreed upon, but the Prophet forbade it after the first night, saying "Whoever of you has married a woman for a period, shall give her what he promised and ask nothing of it back and he shall separate from her, for God has forbidden this up to the day of resurrection" (For the conclusion cf also the fragments of this in Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 23, 30)

According to a second group of traditions, which goes back to Djābir b 'Abd Allāh and Salama b al-Akwa', the Prophet permitted mut'a for three days on a campaign (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71, Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 14, 15, Ahmad b Hanbal, IV 47, 51, according to Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 19 and Ahmad b Hanbal, IV 55, this was in the year of Awtās, i e shortly after the capture of Mecca) In Bukhārī we have at the end "The partnership of the two parties lasted three nights, and if they agreed to extend it they did so, and if they wished to separate, they did so" A prohibition is given only in two versions in this group

According to other traditions, mut'a was first forbidden by the caliph 'Omar at the end of his caliphate (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 16—18, Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 304, 380 and iii 325, 356, 363, where there is a reference to the two kinds of mut'a, i e *tamattu'* on the pilgrimage and *mut'at al-nisā'*) 'Omar threatened the punishment of stoning so that he regarded mut'a as fornication (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44, Mālik, *Nikāh*, tr 42, Tayālisī, N° 1792) Cf the angry exclamation of Ibn 'Omar when he was asked about mut'a "By Allāh, we were not immodest in the time of the Prophet of Allāh nor fornicators" (Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 95, 104)

What then is at the bottom of these contradictory traditions? While Wellhausen regards mut'a as simply prostitution and not an old Arabian custom, Caetani points out that the traditions agree in connecting mut'a with an entrance of the Prophet into Mecca and sometimes even with the *hadjdj* and that a three days' duration is a feature of the mut'a, taking account of other considerations, he concludes that mut'a in the pagan period was religious prostitution on the occasion of the Meccan festival However tempting this explanation may be, there is a complete lack of evidence for any religious prostitution in Mecca With Wilken and Robertson Smith, we must rather regard mut'a as the survival into Islām of an old Arabian custom The Prophet gives this custom sanction in the Kur'ān and also practised it himself The traditions, if examined carefully, only mention two cases of prohibition by the Prophet Khaibar and Mecca As both these are later than the above Kur'ānic passage (years 3—5, according to Noldeke-Schwally, i 198) this prohibition would be quite possible But since on the other hand the caliph 'Omar prohibited mut'a, which there is no reason to doubt, we might regard the tradition of prohibition as representing later views, which, as is often the case, are put back to the time of the Prophet

IV Attitude of the fukahā' 'Ibn Abbās (d 68) was an ardent champion of mut'a (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 31, Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 18, Tayālisī, N° 1792, Rāzī, *Mafātih al Ghaib*, Cairo 1324, iii 195) In Mecca and the Yaman, according to Ibn Rushd (*Bidāya*, Cairo 1339, ii 54), he also had followers, but before his death he is said to have been converted to the opposite view (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28, Rāzī, *loc cit*) In later times, people still spoke derisively of a marriage by a *fetwā* of Ibn 'Abbās In the second half of the first century in Mecca, *fetwās* were still given permitting mut'a (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr 29) The Kur'ān commentators Mudjāhid (d 100), Sa'īd b Djubair (d 95), and al-Suddī (d 127) also referred the above verse of the Kur'ān to mut'a Suddī says that it is a marriage for a fixed period and that it should be concluded with the permission of the *walī* and with two witnesses, that after the expiry of this period the man has no longer any claim on the woman and that the two parties cannot inherit from one another (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, v 8) With the second century, the contrary view begins to predominate, although individuals like 'Amr b Dīnār (d 126), Ibn Djuraidj (d 150) and the Zaidī sect of the Djārūdīya permit mut'a (Ibn Rushd, *loc cit*, van Arendonk, *Opkomst* etc, Leyden 1919, p 72, note 9), al-Thawrī (d 161), Ibn al-Mubārak (d 181) (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28) and all the Sunnī schools of law as well as the Zaidīs (al-Nātik bi 'l-Hakk, *Tahrīr*, Berlin MS, Glaser 74, fol 53b) consider mut'a forbidden Its recognition was now limited to the Shī'a And if the caliph Ma'mūn tried to introduce mut'a again, this was certainly due to his Shī'ī tendencies (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii 218)

At the same time, we still have in the second century the opinions of a period of transition According to Zufar (d 158), the marriage concluded under the form of mut'a was valid as a marriage but its limitation in time was invalid (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, v 153, cf also Bukhārī, *Hiyal*, bāb 4) According to al-Hasan b Ziyād al Lu'lu'ī (d 204), the mut'a was valid if the partners could not survive the time fixed, e g 100 years or more (Sarakhsī, *loc cit*)

But in spite of their refusal to recognise mut'a, the Sunnīs made concessions by which mut'a gained a footing in another form It became the practice not to insert a definite period in the contract, any agreement made outside the contract was not affected by the law Al-Shāfi'ī (*Umm*, v 71) for example, declared a marriage valid when it was concluded with the unuttered resolution (*niya*) to observe it only for the period of stay in a place or for a few days only, so long as this was not expressly stipulated in the contract Similarly if agreement to this effect (*murāwada*) had been previously made and even if made on oath, but he describes such an agreement as *makrūh* There are also traces in later literature of a decision by Mālik by which he permitted mut'a (Sarakhsī, v 152, Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, ed Lees, ii 208 *sqq*) although only the contrary is recorded in the *Muwatta'* and *Mudawwana* (iv 46)

A good exposition of the two opposite points of view is given from the Sunnī side by Kāsānī (d 587), *Bada'i' al-Sana'i'*, Cairo 1327, ii 272—274 and in Rāzī, *op cit*, iii 193—198 and from the Shī'ī side by 'Alam al Hudā al-Murtadā, *Intisār*, Teheran 1315, p 60—65 The Sunnīs refer the verse above mentioned from the Kur'ān to regular marriage and declare the *adjr* to be *mahr*, while the Shī'is base their view on this verse and consider the traditions of prohibition not to be abrogatory and do not consider 'Omar authoritative for a prohibition The Imāmis even go so far as to say "The believer is only perfect when he has experienced a mut'a" (al Hurr al-'Āmilī, v 69, 2)

V The teachings of the Imāmis 1 Form Mut'a is an irrevocable (*lāzim*) contract which, like every contract, comes into existence through *kabūl* and *īdjāb* It may be concluded with the words *nikāh*, *tazwidj* or *tamattu'*, but must always contain a precise statement of the period (*adjal*) and a definite recompense (*adjr* or *mahr*) This recompense may be the dowry usual in other marriages or a handful of corn, a dirham or such like The period may vary from a day to months or even years Witnesses are not necessary, nor need it be concluded before the kādī, if the partners are capable of using the formulae correctly If the *mahr* is not given, the contract is invalid If the period is not given, according to some it is a regular marriage if the word *tamattu'* was not used at the end of the ceremony, in the latter case the contract is again invalid

2 The two partners must naturally fulfil the usual conditions for the conclusion of an agreement The woman must further be unmarried

and chaste (*ʿafīfa*) and if possible ought to know about mutʿa, i e be a Shīʿī, and can only contract a temporary marriage with a Muslim According to Ibn Bābūye (d 381) and al-Mufīd (d 413), mutʿa with an unbeliever is forbidden, even with a member of the possessors of a scripture (*kitābiya*) The *nawāsib* (extreme Khāridjīs) are included among the unbelievers According to most Imāmīs (and Tūsī also) however, mutʿa with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted but *makrūh* with a *madjūsīya* Mutʿa with a slave girl is only admitted with the consent of her master Usually the woman contracts the marriage without a *walī*, only a virgin (*bikr*), according to some, requires her father s consent (Abu 'l-Ṣalāh, d 82, Ibn Bābūye, d 381, Ibn al-Barrādj, d 481, cf Hillī, III 92) The man may in this way take other wives in addition to his four legal wives, especially on journeys He must not, however, take two sisters at the same time, not even during the ʿidda

3 The mutʿa ends on the expiry of the period agreed upon It cannot be prolonged by arrangement between the two parties, a new temporary marriage with a new *mahr* must rather be contracted at the end of the period Divorce is impossible, according to some, however, *liʿān* and *ẓihār* are permitted

4 There is no obligation on the man to provide food and home for the woman The two partners cannot inherit from one another, but according to some, inheritance may be provided for in the contract The ʿidda after the expiry of the mutʿa is two periods or 45 days, i e the ʿidda of a slave-girl There is, however, disagreement whether on the man's death the period of waiting is the usual one for a wife or that for a slave The children go with the father

VI Modern practice Although these Shīʿī views have a certain amount of moral support, the mutʿa in many cases can only be described as legalised prostitution It is true that in Persia such marriages are made for very long periods, e g 99 years, but the Persian, when on a journey, temporarily marries in any place where he is stopping for some time and in the towns and caravanserais mollahs and other brokers offer a wife to each new arrival To make this business more profitable, the ʿidda period is evaded by concluding a second temporary marriage with the same man after the expiry of the first, for in the case of such a marriage the ʿidda is not necessary This marriage and a woman of this kind is called in Persia *sīghe* (lit "form" i e of the contract) Cf Olearius [1637], *Muscowit u pers Reyse*, Schlesswig 1656, p 609, Chardin [1673], *Voyages*, Paris 1811, II 222—223, 225—227, Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, I 207 *sq* , E G Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, p 505 *sq* , H Norden, *Persien*, Leipzig 1929, p 148, 167, and the romance of the traveller James Morier, *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, 1824, part III , chap 6—8

The constantly quoted story (first in Wilken, p 19) of Alex Hamilton (*A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, I 51) that at the beginning of the XVIIIth century temporary marriages were publicly negotiated in Sounan (= Sanʿā') in South Arabia and concluded before the kādī, is a very improbable one, for Hamilton knew only the coast-towns from his own observation and wrote his account of his travels later from memory He seems to be confusing them with conditions in Persian towns, and he makes mistakes on other matters

In Mecca, in modern as well as ancient times (for the middle ages cf *Lisān al-ʿArab wa mutʿat al tazwīdj bi-Makka minhu*), temporary marriages were concluded among the Sunnīs but nothing is said of this in the marriage contract or this would make it invalid, everything necessary is arranged previously by word of mouth On the conclusion of the contract, the man utters the *ṭalāk* formula with a time limit Such agreements are as a rule kept (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II 156, do, *Verspr Geschriften*, VI 150) The same artifice is used in such cases as Shāfiʿī indicated long ago (cf above)

Bibliography Early History G A Wilken, *Matriarchat*, Leipzig 1884, p 9—25, W Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, London 1903, p 82 *sqq* , Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N G W Gott* , 1893, p 464 *sq* , Caetani, *Annali*, Milan 1910, III 894—903, Griffini in Zaid, *Corpus iuris*, Milan, 1919 p 324—332 — In addition to the usual works on Fikh and tradition al-Mufīd (d 413 = 1022), *Mukniʿa*, Tabriz 1274, p 77 *sqq* , commentary thereon Tūsī (d 459 = 1067), *Tahdhīb al Ahkām*, Teheran 1318, II 183 *sqq* , al-Muhakkik (d 676 = 1277—1278), *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, transl Querry as *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, I 689 *sqq* , Ibn al-Mutahhar al Hillī (d 726 = 1326), *Mukhtalaf al Shīʿa fī Ahkām al-Sharīʿa*, Teheran 1323—1324, IV 8—14, al-Hurr al-ʿĀmilī (d 1099 = 1688), *Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa*, Teheran 1288, V 68—76, ʿAlī b Muhammad ʿAlī al-Tabātabāʾī (written in 1192 = 1778), *Riyād al-Masāʾil*, Teheran 1267, II 133—141 — Tornauw, *Moslem Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p 80, P Kitabgi Khan, *Droit musulman schyite Le mariage et le divorce*, Lausanne 1904, p 79 *sqq* , R K Wilson, *Anglo Muhammadan Law*, London 1912, p 452—458, Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leyden 1925, p 193 *sq* , Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, Heidelberg 1910, p 238

(HEFFENING)

AI **MUTAʿĀLĪ** [See ALLĀH, II]

MUTAʿARRIB(A) (A) "arabicised", the term applied to the descendants of Kahtān (the Biblical Yaktān) who were regarded by the genealogists as "having become Arabs" in contrast to the supposed native "pure" Arab tribes like ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc They settled in South Arabia and adopted Arabic from the "pure" Arabs The latter had learned it through Djurhum, the only man who spoke Arabic in Noah's ark (all the rest spoke Syriac), and his son-in law Aram b Sām b Nūh was the ancestor of the ʿĀd and Thamūd etc From South Arabia, their main centre, tribes of the Banū Kahtān migrated to the north, so that there are in Northern Arabia also tribes whose genealogies make them belong to the Banū Kahtān [cf the article MUSTAʿRIB(A) where the literature is given] (ILSE LICHTENSTADTER)

MUTADĀRIK, name of the sixteenth metre in Arabic prosody, added to al Khalīl b Ahmad's list by al-Akhfash al-Awsat [q v] It is also called *mukhtaraʿ*, *muhdath*, *khabab*, *shakik*, *muntasik*, *darb al-khail*, *rakd al-khail*, *ṣawt al-nākūs* It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Islām or of the first century A H.

It has four feet to the hemistich and two *ʿarūd* and four *darb*

1st *ʿarūd* { *Fāʿilun fāʿilun faʿilun faʿilun*
faʿilun faʿilun faʿilun fāʿilun
Fāʿilun fāʿilun faʿilun
faʿilun faʿilun fāʿilātun
2nd *ʿarūd* { *Fāʿilun fāʿilun faʿilun*
faʿilun faʿilun fāʿilān
Fāʿilun fāʿilun faʿilun
faʿilun faʿilun fāʿilun

Fāʿilun may change to *faʿilun* (*faʿlun* =) *fiʿlun*

(Moh Ben Chfneb)

AL-**MUʿTAḌID BI 'LLĀH**, Abu 'l ʿAbbās Ahmad b Talha, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muwaffak, co regent with the caliph al-Muʿtamid [q v], and a Greek slave named Dirār Al Muʿtadid was already the real ruler in the two last years of al-Muwaffak's life and after the death of al-Muʿtamid in Radjab 279 (Oct 892) he ascended the throne The new caliph who had inherited his father's gifts as a ruler and was distinguished alike for his economy and military ability is one of the greatest of the ʿAbbāsids in spite of his strictness and cruelty On the accession of al-Muʿtadid the Tūlūnid Khumārawaih [q v], wearied of the long war, concluded peace and gave the caliph his daughter in marriage While the Khāridjīs in Mesopotamia were weakened by internal dissensions, al Muʿtadid in 280 (893—894) undertook an expedition against the rebel Banū Shaibān and brought them to obedience In the next two years the allies of the Khāridjī chief Hārūn b ʿAbd Allāh were defeated and in 283 (896) the latter fell into the hands of Husain b Hamdān, and was sent to Baghdād where the caliph had him crucified The influence of the Hamdānids now began to increase in Baghdād The Dulafids [q v] who had given the caliphs much trouble were soon finally conquered After al-Hārith b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz called Abū Lailā had been defeated and slain in Dhu 'l Hidjdja 284 (Jan 898) near Isfahān, al-Muʿtadid had the other Dulafids imprisoned and the family now disappears from history The Sāmānids increased their power at the expense of the Saffārids and the ʿAlids In 287 (900) the Saffārid ʿAmr b al Laith [q v] was captured and brought to Baghdād In the same year the ʿAlid Muhammad b Zaid, lord of Tabaristān, occupied Djurdjān marched against Khurāsān but was defeated by the Sāmānid general Muhammad b Hārūn and died of his wounds while Ibn Hārūn took possession of Djurdjān and Tabaristān in the name of the Sāmānids About the same time the governor of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān Muhammad b Abi 'l-Sādj endeavoured in combination with his freedman Wasīf to conquer Egypt The latter however was taken prisoner by the caliph's troops and as the most influential men in Tarsus had promised their help, al Muʿtadid had them arrested and the fleet there burned Muhammad was however allowed to retain his post but died soon afterwards of the plague The Karmatians [q v] now appeared on the scene and in the same year the Karmatian leader al Djannābī [q v] inflicted a complete defeat on the caliph's troops Al Muʿtadid died in Baghdād on 22 Rabiʿ II, 289 (April 5, 902) at the age of 40 or 47 According to some he was poisoned — Cf also the art Ismāʿīl b Bulbul

Bibliography Tabarī (ed de Goeje), iii 2131 *sqq*, ʿArīb (ed de Goeje), see Index, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), viii 112—213, ix 47, 52, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), vii 234 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Deren bourg), p 348—350, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al Wafayāt*, i 45 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii 346 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 433, 460, 476 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed, index, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index, A Muller, *Der Islam*, i 531

(K V Zetterstéen)

AL **MUʿTAḌID BI 'LLĀH**, Abū ʿAmr ʿAbbād b Muhammad b ʿAbbād, the most important and most powerful sovereign of the ʿAbbādid dynasty [q v] who reigned over the little kingdom formed by his father Abu 'l Kāsim Muhammad b ʿAbbād, with Seville [q v] as his capital, at the time of the break up of the Umaiyad caliphate of Spain and the rise of the *reyes de taifas* (*mulūk al-tawāʾif*), in the course of a reign of nearly 30 years (433—460 A H = 1042—1069 A D), he very considerably increased his territory by making himself the champion of the Spanish Arabs against the Berbers in Spain whose numbers, already very large in the tenth century, had been much increased since the period of the ʿĀmirid dictators

When he succeeded his father, the new king of Seville, who was then 26, following the usual practice of the period, assumed the title of *hādjib*, and a little later the *lakab* of al Muʿtadid bi 'llāh by which he is best known Gifted with real political ability, he was not long in revealing his character, that of an autocratic ruler, ambitious and cruel and little scrupulous in the means which he used to achieve his ends As soon as he came to the throne he continued the war begun by his father against the petty Berber ruler of Carmona [q v], Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh al Birzālī, then against the latter's son and successor Ishāk At the same time, al-Muʿtadid was extending his kingdom in the west between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean It was with this object that he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Taifūr, lord (*sāhib*) of Mertola, and Muhammad b Yahyā al-Yahsubī, lord of Niebla (Ar *Labla*) [q v] who in spite of his Arab descent had had the audacity to ally himself with the Berber chiefs In face of these successes of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-tawāʾif* who distrusted him formed a kind of league into which entered the princes of Badajos [q v], Algeciras [q v], Granada [q v] and Malaga [q v] This soon became a war between the ʿAbbādid of Seville and the Aftasid [q v] of Badajoz al-Muzaffar [q v], it was to last for many years in spite of the efforts at mediation by the Djahwarid ruler of Cordova which only achieved their end in 1051 Down to this year, while harassing the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Muʿtadid displayed other activities in succession he defeated Muhammad b Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [q v] and of Saltes [q v] (whose son was the famous geographer), the Banū Muzain, lords of Silves [q v], and Muhammad b Saʿīd Ibn Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [q v], and annexed their territories To justify these annexations, al-Muʿtadid used a very crude pretext he alleged that he had found the unfortunate Hishām II, who had really died in obscurity a few years before, and would go on till he had restored to him his former empire subdued and

pacified in its integrity In order not to be exposed to the cruelty of the king of Seville, the majority of the petty Berber chiefs settled in the mountains of the south of Andalusia acquiesced in this make-believe and paid homage to the ʿAbbādid and to the Commander of the Faithful miraculously restored to aid the cause of al-Muʿtadid but at the same time carefully concealed by him It was labour lost for them One day the ʿAbbādid invited to his palace in Seville all these petty chiefs with their suites and put them to death by asphyxiating them in baths the openings in which he walled up In this way he took Arcos [q v], the capital of the principality of the Banū Khizrūn, Moron [q v] defended by the Banū Dammar, and Ronda [q v], capital of the Banū Ifran (1053)

This aroused the wrath of the most powerful Berber ruler in Spain, Bādis b Habbūs the Zīrid [q v] who ruled in Granada and who alone seemed able to resist al-Muʿtadid The latter however found that fortune favoured him in this war and a little later took Algeciras from the Hammūdid al-Kāsim b Hammūd He next tried to seize Cordova and sent an expedition against it in charge of his son Ismāʿīl, the latter tried to profit by the occasion to rebel and create for himself a kingdom with Algeciras as capital This rash plan cost him his life, which his father took with his own hand, just as before him ʿAbd al Rahmān III and al-Mansūr b Abī ʿĀmir had inflicted the supreme penalty on their unworthy sons This was the beginning of the political career of al Muʿtadid's other son Muhammad al-Muʿtamid [q v] who was to succeed him on his death, by his father's orders he went with an army to support the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyrannical ruler of Bādīs, the despotic Berber of Granada But the latter routed the Sevillan army and al-Muʿtamid in sorry state reached Ronda from which he sought and received the pardon of his terrible father The latter had long before repudiated the fiction of the pseudo-Hishām which he no longer needed He was now by far the most redoubtable and the most feared of the Spanish rulers He had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself but much further removed from his social ideal of a Spaniard than his Christian neighbours in the north In another land he might have been called "Berberoktonos" But the bitterness of his hatred cast a shadow over his last days it was not without fear that he followed events in the western Maghrib, hitherto the fief of Muslim Spain, at least in the sub-Mediterranean zone The irresistible advance of the Almoravids [q v] following Yūsuf b Tāshfīn through all Morocco would not find the straits of Gibraltar an insurmountable obstacle for long Al-Muʿtadid realised this very well Death at least prevented him from seeing his kingdom, entirely built up by his own energy and bold initiative, pass in a few weeks into the hands of invaders, brethren of these Berbers of Spain whom he had detested and in part destroyed

Bibliography All the texts of Arabic historians relating to the ʿAbbādids (particularly Ibn Hayyān *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Abbār, Makkarī) have been published by R Dozy in his *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leyden 1846 Add also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, vol III, ed E Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, and appendices (cf indices), Ibn al-Khatīb, *Iʿmāl al ʿIlām fī man buyiʿa kabl al-Ihtilām min Mulūk al-Islām*, part relating to the history of Spain, ed E Lévi Provençal, Rabat 1934 (in the press) Cf also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed, Leyden 1932, index, A Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, A González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, p 73—75 (E Lévi-Provençal)

MUTAFARRIKA (A), name of a corps of guards, who were especially attached to the person of the Ottoman Sultān in the ancient Turkish court The name is also applied to a member of the guard Their occupations were similar to those of the *Čawush* [q v], not of military character, nor for court service only, but they were used for more or less important public or political missions Like the *Cawush*, the Mutafarrika were a mounted guard In later times there were two classes, the *gedikli* or *sīʿāmetli* Mutafarrika, and the fiefless Their chief was the *Mutafarrika Aghasī* In course of time their number constantly increased, at the end of the XVIIth century the maximum was fixed at 120 (*G O R* ², III 890, after Rāshid), but in the beginning of the XIXth century von Hammer gives the number 500 for the total The Porte needed sometimes to lay stress on the importance of the office to make them acceptable as extraordinary envoys by foreign governments (*G O R* ², III 929, after Rāshid)

Among those who have occupied this rank was the well known first Turkish printer Ibrāhīm Mutafarrika

Although different explanations of the title *mutafarrika* are given, the most probable interpretation is, that these functionaries were not given a special duty but formed originally a corps used for "different matters" This is still the use of the word in modern Turkish

Bibliography J von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, II 55, 105, Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat Present de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p 338 (J H Kramers)

AL-**MUTAKABBIR** [See Alī āh, II]

MUTAKALLIM [See Kalām]

MUTAKĀRIB, name of the fifteenth metre in Arabic prosody, it contains four feet to the hemistich There are two *ʿarūd* and six *darb*

1st *ʿarūd*
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun
faʿūlun faʿulun faʿūlun faʿūlun
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun
faʿūlun faʿulun faʿūlun faʿūl
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun
faʿūlun faʿulun faʿūlun faʿal
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun
faʿūlun faʿulun faʿūlun fal

2nd *ʿarūd*
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿal
faʿūlun faʿulun faʿal
Faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿal
faʿūlun faʿulun fal

Outside of the *darb*, the foot *faʿūlun* often loses its *n* and becomes *faʿūlu*, used as the first *ʿarūd*, it further undergoes the following changes *faʿūl* and (*faʿul* =) *faʿal* According to al Khalīl, the foot which precedes the *darb* cannot suffer any change The first foot of the first hemistich of the first line of a piece of verse may become (*ʿūlun* =) *fiʿlun* and (*ʿūlu* =) *fiʿlu* (Moh Ben Cheneb)

MUTAKĀWIS, term in prosody, cf the art KĀFIYA

MUʿTAMAD KHĀN, MUHAMMAD SHARĪF, was born in an obscure family in Persia, but coming to India, he attained high honours in the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān He received in the third year of Djahāngīr a military command and the title of Muʿtamad Khān (the trustworthy Lord) Subsequently he joined prince Shah Djahān in his campaign in the Deccan as a *bakhshī* (paymaster) On his return to court, in the 17th year of Djahāngīr's reign, he was entrusted with the duty of writing the Emperor's memoirs He attained a higher rank in the service of Shāh Djahān and was appointed *mīr bakhshī* (adjutant-general) in the 10th year of the new reign He died in 1049 (1639) He is the author of a history called *Ikbāl Nāma i Djahāngīrī*, in three volumes 1 the history of Akbar's ancestors, 2 Akbar's reign (MSS in the India Office Library and in the Bankipore Library), 3 the reign of Djahāngīr (printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865 and in Lucknow, A H 1286)

Bibliography *Maʾāthir al Umarāʾ*, iii 431, *Tuzuk i Djahāngīrī*, p 352, *J R A S*, N S, iii 459, Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi 400, Rieu, *Cat Br Museum*, i 255, Ethe, *Cat of the India Office Library*, p 121 and Morley, *Catalogue*, p 120

(M HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL **MUʿTAMID** ʿALA 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AHMAD B DJAʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave girl named Fityān from Kūfa He ascended the throne on the deposition of al-Muhtadī in Radjab 256 (June 870) He had no ability as a ruler, but relied on the vizier ʿUbaid Allāh b Yahyā b Khākān and left most of the affairs of government in the hands of his brother Abū Ahmad al Muwaffak In Shawwāl 261 (July 875) he designated his son Djaʿfar al-Mufawwid as his successor and governor of the western provinces and al-Muwaffak as his successor and governor of the east The able al-Muwaffak soon became the real ruler and gradually restored order in the empire again while the caliph himself exercised no influence Already in the reign of al Muhtadī a dangerous rising had broken out among the Zandj the negro slaves in the lower Euphrates valley, but it was not till 270 (883) that its leader ʿAlī b Muhammad [q v] was conquered by al Muwaffak Some time after the accession of al Muʿtamid — according to the usual statement in 259 (873) —, the dynasty of the Tāhirids was overthrown by Yaʿkūb b al-Laith [q v] and soon afterwards the Sāmānids appeared in Transoxania On the death of Yaʿkūb in 265 (879) his brother ʿAmr [q v] submitted to the caliph and received the eastern provinces as a fief About the same time Ahmad b Tūlūn [q v] made himself independent in Egypt and after his death (270 = 884) his son Khumārawaih waged a desperate struggle against the ʿAbbāsid caliphate In al Mawsil and the surrounding country the Khāridjis continued their destructive career, but were finally subdued Peace was also often disturbed by ʿAlid rebels and there was also the war with the Byzantines The Paulicians who had stood by the Muslims faithfully were repeatedly defeated by the emperor Basil and in 263 (876) the latter retook the fortress of Luʾluʾa near Tarsus which al Muʿtasim had taken It was not till 270 (883) that the Muslims were able to inflict a complete defeat on the Byzantines The war was however continued After the death of al-Muwaffak in 278 (891) the caliph had to proclaim the latter's son al-Muʿtadid [q v] as his successor instead of Djaʿfar al-Mufawwid In the following year al-Muʿtadid left Sāmarrā and moved the capital to Baghdād again Here he died in Radjab 279 (Oct 892) at the age of 48 or 50 According to some he was poisoned by al-Muʿtadid

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* (ed Wustenfeld), p 200, Yaʿkūbī (ed Houtsma), ii 619—624, Tabarī, iii, see Index, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), viii 38—112, ix 47, 52, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), vii 156 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 341—348, Ibn Khaldūn, *al ʿIbar*, iii 303 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, ii 422 *ssq*, Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed, p 544 *sqq*, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i 531, 539, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 193, 195, 229, 247—249, do, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 36, 55

(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL **MUʿTAMID** ʿALA 'LLĀH, the *lakab* by which the third and last member of the dynasty of the ʿAbbādids [q v] of Seville in the xiith century is best known, his real name was MUHAMMAD B ʿABBĀD AL-MUʿTADID [q v] B MUHAMMAD B ISMĀʿĪL IBN ʿABBĀD While still a boy — barely 13, having been born in 431 (1040) — he was placed by his father in nominal command of an expedition against Silves (Ar *Shilb* [q v]), then in the possession of Ibn Muzain, and this town was taken by assault as was Santa Maria d'Algarve soon after (Ar *Shantamarīyat al-gharb*, now Faro [q v]) which was held by Muhammad b Saʿīd Ibn Hārūn [q v] (444 = 1052) The young ʿAbbādid prince was then appointed by his father governor of these two towns His elder brother Ismāʿīl having been executed in punishment for his rebellion (455 = 1063, cf AL MUʿTADID), Muhammad al-Muʿtamid became heir presumptive to the throne of Seville A little later, the army which he was leading to the help of the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Bādis b Habbūs, the Berber ruler of Granada of the Zirid [q v] dynasty, was routed by the latter and al-Muʿtamid had to take refuge in Ronda [q v] to which his father, at first very angry at his failure, finally sent him his forgiveness When the powerful ruler of Seville died in 461 (1069), his son succeeded to a considerably extended kingdom which included the greater part of the southwest of the Iberian peninsula

A whole series of more or less romantic episodes is associated with the reign and life of al-Muʿtamid If we may believe several authors of the Muslim west, an individual called Ibn ʿAmmār, vizier and poet, exerted a very considerable influence during the greater part of the career of this prince from his governorship of Silves Al-Muʿtamid's relations with a young slave girl al Rumaikīya, gifted with considerable poetic talent, has also been the subject of much literary embellishment It was from the surname of this young woman Iʿtimād, that al-Muʿtamid is said to have adopted his which comes from the same root She became his favourite wife and presented him with several sons As to Ibn ʿAmmār, exiled by al-Muʿtadid, he was recalled on the accession of his patron to Seville from which he went at his own request

to be governor of Silves before being appointed grand vizier

In the second year of his reign, al-Muʿtamid was able to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova [q v], over which the Djahwarids had been ruling, in spite of the efforts of the king of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn [q v] The young prince ʿAbbād was appointed governor of the old capital of the Umaiyads But at the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer named Ibn ʿUkāsha was able in 468 (1075) to take Cordova by surprise and put to death the young ʿAbbādid prince and his general Muhammad b Mārtīn Al-Maʾmūn took possession of the town where he died six months later Al-Muʿtamid whose paternal affection had been wounded and pride insulted tried for three years vainly to reconquer Cordova He was not successful until 471 (1078), Ibn ʿUkāsha was put to death and the part of the kingdom of Toledo between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana conquered by the armies of Seville Nevertheless at this time it took all the skill of the vizier Ibn ʿAmmār to conclude peace by paying double tribute with Alfonso VI of Castille when he sent an expedition against Seville

This was just the time when through the energy and tenacity of the Christian princes taking advantage of the feuds which were setting the Muslim rulers of the *taifas* against one another, the *reconquista,* which had received a check and then a setback from the last Umaiyads, resumed its advance on the south of the Peninsula In spite of their successes, of which the Muslim chroniclers make a great deal, it must not be forgotten that by the middle of the vth (xi^th^) century, many Muslim dynasties of Spain were being forced to seek on payment of heavy tribute the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours Shortly before the taking of Toledo, which had far reaching effects, by Alfonso VI in 478 (1085), al-Muʿtamid began to be involved in serious difficulties On the imprudent advice of his vizier Ibn ʿAmmār, al-Muʿtamid tried to add to his kingdom, after the principality of Cordova, that of Murcia [q v], which was ruled by a prince of Arab origin, Muhammad b Ahmad Ibn Tāhir In 471 (1078), Ibn ʿAmmār went to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked him for assistance to conquer Murcia in return for a payment of 10,000 dīnārs, until this sum was paid al-Rashīd, a son of al-Muʿtamid, was to remain as hostage After animated negotiations which ended in the payment of a sum three times as large to the Count of Barcelona, Ibn ʿAmmār resumed his plan of conquering Murcia and soon succeeded in doing so with the help of the lord of the castle of Bilḏj (now Vilches), Ibn Rashīḳ In Murcia however, Ibn ʿAmmār soon rendered himself obnoxious to his master by assuming the attitude of an independent ruler and on al-Muʿtamid's reproaching him he replied by insults to the king of Seville, his wife and his sons Betrayed by Ibn Rashīḳ, he had to take refuge in Murcia and then successively in Leon, Saragossa and Lerida Returning to Saragossa, he endeavoured to assist its ruler al-Muʾtamin Ibn Hūd [cf SARAGOSSA] on his expedition against Segura, but he was taken prisoner and handed over to al-Muʿtamid, who in spite of the bonds of friendship which had so long linked them together, slew him with his own hand

In the meanwhile, Alfonso VI was no longer concealing his designs on Toledo, the siege of which he began in 473 (1080) Two years later, when he sent a mission to enforce payment of the annual tribute due to him from al-Muʿtamid, its members were insulted and the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalib who accompanied it was put to death because he had refused to accept debased money He therefore invaded the kingdom of Seville, sacked the flourishing towns of Aljarafe (Ar al-Shaiaf, q v), advanced through the district of Sidona (Ar Shadhūna, q v) as far as Tarifa [q v] where he uttered his celebrated remark expressing his pride at having reached the utmost limits of Spain

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI dealt a serious blow to Islām in Spain The king of Castille soon demanded of al Muʿtamid that he should surrender those of his lands which had formed part of the kingdom of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids (a part of the modern provinces of Ciudad-Real and Cuenca) Throughout Muslim Spain, his demands which increased every day, made the position very serious In spite of their reluctance, the Muslim rulers in Spain, led by al Muʿtamid, were forced to seek the help of the Almoravid sultān Yūsuf b Tāshfin [cf ALMORAVIDS] who had just conquered the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance It was decided to send him an embassy consisting of the vizier Abū Bakr b Ẓaidūn and the kādīs of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada An agreement having been reached, not without difficulty, Yūsuf b Tāshfīn crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and on the 22nd Radjab 479 (Oct 23, 1086) inflicted on the Christian troups the disastrous defeat of Zallāka [q v] not far from Badajoz We need not recall here how Yūsuf b Tāshfīn recalled to Africa, could not follow up his victory as the Muslim rulers of Spain had hoped, who through the influence exercised by the Spanish fakihs on the Almoravid, soon lost all prestige in his eyes After his departure the Christians began again to harass Muslim lands, to such an extent that al-Muʿtamid had this time to go in person to Yūsuf b Tāshfīn in Morocco to ask him to cross the Straits once more with his troops Yūsuf consented and landed at Algeciras in the following spring (482 = 1090) He laid siege to the fortress of Aledo but without taking it, then stimulated by popular feeling and the advice of the faḳīhs, he came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous for him to wage the *ḏjihād* in Spain on his own account and proceeded to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had sought his intervention With this object he sent an army to invade the kingdom of Seville under Sir b Abī Bakr, who at the end of 1090 took Tarifa, then Cordova where one of al Muʿtamid's sons, Fath al Maʾmūn, who was in command of it, was killed, Carmona, then Seville, which was captured in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Muʿtamid The latter was taken prisoner by the Almoravid and sent with his wives and children first to Tangier, then to Meknes and a few months later to Aghmāt [q v], near Marrākush There he led a miserable existence for several years until his death at the age of 55 in 487 (1095)

The sad end of al-Muʿtamid touched all his biographers, who are particularly numerous and expatiate on his natural gifts, poetical talents, generosity and chivalrous spirit He is one of the most representative types of the enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages, patrons of letters

and scholarship, liberal and tolerant, but living in an atmosphere of luxury and ease little compatible with the care of a kingdom with frontiers open to envious neighbours on all sides Not so great a ruler as his father al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muʿtamid is however a much more attractive figure, perhaps just on account of his misfortunes He is entitled to a place among the great figures of Spanish Islām, alongside of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al Ḥakam II, al-Manṣūr b Abī ʿĀmir and at a later date Isān al-Dīn b al-Khaṭīb

Bibliography Ibn Bassām, *al Dhakhīra*, iv , Ibn al-Abbār, *al Ḥullat al siyarāʾ* (ed Dozy, *Notices*), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib*, ed Dozy, transl Fagnan, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, do , *I māl al-Iʿlām*, ed Lévi Provençal, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii , ed Levi-Provençal, al-Fatḥ Ibn Khākān, *Kalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ*, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv , and *Histoire des Berbères*, transl de Slane, ii , *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiya*, Tunis, Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed Tornberg and in Fās, etc — The majority of the references to al Muʿtamid have been collected by R Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leyden 1846 Cf also the long discussion of al-Muʿtamid by Dozy in Bk IV of his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed , Leyden 1932, vol iii , A González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*², Barcelona 1929, p 77 *sqq* E Lévi Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931, A Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas* (mainly numismatic), Madrid 1926 — The life and touching end of al-Muʿtamid have just been put on the stage in Cairo He is also discussed in numerous monographs — mostly at second hand — composed in recent years in the east (mainly in Egypt) on the Muslim past of Spain

(E Lévi Provençal)

MUTAMMIM b **NUWAIRA**, a poet, contemporary with the Prophet He was the brother of Mālik b Nuwaira [q v], chief of the Banū Yarbūʿ, a large clan of the Banū Tamīm Mutammim owes his fame to the elegies in which he lamented the tragic death of his brother Mālik and these poems have made the latter's name immortal The Arabs said there was nothing comparable to these elegies, overflowing with emotion They regarded their author as the type of brotherly devotion

Mutammim does not seem to have played any prominent part before the Hidjra He was eclipsed by the striking personality of his brother, to whose qualities he never hesitated to pay homage He is represented as having been of unprepossessing appearance, one-eyed and short in stature The Bakrī chief al-Hawfazān eulogized the humanity with which Mutammim treated him during his captivity Falling in his turn into the hands of the Banū Taghlib, Mutammim was delivered by a stratagem devised by his brother He seems to have adopted Islām at the same time as his brother Like the latter, he is numbered among the "Companions" although we never find him in direct relations with the Prophet He escaped from the disaster in which Mālik was overwhelmed, a few fragments of other poems suggest he did not write elegies exclusively

But after the death of Mālik he devoted himself to celebrating his memory and demanding vengeance for his death Refused by the Caliph Abū Bakr, he thought he might have more success on the accession of ʿOmar He hurried to Madīna where he was very well received by ʿOmar The latter listened with delight to his elegies, regretted that he himself had not the gift of poetry so that he might worthily celebrate his brother Zaid who had fallen in the wars of al-Yamāma, but he refused to reverse Abū Bakr's decision and limited himself to dismissing Khālid b al Walīd, a step which probably owed something to the poetical exortations of Mutammim

After this, tradition says that the poet became almost blind through weeping, and that he wandered over the many routes of Arabia, uttering his complaints everywhere He found himself abandoned by his wives who became tired of his incurable sadness and wandering life He left two sons Dāwūd and Ibrāhim, also poets He survived ʿOmar if, as Ibn Khallikān says (ed Wustenfeld, N° 792), he is really the author of an elegy on the death of this caliph

Bibliography The principal references are given in Noldeke, *Beitr zur Kenntniss der Poesie*, p 95—152, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 39, Cl Huart, *Litterature arabe*, Paris 1903, p 43, *Mufaddaliyāt*, ed Lyall, N° ix lxvii, lxviii , Buhturī, *Ḥamāsa*, photo ed Leyden, p 138, 331, 341, 371, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv 66—76, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed de Goeje, p 192—6, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv 398—9, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi 40—1, Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, iii 368—369

(H Lammens)

AL-MUTANABBĪ, "he who professes to be a prophet", the surname by which the Arab poet Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b al Ḥusain al-Djuʿfī is usually known (cf in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* [Cairo 1310], i 36, two genealogies, which do not agree, going back to his great-grandfather) Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was born in Kūfa in 303 (915) in the Kinda quarter whence the ethnic *al Kindī* sometimes given him His family in very humble circumstances claimed descent from the Yamanī clan of the Djuʿf and he himself all his life was convinced of the superiority of the Arabs of the south over those of the north (cf al Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al Mutanabbī*, ed Dieterici, p 48—49, al-Yāzidjī, *al-ʿUrf al-ṭayyib*, p 29 [these two works will be quoted as Wāh and Yāz]) The boy received his early education in his native town and soon distinguished himself by his intelligence, his prodigious memory and his precocity as a poet He now passed under Shiʿī influences, perhaps Zaidī (cf ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i 382, 12) which affected the development of his philosophy, a subject to which we shall return Circumstances were however to accelerate the speed of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's religious development Towards the end of 312 (924), undoubtedly under pressure from the Karmaṭians [q v] who had just taken and sacked Kūfa, Abu 'l Ṭayyib and his family made a first stay of two years (cf al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 506 b24, al-Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbī*, i 6) in Samāwa, the region lying between the Sawād of Kūfa in the east and Palmyrene in the west The Banū Kalb who led a nomadic life in these desert steppes had been much cultivated by the Karmaṭian *dāʿī*'s It is possible that the young poet at this time came into contact with some of these heretics It is however not very probable,

in view of his youth, that this first contact had any definite effect upon him On the other hand, this stay among the Beduins certainly gave Abu 'l-Ṭayyib that profound knowledge of the Arabic language of which he was later so very proud

On returning to Kūfa, at the beginning of 315 (927), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib seems to have decided to devote himself entirely to poetry At this time he most admired the great panegyrists of the preceding century, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī [q v] Like them and like the majority of his contemporaries, he sees in poetry a sure means of attaining wealth and power He at once attached himself to a certain Abu 'l Fadl, of Kūfa, to whom he dedicated a short piece (Wāḥ , p 17—21, Yāz , p 10—11) Perhaps a convert to Karmaṭism, in any case a complete agnostic — the praises which he allows to be offered him show this —, this individual seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the religious and philosophical development of al-Mutanabbī (cf also *Ḵẖizāna*, i 382 below) Prepared by the Shīʿa atmosphere in which he had passed his childhood and by the relations he had had with the Karmaṭians in Samāwa, Abu 'l Ṭayyib in contact with this patron cast off religious dogmas which he regarded as spiritual instruments of oppression He then adopted a stoic and pessimistic philosophy, echoes of which are found throughout his work The world is made up of seductions which death destroys (cf Wāḥ , p 39, l 8—13, p 162, l 12—13, Yāz , p 23 and 97), stupidity and evil alone triumph there (cf Wāḥ , p 161, l 8—10, Yāz , p 97), the Arabs — representatives of a superior race in his eyes — are overwhelmed in it by cowardly and barbarous foreigners (cf Wāḥ , p 148, l 1–5, p 160, l 2–6, Yāz , p 87 and 96) In contact with this world with which he was out of harmony, the consciousness of his talent, which Abu 'l-Ṭayyib had, developed rapidly, his vanity increased to a degree which is almost inconceivable (cf Wāḥ , p 60, Yāz , p 34) His Arab particularism, as with all anti-Shuʿūbīs [cf SHUʿŪBĪYA], incited him to attack foreign oppressors (Wāḥ , p 58, l 30—31, Yāz , p 33) This is why, by a contradiction from which he is hardly ever free, al-Mutanabbī coveted all his life those riches and power which he scorned in his heart, while he stands out from the mass of his contemporaries by his rigid morality and austerity (cf al-Badiʿī, *op cit* , i 78—81)

At first however, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib thought only of conquering the world by his poetic gifts, and to find a more favourable field for his activity he left Kūfa towards the end of 316 (928), probably as a result of the town being again sacked by the Karmaṭians He was naturally attracted to Baghdād (cf al-Badiʿī, *op cit* , i 82—83) and there became the panegyrist of a compatriot of his, Muhammad b ʿUbaid Allāh al ʿAlawī (cf Wāḥ , p 6—7, Yāz , p 3—4) From there he went to Syria For two years he led the life of a wandering troubadour of the period (cf Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p 256) It is impossible to follow him in his wanderings for his *Dīwān*, our only guide, does not present his poems in a satisfactory chronological order Some pieces of the period are addressed to Beduin chiefs of the region of Manbiǧ [q v] (cf Wāḥ , p 24—25, 38—39, 66—67, Yāz , p 12—13, 22—23, 28—29), others are dedicated to men of letters of Tripolis (Wāḥ , p 88-89, Yāz , p 19–20), al-Lāḏhiḳīya (Latakia) (cf Wāḥ , p 116–135, Yāz , p 66–78) The poems of this period are hurriedly written and mediocre in quality, but traces of his real genius are already apparent With the exception of a *marṯiya* (lament) and some impromptu pieces they are all *ḳaṣīda*s on neo-classical lines The influence of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī preponderates

In the course of this period of experiment, Abu 'l Ṭayyib was irritated at not finding his merit recognised Gradually he looks forward to his dreams of domination being realised by violence (cf Wāḥ , p 138, l 3—7, Yāz , p 79) Finally he abandoned the work of a paid panegyrist and returning to al-Lāḏhiḳiya he began revolutionary propaganda, the nature of which has long been misunderstood According to Oriental writers (al-Badiʿī, *op cit* , i 25—30, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, p 369), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib proclaimed himself a prophet in al-Samāwa, was taken prisoner by Ikhshīdid [q v] troops and then received his epithet of al-Mutanabbī Kratschkowsky (*Mutanabbi i Abu l'Ala*, St Petersburg 1909, p 9—11) does justice to these traditions, without however taking full account of some clear allusions in the *Dīwān* The latter contains pieces which prove beyond all possible doubt that a rebellion was led by al-Mutanabbī (cf Wāḥ , p 49–58, 86, Yāz , p 28–33, 50) This rising, as usual at this period, must have been political as well as religious The rising began in al-Lāḏhiḳiya and then extended to the western borders of Samāwa where the Banū Kalb constituted an element always ready to rebel Without adhering to Karmaṭism, al-Mutanabbī exploited its principles which found only too ready an echo among the marauding Beduins (cf Wāḥ , p 57, l 22—23, Yāz , p 32, allusion to the massacre of pilgrims by the Karmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir, in 317 = 930) The ambiguity of the utterances of the rebel, the opportunism of his doctrines and his conception of the imāmate on Karmaṭian lines, may have caused some misunderstanding of his preaching, since at this time any agitator was regarded as a Karmaṭian After some initial successes, al-Mutanabbī and his Beduins were defeated, he was captured and imprisoned at Ḥimṣ (towards the end of 322 = 933) After a trial and two years' imprisonment (*Dīwān*, Paris MS , N° 3092, fol 16ʳ), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was condemned to retract his errors and set free From this adventure he gained only the epithet of al Mutanabbī and the conviction that poetry alone would lead him to the realisation of his ambitious dreams

The poems composed by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib immediately before and during his rebellion are distinguished by spontaneity of inspiration, by the liberty which the poet takes with poetic forms, by the vigour of the style, which has a much more personal character than in his first manner

As soon as al-Mutanabbī had returned to his profession of panegyrist, he naturally resumed his wandering life (beginning of 325 = 937) For several years he led a precarious existence and had to be content to sing the praises of citizens and minor officials of Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo etc who paid him very badly (cf Wāḥ , p 93—206, Yāz , p 51—131, Yākūt, *Irshād*, v 203) Little by little however, his fame grew At the beginning of 328 (939), we find him becoming court poet to the emīr Badr al-Kharshānī (the Badr b ʿAmmār of the *Dīwān*), governor of Damascus for the ex-*amīr al umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ [q v],

who had just taken possession of Syria Of Arab origin, Badr was regarded by al-Mutanabbī as the Maecenas for whom he had been waiting so long The panegyrics and occasional poems which are dedicated to this emīr reveal a sincere admiration for him and possess a sustained inspiration (cf Wāh , p 206—245, Yāz , p 132—163) These pieces and those that precede them, after Abu 'l-Tayyib's return to literature, constitute what might be called the third manner of the poet With the exception of a poem on hunting in the style of Abū Nuwās [q v] (cf Wāh , p 201—202, Yāz , p 128—129) and a number of impromptu poems of no particular interest, al-Mutanabbī wrote only *kaṣīdas* during this period He would seem then to have returned to his first manner, if the work of this period did not show considerable progress in form

The friendship between Badr and al Mutanabbi lasted only about a year and a half and as a result of intrigues of jealous rivals (cf Wāh , p 253, lines 13—16, Yāz , p 169), Abu 'l-Tayyib feeling no longer safe, sought refuge in the Syrian desert (cf Wāh , p 251—252, Yāz , p 168—169) There the idea of rebelling again took possession of him (cf Wāh , p 253—254, Yāz , p 170—171) Fortunately the departure of Badr for the ʿIrāk enabled him to leave his hiding place and resume his profession of panegyrist He now sang the praises of several individuals of second rank (cf Wāh , p 107—108, 284—348, Yāz , p 60—61, 194—241) Lastly he succeeded in establishing himself at the Hamdānid court in Aleppo where he became the official poet of the emir Sayf al-Dawla [q v] at the beginning of 337 (948)

From the literary point of view, the work of this period which runs roughly from the middle of 329 (940), date of the quarrel with Badr, to the beginning of 337 (948), marks his fourth manner, to which he remained faithful till his death It is characterised by a compromise between the pure neo-classical tradition and a freer form which the poet had adopted in the poems of the period of his rebellion Without rejecting the framework of the neo classical *kaṣīda*, he reduces the erotic prologue to a minimum, sometimes even replacing it by a philosophical and lyrical opening which breathes his dreams, disillusionments and angers

Al Mutanabbi stayed nine years with Sayf al-Dawla He was genuinely attached to this patron, who was in his eyes the personification of the ideal Arab chief, brave, magnanimous and generous Sayf al-Dawla in his turn recognised the worth of his panegyrist whom he overwhelmed with gifts and never treated with arrogance Al-Mutanabbī accompanied him on his expeditions and on returning to Aleppo sang of his exploits against the Byzantines and the Bedouins of the desert In the brief intervals of leisure between the campaigns of the Hamdānid, the poet shared in the leisure of the court of Aleppo, devoting himself to improvisation and writing panegyrics as occasion arose (cf Wāh , p 522—537, Yāz , p 376—395) or laments (*marṯiya*) on the deaths of relatives of Sayf al-Dawla (cf Wāh , p 388—389, 408—409, 577–578, Yāz , p 271–272, 286–287, 427–428) The difficult character of al-Mutanabbī and the repute which he enjoyed did not fail to gain him implacable enemies A few devoted friends like the poet al Babbaghāʾ [q v] tried, it is true, to defend him but their zeal could do nothing against the enmity of the hostile group led by the famous Abū Firās [q v] Sayf al-Dawla at first paid no attention to the attacks made upon his favourite When he grew wearied and his protection ceased, Abu 'l-Tayyib no longer felt his life safe, fled secretly from Aleppo with all his family and sought refuge in Damascus (end of 346 = 957)

Eastern critics generally are agreed that the poems composed by al-Mutanabbī during his stay with Sayf al-Dawla mark the highest point in his work Although there is a certain degree of exaggeration in this, it is certain that the poet, while continuing his fourth manner, reveals in the highest degree the mastery which he had acquired in his art during this period Much more than Abū Firas, with whom he is often contrasted, he was able to depict the glories of Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns against the Byzantines His verse, it is true, has not the charm of that of Abū Firās but it is fuller and more epic in style

From Damascus, Abu 'l-Tayyib went to Egypt to al-Fusṭāt [q v] where he obtained the patronage of the Ikhshīdid Kāfūr [q v] Al Mutanabbi's career now reveals the necessities to which poets in the fourth (tenth) century had to submit Deprived of moral and material independence Abu 'l-Tayyib was forced to sing the praises of a patron for whom in his heart he felt only contempt The panegyrics which he devoted to him barely conceal his regret at losing the favour of Sayf al Dawla They are somewhat forced and contain points against Kāfūr (cf al-Badīʿī, *op cit*, i 125—126) The poet perhaps only agreed to celebrate this patron because the latter had promised him the governorship of Ṣaydā (Sidon) (cf *ibid*, i 115) When he saw that these promises were not being fulfilled, he tried to gain the favour of another Ikhshīdid general, Abū Shujāʿ Fātik (*ibid*, i 131—132), but the latter dying in 350 (960) and relations with Kāfūr still being strained, al-Mutanabbi had once more to decide to fly On the day of the feast of sacrifice of this year, after writing a satire on Kāfūr, he left al-Fusṭāt secretly and crossing Arabia after great trials (cf al Badīʿī, *op cit*, i 139—140), he reached the ʿIrak, spent some time in Kūfa, then settled in Baghdād He perhaps thought of attaching himself to the famous Būyid vizier al-Muhallabi who had gathered a very brilliant court around him He had however to abandon hope of this in face of the hostility to him evinced by poets and scholars established at the court of al Muhallabi, such as Ibn al-Hadjdjadj [q v] and Abu 'l-Faradj al Iṣfahānī, author of the *Kitāb al Aghānī* During his stay here, as he had already begun to do in Egypt (cf Ibn al-Faradi, *Taʾrīkh al Andalus*, N° 453), al-Mutanabbi gave lectures in which he expounded to a group of friends the work he had done till that date (cf Dhahabi, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Paris, N° 1581, fol 265a) The year 353 (964) was spent in this fashion The poet perhaps also visited Kūfa about this time (cf F Gabrieli, *Vita di al-Mutanabbi*, p 60, note 4) At the beginning of 354 (965) in any case, he left the ʿIrāk and went via al Ahwāz to Arradjān [q v] in Susiana where he received the patronage of the Būyid vizier Ibn al-ʿAmid [q v] Al-Mutanabbī devoted some panegyrics to him (cf Wāh , p 740—741, Yāz , p 564—565), then he left him to go to Shīrāz in Fārs where he rejoined the Būyid Sultān ʿAdud al-Dawla [q v] who had expressed a desire to have him at his court After

addressing to the Būyid Sultān several panegyrics which are among his best work, Abu 'l-Ṭayib left Shīrāz for reasons not clearly known, perhaps simply out of nostalgia (cf Wāh, p 766, line 1—3, Yāz, p 589) He was returning by short stages from Persia to Baghdād when he was attacked by marauding Bedums near Dair al-ʿĀkūl [q v] at the end of Ramadān 354 (Aug 955) He and his son were killed in the fighting and all his baggage, including the autograph MSS of his *Dīwān*, was scattered (cf al Badīʿī, *op cit*, 1 227—239)

Even in his lifetime, al-Mutanabbī had been surrounded by ardent admirers who defended his work in its entirety against the attacks of detractors no less eager to run him down Among the latter however, the majority only criticised him as a poet because they objected to his character as a man The criticism was therefore not distinguished by impartiality and only reflects the opinions of a coterie It required the death of Abu 'l Ṭayib to produce a third class of admirers who were more clear-sighted than the first and sufficiently impartial not to fall into the exaggerations of the second (cf al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa*, p 11—12, 45—46) It was the opinion of this new category that prevailed and when Mutanabbī's contemporaries had all disappeared, the literary public remained decidedly favourable to Saif al-Dawla's bard (except al ʿAskarī [q v] and Ibn Khaldūn) From the fifth (eleventh) century the name of al-Mutanabbī became a synonym for "great poet" His literary influence became one of the most considerable ever exercised on Arabic poetry Annotated by Ibn Djinnī [q v] and later by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ [q v], by al-Wāhidī, al-Tabrīzī, al-ʿUkbarī and Ibn Sīda [q v], to mention only the most eminent, the *Dīwān* of Abu 'l-Ṭayib throughout the middle ages and in modern times has been made accessible to scholars and literary men from Persia to Spain by learned men, often more zealous than intelligent Space does not permit us to estimate what later poetry owes to al-Mutanabbī We are content to point out that in different ways all Arab panegyrists have been influenced by Abu 'l-Ṭayib At the present day he is still one of the most read in North Africa, Syria and Egypt also hold him in very high esteem and many critics have devoted studies full of praise to him It seems however that in the last named country al-Mutanabbī attracts at least as much by the boldness of his philosophy and the ardour of his pro-Arab feelings as by his purely literary qualities

Bibliography Numerous biographies of al-Mutanabbī have been written by eastern authors, only five of these contain original matter These are 1 ʿAbd Allāh al-Isfahānī, *Idāh al-Mushkil li-Shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, in the *Khizānat al-Adab* of ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (Cairo 1299), 1 382—389, 2 al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus 1304), 1 78—162, *passim*, 3 al-Khaṭīb al Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Paris MS, N° 2129), fol 105–106, reproduced in the *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ* of Ibn al-Anbārī (Cairo 1294), p 366—374 and in the *Ansāb* of al-Samʿānī (Leyden 1912), fol 506b, 4 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Cairo 1310), 1 36—8, 5 al-Badīʿī, *al-Subh al-munbī ʿan Haithiyat al-Mutanabbī* (on the margin of the commentary of al-ʿUkbarī on the *Dīwān* of al Mutanabbī, Caire 1308), 1 5—245 — Al-Mutanabbī's work has been studied in the east, in addition to commentators, by Abu 'l-Hasan al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa bain al-Mutanabbī wa-Khuṣūmih* (Saidā 1336), by al-Thaʿālibī, *op cit*, by Diyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (Būlāḳ 1282) A list of commentators, but incomplete, is given in Hadjdjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon*, III 306—312 The most celebrated commentaries are those of al-Wāhidī, *Mutanabbii carmina cum commentario Wahidii* (ed Dieterici, Berlin 1861), of al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Tibyān fī Sharh al-Dīwān* (Cairo 1308), Nāsif al-Yāzidjī, *al-ʿUrf al-ṭayib fī Sharh Diwān Abi 'l Ṭayib* (Bairūt 1305) Orientalists have often studied the work of al Mutanabbī either in parts or as a whole Here we only give general studies Bohlen, *Commentatio de Motenabbio* (Bonn 1824), Hammer-Purgstall, *Motenebbi, der grosste arabische Dichter* (Vienna 1824), Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1 87—88, Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London 1923), p 304—313, F Gabrieli, *La Vita di al Mutanabbi* (*RSO*, XI), 27—42, do, *Studi sulla poesia di al-Mutanabbi* (*Rendic della Accad dei Lincei*, 1927), do, *La Poesia di al Mutanabbi* (*Giornale della Soc asiat italiana*, 1929), II/1, R Blachere, *Le Poète arabe al Motanabbi et l'Occident musulman* (*R E J*, 1929) p 127 *sq*, do, *Motanabbi* (monograph in preparation) (R Blachère)

MUTARĀDIF, term in prosody, cf the art Kāfiya

MUTARĀKIB, term in prosody, cf the art Kāfiya

MUTARRIZĪ, Abu 'l-Fath Nāsir b ʿAbd al Sayyid b ʿAlī b al Muṭarriz, grammarian *adīb* and jurist, was born in Khwārizm in Radjab 538 (1144) He was a pupil of al-Mawfik b Ahmad known as Akhṭab Khwārizm As he was born in the same province and in the year in which al-Zamakhsharī died, he was called Khalīfat al-Zamakhsharī, al Suyūṭī's assumption that he was a pupil of Zamakhsharī was deduced from this epithet and is of course wrong Al-Mutarrizī was an adherent of the Muʿtazila As a jurist of the Hanafī school he enjoyed particular prestige and his work *al-Mughrib fī 'l Lugha*, a dictionary arranged alphabetically, of terms used in tradition and of the legal terms of the jurists of the Hanafī school, was regarded by the scholars of this madhhab with the same respect as the *Gharīb al-Fikh* of al Azharī by the Shāfiʿīs For his son he compiled a lexicon of synonyms entitled *al-ʿIknāʿ li mā huwiya taht al-Kināʿ*, which the latter was to study after he had learned the Kurʾān by heart It is a kind of text book giving a comprehensive survey of the subject In al Mutarrizī's opinion the existing works on this subject were either too big or not full enough The work deals only with "good and usual" words, omitting the "bad and unusual" ones Modern and ancient linguistic usage are distinguished and verses often quoted in illustration His *al Miṣbāh fī 'l-Nahw*, which deals with the grammar of the Arabic language was also written for his son It was much used by students and often commented upon Super commentaries were added to the commentaries one of the latter was even translated into Turkish Al-Mutarrizī was also an expositor and prepared a commentary on the *Makāmāt* of Harīrī He also was a poet, among his efforts being a poem in which he set himself to use nothing but synonyms In 601 (1204) he was in Baghdād where he had

disputations with the scholars of that city In Djumādā I of 610 (1213) he died in his native town

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(ILSE LICHTENSTADTER)

MUTAṢARRIF [see SANDJAK]

AL **MUʿTAṢIM** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ISḤĀK MUḤAMMAD, an ʿAbbāsid caliph, born in 179 (795—796) or 180 (796—7), the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a slave-girl named Mārida In the reign of his brother al-Maʾmūn [q v] he took part in the fighting against the Byzantines in Asia Minor and received the governorship of Egypt After the death of al Maʾmūn in Radjab 218 (Aug 833) he ascended the throne and was soon afterwards acknowledged even by his nephew al-ʿAbbās b al Maʾmūn [q v] whom the troops had proclaimed caliph and the army also then paid him homage An ʿAlid pretender, Muḥammad b al Kāsim, was disposed of by the governor of Khorāsān ʿAbd Allah b Ṭāhir [q v] After concluding a truce with the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, al Muʿtasim sent an army commanded by the Arab general ʿUdjaif b ʿAnbasa against the Zott [q v] who had migrated from India in the Sāsānian period and settled in the swamps between Basra and Wāsiṭ They had been frequently used in their wars by the Muslims After the death of al-Maʾmūn however, they began to ravage and lay waste the country round as if it were hostile territory They submitted after seven months' fighting at the turn of the year 219—220 (834—835) and in Muḥarram 220 (Jan 835) they were brought in ships to Baghdād and banished by al-Muʿtasim to ʿAin Zarba [q v] In the same year he appointed Ḥaidar b Kāʾus, usually called al-Afshīn [q v], commander in chief in the war against Bābek [q v], but it was only after two years that he was victorious The intolerance of the caliph against all those who would not share the opinions of the Muʿtazila made him unpopular with the people and in addition there was the dissatisfaction of the citizens of the capital with the undisciplined Berber and Turkish mercenaries whom al Muʿtasim took into his service At the end of 220 (835) he therefore resolved to move his residence to a smaller place While his son Hārūn al Wāthik remained in Baghdād as governor, the caliph established himself first on the al-Kāṭūl canal and then in Sāmarrā three days' journey up the river Here in the course of the year 221 (836) there arose a splendid palace with numerous buildings for the troops [cf the art BAGHDĀD] Very soon afterwards the war with the Byzantines blazed up again The emperor Theophilus invaded Muslim territory on the Upper Tigris, captured Zibatra and wrought tremendous havoc in northern Syria and Mesopotamia In Djumādā I 223 (April 838) al-Muʿtasim himself took the field, accompanied by his ablest generals The huge force advanced in three columns the eastern army was commanded by al-Afshīn, the two divisions of the western one by al Muʿtasim and Ashnās Al-Afshīn very soon put the emperor to flight and in Shawwāl (Sept) of the same year Amorium after 55 days' siege passed through treachery into the hands of the caliph who had the town destroyed But the victory had no permanent results As winter was coming on, al-Muʿtasim had to retire, particularly as a conspiracy in favour of his nephew al-ʿAbbās b al Maʾmūn [q v] demanded urgent measures About the same time the ispahbad of Tabaristān Māziyār b Kārin rebelled, but the rising was suppressed by ʿAbd Allāh b Ṭāhir [q v] In 226 (840—841) or 227 troubles again broke out in Palestine where the Umayyads still had many supporters The leader, Abū Ḥarb al-Mubarkaʿ, claimed to be a descendant of the Umayyads and everywhere preached rebellion against the caliph until Radjāʾ b Ayyūb al-Ḥidārī, whom al-Muʿtasim sent against him, took him prisoner and brought him to Sāmarrā Al-Muʿtasim died on 18th Rabīʿ I 227 (Jan 5 842) in Sāmarrā By favouring the Turks and suppressing the Arab element he hastened the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire Unlike al-Maʾmūn, he was comparatively uneducated That learning was not allowed to fall into oblivion in his reign is rather due to the chief kādī Aḥmad b Abī Duʾād [q v]

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(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL **MUʿTAṢIM**, MUḤAMMAD B MAʿN B MUḤAMMAD IBN SUMĀDIH AL-TUDJĪBĪ, second ruler of the dynasty of Tudjībids [q v] of the kingdom of Almeria [q v], reigned from 443 to 484 (1051—1091) Gifted like his contemporary al Muʿtamid [q v] of Seville with a certain amount of poetic talent, he made his capital during his long reign one of the great centres of culture in the Peninsula But like the other *mulūk al ṭawāʾif* of Spain, he was for the most of his time at war with one or other of his neighbours He was without doubt implicated in the conspiracy fomented by the Jew Yūsuf against his master Bādīs, king of Granada [cf ZIRIDS] Later his forces took part with those of Yūsuf b Tāshfīn in the famous battle of Zallāka [q v] Like the other Muslim rulers of Spain he felt in the following year the weight of the Almoravid sultān's arm After unsuccessfully besieging the fortress of Aledo and inciting Yūsuf to act harshly against al Muʿtamid, whom he hated personally, he realised on his death-bed that his capital would be besieged by the Almoravids as Seville had been This is why he advised his son and successor Ahmad Muʿizz al-Dawla to seek an asylum with the lords of

Bougie [q v] Almeria was taken very soon afterwards by the Almoravids

Bibliography Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, Ibn al-Khatīb, *Ihāta* and *Iʿlām*, Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hullat al siyarāʾ*, ed Dozy, p 172, 174, ʿAbd al-Wāhid al Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib*, ed Dozy, transl Fagnan, Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, III, ed Levi-Provençal, Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed, III, do, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litterature des Arabes d'Espagne*[3], vol I (memoir on the Tudjībids) (E Lévi-Provençal)

AL-**MUTAWAKKIL** ʿAlā 'llāh, Abu 'l-Fadl Djaʿfar b Muhammad, an ʿAbbāsid Caliph, born in Shawwāl 206 (Feb–March 822), son of the caliph al-Muʿtasim and a slave girl from Khwārizm named Shudjāʿ He ascended the throne in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 232 (Aug 847) on the death of his brother al-Wāthik His old opponent, the vizier Ibn al-Zaiyāt, soon fell a victim to the cruelty of the new caliph and a similar fate befell the Turkish general Itākh, although the latter along with Wasif had helped him to the throne The caliph dreaded his influence and had him thrown into prison where he died of thirst (Djumādā II 235 = Dec 849—Jan 850) From the religious point of view al-Mutawakkil was thoroughly orthodox Soon after his accession he forbade any disputation about the Kurʾān Those who had been arrested because they would not recognise the teachings of the Muʿtazila were released and in 235 (849—850) he revived and intensified the regulations for special dress for Jews and Christians which went back to the caliph ʿOmar The synagogues and churches recently built in Baghdād were taken down and the Muʿtazili chief kādi Ahmad b Abī Duʾād [q v] with his sons dismissed and the office of chief kādi given to the Sunnī Yahyā b Aktham The ʿAlids also fell under his ban In 236 (850—851) he had the mausoleum of al-Husain in Kerbelāʾ destroyed and pilgrimage to this place forbidden The provinces were frequently ravaged by rebels and foreign foes In Ādharbāidjān in 234 (848—849) Muhammad b al-Baʿith rebelled, he had earlier been taken prisoner and brought to Sāmarrā but had escaped, he established himself in the strong town of Marand The caliph's troops could do nothing against him until Bogha al Sharābī [q v] took command After a long siege the latter offered him a pardon, but when Ibn al Baʿith tried to escape he was seized and brought to Sāmarrā, where he soon died in prison When al Mutawakkil attempted to treat semi independent Armenia like a conquered province, a dangerous rising broke out there in 237 (851—852), which was suppressed in the following year, but only with difficulty, by Bogha al-Kabīr About the same time (238), the Byzantines landed in Egypt and plundered Damietta and in Asia Minor the war went on in the traditional fashion against the Byzantines When the Paulician sect was persecuted by the empress Theodora they went over to the Muslims in masses The Byzantines, however, succeeded in taking many prisoners Those who would not become converted were massacred, but when al-Mutawakkil who had moved his residence in Safar 244 (May—June 858) to Damascus but left it after only two months, sent Bogha with the Turkish cavalry against the Byzantines, the fortune of war turned Bogha fought with success against the enemy and in the following year the emperor Michael himself was defeated at Samosata In 246 (860—861) the Muslim generals took a considerable number of prisoners, but no permanent change in the situation was produced In Syria also trouble broke out Two governors in succession were driven out of Hims and only with the help of the troops from Damascus and al-Ramla was order restored (241 = 855—856) About the same time al-Mutawakkil sent an army under command of Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh al Kummī against the rebel Bedja The latter were completely defeated but their leader ʿAlī Babā was pardoned In the reign of al Mutawakkil the dynasty of the Saffārids [q v] was established in Sidjistān To keep the people of Baghdād in check, he sent for the governor of Khurāsān, Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh b Tāhir [q v], and when the turbulent praetorians made trouble he built a new residence at Djaʿfarīya in 245 (859—860) outside of Sāmarrā, which swallowed up enormous sums Poets and scholars were rewarded with princely munificence by this caliph The extravagance, capriciousness and cruelty of the caliph, however, made him hated, and finally he quarrelled with the commander of the Turkish bodyguard In Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 235 (July 850) he had arranged that his eldest son Muhammad al-Muntasir should succeed him and the two other sons Abū ʿAbd Allāh al Muʿtazz and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾaiyad were each to receive a governorship with a claim to the throne after al-Muntasir He began to favour al-Muʿtazz however, and thus aroused al Muntasir's discontent The latter conspired with a few others of the same sentiments and in Shawwāl 247 (Dec 861) al-Mutawakkil was murdered [s al Fath b Khākān]

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 200, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 591 602, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, see index, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, III 1368 *sqq*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, VII 189—289, IX 46, 51, 71, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al Athīr ed Tornberg, VII 21 *sqq*, Ibn al-Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 325—327, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, I 103 *sq*, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, III 273 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, II 347—372, Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I 523 *sqq*, 538 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*[3], p 526 *sqq*, Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 54 *sq*, 78, 141, 355 *sq* (K V Zetterstéen)

MUTAWĀTIR (A), part act VI from *w-t-r*, "that which comes successively" It is used as a technical term in two senses

a In the theory of cognition it is applied to historical knowledge (*khabar*), if the latter is generally acknowledged, e g the knowledge that there is a city called Makka and that there has existed a king called Alexander

Definitions of the term show slight differences According to al Djurdjānī knowledge is mutawātir, when it is supplied by so many persons that either their number or their trustworthiness excludes doubt of its truth (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed Flugel, p 210, cf Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p 1471)

According to Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Nasafī († 537 = 1142) reports are mutawātir when handed down without deviation by persons who cannot be supposed to have plotted a lie Taftāzānī in his

commentary (p 33 *sq*) mentions two objections The first is, that Jews and Christians accept as mutawātir reports that are rejected by Muslims To this objection Taftāzānī simply replies that the possibility that these reports should be mutawātir, is excluded The second objection is, that the reports of every single reporter (*āhād*, q v) represent an opinion only and that an accumulation of opinions cannot be said to afford certainty To this Taftāzānī replies that often plurality has a power of which singleness is devoid, e g a cord made of hair

For the place of this source of knowledge within the theory of cognition, cf the *Supplement*, s v ʿIlm

b In prosody the term is applied to the rhyme in which one moving letter intervenes between the quiescents

Bibliography *a* ʿAbd al Kāhir al Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Stambul 1928, p 11 *sqq*, *Wasīyat Abī Hanīfa*, art 16, Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Nasafī, ʿ*Akīda*, ed Cureton, p 1 *sq*, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī, ʿ*Umda*, ed Cureton, p 1, Taftāzānī, commentary on Nasafī's ʿ*Akīda*, Stambul 1313, p 33 *sqq*, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii 137, Goldziher, *Le livre d'Ibn Toumert*, p 47 *sqq*, A J Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, index, s v *b* Freytag, *Darstellung der arab Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p 303, 305, W Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3rd ed, new impression, Cambridge 1933, ii 355 (A J Wensinck)

MUTAWWIF, Meccan pilgrims' guide The word literally means one who leads the *tawāf* [q v] The task of the *mutawwif* is however by no means limited to assisting pilgrims from foreign lands, who entrust themselves to their guidance, to go through the ceremonies required at the circumambulation of the Kaʿba On the contrary they act as guides at the *saʿy* also and at all other ceremonies which are prescribed or only recommended for the *ḥadjdj* or ʿ*umra* [q v] The mutawwifs also cater very completely for the physical welfare of the pilgrims As soon as the pilgrims arrive in Djidda, their agents are ready on the arrival of the steamers to provide all the services they require from disembarkment to departure for Mecca In Mecca the mutawwifs or members of their families and servants take charge of the pilgrims During the whole of their stay they provide the pilgrims with lodging, service, food, purchases (necessary and unnecessary), attend them if they fall ill and in case of death take charge of what they leave behind them

The mutawwifs of course do not do all this for nothing They are appropriately paid for their trouble and see that, if the pilgrim is rich, their friends and relations also make something out of him Of the money which they themselves receive, they have to hand over a considerable part in the form of fees, presents etc to the shaikh of the gild and to the treasury, — another reason for getting as much as possible out of those entrusted to their care It is therefore no wonder that many pilgrims have complained bitterly about the covetousness of these particularly prominent representatives of the Meccan pilgrim industry Recently the fees for guides have been fixed by a legal enactment of the Ḥidjāz government (*O M*, xii [1932], 249)

Reference has already been made to the fact that the mutawwifs are organised in gilds, they are divided up into separate groups who sometimes have the right to exploit the pilgrims from a definite area only (e g Lower Egypt) All these groups together form the gild with a chief shaikh officially recognised at their head The gild is also very exclusive "Wild" (i e independent) guides (*djarrārs*) have to be content with the scanty pickings left over for them by the organised mutawwifs

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AL-MUʿTAZILA is the name of the great theological school which created the speculative dogmatics of Islām The meaning of the name is clear from al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi 22 the Muʿtazilīs are those who profess the doctrine of *iʿtizāl*, i e the doctrine of the *manzila baina 'l-manzilatain*[1] or the state intermediate between belief and scepticism, the fundamental doctrine of the school (see below) A tradition which emanates from the *ahl al ḥadīth* derives the name Muʿtazila from a schism which took place in the circle of al-Ḥasan al Baṣrī after laying down their doctrine of the *manzila baina 'l manzilatain*, Wāṣil b ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b ʿUbaid are said to have separated (*i tazala*) from al-Ḥasan's circle to found an independent school or rather to have been expelled from it by the latter These traditions are not entirely without historical foundation but the interpretation of the name deduced from them is certainly wrong The Muʿtazilīs were proud of their name, which they certainly would not have been if it had been a nickname invented by their enemies We have here, as the variety of versions also shows, a tendencious invention of the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa* anxious to rehabilitate al-Ḥasan and brand the Muʿtazilīs as heretics

Origins and political history There are quite definite indications that the Muʿtazila was of political origin and that it arose under the same constellation as the Shīʿī and Khārid̲jī movements The accession of ʿAlī (Dh̲u 'l-Ḥid̲jdja 35) is the great watershed in the currents of the history of Islam It is well known that several notable Companions of the Prophet refused to pay ʿAlī the homage which he demanded or offered it reluctantly The most frequently mentioned were Ṭalḥa and al Zubair but the names of many others have been preserved Saʿd b Abī Waḳḳās, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿOmar, Muhammad b Maslama, Usama b Zaid, Suhaib b Sinān and Zaid b Th̲ābit (al Ṭabarī, i 3072) Of these Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair openly rebelled against ʿAlī but the majority remained neutral The Medīnese in general followed the example of the latter and in Baṣra al Aḥnaf b Kais with 6,000 Tamīmīs and a group of Azdīs under Sabīa b Shaimān also stood aside from the quarrel (al-Ṭabarī, i 3169, 3178) In

speaking of the latter the text uses the verb *iʿtazala*, which still has its proper sense of "to separate from", but which is already on the way to become a political term meaning "to take up a neutral attitude in the quarrel between ʿAlī and his adversaries" Now al-Nawbakhtī mentions (*Kitāb Firak al-Shīʿa*, ed Ritter, p 5) a party which on the accession of ʿAlī separated and followed Saʿd b Abī Wakkās, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿOmar, Muhammad b Maslama and Usāma b Zaid "These separated (*iʿtazalū*) from ʿAlī and refused either to fight against him or to take his side although they had paid homage to him and had received him favourably, they were called *al Muʿtazila* and are the ancestors of all the later Muʿtazila" The Muʿtazila as a theological school must therefore have been preceded by a political Muʿtazila, which determined its structure

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed if we analyse carefully what is recorded of the founders of the theological school According to a unanimous tradition, this school originated with two natives of Basra, Wasil b ʿAtāʾ [q v] and ʿAmr b ʿUbaid [q v] The period of their activity covers practically the reign of the caliph Hisham and his Umayyad successors, i e the years 105–131 (723—48) We have a good deal of quite early information about them, not always free from lacunae, but sufficient to enable us to grasp the leading ideas in their theological work (see *Bibl*) It is clear from all these traditions that the doctrine of *iʿtizāl* formed the starting point for the creation of the school, that Wāsil was the first to formulate it and that he later won over ʿAmr to his teaching This is how al-Khayyāt records the origin of the idea of *iʿtizāl* Muslims were agreed that he who committed a grave sin deserved the name of *fāsik* and of *fādjir*, but opinions varied as to the character of the individual who received these epithets The Khāridjīs said he was an infidel The Murdjiʾis said he was a believer in spite of his *fisk* and his *fudjūr*, al Hasan al-Basrī and his circle described him as a hypocrite (*munāfik*) Wāsil demonstrates that the description given in the Kurʾān of a believer and an infidel cannot be applied to a believer who has committed a grave sin, the latter is therefore neither believer nor infidel Now it is impossible to regard him as a hypocrite as al-Hasan wants to do, for a hypocrite must pass as a believer until his hypocricy is brought to light The only possible course then is to put the *fāsik* in a special category of those who are in an intermediate state (*manzila baina ʾl-manzilataiⁿ*) These same ideas are found in the conversation by which Wāsil is said to have won ʿAmr over to the doctrine of *iʿtizāl* (al-Sayyid al Murtadā, *Amālī*, i 114 *sq* = Ibn al Murtadā, *al-Muʿtazilah*, p 22 *sq*, source probably al Khayyāt)

There are political problems concealed behind these speculations The doctrine of *manzila baina ʾl-manzilataiⁿ* is not the result of interest in pure speculation, but arose out of an clearly defined opinion on the individuals who took part in the quarrels that raged round the caliphate of ʿAlī It is striking how much space is occupied by the question of ʿAlī, of Talha, of al-Zubair and of ʿĀʾisha in the rather scanty information which we possess regarding the theology of Wāsil and ʿAmr, we cannot doubt that here they were dealing with a central problem Wāsil and ʿAmr took neither side in the dispute (*Kitab al Intiṣār*, p 97—98) According to them, ʿAlī, Talha, al-Zubair and ʿĀʾisha were originally true and pious believers But the war which broke out among them divided them into two parties who could not both be right, one of these parties committed a sin but we do not know which We must therefore leave their cause to Him who knows it but in their relations with one another we cannot regard them as true believers in the strict sense of the word As a result if one of these individuals bears witness against another of the opposite party, we cannot accept this evidence, relatively to the one, the other is *fāsik* and vice versa (cf also Baghdādī, *Kitāb al Farḳ*, p 100) If we may believe the *ahl al-hadīth*, ʿAmr showed himself more severe than Wāsil, he is said to have refused to accept the deposition made by any member of these parties against any member of the community on any matter whatever (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii 178, al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al Farḳ*, p 100), for he declared guilty (*fussāḳ*) *per se* both the parties engaged in the battle of the Camel It is therefore not surprising that Wāsil and ʿAmr have sometimes been confused with the Khāridjīs (verse of Ishāk b Suwaid al-ʿAdawī, al Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i 13)

However, the opinion of the leaders of the Muʿtazila on ʿAlī is based on quite a different foundation To understand the position correctly it is important to note that 1 Wāsil and the whole Muʿtazila were definitely enemies of the Umayyads and that 2 Wāsil adopted a somewhat ambiguous attitude regarding ʿOthmān and his murderers (*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p 97—98) This tacitly implies a declaration in favour of the ʿAlids, the first actors in the drama played at Mecca in the year 35 Indeed Wāsil was on somewhat intimate terms with the ʿAlids of Medīna (Ibn al Murtadā, *al-Muʿtazilah*, p 20), the Zaidiya revere him as one of their leaders, and Zaidī theology is essentially based on that of Wāsil This is true not only of the speculative theology, there is agreement also on political doctrines The Zaidīs do not say that the first caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿOmar were usurpers as the extreme Shīʿis do, Wāsil and with him the whole Muʿtazila regards the caliphate of Abū Bakr as legitimate (commentary of Ibn Abī Hadīd on *Nahdj al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i 3), he left undecided the question of knowing who had the superior claim, Abū Bakr, ʿOmar or ʿAlī, but he credited ʿAlī with a superior claim to ʿOthmān This attitude, a little complicated as regards ʿAlī, and therefore prudent towards the extreme Shīʿis, at the same time unreservedly hostile to the Umayyads, can in my opinion only be interpreted in one way All these apparently dissimilar lines converge on a common centre the ʿAbbāsid movement It is precisely Wāsil's attitude which we must regard as characteristic of the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids The latter regarding themselves as the true *ahl al-bait*, it was evidently in their interest to lower somewhat the preponderating position attributed to ʿAlī by the extreme Shīʿis in order themselves to profit by the prestige enjoyed by the family of the Prophet, but on the other hand, they had every reason not to cut the links with the Shīʿis who were indispensable as allies to them It is obvious that in these circumstances it was particularly important for them to win over the relatively moderate Zaidī faction to their cause In a general

way the teaching of Wāsil on *al-manzila* can only be perfectly understood if we see in it the theoretical crystallisation of the political programme of the ʿAbbāsids before their accession to power Everything leads us to believe that the theology of Wāsil and of the early Muʿtazila represents the official theology of the ʿAbbāsid movement This gives an unforced explanation of the fact that it was the official doctrine of the ʿAbbāsid court for at least a century It seems even probable that Wāsil and his disciples took direct part in the ʿAbbāsid propaganda In his *kaṣida*, mentioned below Safwān al Ansārī tells us that Wāsil had emissaries (*duʿāt*) in all parts of the Muslim world Safwān describes them as ardent believers and ascetics who were distinguished from other men in physiognomy and dress, they were the supports (*awtād*) of God in all lands and centres in which his commandments were made manifest and in which the art of disputation (with the enemies of the faith) flourished The period of this activity coincides exactly with that of the most intense ʿAbbāsid propaganda, in which all the forces working for the ruin of the Umayyads were co operating, it is impossible not to believe there was a connection between the two That Wāsil did actually extend his propaganda very far to the west is proved by the fact that there existed long after the fall of the Umayyads a Wāsilī community at Tāhert (Yākūt, i 815) numbering about 3,000 members who had allied themselves with the ʿIbādīs They had rebelled against Mansūr under Idrīs b ʿAbd Allāh al-Hasanī (al Shahrastānī, p 31, on these happenings see Tabarī, iii 561), they were therefore reckoned among the enemies of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs It is interesting to note that the connection between Wāsil and the Khārijīs, supposed by Ishāk b Suwaid al-ʿAdawī to exist (see above) was here an actuality

The quarrels of Wāsil and his followers with Djahm b Safwān [q v] form a difficult problem which has not yet been solved On the one hand, Djahm's theology left distinct traces on that of the Muʿtazila, the doctrine of the created Kurʾān which was later to become a fundamental Muʿtazila thesis was probably formulated by Djahm and in the doctrine of the divine attributes there are coincidences on both sides which cannot be accidental On the other hand, there are many serious differences which are probably practical and political in their nature Djahm professed in the most extreme form the doctrine of predestination (*djabr*) All the actions of man are involuntary Wāsil maintained the opposite thesis of free will Now once again we have political problems hidden behind these theological controversies, the Umayyads in general preferred the dogma of predestination while the opposition accepted the dogma of free will in its widest interpretation, in Damascus, Ghailān al-Dimashkī, who figures among the fathers of the Muʿtazila (Ibn al Murtadā, *al Muʿtazilah*, p 15—17), was put to death by the caliph Hishām for holding the doctrine of free will (al-Tabarī, iii 1733)

Once the hypothesis of a definite connection between the Muʿtazila and the ʿAbbāsids is admitted, the question of the relations between the Muʿtazila founded by Wāsil and the early Muʿtazila of the period of ʿAlī presents itself in a new aspect It will be admitted that there is a striking resemblance between the attitude of these former companions of the Prophet and that of the ʿAbbāsids It is true that ʿAbd Allāh b al-ʿAbbās entered the service of ʿAlī after the death of ʿOthmān but his true sentiments were somewhat ambiguous, he was a great friend of ʿOthmān but a rather lukewarm partisan of ʿAlī and after the latter's death he placed himself at the service of the Umayyads His descendants did not remain at Medina, probably because the ʿAlids were their rivals there, after a stay in Damascus, his son went to Humaima near Adhruh and here a formal rapprochement took place in 98 between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p 312 *sq*) Before this event, we may regard the ʿAbbāsids as a kind of Muʿtazila in the old sense of the word

With ʿAmr b ʿUbaid a new element enters the Muʿtazila as founded by Wāsil ʿAmr originally was one of the *ahl al-hadīth*, brought up in the circle of al Hasan al-Basrī, he transmitted a large number of hadiths from his master and he is remembered as one of the *muhaddithūn* His conversion to the doctrine of *iʿtizāl* brought about a rupture between him and these circles, but with him a considerable section of the Kadarīs of the *ahl al hadīth* joined the Muʿtazila, thus reinforcing the more politically inclined Kadarīya, of which Wāsil was the champion *Kadarī* and *muʿtazilī* were soon to become synonymous terms ʿAmr seems to have been decidedly anti-ʿAlid (see above), in any case he preferred Abū Bakr to ʿAlī (Ibn Abī Hadīd on *Nahdj al Balāgha*, i 3) This attitude implies a certain predilection for ʿOthmān, which is foreign to Wāsil, indeed, a section of the old Basrīs, among them al Djāhiz, is said to have belonged to the party called *al-ʿOthmānīya* ʿAmr's point of view was of great importance for the development of the Muʿtazila After their final triumph, the ʿAbbāsids immediately dissolved the alliance with the Shiʿa, which had only been a political instrument for them As regards the extreme Shiʿa, the Rawāfid, the Muʿtazila unreservedly followed the direction of their new masters, but it is fairly evident that some of them did not decide to break so abruptly with the moderate Shiʿa It resulted in a schism One section remained faithful to the alliance with the moderate Shiʿa, this section was later to form a special Muʿtazila school in Baghdād But the Muʿtazilīs of Basra with ʿAmr at their head seem to have attached themselves without protest to the ʿAbbāsid cause ʿAmr even became the intimate friend of Mansūr and so to speak his spiritual father In the west, the Muʿtazilīs allied with the Khārijīs rebelled against the ʿAbbāsids (see above)

Let us sum up the characteristic features of the Muʿtazila at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period The Muʿtazila was 1 in general devoted to the cause of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, only a faction being opposed to them, 2 decidedly hostile to the extreme Shiʿa, the Rāfida, 3 hostile to the Djahmīya, by which however it was a little influenced, 4 *kadarī* in reuniting several of the old factions of this name, 5 in serious disagreement with the *ahl al-hadīth*, who soon declared it heretical This position had a decisive influence in determing the structure of the Muʿtazila theology The beginnings of this theology go back to Wāsil and ʿAmr and are connected with the fight against the Rāfida The extreme Shīʿis had quite early assimilated a good number of

non-Muslim beliefs, we need not doubt that Manichaeism played a part in them, in any case certain gnostic and dualist ideas had found a way into Islām through the intermediary of these Shiʿis These tendencies, very marked in Kūfa, were also represented at Basra, in the house of an Azdī who was a *sumanī* or Buddhist, Wāsil and ʿAmr had frequent meetings with ʿAbd al Karīm b Abi 'l ʿAwdjāʾ and Sālih b ʿAbd al-Kuddūs, who professed dualist doctrines (*al-thanawīya*, we should probably understand by this Manichaean views) and the poet Bashshār b Burd [q v] (*Kitāb al Aghānī*, iii 24) A serious schism broke up this curious *madjlis* This event decided the whole future of the Muʿtazila Henceforth the fight against *zandaka* and *thanawīya* is a cardinal point in the programme of the Muʿtazila Wāsil himself composed a refutation of Manichaeism which al-Bāhilī (c 300 A H) was still able to peruse (*al Muʿtazilah*, p 21) But they also found themselves compelled to combat these heresies in a positive fashion, to the doctrine of fire professed by Bashshār they offered a theology of earth, so to speak, a theology based on the natural philosophy of the time The poems of Safwān al Ansārī (al Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i 16—19) afford us a specimen of this theology, here we have one of the fundamental documents for the history of Muʿtazila dogmatics It is not yet clear whence came the philosophy put at the service of theology but its general character is apparent, it is the philosophy of the alchemists, physicists of late antiquity, a kind of *summa* of the scientific principles which seem to have been accepted everywhere in Asiatic Hellenism Safwān perhaps gives us a hint as to the circles from which it came to the Muʿtazila, when he tells us that Bashshār called Wāsil and his friends *Dayṣānis*, this is in any case worth noting In a general way those who handed on this natural philosophy seem to have been the school called *Dahrīya* by Muslims The Muʿtazila fought these Dahris with a vigour which reveals the dependence on this heretical philosophy of which they were conscious The true founder of the dogmatic system of the Muʿtazila was Abu 'l-Hudhail Muhammad b al Hudhail al-ʿAllāf [q v] Abu 'l-Hudhail, his friends and pupils, continued on a large scale the polemic against Manichaeism, a polemic which is certainly not unconnected with the persecution begun by the ʿAbbāsids against the open or secret adherents of this religion On the other hand, he fought the Rāfida most vigorously, then represented by the very remarkable theologian Hishām b al-Hakam [q v], and it was through his disputes with the latter that he was led to study the books of the philosophers, which furnished him with a system of dogmatics, a little bold, but full of fertile new ideas Alongside of him there was a crowd of important theologians at Basra Muʿammar, an independent mind whose ideas have not yet been sufficiently analysed, Hishām b ʿAmr al Fuwatī and al-Asamm, adversaries of Abu 'l-Hudhail and several others Among the pupils of Abu 'l-Hudhail mention must first be made of Ibrāhīm b Sayyār al-Nazzām [q v] These theologians gave Muʿtazila dogmatics its essential character This theology is 1 apologetic it aims at defending the revelation of the Prophet, as a result it is 2 strictly Kurʾānic the sacred book is the only source of the theological denominations (*asmāʾ*) and of the precepts of religion (*ahkām*), it is 3 polemical it vigorously invaded the domains of other religions and other Muslim parties to fight them on their own ground, it is 4 speculative it has recourse to philosophical means to refute its adversaries and formulate its dogmas, consequently it is 5 intellectualist it envisages the problem of religion under the purely intellectual aspect Nothing could then be less justifiable than to regard the Muʿtazila as philosophers, free thinkers or liberals On the contrary, they are theologians of the strictest school, their ideal is dogmatic orthodoxy, philosophy for them is only an *ancilla fidei*, they are nothing less than tolerant What they created was Muslim scholasticism

Parallel to the school of Basra, a Muʿtazila school was founded in Baghdād by Bishr b al-Muʿtamir (q v, d 210 = 825–826) This school was pro-ʿAlid (ʿAlī preferable to Abū Bakr), and Bishr was persecuted by Hārūn al-Rashid But under Maʾmūn (q v, 198—218 = 813—833), a decidedly pro ʿAlid caliph, the school of Bishr gained a preponderating influence mainly through the theologians Thumāma b Ashras (d in 210 = 825–826) and Ibn Abī Duʾād (d in 240 = 854–855) This school particularly attacked those who held the doctrine of the uncreated Kurʾān [q v] This attack however had disastrous consequences for the Muʿtazila Abandoned by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232—247) who adopted the doctrine of the uncreated Kurʾān, it rapidly fell from its influential position and soon found itself surrounded by implacable enemies In the second half of the third century, Ibn al Rawandī, a partisan of the Baghdād school, made a stir when he left the Muʿtazila for the most advanced Rāfida, a man of violent temperament, he criticised the Muʿtazila in a scathing way which did it much damage Towards the end of the third century, the Karmatian movement came on the scene, reinforcing the extreme Rāfida and causing trouble in every secular and spiritual sphere In the struggle against the Karmatians it is no longer the Muʿtazila who appear at the head of the defenders of orthodoxy but the *ahl al-hadīth* In the year 300, al Ashʿarī broke with the Muʿtazila of Basra, of which he had been a convinced supporter, to introduce speculative dogmatics among the *ahl al-hadīth*, who were soon to give its character to Sunnī theology

Among the Muʿtazila theologians of the third century we may mention the following At Basra the tradition of Abu 'l-Hudhail al ʿAllāf was propagated by a flourishing school represented by Yūsuf b ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahhām, Abū ʿAlī al-Aswārī and others ʿAbbād b Sulaiman was the pupil of Hishām al-Fuwatī Ibrāhīm b Ismāʿīl known as Ibn ʿUlaiya (d 218) was the pupil of al-Asamm The school of al-Nazzām developed certain special doctrines which the later Muʿtazila rejected (Fadl al-Hadathī and Ahmad b Hāʾit, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p 222—223), but among the disciples of al-Nazzām we also find al-Djāhiz [q v] In the second half of the century, the most important Basra theologian was undoubtedly Abū ʿAlī Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Djubbāʾī [q v] In Baghdād we find in addition to the theologians already mentioned ʿIsā b Subaih al-Murdār, contemporary of Bishr b al Muʿtamir, then "the two Djaʿfars" Djaʿfar b Mubashshir (d 234) and Djaʿfar

b Harb (d 236), at a later date Muhammad b Shaddād al Miṣmaʿī Zurkān (d in 278) und Abu 'l-Husain ʿAbd al-Rahīm b Muhammad al Khaiyāt, the great authority on the history of the Muʿtazila (d at the end of the century) On the Muʿtazila of Syria we are not well informed, and only a little better on that of Egypt The first Muʿtazilī here was Ibn ʿUlaiya (cf above) who had disputations with al-Shāfiʿī, with him Hafs al-Fard came to Cairo, this last represented the official theology in Cairo during the *miḥna* of al-Wāthik Hafs was declared a heretic by al-Khaiyāt (*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p 133—134) — In Spain the Muʿtazilī teaching was disseminated by Abū Bakr Faradj al Kurtubī who had visited the east and studied there with al-Djāhiz, it was therefore al Djāhizīya — at bottom al-Nazzāmīya — that was known in Spain, very soon the Muʿtazila seems to have become undistinguishable from the Bāṭinīya (Asin Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, p 21—22)

The fourth century saw the Shiʿa flourishing and ʿAbbāsid power disappearing, the favour of several Būyid governors now to some degree made good the loss of prestige which had been suffered by the Muʿtazila The schools continued their work and the Muʿtazila spread to the east At Basra, al Djubbāʾī had left a large number of disciples but his school was soon surpassed by that of his son Abū Hāshim [q v], representatives of the latter were among others Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Husain b ʿAlī al-Basrī (d 369), Abu 'l Husain al Azrak (Ahmad b Yūsuf b Yaʿkūb) al Tanūkhī (d 377), a member of the well known al-Tanūkhī family, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b ʿAiyāsh al-Basrī and his pupil the Kādī ʿAbd al Djabbār b Ahmad al Hamadhānī The latter, the most remarkable of the Basra theologians of the period, migrated in 360 to Rayy where he founded an influential school and died in 415 In Baghdād the school of Abū Bakr Ahmad b ʿAlī al Ikhshīdh (d in 320) dominated the whole century A very celebrated Baghdādī, Abu 'l Kāsim ʿAbd Allāh b Ahmad al-Balkhī al Kaʿbī, a pupil of al-Khaiyāt, founded a school at Nasaf, where he died in 319, among his pupils we find al-Ahdab Abu 'l-Hasan We also find the Muʿtazila in Isfahān, where Abū Bakr Muhammad b Ibrāhīm al Zubainī of the school of Abu 'l Hudhail had introduced Muʿtazila doctrines, at Kirmīsīn (school of Abū Hāshim), Guirgān, Nīshāpūr and in several other towns of Khuārāsān During the fifth century it was the theology of ʿAbd al-Djabbār which dominated at Basra, one of his pupils, Abū Muhammad al Hasan b Ahmad b Mattawaihi, handed down the great work on dogmatics of his master, *al-Muḥīṭ bi 'l Taklīf*, another theologian, Abū Rashīd Saʿīd b Muhammad al-Naisābūrī (d in 460), compiled a resumé of the questions disputed in the schools of Basra and Baghdād Several theologians of Baghdād are known, some of them must have belonged to the Zaidīya and generally speaking the Baghdād school becomes more and more merged in the Zaidīya The last great theologian of the Muʿtazila was al-Zamakhsharī [q v] (d in 538) but the schools continued to exist long after him, especially in the east It was probably the invasion of the Mongols that put an end to them, the Muʿtazila has however survived to our day in the Zaidīya

It was not speculative dogmatics alone that formed the subject of Muʿtazila activity Their part in the history of the exegesis of the Kurʾān is a very considerable one, it was they who introduced the strictly grammatical method There is a very close connection between them and the philological school of Basra, the representatives of which in general taught Muʿtazila doctrines (e g al-Asmaʿī) The exegetical works of the Muʿtazila, for the most part now lost, were utilised to a large extent by their adversaries, e g Fakhr al-Dīn al Rāzī — All questions of *fikh* were vigorously discussed in the Muʿtazila schools, the influence of the Muʿtazila on the *uṣūl al-fikh* and the *madhāhib* has still to be examined — Lastly the science of *hadīth* certainly received various stimuli from the Muʿtazila criticism of the *ahl al-hadīth*

Madhhab Muʿtazila theology is summed up under five principles (*uṣūl*) or fundamental doctrines which one must accept in their integrity to be recognised as a Muʿtazilī (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi 22) As these were probably in origin the principal points in the programme of Muʿtazilī propaganda, these *usūl* later became a kind of framework of speculative dogmatics

I *Aṣl al-tawhīd* the strictest profession of monotheism (against any kind of dualism), denial of all resemblance between Allāh and his creatures (against the anthropomorphisms of the *muhaddithūn* on the one hand and those of the Rāfida and Manichaeans on the other), the divine attributes recognised (against the Djahmīya) but deprived of their real existence they are not entities added to the divine being (this would be *shirk*, against the *Sifātīya* among the *ahl al-hadīth*) but identical with the being (Wāsil, Abu 'l Hudhail), allegorical interpretation of the anthropomorphisms of the Kurʾān, denial of the beatific vision, vigorous affirmation of a personal God and creator (against the Dahrīya), integral affirmation of the revelation of the Prophet but distinction between a natural theology and a revealed theology Problems discussed here 1 The nature of God and his attributes a omnipresence God is in all places, in the sense that he directs everything (Abu 'l-Hudhail, al-Djubbāʾī) — he is not in any place (general thesis), b perceptibility he is not perceived by the senses (thesis generally adopted) — he is perceived by the heart (Abu 'l Hudhail) — he has a hidden *māhiya* which will be perceived in another world with the help of a sixth sense which God will then create (Hafs al Fard and others, thesis declared heretical), c the attributes (eternal, names of the essence) identical with the essence (Abu 'l Hudhail, thesis generally adopted) — inherent in the essence through *maʿānī* (Muʿammar) — through *aḥwāl* (Abū Hāshim), expressing positive aspects (Abu 'l Hudhail and generally) — negative (knowledge negation of ignorance etc , al Nazzām) 2 The structure of the created world a starting point anthropology treated in a positive way (exact definition of religious duties) and negative (refutation of *thanawīya*) man is the empirical phenomenon which we see, the body (*djism*) which is composed of a certain number of indivisable entities (atoms) and which supports the accidents life, the senses, colours etc , *nafs* is *muʿnā* and distinct from *rūh* (Abu 'l-Hudhail) — man is composed of body (*badan*) and *rūh* (identical with *nafs*) which are mutually interpenetrant (*mudākhala*), the colours, senses, sensations, forms and spirits form different catagories of *djawāhir* (not

accidents, not atoms), all that is living forms a single category (*mudjānasa*) (al-Nazzām) — man is an indivisible entity (*djawhar*) characterised by *hayāt*, *ʿilm*, *kudra*, the body is the instrument of this *djawhar*, the accidents (movement, rest, colours etc) are inherent in it through *maʿānī* which are inherent in other *maʿānī* etc *in infinitum* (Muʿammar) — man is *bashar* (ʿAbbād b Sulaimān) — the *nafs* is an instrument which the body uses, the *rūh* is an accident (Djaʿfar b Harb) — the *rūh* is a body and distinct from the life which is an accident (al-Djubbāʾī), b the physical world dead nature is distinct from that which is living in as much as nature acts through *darūra* while living beings act through their free will (*ikhtiyār*), for the rest, the one and the other category are of the same structure, the problems of physics being those of anthropology (substance, accidents, bodies, atoms etc), theory of *zuhūr* and *kumūn* formulated by al-Nazzām and which correspond to his theory of penetration (*mudākhala*) things are hidden one in the other, physical development consists in the hidden things becoming manifest (e g the fire hidden in the stone) 3 The relation between God and the created world a *laisa ka-mithlihi shaʾun* a rigorous distinction between *kadīm* and *muhdath* (no *hulūl*), b the activities of God, expressed by his attributes, have for their objects the things of the created world If these activities are eternal, the things ought to be so also, now these things are created i e put into existence after having been non-existent, several solutions of the problem "thing" is only what exists and before the reaction the thing was not thing which implies that divine knowledge is born with the things (Djahmī thesis adopted by Hishām al-Fuwatī) — before the creation things were posited (*thābit*) as non-existent in God's eternal knowledge but without the accidents which characterise them in existence (al Shahhām and others) — with these accidents (al Khayyāt, al-Kaʿbī and several theologians of Baghdād [school of *maʿdūmīya*]) God created all things at one time, one in the other and these things are manifested in the created world one after the other (al-Nazzām), c are the objects of divine knowledge and power limited? Yes (Abu 'l-Hudhayl) — no (the others), d divine power does not extend to the accidents (Muʿammar) — to the phenomena resulting spontaneously from human action (*tawallud*, see under *aṣl al-ʿadl*) 4 Revelation prophecy a prophet is *maʿṣūm*, i e free from grave sins, b the Kurʾān created, God creates the word in a substratum (*lawh al-mahfūz*, the Prophet, the bush etc) The Kurʾān is miraculous in composition and style — denied by al-Nazzām, distinction (which goes back to Wāsil) between *muhkam*, the precepts of the Kurʾān which are clear and without ambiguity and *mutashābih*, the precepts which are not immediately clear and evident, distinction between *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*

II *Aṣl al-ʿadl* God is just, all that he does aims at what is best for his creation (*aṣlah*), he does not desire evil and does not ordain it (*amr* and *irāda* identical) He has nothing to do with man's evil deeds, all human actions result from man's free will, man has a *kudra* and an *istiṭāʿa kabla 'l-fiʿl*, man will be rewarded for his good deeds and punished for his evil ones Problems discussed here 1 Divine power a can God commit an injustice? No al-Nazzām — yes, but he does not general thesis, b theodicy could God prevent evil? yes, for he possesses a store of hidden grace (*lutf*) which would be sufficient to destroy evil completely at once Bishr b al Muʿtamir and several Baghdād theologians — no, for he always does what is best and wisest for his creation general thesis 2 Human power created by God, physical evils, diseases etc are not subject to the human will, man's actions are movements, distinction between *afʿāl al-kulūb* and *afʿāl al-djawārih*, problem of *tawallud* stated by Abu 'l Hudhayl and particularly discussed in the school of Baghdād the effects of an action are attributed to him who performs it, and even after his death he remains responsible for it

III *Asl al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd* (or *al asmāʾ wa 'l-ahkām*) practical theology Problems here discussed a belief and unbelief belief consists in all the acts of obedience, obligatory or supererogatory, sins (*maʿāṣi*) are divided into grave (*kabāʾir*) and petty (*saghāʾir*), the following are *kabāʾir tashbīh Allāh bi khalkihi*, *tadjwiruhu fi hukmihi* and *takdhibuhu fī khabarihi*, *radd al-idjmāʿ ʿan 'l-nabī*, God of his grace may forgive *ṣaghāʾir*, he who is not a Muslim obeys God if he does something which God has commanded in the Kurʾān (*tāʿa lā yurādu 'llāhu bihā*) Abu 'l Hudhayl (thesis rejected by al-Nazzām and the Baghdād school), distinction between *īmān bi 'llāh* and *īmān li 'llāh* from Hishām al Fuwatī onwards, belief consists in avoiding *kabāʾir* i e acts regarding which God has laid down a threat (*waʿīd*) al-Nazzām, b *al-asmāʾ wa 'l ahkām* the good (*al-hasan*) is what God has ordained in the Kurʾān, evil (*al kabīh*) what he has forbidden Questions of *fikh* in general, c Tradition the authenticity of a tradition is only guaranteed by 20 believers one of whom is predestined to Paradise, there are in each generation 20 believers who are free from grave sins (*maʿsūm*) Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Hishām al Fuwatī, the *tawātur* does not necessarily presuppose believers, the Muslim community can agree upon what is an error or a mistake al-Nazzām and others

IV *Asl al-manzila baina 'l-manzilatain* 1 Problems of theocracy a the caliphate of Abū Bakr was legitimate but not based on a divine revelation general thesis, b superiority of Abū Bakr over ʿAlī (Abū Bakr superior to ʿOmar, the latter to ʿOthmān, the latter to ʿAlī) the old Basrīs and Thumāma, superiority of ʿAlī to Abū Bakr the Baghdādīs and some later Basrīs (al-Djubbāʾī towards the end of his life, ʿAbd al-Djabbār), neutral attitude (*tawakkuf*) on all that concerns the question of knowing who was entitled to the superiority Abū Bakr, ʿOmar or ʿAlī, ʿAlī superior to ʿOthmān Wāsil, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, Abū Hāshim 2 The problems of fāsik, the old problem being no longer a live one, petty sins (*al-saghāʾir*) were discussed under this head

V *Asl al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan 'l-munkar* programme of Muʿtazila activity before the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, the faith must be spread by the tongue, the hand and the sword, later this *asl* is little discussed, al-Asamm denies its obligatory character

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AL-MUʿTAZZ BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD (or AL-ZUBAIR) B DJAʿFAR, an ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave-girl named Kabīha After al-Mustaʿīn had been forced to abdicate, al-Muʿtazz was proclaimed caliph on 4th Muharram 252 (Jan 25, 866) When he wanted to get rid of the two Turkish generals Wasīf and Bogha the younger, they got wind of his intentions and went back to Sāmarrā On the other hand, he succeeded in putting his brother and successor designate al Muʾayyad to death and throwing the third brother Abū Ahmad into prison In the following year Wasīf was killed by the troops when they mutinied for their pay and he attempted to appease them After the death in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 253 (Nov 867) of the governor Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh [q v], trouble broke out in Baghdād and in the following year Bogha was murdered at the caliph's instigation As the latter could not pay the troops they mutinied Al-Muʿtazz applied to his mother who possessed immense wealth, but she refused to help him and at the end of Radjab 255 (July 869) the cruel and faithless caliph was deposed He was put in a subterranean dungeon where he died of starvation in 3 days at the age of 24 In his reign the dynasty of the Tūlūnids was founded and Yaʿkūb b Laith [q v] was recognised as governor of Sidjistān The Khāridjīs sacked al Mawsil and in Asia Minor the Muslims were defeated by the Byzantines Cf also the articles AL-MUTAWAKKIL, AL-MUNTASIR and AL-MUSTAʿĪN

Bibliography Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 200, Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 593, 595, 603, 610—616, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, iii 1388 *sqq*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Paris, vii 193, 273, 304, 364 *sqq*, ix 46, 52, *Kitāb al Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Ibn al Athīr, ed Tornberg, vii 32 *sqq*, Ibn al Tiktakā, *al Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 332—335, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii 185, Ibn Khaldūn, *al ʿIbar*, iii 287 *sqq*, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, i 355, 374, 385 *sqq*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*[3], p 529 *sqq*, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, i 528 *sq*, Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p 171, 247, 311—313 (K V Zetterstéen)

MUTHALLATH, also MUTHALLATHA, plur always *muthallathāt*, triangle, it forms the first category of plane surfaces bounded by straight lines (*al basāʾit al musattaha al mustakīmat al khutūt*) (cf al Khwārizmi, *Mafātīh*, p 206) Following Euclid's *Elements*, i, Ὅροι 24—29, the Arab mathematicians classify triangles from two points of view either according to the sides (*dilʿ*, pl *adlāʿ*) into equilateral (*al muthallath al-mutasāwī 'l adlāʿ*, in Euclid τρίγωνον ἰσόπλευρον), isosceles (*al-muthallath al mutasāwī 'l dilʿain*, τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές) and scalene (*al-muthallath al-mukhtalif al-adlāʿ*, τρίγωνον σκαληνόν), or according to the angles (*zāwiya*, pl *zawāyā*), into right-angled (*al muthallath al kāʾim al zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον), obtuse angled (*al-muthallath al munfarid al-zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνιον) and acute-angled (*al-muthallath al-hādd al zāwiya* [*zawāyā*], τρίγωνον ὀξυγώνιον)

In the equilateral triangle the base is called *al-kāʿida*, the apex *al-raʾs*, the sides *al-dilʿān* (see above), in the right-angled triangle the hypotenuse is called *al kuṭr*, i e "diameter" (because the hypotenuse represents the diameter of the circle described around the right-angled triangle), for the two sides the term *al-dilʿān* is generally used

Misāhat al muthallathāt as a technical term

means trigonometry (cf Dozy, *Supplément*, I 163a)

MUTHALLATHA (always with the feminine ending) is a technical term in astrology Astrology divides the zodiacal circle (*mintaka* [q v]) into four muthallathāt (Gr τρίγωνα, Lat *trigona*, *triquetra*), each of which includes three signs 120° apart These "are situated together in the trigonal plane" (*tathlīth*, Gr τρίγωνον, Lat *aspectus trinus*), the word *tathlīth* itself is frequently found as a synonym of *muthallatha* which comes from the same root (*th-l-th*) (cf Dozy, *op cit*, p 162b)

In star nomenclature *Kawkab al-Muthallath* is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle (in Eratosthenes Δελτωτόν, in Ptolemy Τρίγωνον) which is adjoined in the east by Perseus, in the north by Andromeda, in the west by Pisces and in the south by Aries According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*) and al Sūfī (ed Schjellerup, p 123 *sq*), it consists of three stars of the third magnitude and one of the fifth The star at the apex (α Trianguli) is an astrolabe star and is called *Ra's al Muthallath* The latter name is found in *Libros del saber de astronomia del rey D Alfonso X de Castilla* in the corrupted form "alcedeles"

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AL-**MUʿTĪ** [See ALLĀH, II]

AL-**MUTĪʿ** LI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L KĀSIM AL-FADL, an ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al Muktadir [q v], brother of al-Rādī and of al-Muttakī [q v] Al-Mutīʿ was a bitter enemy of al-Mustakfī [q v] and therefore went into hiding on the latter's accession and after Muʿizz al-Dawla [q v] had become the real ruler, al-Mutīʿ is said to have taken refuge with him and incited him against al-Mustakfī After the deposition of the latter in Djumādā II or Shaʿbān 334 (Jan or March 946) al-Mutīʿ was recognised as caliph His reign marks a very unfortunate period in the history of the ʿAbbāsids The caliph himself had not the slightest authority, the power was in the hands of Muʿizz al-Dawla and after his death (356 = 967) in those of his son Bakhtiyār The Fātimids were growing more and more powerful and the Sāmānids also declined to recognise al Mutīʿ as the legitimate suzerain The Hamdānids were weakened by their wars with the Būyids and the Fātimids In Baghdād the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs were fighting one another and several Shīʿī usages were introduced by the Būyids who had ʿAlid sympathies At last the weak and sickly caliph was forced by the Turks to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd al Karīm al-Tāʾiʿ (13th Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 363 = August 5, 974) Al Mutīʿ died in Muharram 364 (September—October 974) in Dar al-ʿĀkūl

Bibliography Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed Paris), I *sq*, IX 48, 52, Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), VIII 315, 338 *sqq*, Ibn al Tiktakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed Derenbourg), p 390 *sq*, Muhammad b Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, II 125, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, III 1 *sq* (K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUṬLAḲ (A), part pass IV from *t-l-k*, "to loose the bond (*kaid*) of an animal, so as to let it free" (e g Muslim, *Diihād*, trad 46, Abū Dāwūd, *Diihād*, bāb 100) The term is also applied to the loosening of the bowstring (Bukhārī, *Diihād*, b 170), of the garments, the hair etc Thence the common meaning absolute, as opposed to restricted (*mukaiyad*), and further the accusative *muṭlakan* "absolutely" The use of the term is so widely diffused, that a few examples only can be given

In grammar the term *mafʿūl mutlak* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i e the objectivated verb of the sentence, such as "a sitting" in the sentence he sat a sitting

In the doctrine of the roots of *fikh* the term is applied to the *mudjtahids* of the heroic age, the founders of the *madhhabs* who are called *mudjtahid mutlak*, an epithet which none after them has borne [cf IDJTIHĀD]

In dogmatics the term is applied to existence, so that *al-wudjūd al mutlak* denotes Allah, as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense

In ontology the term is also applied to existence (*wudjūd*) in connection with the question of the nature of the latter Here *al-wudjūd al mutlak* is opposed to *al-wudjūd al mahmūl li 'l mawdūʿ* See the art MANIIK, supra p 259b

In other surroundings the term has the meaning "general" as opposed to *khāss*, cf the definition in Djurdjānī's *Taʿrīfāt* Mutlak denotes the one without specification Cf further the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*

On the meaning of *rawi mutlak* in prosody, cf Freytag, *Darstellung d arab Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p 311

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AL-**MUTTAKĪ** II 'LLĀH, ABŪ ISHĀK IBRĀHĪM, an ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muktadir [q v] and a slave-girl named Khalūb In Rabiʿ I 329 (Dec 940) he succeeded his brother al-Rādī [q v], by this time the caliphate had sunk so low that five days passed after the death of al Rādī before steps were taken to choose his successor Al-Muttakī at once confirmed the Amīr al Umarāʾ Bedjkem [q v] in office, after his death however, the Turks and Dailamīs in the army began to quarrel with one another Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ] seized the capital but could only hold it a few weeks He was driven out by the Dailamī chief Kūrtegīn who however was soon overthrown by Ibn Rāʾik [q v] When Abū ʿAbd Allāh sent his brother Abu 'l Husain with an army against Baghdād, the caliph and Ibn Rāʾik escaped to al Mawsil to the Hamdānids (Djumādā II 330 = Feb—March 942) After the assassination of Ibn Rāʾik the Hamdānid Abū Muhammad al-Hasan was appointed Amīr al Umarāʾ and received the honorific title of Nāsir al-Dawla The occu-

pation of Baghdād offered him no difficulty, the Turkish general Tuzun rebelled a little later and Nāṣir al-Dawla had to evacuate the capital which was entered by Tuzun in Ramaḍān 331 (June 943) as Amīr al-Umarā'. Al Muttakī soon found himself forced to seek the protection of the Ḥamdānids again and at the beginning of the following year (autumn 943) he fled to al-Mawṣil Then he settled in al Rakka but when Tuzun made peace with Nāṣir al Dawla, al-Muttakī appealed for help to the Ikhshīdid of Egypt, the latter came to al-Rakḳa in Radjab 332 (March 944), the negotiations however were unsuccessful and finally the caliph put his trust in Tuzun, who after assuring him of his loyalty by the most sacred oaths had him blinded (Safar 333 = Oct 944) Al Muttakī was then declared to have been deposed He died in Sha'bān 357 (July 968)

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AL-MUTTAKĪ AL-HINDĪ, author of several works in Arabic, whose real name was 'Alī b Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b Kādī Khān al Shādhilī al Kādirī, was born at Burhānpūr in Gudjarāt of a respectable family of Djawnpūr [q v] He first joined the Čishtī order, as a disciple of 'Abd al Karīm b Shaikh Bādjan at Burhānpūr and afterwards went to Multān where he read with Ḥusām al Dīn al-Muttakī, after whom he is called al Muttakī He spent the remaining portion of his Indian life at Aḥmadābād during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, but left India for Mecca after Humāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh in 941 (1534) He spent his last days in Mecca where he lived for thirty years more, during which he read with Ibn Ḥadjar al 'Askalānī and others and entered the Kādirī and Shādhilī orders His high spiritual life and learning led many people to become his *murīd* (spiritual disciple) He died a highly respected saint and scholar in Mecca 975 (1567) at the age of ninety He is the author of the following works

1 *al-Burhān fī 'Alāmāt Mahdī ākhir al Zamān*, an account of the Mahdī and of his coming at the end of the world,

2 *al-Burhān al-djalī fī Ma'rifat al-Walī*,

3 *Talkhīs al Bayān fī 'Alāmāt Mahdī ākhir al Zamān*,

4 *Djawāmi' al Kalim fi 'l Mawā'iz wa 'l Ḥikam*, a collection of sentences on morals,

5 *Hidāyat Rabbī 'inda Fakad al Murabbī*,

6 *al-Ḥikam*,

7 *Kanz al 'Ummāl fī Sunan al Akwāl*, a combined edition of Suyūṭī's *Djāmi' al-Masānīd* or *Djāmi' al-Djawāmi'* or *al Djāmi' al kabīr*, newly arranged according to chapters (printed in Ḥaidarābād 1312),

8 *al Mawāhib al-'aliya fi Djam' al Ḥikam al-kur'āniya wa 'l hadīthiya*,

9 *Minhadj al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Akwāl*, an abridgement of Suyūṭī's well known alphabetically arranged work *al Djāmi' al saghir* containing a collection of traditions from authentic sources, newly arranged according to chapters together with a supplement,

10 *Mukhtaṣar al-Nihāya*, an abridgment of Djazarī's dictionary of traditions entitled *al Nihāya fi Gharīb al-Hadīth*,

11 *Nizam al-Mi'yār wa 'l-Mikyās li-Ma'rifat Marātib al-Nās*, a short tract on the classification of man

Bibliography 'Abd al Ḥakk al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al Akhyār*, p 249, Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subhat al-Mardjān*, p 43, Fakīr Muḥammad al Lāhōrī, *Hadā'ik al Ḥanafiya*, p 382, Ṣiddīk Ḥasan al Kannūdjī, *Abdjad al-'Ulūm*, p 895, Rieu, *Persian Cat*, p 356, and Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 384 (M Hidayet Hosain)

MUWALLAD (A) means properly one born of non-Arab parents but brought up among Arabs This is how it is usually to be translated in the Ḥadīth (e g Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 42) Later it was used to distinguish from the new convert the children of converts, who were brought up in Islām The common translation "renegade" is wrong as is the *adoptado* of Pedro de Alcala In theory they had equal rights with the old Muslims but the caliph 'Omar in the interest of the state's finances ordered that they should pay the land-tax (*khardj*) while the old Muslims only paid a tenth of the yield The muwalladūn were of special importance in Muslim Spain, especially from the time of 'Abd al Raḥmān II, when conversions to Islām became more and more numerous Some even retained their old family-names (Banū Angelino, Banū Sabarico) This section of the population among whom were often crypto-christians (*Christiani occulti*) played the largest part in the frequent revolutions against Muslim authority in Spain

The post classical poets were called muwalladūn in contrast to the *Islāmiyūn*, their language was no longer considered a model of grammar, lexicography and prosody The boundary between the two lies about the end of the first century Among best known muwalladūn were al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī and, according to some, also al Farazdak and Djarīr

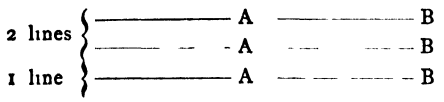
Bibliography The dictionaries, v Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii 154, Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed Levi Provençal, Leyden 1932, i 283 *sqq* , E Lévi Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, Paris 1932, p 18 *sq* (Heffening)

MUWASHSHAH, Muwashshaha or Tawshīh, an ode or poem intended to be sung, is so called by comparison with the *wishāḥ*, which is a double belt ornamented with pearls and rubies or a band of leather studded with pearls which a woman wears across her body from the shoulder to the opposite hip, thus going round the body The muwashshah is composed of two parts one of which contains complete lines and the other hemistiches

The muwashshah, which belongs to the "seven kinds or branches" (*funūn*) considered to be post classical, is composed according to the rules of the purest syntax

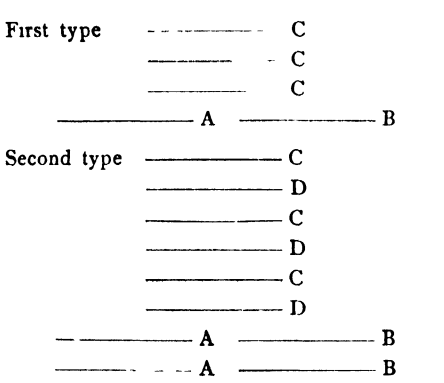
The muwashshah is divided into "stanzas", the technical name of which is not exactly settled, they are usually called *djuz'* or *bait* In its most perfect form, it usually begins with one or two lines, a sort of prelude to the actual poem, this prelude is called *madhhab*, *ghuṣn* or *maṭla'*, we

also sometimes find the *taṣrīʿ*, if it is a distich, the first hemistiches of each verse rhyme together and the two second hemistiches also If A be the rhyme of the first hemistich and B that of the second, the *maḏhhab* or *ghuṣn* is of the following form



After the *maḏhhab* or *ghuṣn* come the stanzas proper called *djuz'* or *bait*

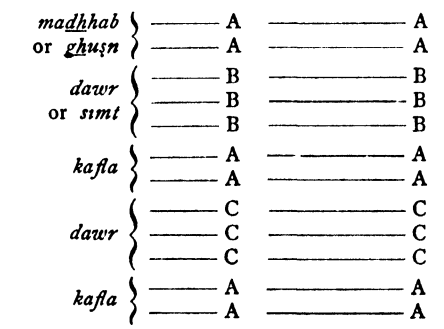
The *djuz'* or *bait* contains two parts the first consisting of a varying number of hemistiches with the same or alternate rhymes, which however are never those of the *maḏhhab* or *ghusn* This first part is called *dawr* or *simt* The second part which is exactly like the *maḏhhab* or *ghusn*, both as regards number of lines and rhymes, is called *kafla* or *kufl* The stanza therefore presents the following form



The rhyme or rhymes of the *dawr* or *simt* vary from one stanza to another, but those of the *kafla* are always the same as those of the *maḏhhab* or *ghusn* The *kafla* is a sort of refrain which does not fail to make an impression on the listeners by the repetition of the same sounds and rhythms

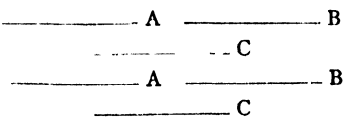
These are the most usual models of the muwashshah, but the poets, not being bound by hard and inflexible rules, have, each according to his temperament, exercised their imagination considerably in this genre

Thus Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk composed a poem in which the first foot of each hemistich is *fāʿilun* and has the same rhyme as the hemistich of which it forms part This is the scheme



etc

The blind poet of Tudela shortened the hemistiches which gives a more lively rhythm



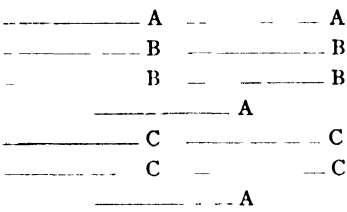
It would be wearisome to give all the forms of stanzas which are found in the muwashshah

From the point of view of metre, very great variety is found Martin Hartmann recognised 146 which may go back to the 16 classical metres Three other types which are found do not seem to be derived from any well defined form

mafʿūlātu new type
mutafāʿilatun type approaching the *khabab*
mustafʿilatun mustafʿilun
a type which might be connected with *dū bait*

From the historical point of view, Freytag thinks that the muwashshah belongs to an old type which has now disappeared There is certainly no doubt that the pre Islāmic poets composed poems similar to the muwashshah, these are known as *musammat*, we find here again the word *simt* applied to the longest part of the stanza or couplet of the muwashshah

The *musammat* began with an opening line with *taṣrīʿ*, then came four hemistiches rhyming together on a different rhyme from the first line, next came a fifth hemistich rhyming with the first and completing the stanza A new stanza followed with four hemistiches not rhyming with those of the first stanza, it ended with a hemistich rhyming with the opening line Here is the scheme



Imru 'l-Kais is said to have composed a piece of this nature but it does not seem to be genuine

The inventor of the muwashshah is said to have been Mukaddam b Muʿāfā, a poet at the court of ʿAbd Allāh b Muḥammad al Marwānī who ruled in Spain (275—300 = 888—913) He was followed by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, author of *al-ʿIkd al-farīd* Their muwashshah are however believed to be lost

The first to shine in this genre was ʿUbādat al-Kazzāz, a poet of al Muʿtasim b Ṣumādih, prince of Almeria Al-Aʿlam al Batalyawsī records that he heard Abū Bakr b Zuhr say "All the composers of muwashshah are simply children beside ʿUbādat al-Kazzāz" In the opinion of all men of letters no contemporary writer could rival ʿUbādat al-Kazzāz in the days of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*

After him comes Abū ʿAbd Allāh Irfaʿ Raʾsah, the court poet of al-Maʾmūn b Dhu 'l-Nūn, prince of Toledo In the time of the Almoravid dynasty there flourished a group of poets among whom may be mentioned the blind poet of Tudela, Ibn Baḳī, Abū Bakr b al-Abyad, Abū Bakr b Bādja

In the time of the Almohads the most famous

composers of muwashshah were Muhammad b Abu 'l-Fadl and Ibn Hayyūn At a later period we have Ibrāhīm b Sahl al Isrā'īlī, a poet of Seville and of Ceuta, Ibn Khalaf al-Djazā'irī (of Algiers), Ibn Khazar of Bougie, the vizier and celebrated man of letters, Lisān al-Dīn b al-Khatīb

Eastern poets have followed those of Spain One of them, Ibn Sanā' al Mulk al Misrī (551—608 = 1156—1212), acquired a reputation in both east and west

As to the subjects of the muwashshah they are the same as those of the traditional *kasidas*, but as they are composed with the definite object of being sung to the accompaniment of stringed instruments they are usually love-poems

On the musical origins of the muwashshah see the article TIK

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(MOH BENCHENEB)

AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, the honorific *lakab* by which the second of the ʿĀmirid dictators of Muslim Spain is best known, the son of the celebrated al-Mansūr [q v], ABŪ MARWĀN ʿABD AL-MALIK IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR AL MAʿĀFIRĪ He was invested with the office of *hādjib* by the caliph Hishām II, on the death of his father, on 28th Ramadān 392 (Aug 10, 1002) and ruled as absolute master the territory of al-Andalus until his death of angina as he was setting out on an expedition against Castille on 16th Safar 399 (Oct 20, 1008)

The relatively short period of the *hādjib*ate of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaffar was until quite recently almost unknown for lack of documents and in his *Histoire*, Dozy had to pass it over almost in silence in spite of its importance in the history of the early xith century in Spain I have been able in the course of recent years to fill this gap, thanks to the discovery of accounts of the hādjibate of al Muzaffar in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām and the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī and the unpublished chapter devoted to him by Ibn al-Khatīb in his *Iʿmāl al-Iʿlām* The result is the discovery that the septennium of ʿAbd al-Malik was for Muslim Spain a period of peace and prosperity, a regular golden age, just on the eve of the first upheavals which preceded the collapse of the Umaiyad caliphate, the chroniclers compare this period to the first week of a marriage (*sābiʿ al-ʿarūs*, cf Dozy, *Suppl Dict Ar*, i 626—627)

Al Mansūr had actually left his son and successor an empire not only completely pacified and solidly organised but also enjoying an economic prosperity hitherto unprecedented ʿAbd al Malik aimed at following scrupulously the line of conduct laid down for him in his father's last wishes to preserve and justify the popularity of the ʿĀmirid régime by peace at home and the continual harassing of the Christian foe beyond the marches (*thughūr*) Every year of Muzaffar's rule was therefore marked by a summer expedition (*sā'ifa*) or a winter one (*shātiya*), in 393 (1003) he led his armies against Catalonia (*bilād al-Ifrandj*), laid waste the country round Barcelona and destroyed 35 strongholds before returning to Cordova, in 395 (1005) an expedition was led against Castille by the *hādjib*, in the following year his objective was the town of Pampeluna [q v], which he seems to have approached but not reached, in 397 (1007) took place, against Catalonia, the expedition known as the "victorious" (*ghazāt al naṣr*) ʿAbd al-Malik forced his way into Clunia and carried off a vast booty This triumph earned for him from the nominal sovereign the title of "Victor" (*al-Muzaffar*) which henceforth replaced his previous *lakab* of Saif al-Dawla In the course of the winter of 398 (1007—1008) there was an expedition which ended in the capture of a castle of San Martin which has not been identified The last expedition undertaken by him as mentioned above came to nothing but at least enabled him to die like his father on the way to wage war on the infidel

At home al-Muzaffar maintained intact the strong administrative organisation which dated from the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [cf UMAIYADS, ii] which al-Mansūr had maintained intact, while removing from it the representatives of the Arab aristocracy On his accession to office, he won the good graces of the Cordovans by reducing taxes by a sixth He was easily able to dispose of several conspiracies against him He left to his brother ʿAbd al Rahmān Sancho a heritage which the latter might easily have preserved if he had not at once exasperated his subjects against him by displaying a hateful partiality and attempting to arrogate to himself the caliphate completely

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

AL-MUẒAFFAR B ʿALĪ [See ʿIMRĀN B SHĀHĪN]

AL MUẒAFFAR ʿOMAR B AIYŪB [See AIYŪBIDES, HAMĀ]

MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN, fifth Shāh of Persia of the Kadjār [q v] dynasty, was born on March 25, 1853 He was Shāh Nāṣir al Dīn's second son, the eldest son Ẓill al Sultān being of lower birth by his mother As crown prince Mu zaffar al-Dīn had been some time governor of Ādharbaidjān (a description of him as crown prince in Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, i 413) After his father's assassination Muzaffar al-Dīn was enthroned on June 8, 1896 With this new reign the rivalry between England and Russia for commercial and political influence in Persia became ever more apparent The sympathy of the high officials, which was divided between the two powers, and the economic and military strength of the country was since long too weak to enable Persia to follow an independent policy Under the relatively strong rule of Nasir al Dīn popular discontent with the increasing misery had been suppressed, the new Shah, however, though well intentioned, did not possess the character of a strong ruler and, besides, did nothing to check the extravagancy of the court His financial difficulties made Persia the debtor of Russia, in 1898, 1900 and 1901 considerable loans were given by Russia, guaranteed by large parts of the custom receipts, the collecting of the custom duties being administered by Belgian officials A good deal of the borrowed money was used for the expensive journeys to Europe undertaken by the Shāh in 1900, 1902 and 1905 In the meantime, the condition of the people became more and more miserable, headed by some influential merchants and some high ecclesiastics they protested against the heavy taxes and the tariffs as fixed in the commercial agreements with Russia and England of 1903 The growing discontent took several forms, some wished to call in the Turkish Sultān as Caliph and at other times there were outbursts against the Bābī's in Yazd and Isfahān Besides there were special grievances against several high officials, amongst them the chief Belgian inspector of taxes In December 1905 a popular movement took place in Teherān, with the aim of obtaining the deposition of the then grand vizier ʿAin al Dawla (since 1903) An ever increasing number of merchants, mulla's and citizens took refuge (*bast*) in the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al ʿAzīm At last the Shāh promised ʿAin al-Dawla's dismissal and some reforms, but in the course of the following year none of these promises were fulfilled So in 1906 the discontentment reached again a culminating point, directed this time by some more or less secret patriotic associations In July large crowds of the people of the capital went with the mullas to Kum, to take refuge in the sanctuary there, at the same time the British Legation accorded asylum to a considerable number of merchants and citizens The results were that on July 30 ʿAin al-Dawla was dismissed and that on August 5, all the demands of the protesting people were granted, including a constitution The ecclesiastical leaders returned from Kum There followed some friction with the government about the elections and other matters, but at last, on October 7, 1906, the first Persian *Madjlis* or National Assembly was opened by the Shāh The new *Madjlis* had to face immediately some difficult problems and showed from the beginning its determination not to be a mere toy in the hands of the court party Progress was hampered, however, by dissensions amongst clerical and non clerical members of the popular party, while there were disturbances in Tabrīz, owing to the tyranny of the crown prince Muhammad ʿAlī The Constitution (*Ḳānūn i Asāsī*, q v) was ratified by the Shāh only on December 30, 1906 Muzaffar al Dīn himself died on January 8, 1907 after a long illness, leaving his country to the eventful reign of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh

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(J H Kramers)

MUẒAFFARIDS, a Persian dynasty Their ancestors came from Arabia and had settled in Khurāsān at the time of the Muslim conquest, where they lived for several centuries On the approach of the Mongols, the emir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Hādjdjī, with his three sons Abū Bakr, Muhammad and Manṣūr, retired to Yazd The two first named entered the service of the Atābeg of Yazd, ʿAlāʾ al Dawla, and when Hūlāgū [q v] marched on Baghdād, Abū Bakr followed him with 300 horse After the capture of Baghdād he was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier Here he fell in an encounter with the Arab tribe of Khafādja whereupon his brother Muhammad succeeded him as a vassal of the Atābeg of Yazd while Manṣūr remained with his father in the little town of Maibudh near Yazd Manṣūr had three sons, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muhammad, Zain al-Dīn ʿAlī and Sharaf al Dīn Muzaffar, the latter of whom became the ancestor of the dynasty of the Muzaffarids Appointed governor of Maibudh by Yūsuf Shāh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's son and successor, he cleared the hills of the robber bands from Shīrāz and when Yūsuf Shāh, who had put to death the envoys of the Īlkhān Arghūn had to take to flight and went to Sīstān, Muhammad followed him but left him on the way and went to Kirmān where he was kindly received by Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Sūrghatmush Kara Khitāi (685 = 1286—1287) After some time he returned to Yazd and was presented to Arghūn who took him into his service He was also on good terms with Arghūn's successors Gaikhātū and Ghāzān The latter appointed him *amīr-i hazāra* "commander of a thousand", and after the accession of Uldjāitū (703 = 1303–1304) he was given custody of the roads from Ardistān to Kirmānshāh and from Herāt and Marw to Abarkūh Muzaffar died on 13th Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 713 (March 1, 1314) He was succeeded by his 13 year old son Mubāriz al-Dīn Muhammad who is described as brave and devout but at the same time cruel, bloodthirsty and treacherous He continued to live at the court of Uldjāitū, on the latter's death in Shawwāl 716 (Dec 1316) and the accession of his son Abū Saʿīd he returned to Maibudh Along with the lord of the southern coast of Persia, the emir Kaikhusraw b Mahmūd Shāh Indjū, he very soon fell upon the Atābeg of Yazd, Hādjdjī Shāh, and succeeded in taking

the town from him (718 or 719 = 1318 or 1319) A short time after this event the people of Sistān, the Nikūdars, arose in rebellion, Muhammad attacked them and their leader Nawrūz was defeated and slain The rebels however gathered together again and Muhammad had to fight no less than 21 battles before they were finally suppressed After the death of Abū Saʿīd (736 = 1335–1336), complete chaos began and pretenders arose in different parts of the wide empire The emīr Abū Ishāk b Mahmūd Shah Indjū endeavoured to take the town of Yazd but was driven back After some time Muhammad took this province from the Mongol governor in Kirmān, Malik Kutb al Dīn In the end however, Abū Ishak succeeded in taking Shīrāz and had the khutba read and coins struck in his name In Safar 748 (May—June 1347) he set out to subjugate Kirmān and laid waste Sirdjān, but returned when he heard that Muhammad was ready to offer vigorous resistance to his advance One of the viziers of Abū Ishak then undertook a campaign against Kirmān but was defeated, whereupon Abū Ishāk put himself at the head of a new army and marched on Kirmān to take vengeance on Muhammad But this effort also failed, Abū Ishāk was completely defeated and had to take to flight In 751 (1350—1351) he went to Yazd and began to besiege the town but returned, having achieved nothing In spite of all his failures however, Abū Ishāk never lost heart In the following year he sent a new army under the emir Beg Djakāz to Kirmān and when the latter met Muhammad on the plain of Pandj Angusht in Djumādā I 753 (June—July 1352) a battle resulted Djakāz was defeated Muhammad to follow up his victory, went to Shīrāz and laid siege to it On the 3rd Shawwāl 754 (Nov 1, 1353), the governor had to surrender and Abū Ishāk fled to Isfahān In the following year Muhammad took the oath of homage to the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Egypt Isfahān was now besieged But as Muhammad had also to deal with other rebels the siege was somewhat prolonged Resistance was in the end overcome and the town had to surrender At the same time Abū Ishāk fell into his hands and was at once executed (21st Djumādā I 757 or 758 = May 22, 1356 or May 11, 1357) After Muhammad had defeated all his enemies and become undisputed lord of Fārs and the ʿIrak, an envoy appeared from the ruler of the Golden Horde, Djānī Beg Khān b Uzbeg Khān, who announced that the Khān had taken Tabrīz and wanted to appoint Muhammad *yasāwul* "Marshal" Muhammad gave the envoy an arrogant and unfriendly answer, but when he heard soon afterwards that Djānī Beg had returned home and left the emir Akhī Djūk in Tabrīz he decided to take the town Soon afterwards the news of Djānī Beg's death arrived, Muhammad at once set out and met Akhī Djūk at Miyāna in Ādharbāidjān The latter was defeated and Muhammad entered Tabrīz But as a large army was approaching from Baghdād he dared not risk remaining but decided to begin to retreat In Ramadān 759 (Aug 1358) he was surprised and taken prisoner by his own son Shāh Shudjāʿ [q v] who believed himself suppressed and ill-treated by his father, in concert with some other relatives Muhammad was blinded and kept in prison for several years until his death at the end of Rabīʿ I 765 (Jan 1364) at the age of 65 He was succeeded by Shāh Shudjāʿ who shortly before his death appointed his son Zain al ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī his successor in Shīrāz and gave his brother ʿImād al-Dīn Ahmad b Muhammad the governorship of Kirmān As soon as Zain al-ʿĀbidīn had begun to reign his cousin Shah Yahyā b Sharaf al Dīn Muzaffar set out from Isfahān to attack him Fortunately however, the threatened war was averted by a friendly agreement, but Shāh Yahyā could not stay long in Isfahān, he was driven out by the turbulent and fickle inhabitants and fled to Yazd whereupon Zain al-ʿĀbidīn appointed his maternal uncle Muzaffar i Kāshī governor of Isfahān In 787 (1385—1386) an envoy from Timūr arrived in Kirmān bringing assurances of his peaceful and friendly intentions and Sultān Ahmad hastened to offer his humble homage to the powerful conqueror In Shawwāl 789 (Oct — Nov 1387) it was reported that Timūr had invaded the ʿIrāk and that Muzaffar i Kāshī had given him the keys of the towns and fortresses whereupon Zain al-ʿĀbidīn left Shīrāz and went to Baghdād while Shāh Yahyā endeavoured to procure suitable gifts to pacify Timūr and ordered that a sufficient sum should be paid out to maintain his army But when Timūr's officials appeared in Isfahān to take the money, they were attacked and killed by the citizens In consequence the Mongols carried out a dreadful massacre among the people of Isfahān, in which 200,000 were said to have perished Timūr then went to Fārs and confirmed Sultān Ahmad as lord of Fārs, the ʿIrak and Kirmān, whereupon he returned to Samarkand When Zain al-ʿĀbidīn had left Shīrāz, he met his cousin Shāh Mansūr b Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar at Shūstar and was at first welcomed, then suddenly attacked and imprisoned Shāh Mansūr was now able to occupy Shīrāz without opposition, while Shāh Yahyā retired to Yazd After the former had established himself securely in Shīraz, Zain al ʿĀbidīn was released by his jailers and brought to Isfahān where the people welcomed him In the meanwhile he had been persuaded by Shāh Yahyā to combine with Sultān Ahmad to take vengeance on Shāh Mansūr The plan failed however, the allies were defeated and Shāh Mansūr seized the whole of the ʿIrak When Zain al-ʿĀbidīn wanted to escape to Khurāsān, he was treacherously seized by the governor of al-Rayy and brought to Shāh Mansūr who at once had him blinded The latter then tried to form a coalition against Timūr In 795 (1393) however, Timūr left his winter quarters in Māzandarān and marched on Shūstar After storming Kalʿa i Sefīd which was considered impregnable he marched on Shāh Mansūr's capital and a battle was fought near Shīrāz Although Shāh Mansūr's chief emīr abandoned him with most of his troops, the battle lasted till far into the night The undismayed Muzaffarid fought with desperate courage, but finally fell in the melée, after fighting his way to Timūr and giving him two cuts with his sword, which however the strong helmet of the Mongol leader averted Shāh Mansūr's relations then submitted, nevertheless Timūr a week later (Radjab 795 = May 1393) had all the Muzaffarids executed

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(K V ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUZĀWADJA, a term in rhetoric (*badīʿ*) which means the association of two things in the relation of condition (*sharṭ*) and result (*djazāʾ*) and then employing the same combination for two other things in the same conditions Here is an example from the *Dīwān* of al-Buhturī (Cairo 1329, p 317)

Idhā ʾhtarabat yawman fa fādat dimāʾuhā
tadhakkarat al kurbā fa fādat dumūʿuhā

"When they (the horsemen) are one day fighting and their blood flows in profusion, they remember their bonds of kinship and their tears flow abundantly" The poet associates fighting with recalling bonds of kinship in the two parts of the conditional statement, then he completes the first by adding their blood flows in profusion and the second by saying their tears flow abundantly

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(MOH BENCHENEB)

AL **MUZDALIFA**, a place roughly half way between Minā and ʿArafat where the pilgrims returning from ʿArafat spend the night between the 9th and 10th Dhu ʾl-Hidjdja, after performing the two evening salāts On the next morning they set off before sunrise and climb up through the valley of Muhassir to Minā Other names for this place are *al-Mashʿar al harām*, from Sūra II 194 and Djamʿ (cf *Lailat Djamʿ* Ibn Sʿad, II/1 129, 6), but Djamʿ, according to another statement, comprises the whole stretch between ʿArafat and Minā, both included, so that *Yawm Djamʿ* (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, VI 30, 11) is explained as the day of ʿArafat and *Aiyām Djamʿ* as the days of Minā The rites associated with the night of Muzdalifa go back to the old pagan period, which the Arabs themselves recognise when they make Kusaiy introduce the kindling of the sacred fire in this night and say that guiding of the departure for Minā is a privilege of the family of Adwān

The sacred place in Muzdalifa was the hill of Kuzah [q v] Even after Muhammad in deliberate contrast to the pagan practice had declared all Muzdalifa to be *mawkif* [cf HADJDJ, I, *c*], this hill retained its ancient sanctity According to Azraḳī, there was a thick round tower upon it on which the Muzdalifa fire was kindled, in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd it was a fire of wood, later it was illuminated with wax-candles In the Muslim period a mosque was built about 400 yards from the tower, of which Azraḳī gives a detailed description while Muḳaddasī speaks of a place of prayer, a public fountain and a minaret Burton also mentions a high isolated tower at Muzdalifa but the illumination in the night of Muzdalifa now takes place on the mosque

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(FR BUHL)

MUZDAWIDJ means among philologists t use of two terms in which the form one is changed to make it resemble th of the other For example in this *hadīth* (I Mādja, *Sunan*, Cairo 1313, II 246) *irdjiʿ ma'zūrāt ghair ma'djūrāt*, "return home lad with sin and not with rewards", the word *ma zūrāt* from the root *w z-r* has been changed i *ma'zūrāt* to give it the same form as *ma djūr* It is similar in the phrases (cf *Lisān*, XIX 35 *ghadīyāt wa ʿashiyāt*, *ghudaiyānāt wa-ʿushaiyā bi 'l ghadāyā wa 'l-ʿashāyā* "mornings and evenin in which the form of the first word has b adapted to that of the second

The muzdawidj, among rhetoricians, consists establishing a kind of alliteration between t adjacent words having the same form, the sa metrical quantity and the same rhyme (*rawī*), e in this verse of the Kurʾān (XXVII 22) *djiʾtuka min Sabaʾin bi-nabaʾin* "I have brou thee news from Saba'" where we have the rese blance between *Sabaʾin* and *nabaʾin* We may g as another example this *hadīth* (Ibn al-At *Nihāya*, Cairo 1911, IV 291 under *h y-n*) *muʾminūna hainūna lainūna* "Believers are pea able and mild in character" and the phrase (*Lisān*, XVII 280, 331) *hainun lainun, haiyin laiyinun*

The object of the muzdawidj among poet to make the hemistichs of a poem rhyme toget two by two As a rule, it is only used in didac *urdjūzas* (like the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik), al-ʿAm however, in his *Kashkūl* (Cairo 1302) has usec with the *wāfir* and *ramal* metres (p 76, 78, 83) Persian and Turkish, it is called *mathnawī* (*masna* and composed in the metres *ramal*, *hazadj* and *mu kārib* In this kind of composition, it is necess that the last foot of the two hemistichs sho be alike Among the Arabs there is a kind poem in the *radjaz* metre (and sometimes sc verses follow strictly the *sarīʿ* metre) called *m dawidjāt* (a collection of them was published Cairo in 1299), they consist of strophes of hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhy together and the fifth have a common rhy Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistic the first three rhyming together and the fou rhyming jointly as in *al-Iʿlām bi-Muthallath Kalām* of Ibn Mālik (Cairo 1329) and *Nail Arab fī Muthallathāt al-ʿArab* of Hasan Kowa al-Khalīlī (Būlāk 1301)

Bibliography Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, C stantinople 1307, p 142, Muhammad ʿAli ʿAlī al-Tihānawī, *Kashshāf Istilāhāt al-Fun* Constantinople 1317, I 199, 672, Muhamr b Kais al-Kāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī Maʿāyīr Asl al-ʿAdjam*, Leyden 1909, p. 390, Garcin Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues l'Or Musul*, Paris 1873, p 375

(MOH BENCHENEB

AL-**MUZZAMMIL**, title of sūra lxxiii, taken from the first verse "O thou wrapped up", viz Muhammad, who wrapped himself up in his garment or was wrapped up by others For explanations of the allusion cf Sale's note as well as the commentaries on the Kur'ān Variants of al-muzzammil, which stands for *al mutazammil*, are *al-muzammal*, *al-muzammil* (Baidāwī)

Bibliography Besides the works mentioned in the art, cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, Leipzig 1909, p 98

N

AL-**NABA'**, title of sūra lxxviii, taken from the opening verses "Concerning what do the unbelievers ask questions of one another? Concerning the great news" According to the commentaries the great news alluded to is the resurrection, the subject of lively discussions among the Meccans

Bibliography The commentaries and translations of the Kur'ān, Noldeke Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, Leipzig 1909, p 104

NABATAEANS, an Arab people who lived in ancient times in Arabia Petraea — As early as the seventh century B C the Nabayāti are mentioned by Assurbanipal (*Keilinschr Bibl*, ii 216 *sqq*) Whether the Nebayōth of the Old Testament are to be identified with them is uncertain (against the identification Noldeke in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, s v Nabataer, for it amongst others Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, p 492) The Nabataeans were never completely subjected either by the Assyrians, or the Medes, Persians or the Macedonian kings (Diodor ii 48) In 312 B C Antigonos sent two expeditions against them without success They were then a nomadic people of shepherds and traders, with a few natural fortresses like Petra, Bosrā, Salkhad, al Hidjr which served as depots for their arms and riches Living round the Dead Sea they exploited from time to time the remunerative asphalt deposits on its eastern shore They were often on friendly terms with their neighbours, e g with the Jews under the Maccabees and especially with the Salamians (Arab Sulaim, cf Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wustenfeld, ii 594, s v Birma), with whom according to Stephanos Byzantios and the testimony of the Nabataean inscriptions, they were in close alliance (cf SUʿAIM B MANṢŪR and B Moritz, *Salamis*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzykl*, vol i A, col 1824 *sq*) The capital of the kingdom, called Nabātu in the inscriptions, was Petra on the Djabal Hārūn, according to Noldeke (*Z D M G*, xxv 259 *sq*) Hebrew Sela', Arab Hisn Sal' in the Wādī Mūsā in the hills of al-Sharā (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iii 117, 13, *Mushtarik*, p 252, 2), while Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, ii/1 337, note 2, on p 318) identifies this with Ksēr es Sel' The ruins reveal a peculiar mixture of Nabataean and Hellenistic architecture while they have yielded remarkably few Nabataean inscriptions (on these see Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtumer*, 1908, do, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, Bachmann, Watzinger, Wiegand, *Petra*, 1921, A B W Kennedy, *Petra, its History and Monuments*, 1925)

The Nabataean kingdom comprised the lands of southern and eastern Palestine as well as Idumaea and Peraea, from 88 B C also Hawrān, twice (85 B C and c 34—62 A D, perhaps also in the interval, cf Mommsen, *Rom Gesch*, v 476, note 3), Damascus also belonged to it [cf i, p 903] In the southwest it stretched over the ancient Midian as far as the coast of the Red Sea where 'Obodat I founded the town of Hawarā (Steph Byz, s v Ἀΰαρα, probably = Λευκη κωμη, now perhaps al-Hawrā'), in the interior as far as al 'Ula (Dedan) and al-Hidjr [q v] on the frontier of the Hidjāz The Nabataeans also penetrated into the nome of Arabia in the eastern Nile delta as an inscription from Tell el Shughāfiye in the Wādī Tūmilāt shows (Clermont-Ganneau, *Les Nabateens en Egypte*, in *Recueil d'Arch Or*, viii [1924], p 229—257) A number of their kings can be dated with approximate exactness Hāritat (Aretas) I 169 B C, Hāritat II c 110—96, 'Obodat (Obodas) I c 90, Rabb'ēl Rabilos) I c 87, Haritat III (Ἀρέτας Φιλέλλην) c 86–62, ['Obodat II c 62–47 ?], Mālik (Malichos) I c 47—30, 'Obodat II (III ?) before 25 — ^ 9 B C, Hāritat IV Rāhem-'ammeh (Φιλόπατρις) c 9 A D — 40 A D, Mālik II 40—70/71, Rabb'ēl II Σωτήρ 70/71—106 A D [Mālik III, 106 A D ?, cf Clermont Ganneau, *Recueil*, viii 247] The real founder of their power is said to have been king Erotimos, who is probably the same as Hāritat III whose reign fell in the period of decline of the Seleucid empire (E Taubler, in *Klio*, x 251—253) As "allies", the Nabataeans were able to maintain to some extent their independence of the Romans At a very early date, like the Palmyrans, they attained through their trade the position of monopolists in Near Asia At the beginning of the Roman empire they dropped their nomadic life and became peacefully settled Just as in the east they have left their inscriptions particularly on the trade-routes followed by their caravans, e g from Petra to Damascus and Tadmor, to Forat at the mouth of the Euphrates, to Gerha (Arab al-Djar'ā'u near al-Katīf), to the Sinai peninsula and Egypt and to Gaza, so we find in the Roman empire epigraphic traces of Nabataean merchants as far as Upper Egypt (Dendera), in Miletus, Rome and Puteoli In 106 A D the emperor Trajan conquered Petra and made the most important part of the Nabataean kingdom the Roman *Provincia Arabia* The remainder of the territory left to the Nabataeans in the desert suffered economic ruin about 200 A D when the Palmyrans gradually obtained control of the remunerative carrying trade

The king, who was assisted by a vizier, the highest official (Greek ἐπίτροπος), with the title "brother", had under him a number of shaikhs (ἐθνάρχαι) of the separate tribes (φυλαί), we also find the titles eparchos and strategos The high social position of women is noteworthy, they could possess property independently and dispose of it as they liked (Noldeke in Euting, *Nabat Inschr*, p 79 *sq*), the coins often bear portraits of the queens (Kammerer, *Petra et la Nabatene*, Paris 1929, p 377, *Brit Mus Cat of Greek Coins Arabia* etc, London 1922, Plates I and II)

Our only source for Nabataean law is their epitaphs, the threats of punishment in which are based on a formula of the Greek law of property and contract which elsewhere is only found in tomb-inscriptions in Asia Minor (B Keil, *Hermes*, xliii [1908], p 567—572)

As nomads, simple in their customs and rarely owning slaves, the Nabataeans, as a trading people, had a great respect for wealth The mention in inscriptions of physicians, wise men and poets, shows a certain level of intellectual culture Whether circumcision was practised among them is uncertain (Kammerer, *op cit*, p 375 *sq*)

The Nabataean pantheon is known to us mainly from tomb and votive inscriptions The principal god was Dūsharā [cf DHU 'L-SHARA], the principal goddess Allāt [cf AL-LĀT], the goddesses Manūthu (= Aram Menāwātā, cf MANĀT), Kaisha, Mutabi and Hubal [q v] are also mentioned Their kings were perhaps worshipped as gods after their deaths (cf *C I S*, ii 354)

As Noldeke was the first to emphasise, the Nabataeans were pure Arabs as their names show, but in written intercourse they used Aramaic, the usual written and business language of Nearer Asia Many aramaisms thus entered their language in the north of the country (like *kabrā*, *nafshā*, *arnā*) Arab writers therefore even used the term "Nabataean" for "Aramaic", in the southern Higrā (al-Hidjr) on the other hand, the Nabataean Arabic retained its greatest purity, the Arabic script developed out of the Nabataean cursive at the close of the ancient period [cf ARABIA, *d*]

In the Muslim period the Arabs called those inhabitants of Syria and of the ʿIrāk, who were neither shepherds nor soldiers, "Nabataeans" (Ibn al-Kalbī in Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 634), a term also applied in a somewhat contemptuous tone to the Aramaic-speaking peasants (Noldeke, in *Z D M G*, xxv 124) When then we find "Nabataeans" (Nabīt, Nabt etc) mentioned in Malatya as well as on the Djaihān, in Syria, on the Khābūr and in the ʿIrāk, in ʿOmān and Bahrain, the name is not to be taken in the ethnographical sense (Noldeke, *op cit*, p 125) As the grammarians of the ʿIrāk paid special attention to the "Nabataean" language of the Aramaic country people, by "Nabataeans" was frequently meant the inhabitants of the ʿIrāk and especially of the Batāʾih (Noldeke, *op cit*, p 127)

The inhabitants of the district of Hismā in the most northern part of the Hidjāz, once the Djudhām [q v], now the Huwaitāt [q v], are regarded as the descendants of the Nabataeans [cf ARABIA, *a*]

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NABĪ (A), prophet, borrowed from Hebr *nābī* or Aram *nebiʾā*, is found in the Kurʾān from the second Meccan period in the singular and plural *nabīyūn*, in the Medina period we find also the broken plural *anbiyāʾ* Lists of the *nabīyūn* are given in Sūra vi 83 *sqq*, iii 34, iv 161 *sqq*, further information about them is given in several passages of Sūra xix and in xvii 57 The list consists exclusively of names from the Old and New Testaments (if we leave out Idrīs in Sūra xix 57, whose name Muhammad had however also learned from a Christian source, see above ii, p 442–450, Horovitz, *Koran Untersuch*, p 88 *sq*), while messengers of God (*rasūl* [q v], plur *rusul*, *mursalūn*) had also been sent to other peoples of the past — e g Hūd or Sālih —, according to the Kurʾānic idea "prophets" had appeared only among the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q v] Only a minority of the individuals called prophets in the Kurʾān are so described in the Bible, and Yūnus b Mattai [q v] is the only one of the *anbiyāʾ* of the Kurʾān who appears among the literary prophets of the Bible Muhammad himself did not claim the name nabī until he was in Medīna when he was addressed as the Prophet (*yā ayyuha 'l-nabī*) and, as finally closing the series of prophets, is called their "seal" (*khātam*) When Muhammad in Sūra vii 156 and 158 is called *al nabī al-ummī*, this is to distinguish him as the prophet who has arisen among the heathen, the Jews called the heathen *ummōt hāʿōlam* ("peoples of the world") and also recognised prophets who had arisen among them among these they included e g Balaam and Job This Jewish name for the heathen became the *al-ummīyūn* of the Kurʾān (Sūra lxii 2, iii 19, 69), that

ummīyūn refers to the heathen is quite clear from Sūra iii 19, where they are contrasted with those who have received the scripture When Sūra ii 73 refers to the *ummīyūn min Ahl al-Kitāb*, the reference is most probably (with Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv 13, note 2) to originally pagan Arabs who had adopted Judaism The derivation of *ummī* from Hebrew *ummōt hā-ʿōlam* therefore fits all the Kurʾānic passages, while that most generally adopted from Hebrew *ʿam hā ārēṣ* "people of the country", a term for Jews who did not know the Jewish law, would at best fit only Sūra ii 73, but even for this passage is not absolutely essential

The post-Kurʾānic ideas about the prophethood of Muhammad are discussed in the article MUHAMMAD (cf also Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918) The accounts of the other prophets which found a way into Islām in the post-Kurʾānic period are collected in the works on the *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* These, however, are not confined to the prophets proper who appear in the Kurʾān by name or anonymously, and to other figures of Jewish and Christian Biblical and post-Biblical tradition, but deal also with the history of such personalities as Djurdjīs and Bulukyā to whom there is not the slightest reference in the Kurʾān

Bibliography Wensinck, in *Acta Orientalia*, ii 173 *sqq*, Lidzbarski, *De propheticis quae dicuntur legendis*, Horovitz, in *Z D M G*, lv 519 *sqq*, do, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p 44 *sqq*

(J HOROVITZ)

NĀBĪ, YŪSUF, an Ottoman poet, Yūsuf Nābī came from Urfa (Ruhā, hence Ruhāwī, not Rūhānī as one often finds) From there he came in the reign of Muhammad IV to Stambul and became a favourite of the grandvizier Kara Mustafā He held a post as *kiaya*, made the pilgrimage after Kara Mustafā's death and later settled in Aleppo When the governor there, Muhammad Baltadji [q v], became grandvizier, he took Nābī to Stambul and gave him the post of superintendent of the department of the Anatolian chief accountant (*Anadolu muhāsebedjisi*) Later he gave up this office for another and died aged about 90 on 3rd Rabiʿ I 1124 (April 10, 1712) He was buried in Skutari in the Karadja Ahmad cemetery near the Miskīnler monastery, the inscription on his tombstone is given by Saʿd al Dīn Nuzhet, *Mezārlar Kitābeleri*, Stambul 1932, p 11

Nābī wrote several historical works in a florid style which was considered classical in his time and even later, such as an account of the conquest of Kameniec in Podolia (1083 = 1672) called *Taʾrīkh i Wekāʾiʿ i Kamınca*, *Fethnāme i Kamınča* or simply *Taʾrīkh i Kamınca* He also wrote in prose and verse a description of his pilgrimage to the holy places (1089 = 1678, the work was written only in 1093 = 1682) entitled *Tuhfat al Haramain* His very popular *Dīwān* with supplement earned him the title of "king of poets" In his *Khairī-nāme*, usually called *Khairiye*, he gives his son Abu 'l-Khair moral admonitions and advice His letters (*Munshaʾāt*) were at one time highly esteemed and are of some historical value He continued Waisī's *Siyar* in a *Dhail i Siyar-i Waisī* Printed works *Dīwān*, Būlāk 1257 and Stambul 1292, *Dhail-i Siyar-i Waisī*, Būlāk 1248, *Khairiye* in *Conseils de Nabi Efendi à son fils Abou 'l-Khair, publiés en turc avec la traduction française et des notes par* M Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1857, *Taʾrīkh i Kamınca*, Stambul 1281, *Sūrat-i Hudjdjat-i Ṭıflāniye*, s l (= Stambul, about 1870), deals with questions of pedagogics, *Tuhfa*, Stambul 1288, *Tuhfat al Haramain*, s l [Stambul] 1265 For further information see F Babinger, *G O W*, p 237—239

Bibliography Cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 239, where it should be noted that there is also a MS of *Dhail-i Siyar-i Waisi* in London, Brit Museum, Add 7863 (cf Rieu, *Cat of Turk Mss*, N⁰ 37) and in Heidelberg, Univ-Library, Cod or, N⁰ 439 (copy of the year 1175 A H), *Tuhfat al-Haramain* in Paris, coll Cl Huart, Stambul, *Hamīdiye*, N⁰ 400—401, and the *Khairiye* in Agram, Ak der Wiss, coll Babinger, N⁰ 826, i On the printed copy of the *Taʾrikh i Kamınca* cf *J A*, 1868, i 471 *sqq* — On a Nābī zāde Nazīm Bey cf Brūsalī Muhammad Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, ii 467 *sqq*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NABĪ YŪNUS [See NĪNAWĀ]

NABĪDH (A), a comprehensive designation for intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *mizr* (from barley), *bitʿ* (from honey Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 60, *Ashriba*, bāb 4, *Adab*, bāb 80, or from spelt Ahmad b Hanbal, iv 402), *fadīkh* (from different kinds of dates Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 3, 21)

Grapes being scarce in Arabia, it is said that in al-Madīna "wine" was usually prepared from kinds of dates, exceptionally from grapes (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2, 3, Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad 3, 6) This may be true Yet even these traditions betray a tendency connected with the question whether the prohibition of wine included that of intoxicating drinks Generally speaking *hadīth* favours the affirmative answer and is consequently anxious to point out that the *khamr* which was prohibited by Muhammad included nabīdh

The question was difficult in so far as these kinds of drinks were intoxicating to degrees which partly depended upon the duration of the process of fermentation This appears e g from the copious traditions in which ʿĀʾisha relates how nabīdh was prepared for Muhammad and at what time the beverage was done away with [cf KHAMR], as well as from the traditions in which the previous prohibition of certain vessels (*hantam*, *muzaffat*, etc) was abrogated and all kinds of vessels declared allowed, provided the drinks prepared in them were not intoxicating (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad 106, *Ashriba*, trad 63—65, 67—75 etc) A series of traditions which could be adduced by the Hanafites in favour of their view, according to which nabīdh is not included in the prohibition of wine, is to be found in al-Nasāʾī's collection, *Ashriba*, bāb 48 Cf further the art KHAMR

Side by side with milk and honey nabīdh was also the beverage that was offered to the pilgrims in Makka The institution, *al-sikāya* (also the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place), was an office held by the ʿAbbāsids (Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, i 372, Muslim, *Hadjdj*, trad 347, Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 90) The descriptions by Ibn Saʿd († 230 = 845) and al-Azraḳī († 244 = 858) give the impression of referring to the present state of things, in the time of al-Mukaddasī († about 1000 A D) the institution had already passed into desuetude For details, cf the work of Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Bibliography cf the *Bibliography* of the article KHAMR, further *Fatāwā ʿAlamgīrī*, Calcutta 1251 (1835), VI 607, Santillana, *Il "Muḫtaṣar"* , Milan 1919, II 739 *sqq* , Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, IV 118 *sqq* , Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Muhaḳḳik, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p 522, Querry, *Recueil de lois conc les musulmans schyites*, Paris 1872, II 237 *sqq* , Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de moh wet*, Leyden 1925, p 173, Snouck Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880, p 169 (*Verspr Geschr* , I 111), Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pelerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923 (*Annales du Musee Guimet, Bibl d'etudes*, N° 23), p 71 *sqq* , al-Azraḳī, ed Wüstenfeld, p 335 *sqq*

(A J WENSINCK)

NĀBIGHA AL-DHUBYĀNĪ, a famous poet of the pre-Muhammadan period His real name was Ziyād b Muʿāwiya and he belonged to the tribe of Dhubyān He probably flourished in the second half of the century which preceded Muhammad and died shortly before the beginning of Islām Caussin de Perceval (*Histoire des Arabes*, 2nd ed , II 502) puts the date of his birth in 535 A D and Father Cheikho (*Poetes arabes chrétiens*, p 640) dates his death in 604 A D These dates however can only be conjectural

The surname Nābigha has been variously interpreted by Arab writers According to some, our poet was so called because in one of his verses he uses the verb *nabagha* "She stopped among the Banū Kain b Djasr and they felt the effects of our attacks" But this verse is apocryphal and the process recalls that used to justify the etymologies of Muhalhil and of Mutalammis [q v] According to others, he was so called because he did not write poetry until he reached manhood or more simply because in Nābigha poetry "flows from the spring"

We know nothing about his family, his noble birth asserted by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (IX 162) and Ibn Kutaiba (ed de Goeje, p 74) is doubtful and we know nothing definite about his childhood and youth

At some date which it is impossible to ascertain definitely, Nābigha was admitted to the court of the Lakhmid princes [cf LAKHM] of al-Hīra, vassals of Persia, in the reigns of the kings al Mundhir III and al Mundhir IV in particular this Christian semi Persian, semi Arab city had become an important literary centre and the focus of a brilliant culture

Our poet sang the praises of these two sovereigns and received gifts from them but his fortunes reached their zenith in the reign of Nuʿmān Abū Kabūs whose boon companion and favourite singer he became The poet lived on intimate terms with the king in the lap of luxury and opulence Such favour could not fail to excite the envy and jealousy of the other courtiers hence his enemies, notably Murra b Saʿd, resolved to break the king's attachment to him The trick attempted by his enemies was a crude one and the king was not deceived by it the attack on the poet failed

Far from being discouraged, Murra patiently awaited another opportunity to avenge himself this soon appeared According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Nābigha, who had free access to the palace of Nuʿmān, one day unexpectedly entered the apartments of queen Mutadjarrida, famous for her beauty Taken by surprise, she dropped her veil, showing to the delighted eyes of the poet "a part of her statue like body" By the time she could replace it, it was too late Struck to the heart, Nābigha composed in honour of this "beauty" his famous poem which begins with the line "Go and leave Maiya in all haste " (Derenbourg, *Dīvān*, XIV) Unfortunately he was imprudent enough to recite it to his enemy Murra who hastened to report it to Nuʿmān The latter in his anger decided on the poet's ruin

According to another tradition, one evening when Nābigha was seated beside the queen in company of the king and another poet, Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī, Nuʿmān asked Nābigha to describe Mutadjarrida to him Nābigha at once obeyed and recited the poem which he had composed shortly before Munakhkhal, who was said to be the queen's lover, exclaimed "Since, this description is that of an eye-witness", and the poet's days were now numbered Warned by his friend, the chamberlain ʿIsām, the poet hurriedly fled and sought refuge with the princes of Ghassān

These stories, on the whole little probable, seem to have been invented to explain Nābigha's disgrace In his book *Fī 'l Adab al ḏjāhilī* (Cairo 1927, p 332), Tāhā Husain disputes their authenticity and acutely points out that nothing in poem VIII "It has reached me, mayest thou avoid the censure etc " supports these stories He supposes on the other hand, relying on this *kasīda*, that the princes of Ghassān won the good graces of Nābigha at some time by their largesse and the poet showed his gratitude by singing their praises, this having come to the ears of Nuʿmān, the latter took umbrage and decided on the ruin of his favourite

Nābigha was by no means unknown to the Ghassānids, phylarchs of Byzantium and rivals of al-Hīra He had been very well received by the princes al-Hārith b Abū Shammār and al Hārith al-Asghar The former at the poet's request had released a large number of the Banū Asad taken prisoner at the battle of Halīma, the latter, also at Nābigha's request, had released a number of the Banū Asad and Banū Fazāra after the battle of ʿAin Ubāgh This leads us to say a word about Nābigha's political activities

The poet in the course of the wars of his tribe never lost interest in his fellow tribesmen and their allies, we have mentioned his interventions on their behalf with the Ghassānids, during the celebrated war of Dāhis between ʿAbs and Dhubyān, it was his constant care to maintain the alliances contracted with the Banū Asad and Banū Tamīm In the reign of the Ghassānid Nuʿmān b Hārith Abū Karib, he had once more to intercede on behalf of the Banū Dhubyān defeated in the battle of Dhū Ukui, later, in view of his devotion to his patron and his love for his own tribe, he appealed to Nuʿmān to abandon his war on the Banū Dhubyān allied with the Banū Hunn As a result of refusing to listen to him, the king was defeated

At the court of Ghassān, Nābigha was overwhelmed with favours by ʿAmr b Hārith and later by his successor Nuʿmān He celebrates the former's generosity in a *kasīda* full of gratitude (Derenbourg, III) and his elegy on the death of Nuʿmān (Derenbourg, XXIV) is characterized by deep emotion

In spite of his luxurious life, Nābigha felt his heart and his thoughts turning towards al Hīra and its king Therefore on the death of Nuʿmān b Hārith Abū Karīb he decided to return to al Hīra to attempt to regain the favour of the son of al-Mundhir

Learning that Nuʿmān was ill, he set out accompanied by two Fazārīs, Manthūr b Zabbān and Saiyār b ʿAmr, friends of the prince, when they arrived at al Hīra, Nuʿmān had recovered Hearing of the arrival of his two friends, he had a tent of leather pitched for them and sent them a woman singer to entertain them He himself often came to visit them One evening at a party the singer sang Nābigha's poem "O abode of Maiya" (*Diwān*, 1), the prince delighted exclaimed "That is an excellent poem!" The Fazārīs thereupon seized the opportunity to intercede on behalf of Nābigha and the generous prince forgave the poet A little later Nuʿmān was put to death by order of the Sāsānian king Kisrā Parwīz for having refused to give him one of his relatives as a wife Nābigha lamented his patron and retired to his tribe We do not know when he died

Before giving an estimate of Nābigha as a poet, we have still to discuss his religion Derenbourg makes him a monotheist, and in support of his opinion quotes a number of verses in which the poet speaks of God, of the feast of palms, of the cross of Zawiā' On the other hand, Cheikho thinks he was a Christian We find, he says (*Christianisme en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Bairūt 1923, p 429—430), in the poems of Nābigha evidence of his belief in God, of his religion and piety, but the arguments are not numerous or of great cogency a vague mention of God, of David and his son Solomon, of priests present at the obsequies of Mundhir, of the cross of Zawiā' As a matter of fact, Nābigha was a pagan and there is nothing Christian in his poems The allusions in his poems, even if we accept them as authentic, are in reality only rather faded memories of the Christian ceremonies which the poet had witnessed at al Hira, and Ghassān and a distant echo of the religious ideas current in the peninsula at this period As to the word Allāh, it is undoubtedly the result of a substitution for al Lāt [q v] made at a later date by some Muslim purist

Nābigha al-Dhubyānī holds a high position among the poets of ancient Arabia, he is unanimously placed "in the first rank of poets"

In our opinion he possesses in a high degree the two qualities which make a great poet sensitiveness and imagination To sincerity of feeling, he adds splendour of imagery and freshness of expression In him ideas and words, feeling and turn of phrase, matter and form are in perfect harmony His satires are often bitter, ironical and scathing

He is also an artist who skilfully uses all resources, all effects and all artifices His verse is compact, solid and uniform and readily impresses itself on the memory with the idea which it expresses Of course it is not without its faults we find a few weaknesses and examples of lack of care

Tāhā Husain (*al-Shiʿr al-ǧāhilī*, Cairo 1926) has recently raised the question once more of the authenticity of the poems of Nābigha and other pre-Islāmic poets Rejecting all that has been handed down about it he regards the old poetry as apocryphal The discussion of this question however, as can readily be understood, lies outside the scope of this article

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(MAURICE CHEMOUL)

NABOB [See NĀ'IB]

NĀBULUS, a town in central Palestine, the name of which is derived from that of Flavia Neapolis built in honour of Vespasian Its Old Testament predecessor was Shechem, which however lay more to the east, on the site of the present village of Balāta (the name is explained by S Klein, in *Z D P V*, xxxv 38 *sq*, cf R Hartmann, *ibid*, xxxiii 175 *sq*, as "platanus", from the evidence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux and the *Midrash Gen rb*, c 81, § 3) According to Eusebius, the place where the old town stood was pointed out in a suburb of Neapolis The correctness of this identification of the site of Shechem has now been completely proved by Sellin's excavations, and this also explains how the old name did not as usual drive out the late Greek one In the time of the Arab writers, the name Shechem was long forgotten and what they tell us refers to Neapolis Nābulus

Nābulus is in a long valley (running from east to west) formed by two chains of hills, on the south side Garizim, Arabic Djabal al-Tūr or al-Kiblī (2,900 feet high), on the north side Ebal, Arabic Djabal Eslāmīya or al-Shamālī (3,140 feet high) G Holscher (*Z D P V*, xxxiii 98) refers the older name of Neapolis Mabartha (Mamortha) in Pliny and Josephus (i e "crossing", *maʿbarta*) to the low saddle running right across the valley The town with its 22 springs is unusually rich in water, which is heard running everywhere and produces a very luxuriant vegetation Where the road from the south turns westwards into the valley there is a well with the ruins of a church Unanimous tradition since the fourth century A D locates here Jacob's well and it is undoubtedly the same as is mentioned in John IV 5 About a thousand yards to the north is a building where tradition locates Joseph's grave

In the post-exilic period Shechem belonged to the territory of the mixed people of the Samaritans whose capital it became after they had built on the hill of Garizim (the Samaritan text of Deut XXVII 5 has this name instead of Ebal) a temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem They were continually at strife with the Jews and in the end John Hyrcanus

in 129 B C destroyed Shechem and its temple At a later date this always turbulent people was equally hostile to the Romans, which caused Vespasian to attack them on Garizim when a large number were slain Christianity gradually spread in the country and Neapolis became a bishopric The result was that the Samaritans now turned their arms against the Christians and treated them with great cruelty After a deadly raid by them, the Byzantine emperor Zeno (474—491) had them driven from Garizim and built a church there They wrought still greater havoc in the time of Justinian who punished them with great severity and destroyed their synagogues while he rebuilt the churches This finally broke their spirit, many of them fled to Persia while others became Christians Their part had been played by the time when Nābulus with many other towns fell into the hands of the Muslims

The notices of the Arab authors about the town are very scanty They know that it was inhabited by Samaritans [cf AL SĀMIRĪ] and some add that, according to the Jews, they are found nowhere else, but it should be noted that Balādhurī (ed de Goeje, p 158) speaks of Samaritans in Filastīn and Urdunn Ya'kūbī mentions (p 328), Nābulus a town near two sacred hills with a population of Jews, foreigners and Samaritans Below the town is a subterranean city, hewn out of the rock Mukaddasī says "Nābulus lies in a valley between two hills, is rich in olive-trees and a stream flows through it The houses are of stone and there are mills there, the mosque in the centre has a beautiful paved courtyard" In the Crusading period Nābulus is mentioned as unfortified On Jan 23, 1120, an assembly of prelates and secular notables was held here with the object of improving the morals of the Christians Idrīsī mentions the well of Jacob where Christ had the conversation with the woman of Samaria, a fine church had then been built on the spot The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1160—1173) records that there were no Jews in Nābulus, but about 100 Kutaeans (Samaritans) who offered burned offerings on the altar on Garizim at the passover and on other feast-days His contemporary 'Alī al-Harawī says the Samaritans are very numerous He, as does Yākūt, always writes Garizim as Kazirim, a corruption which we already have in the "Agazaren" of the pilgrim of Bordeaux A terrible earthquake in 1202 added to the miseries inflicted on the town by the continual wars between Franks and Muslims Under the great Mamlūk Sultān Baibars [q v] it finally passed into possession of the Muslims Yāḳūt remarks on the wealth of water and fertility of the district, here, he says, is the hill on which according to the Jews, Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac (not Ishmael as the Muslims say) When praying, the Samaritans turn towards Garizim Dimashkī says that Nābulus is like a palace surrounded by gardens, he mentions the pilgrimages of the Samaritans to Garizim where they sacrificed lambs The Muslims had a fine mosque in the town, where the Kur'ān was recited day and night According to Khalīl al-Zāhirī (d 872=1467), the area included 300 villages

The people of Nābulus retained their unfriendly character and fondness for rebellion so that the town was less visited by pilgrims Only the modern period has brought order and greater security, but even now the dislike of the Samaritans to strangers as spectators during their passover sacrifices may give rise to trouble

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AL-NĀBULUSĪ [See 'Abd al-Ghanī]

NADHĪR (A, plural *nudhur*, Sūra liii 57), used as a nomen agentis from *n dh r* iv, with the meaning of warner, sometimes also as an infinitive, e g Sūra lxvii 17 The plural *nudhur* is also found in the sense of an infinitive, e g Sūra lxxvii 6 The term occurs frequently in the Kur'ān, it is even said to be synonymous with *rasūl*, its opposite is *bashīr*, *mubashshir* Nadhīr as well as *bashīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings (cf Sūra xvii 106, xxv 58, xxxiii 44, xlviii 8 *mubashshiran wa nadhīran*) As an epithet it is used especially in connection with Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and with Muhammad himself who thereby receives the stamp of a second Noah (cf Sūra xxvi 115, l 51, lxxi 2 with Sūra xxix 49, xxxv 21, xxxviii 70, lxvii 26) Sometimes Muhammad emphasises his being only a warner (Sūra xlvi 8), or his being the first warner who was sent to his people (Sūra xxviii 46, xxxiv 43)

The term is found in hadīth apart from the common use, known from the Kur'ān, in the curious expression *nadhīr 'uryān* (Bukhārī, *Ri<u>k</u>āk*, bāb 26, *I'tisām*, bāb 2, Muslim, *Fadā'il*, trad 16) with which Muhammad denotes himself The tradition runs as follows "Myself and my mission are like a man who went to some people saying I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my eyes and I am the naked warner" Several anecdotic stories are told by the commentators in explanation of this expression It is also said by some of them, that in early Arabia a man who saw an approaching danger, stripped himself of his clothes and wound them around his head in order to warn his tribespeople — The meaning Nazirite which in several dictionaries is given to the term nadhīr in the first place does not occur in the Kur'ān, nor in hadīth, nor in *Lisān al-'Arab* nor in *Tādj al-'Arūs*, it is, however, used in translations of the Bible

Bibliography *Lisān al-'Arab*, vii 54 *sqq*, *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iii 561 *sq*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iv 136, Kastallānī, ix 305, Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Sahīh*, Cairo 1283, v 71 (A J Wensinck)

NADHR, vow, was taken over into Islām from the pre-Muhammadan Arabs and underwent modification by the new religion The idea of dedication is associated with the root *n-dh r* which is also found in South Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic and to some extent in Assyrian An animal could

be the object of dedication among the Arabs For example, they dedicated by *nadhr* certain of their sheep etc, for the *ʿatīra* feast in Radjab (*Lisān al-ʿArab* and Djawharī, s v), the dedication which was expressed in solemn formulae signified that the animals were removed from the mundane sphere and placed in the sacred one

As a rule, a sacrifice was dedicated in order to obtain good fortune in a particular respect The promise to dedicate an animal when the herd had reached the number of a hundred (*op cit*) had an effect on the prosperity of the animals because the word anticipated the fact According to the story, ʿAbd al-Muttalib similarly dedicated a son to be slain beside the Kaʿba if he should have ten sons and they grew up (Ibn Hishām, p 97 *sq*) but for his *nadhr* 100 camels were substituted — A childless woman could also vow if she had a son to dedicate him to the sanctuary (*ibid*, p 76, perhaps this story is a literary borrowing) According to the *hadīth* of Maimūna bint Kardam, her father promised to sacrifice 50 sheep if he had a son (Yākūt, i 754, Abū Dāwūd, *Aimān*, bāb 19, Ibn Mādja, *Kafārāt*, bāb 18) If a child was sick, its mother could dedicate it by a vow as *ahmas* (from *humis*) if it recovered (Azraḳī, p 123,8 *sqq*) Escape from every difficulty was sought by a *nadhr* During a battle a camel used to be dedicated as a sacrifice (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 39) The traveller in the desert used to make a vow on account of the danger (see the verse in Iane and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s v) In distress at sea one promised offerings to God or a saint or vowed to do something oneself, such as fasting (Sūra x 23, xxix 65, Abū Dāwūd, *Aimān*, bāb 20, see also Goldziher, *Muh Stud*, ii 311) During a drought ʿOmar vowed to taste neither *samn*, nor milk nor meat till the rain fell (Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, i 2573,12 *sq*)

Even if a sacrifice were promised, the vow also affected the person concerned, as we see from the fact that he had his hair shorn not only on the hadjdj but also, for example, when sacrificing after a journey (Ibn Hishām, p 15, 749, Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 324, 381, 429 *sq*, Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, bāb 125), for the cutting of the hair ended, as in the case of the Israelite Nazirite, the state of consecration The vow therefore had always more or less the character of a self dedication This aspect was often quite prominent Ordinary sacred duties such as participation in the hadjdj were assumed as a consecration by nadhr (Sūra xxii 30) at which special obligations were assumed e g to go to the sanctuary on foot, or barefooted (Bukhārī, *Djazāʾ al-Said*, bāb 27, Tirmidhī, *al Nudhūr wa ʾl Aimān*, bāb 17) The sacred condition of *iʿtikāf* was assumed as a nadhr, thus before his conversion ʿOmar vowed to make a nightly *iʿtikāf* in the Meccan sanctuary (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 54, *Aimān*, bāb 29) Such a vow to separate oneself from everyday life in some special way was very frequent among the ancient Arabs, for Labīd (p 17,17) compares an antelope buck alone among the bushes to one fulfilling his vow (*kāḍī ʾl nudhūr*)

This isolation had the definite object of spiritual concentration and strengthening the soul and thereby influencing the deity Abstinence was therefore practised in preparation for great deeds, especially in war The Arabs "touched no perfume, married no woman, drank no wine and avoided all pleasures when they were seeking vengeance, until they attained it" (*Hamāsa*, p 447, v 5 schol), avoidance of wine (*Hamāsa*, p 237, v 4 *sqq*) and women (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xv 161, 2nd ed, p 154) is specially mentioned These abstentions like the hadjdj rites and the *iʿtikāf* are also the objects of a nadhr The form of this vow is for example "wine and women are *harām* to me until I have slain 100 Asadīs" (*Aghānī*, viii 68, 2nd ed, p 65) A definite term may be fixed, such as drinking no wine for 30 days in order to obtain vengeance (Kais b al-Khatīm, ed Kowalski, iv 28) Forms of abstention are not to eat meat, not to wash the head, so that the *djanāba* is not removed (*Aghānī*, ix 149, 2nd ed, p 141, xiii 69, 2nd ed, p 66, Ibn Hishām, p 543, 980, *Hudhailiten*, ed Wellhausen, N° 189), not to anoint oneself (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p 201) Refraining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse are mentioned together (*Aghānī*, vi 99, 2nd ed, p 97, viii 68, 2nd ed, p 66, Ibn Hishām, p 543, Wākidī Wellhausen, p 73, 94) There is also evidence of complete fasting (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p 105, 402) The abstentions, the offering and the deed to be done form the content of the nadhr It is said *nadhartu ʿalā nafsī* and *nadhartu mālī* (Djawharī and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s v) as well as *nadhara damᵃ fulān* (ʿAntara, p 21, 84, Kais al Rukaiyāt, p 52, 5) After a wish has been fulfilled a vow of gratitude may also be taken (Wākidī, p 290)

The consecration placed the person making the vow in connection with the divine powers, the nadhr was an *ʿahd* (Sūra ix 76, xxxiii 27, xlviii 10), whereby he pledged himself A neglect of the *nadhr* was a sin against the deity (Imraʾ al Kais, p 51, 10) The sacred obligation of living made this a nadhr or (synonymous) *nahb*, which one should fulfil (*ḳaḍā*), instead of wandering aimlessly (Sūra xxxiii 23, Wākidī, p 120, Iabīd, p 41,1, Kumait, *Hāshimīyāt*, ed Horovitz, p 4, 48) The importance of the binding pledge gradually becomes more prominent (cf *Lisān al-ʿArab*, where *nadhara* is explained by *awdjaba*, ironically *Asmaʿīyāt*, p 7,2), the emphasis on the material dedication gradually became less The abstinences mentioned receive their importance on the one hand from works meritorious to the deity, on the other from the unpleasant deprivations, by which the person taking the vow disciplines himself Both points of view are seen in the examples quoted The releasing of slaves or divorcing of wives often form the subject of a kind of vow by which a man pledges himself under certain conditions A man may also vow to sacrifice all his camels if he is lying (*Hamāsa*, p 667, v 3) The strict obligation inherent in the nadhr makes it closely related to the oath [see KASAM]

One can also bind one's family by a vow A mother swears not to comb her hair or to seek shade until her son or daughter fulfils her wish (*Aghānī*, xviii 205, 2nd ed, p 205, Ibn Hishām, p 319, ii 90) The strength of this kind of "conjuration" is based on the relationship between the two partners If a dying man vows that his tribe shall slay 50 to avenge him, this binds the tribe (*Hamāsa*, p 442 *sq*) There thus arose in Islām the problem of how far unfulfilled vows had to be fulfilled by the descendants (Muslim, *Nadhr*, trad 1, Bukhārī, *Wasāya*, bāb 19, cf Goldziher, *Ẓāhirīten*, p 80)

In Islām the vow and the oath are treated together In the Kur'ān it is prescribed that unconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in an oath may be broken and expiated (Sūra ii 225, v 91) The context shows that the reference is to vows of abstinence, especially relating to food and women Sūra ii 226—227 in continuation says that those who bind themselves by *īlā'* not to touch a woman should either break the vow after 4 months or pronounce the formula of divorce The breach of the oath then requires the *kaffāra* The *ẓihār* formula is absolutely forbidden (Sūra lviii 1—5, cf xxxiii 4), it is a great sin in the eyes of the law, while the *īlā'* is not a sin (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p 284 *sqq* , Sachau, *Muh Recht*, p 13, 68 *sqq*) The "release from the oath" promised in Sūra lxvi 2 refers to a vow of continence The same *kaffāra* holds for a broken vow as for an oath It is probable in this case that we have Jewish influence (cf *Mishna*, *Nedārīm*) but the principle of releasing oneself from a vow by doing something else is certainly also originally Arab But with Islām comes the view that *nudhūr* are useless because they cannot influence God (Bukhārī, *Aimān*, bāb 26, *Kadar*, bāb 6, Muslim, *Nadhr*, trad 2) Thus we find hadīths which urge the fulfilment of vows as well as those that forbid them Following hints in the hadīths, we find a systematic division into vows of piety (*nadhr al tabarrur*), which are intended to acquire merit by a pious deed (*ṭā'a*), and vows by oaths which, since they are conditioned, serve to incite, prevent or strengthen The latter are called *nadhr al ladjādj wa 'l-ghadab* They are deprecated but must be treated like oaths Their matter must not be sinful, according to some, such a vow is invalid, according to others, it is valid but must be broken Their matter must not already be an individual duty (*wādjib 'aini*) The person taking the vow must, like him taking an oath, be *mukallaf* and be acting of his own free-will

Bibliography J Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, p 122 *sqq* , W Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, ed S A Cook (1927), p 332, 481 *sqq* , Th W Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, p 268 *sq* , Khalil b Ishāk, *Mukhtasar*, transl I Guidi (1919), p 371—383, Johs Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, index, s v Gelubde, W Gottschalk, *Das Gelubde nach alterer arabischer Auffassung*, Berlin 1919, the hadīth-material quoted here and A J Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v Vow (Johs Pedersen)

AL-NADĪM, Abu 'l-Faradj Muhammad b Abī Ya'kūb Ishāk al-Warrāk al-Nadīm al Baghdādī, Arabic bibliographer, compiled the *Fihrist* in 377 (987—988) Little is known about his life According to a statement which goes back to Ibn al-Nadjdjār's (d 643 = 1245) *Dhail Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (see Flügel's edition, p xii , note 2), he died in 385, according to another statement (see Ibn Hadjar al 'Askalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, v 72) probably 388 (? the figure is damaged in the Haidarābād edition) Both dates are in contradiction to the fact that in the *Fihrist* events of 392 (p 87, 6) and "after 400" (p 169, 13) are mentioned, unless these are additions by another hand A clue to the date of his birth is given from his account (p 237, 6) of a meeting with a learned man in the year 340, this suggests 325 as the latest date for his birth Nothing is known of his family There is no reason to connect him with Ishāk b Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī al-Nadīm (d 235 = 849) or with Yahyā b al-Nadīm, a pupil of al-Balādhurī (d 279 = 892) His father was a bookseller (*warrāk*) (p 303, 24, 318, 6, 351, 14) Whether the epithet *al-Nadīm* "table companion", i e member of the circle of a caliph or other great man, refers to the father or to a remoter ancestor is unknown It is not impossible that it refers to the author of the *Fihrist* himself, against this however is the fact that he is usually quoted as Ibn al-Nadīm That Baghdād, if not his birthplace, was at least his place of abode is evident from passages, like p 337, 26, 349, 17 (see below) and the frequent mention of Baghdādīs among his acquaintances (p 132, 6, 219, 25, 236, 12, 266, 2) He several times mentions a stay in Mōsul (p 86, 12, 160, 2, 190, 2, 265, 23, cf also p 283, 2) We know nothing of other journeys by al-Nadīm (Dār al-Rūm, p 349, 14 is the name of the Latin quarter in Baghdād as V v Rosen has shown) His teachers and authorities also point to Baghdād He most frequently quotes the authority of the grammarian al-Sīrāfī (d 368) (all the quotations can be found in the latter's *Akhbār al Nahwiyīn al-Basriyīn*) Personal relations are indicated by p 56, 13 and the mention of his sons (p 31, 23, 45, 11, 62, 23) Al-Nadīm also studied under Ibn al-Munadjdjim (p 144, 11) He gives traditions heard from Muhammad b Yūsuf al-Nākit (p 24, 14, 25, 8) He also gives traditions from Abu 'l Faradj al Isfahānī (p 141, 17 = *Kitāb al-Aghānī*³, i 5 *sq*) and from Abu 'l-Fath b al-Nahwī (p 145, 25) celebrated for the reliability of his transcripts (p 145, 25) He also mentions as his teacher Abū Sulaimān al Mantikī (p 241, 14) whom we know from Abū Hayyān's *Mukābasāt* He was friendly also with the logician Ibn al-Djarrāh (p 244, 6, 245, 12) and with the Christian philosopher Ibn al-Khammār (p 245, 12) and with Yahyā b 'Adī (p 264, 8) This circle of friends is very much in keeping with al Nadīm's friendly nature, the breadth of his intellectual interests, his intelligent interest in other religions and his tolerance, which finds expression in *Makāla*'s 5 and 9 of his work That he was a Shi'ī and Mu'tazilī did not escape his biographers (cf Goldziher, in *Z D M G* , xxxvi 278 *sqq*), thus he uses *khāssī* and *'āmmī* in the sense of Shi'ī and Sunnī respectively, calls the Sunnī traditionists *al-Hashwīya* (p 231, 12), claims many of their leaders for the Zaidīya (p 178, 9, 25), says that al Shāfi'ī was a man of decidedly Shi'ī outlook (p 209, 18) and praises al-Wākidī (p 98, 20) as a Shi'ī Shi'īs were numerous among his friends (p 139, 27 and p 154, 25) and acquaintances (p 178, 6, 190, 2, 11, 197, 11, 198, 4) Al-Nadīm like his father was a bookseller This is nowhere expressly stated but is evident from the whole plan of his work in which he faithfully records not only scientific literature but also the numerous dīwāns of contemporary poets and the vast mass of anonymous light literature, love stories, fairy tales and books of adventure, indeed even works of a popular nature neglected alike by scholars and bibliophiles, books on good manners, cookery books, books on poison, books dealing with hunting and sport, down to collections of farces, books on magic and on prophecy, in brief everything that was on the Baghdād book market in the fourth

(tenth) century That he was a bookseller is also indicated by the frequent particulars about the size of the books dealt with (cf especially, p 159, 18), about copies in the hand of famous scholars, about the demand for books (p 70, 5, 8, 77, 14, 79, 23) and about the book trade (p 271, 5, 359, 20) He several times mentions other booksellers (p 264, 8, 299, 4, 355, 12)

The *Fihrist* exists in two recensions (on the manuscripts, see *Z D M G*, lxxxiv 111 *sqq* and the literature there given, to these may now be added a fragment in Tonk and a private manuscript in Medīna) Both were made in the year 377 (987) The longer contains ten *makālāt*, of which the first six deal with the literature of Islām (1 Kurʾān, 2 grammar, 3 history etc , 4 poetry, 5 dogmatics, 6 law), while the last four deal with non-Islāmic literature (7 philosophy and "ancient sciences", 8 light literature, 9 history of religion, 10 alchemy) The shorter version contains only the four last *makālāt* of the longer one, i e the Arabic translations from the Greek, Syriac, Persian and Sanskrit and the other literature based on these models It is mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Stambul, ii 211) under the title *Fawz al-ʿUlūm* The two recensions have in common an introductory section on the various forms of writing — A survey of the contents of the *Fihrist* follows the preface (see also Flugel, in *Z D M G*, xiii 190 *sqq*) The arrangement there given is strictly adhered to in the book The special quality of the book and its value lies in the fact that it gives the Arabic literature of the first four centuries in a bibliographical arrangement while the biographical method is the only one used in other contemporary sources Al Nadīm, it is true, as a rule treats of his subjects in biographical sketches but it is the list of works of the author that is the main thing Sometimes a branch of literature is treated purely bibliographically under its various branches (e g the literature of Kurʾānic exegesis, p 33, 20—37, 11, also p 87, 88, 170, 171) This arrangement was necessary with the anonymous literature, especially in the eighth *makāla* (p 305 *sqq*) A further step towards treatment from the point of view of the literary historian is found in the brief introductions and surveys (e g on the pre ʿOthmānic recensions of the Kurʾān, p 26 *sqq*, on the beginnings of Arabic grammar, p 40 *sqq*) In the last four *makālāt*, such sections (e g on the origins of philosophy, of medicine, of alchemy, the beginning of the translated literature, the origin of the "1 000 tales") are so extensive that they have the character of a regular history of literature to a much greater degree than the more bibliographical first six *makālāt* The ninth *makāla* occupies a special position, it is a treatise on the history of religion in which the bibliographical element is not at all prominent — The sources used by al-Nadīm are mainly of a literary nature He prefers to use works in copies from the hand of reliable copyists He comparatively rarely quotes personal authority — Although a younger contemporary of al-Nadīm's, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d 418 = 1027), prepared an improved edition of the work, it seems at first to have had only slight influence The earliest author to make considerable use of the first four *makālāt* (in al-Maghribī's edition) was Yāḳūt (d 626 = 1228) (see Bergsträsser, in *Z S*, ii 185) He claims to have consulted a copy in al-Nadīm's own hand, as does the lexicographer al Saghānī, d 650 (1252) (see *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii 83 pu) Ibn al-Kifṭī (d 624 = 1226) and Ibn Abī Usaibiʿa (d 668 = 1269) copied much from the *Fihrist* In later times it is only occasionally quoted, e g by al-Dhahabī (d 748 = 1347) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d 852 = 1448) and lastly by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (d 1067 = 1656) and al-Khafādjī (d 969 = 1561) — Al-Nadīm also wrote a *Kitāb al-Awsāf wa 'l-Tashbīhāt* (*Fihrist*, p 12, 2) which has not come down to us

Bibliography *Das Kitāb al-Fihrist* mit Anmerkungen hrsg v G Flügel, 2 vols , Leipzig 1871—1872, reprinted Cairo 1348 (also contains the text of the Leyden fragments published by Houtsma, in *W Z K M*, iv 217 *sqq*) A new edition is in preparation for the *Bibliotheca Islamica* — The earlier literature is given in the preface and in the notes to Flugel's edition — Yākūt, *Irshād al Arīb*, ed Margoliouth, vi 408, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Haidarābād 1331, v 78, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 147, J Fück, *Eine arab Literaturgeschichte aus dem 10 Jahrhundert* (*Z D M G*, lxxxiv 11 *sqq*), H Ritter, *Zu den Handschriften des Fihrist* (*Isl*, xvii 15 *sqq*) Considerable sections of the *Fihrist* are dealt with separately in the following works A Muller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in d arab Überlieferung*, Halle 1872, Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis im Fihrist* (*Abh z Gesch d math Wiss*, vi, 1892), do, *ibid*, x, 1900 and xiv, 1902, M Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen a d Griech* (s *Z D M G*, l 371 *sqq*), Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, i 331 *sqq* , Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, Paris 1893, iii 26 *sqq* (JOHANN FÜCK)

NADĪM, AḤMAD, an Ottoman poet, born in Stambul, the son of a judge named Muḥammad Bey who had come from Merzifun His grandfather (according to Gibb, *H O P*, iv 30) was a military judge named Muṣṭafā Aḥmad Rafīḳ mentions as his great-grandfather Kara-Čelebi-zāde [q v] Maḥmūd Efendi who also was a military judge The genealogy given by Aḥmad Rafīḳ is however wrong because he confuses Karamānī Muḥammad Pasha [q v] with Rūm Muḥammad Pasha The statement that Aḥmad Nadīm is descended from Djalāl al Dīn is therefore simply the result of confusion Little is known of his life He was a *muderis*, later on intimate terms with Aḥmad III and his grandvizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [q v] He probably got his *lakab* al-Nadīm from this friendship Latterly he held the office of librarian in the library founded by his patron Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha On hearing of the end of Ibrāhīm Pasha and the deposition of the sultān, Nadīm lost his life at the beginning of October 1730 (Rabīʿ I, 1143) in a horrible way, while escaping from the mob leaving the grand-vizier's palace he fell from the roof and was killed He was buried in Ayās Pasha in Pera beside the historian Findiklīlī Silāhdār Muḥammad Agha

Aḥmad Nadīm is regarded as one of the greatest of Ottoman poets, who is still appreciated for his pure language, free from foreign additions. Many literary historians have discussed his merits as a poet (cf the specimens collected by Gibb, *H O P*, iv 30 *sqq*) His collected poems (*Dīwān*, printed Būlāk, n d , a more recent critical edition with introductions by Aḥmad Rafīḳ Bey and Muḥammad Fu'ād Bey appeared in 1338—1340 in Stambul, there are manuscripts of the

Dīwān in Europe in Munich, London and Vienna) enjoys great popularity Nadīm translated into Turkish the history of Munedjdjim bashi Ahmad Efendi (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 234 *sq*, cf thereon *J A*, ser 7, xiii 272), he was also one of the Turkish translators of ʿAmi's history (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 259 *sqq*, the edict relating to this is in Ahmad Rafik, *Hicri onikinci asirda Istanbul hayati, 1100—1200*, Stambul 1930, p 84 *sq*) but the MS seems to be lost

Bibliography Ahmad Rafik's preface to the new edition of the *Dīwān*, *Sidjill i ʿothmānī*, iv 549 (very superficial, here his grandfather is said to have been a certain *Sadr* Muslih al Dīn and his father the judge Muhammad), Brūsalī Muhammad Fu'ād, *ʿOthmānlī Mu'ellifleri*, ii 453 *sq*, J von Hammer Purgstall, *G O D*, iv 310 *sqq* (who does not appreciate him highly), Gibb, *H O P*, iv 30 *sqq*

(Franz Babinger)

NĀDIR SHĀH, king of Persia (1147—1160 = 1736—1747)

Origins Nādir b Imām kuli b Nadhr kuli belonged to the Kīlīkli clan of the Turkoman tribe of the Afshārs, of which a section had settled in northern Khurāsān, and was born on the 28th Muharram 1100 (Oct 22, 1688) at Kūbkān Entering the service of Tahmāsp II, he was called Tahmāsp-kuli Khān but after his coronation his original name was improved to Nādir, "the rare one" At an early date Nādir distinguished himself in the incessant fighting with the Turkomans of Nasā, the Čamishgazak Kurds of Khabūshān (Kūčān), the Ozbeks, the Tatars of Marw and even against his Afshār fellow tribesmen The little nucleus around Nādir consisted of his Afshār relatives, some Kurds of Daragaz and Abiward, and 300—400 families of Djalāyir Turkomans with their chief Tahmāsp kuli Wakil

Fighting in Khurāsān During the Afghān invasion of Persia, Mashhad was occupied by Malik Mahmūd, a scion of the Sistān family Nādir fought against Malik Mahmūd at first on his own initiative When the Safawid Tahmāsp II, driven from his other lands, arrived in Khurasān, Nādir very cleverly supplanted the commander in chief Fath ʿAlī Khān Kādjār and on 16th Rabiʿ II (Dec 22) captured Mashhad with the help of treachery Henceforth it became his headquarters There were already signs of a breach between Nādir and Tahmāsp II at this time

The Shāh urged Nādir to set out against his enemies the Ghilzā'ī Afghāns but Nādir wished first of all to dispose of the nearer enemy, the Abdālī Afghāns of Herāt, but the campaigns of 1728 (against the Abdālī and the Turkomans) had no success Nādir however was able to extend the sphere of his activities, he ousted from Astarabād and Māzandarān the governors appointed by Tahmāsp and came into conflict with the Russians and the Ghilzā'ī Afghāns

The Abdālī In the meanwhile trouble had broken out in Herāt between Allāh yār Khān and Dhu 'l-Fikār Khān Nādir re established Allāh-yār Khān but transplanted many tribes to Khurāsān (1141 = 1727)

The Ghilzā'ī At this time Ashraf Ghilzā'ī laid siege to Simnān while his general Saydāl had gone to Bistām On the 6th Rabiʿ I (Nov 27, 1729), Nādir defeated the Afghāns on the banks of the river Mihmāndūst This victory he followed up by others

Nādir in S W Persia Tahmāsp appealed to Nādir to complete the deliverance of the country Leaving Shīrāz and crossing Lūristān, Nādir arrived in Burūdjird where the Shāh sent him a crown set with precious stones and a commission (*ʿahd nāma*) as wālī of all Khurāsān along with Māzandarān, Yazd, Kirmān and Sīstān (cf also ʿAlī Hazīn, p 189) Tahmāsp also gave his sister Gawhar-shād to Nādir and betrothed his other sister Fāṭima-sultān to Ridā-kuli Mīrzā

The Ottomans who then occupied the whole of western Persia and the greater part of Transcaucasia were reluctant to leave Persia Nādir occupied Nihāwand, defeated the Turks at Malāyir, retook Hamadān and on the 27th Muharram 1143 (Aug 13, 1730) Tabrīz was retaken

Nādir returns to the east Nādir learned in Tabrīz that Dhu 'l-Fikār Abdālī having driven Allāh yār Khān from Herāt was fighting Nādir's brother Ibrāhīm Khān under the walls of Mashhad Nādir at once set out for Khurāsān, crossing the steppe of the Yomut Turkomans and towards the end of Rabiʿ II (Nov 1730) was at Mashhad where he reviewed 56,000 families of the tribes transplanted from other provinces

On the 4th Shawwāl (April 12, 1731) Nādir was 3 farsakhs from Herāt In the month of August the Abdālī restored Nādir's candidate Allāh-yār Khan but the latter regaining contact with his tribe now rebelled It was not till Ramadān 1, 1144 (Feb 27, 1732) that Herāt was taken

Failure of Tahmāsp II Taking advantage of the absence of his commander-in-chief, the Shāh resumed the initiative in the military operations and in Djumadā II 1143 (end of Dec 1730) set out against the Ottomans Fearing the return of Nādir the Ottomans on Jan 10, 1732 signed a preliminary treaty at Baghdād by which the Persians returned only the lands south of the Araxes Later on Jan 21—Feb 1, 1732 the Shāh's representatives signed at Rasht a treaty with the Russians by which the latter bound themselves to evacuate the lands south of Sālyān (on the Kur) while the return of Bākū and Darband was made dependent on the reconquest of Transcaucasia by the Persians

Deposition of Tahmāsp II Nādir was indignant at the peace with the Turks signed after a defeat Setting aside the Shāh's authority, Nādir Shāh denounced the treaty and appointed his own governors everywhere Tahmāsp was deported to Khurāsān and his son ʿAbbās III, an infant in the cradle, proclaimed king on the 17th Rabiʿ I 1145 (July 7, 1732)

First campaign against the Ottomans Having punished the Bakhtiyāris and the Kurds, Nādir occupied Zohāb and besieged Baghdād (Jan 1733) Ahmad Pāshā made the negotiations drag on until the army commanded by Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā had time to come to Mesopotamia On 6th Safar 1146 (July 19, 1733) Nādir Shāh lost the battle fought on the Tigris and returned to Hamadān via Bahrīz and Mandaldjīn (Mandalī)

Arriving there on 22nd Safar (Aug 4) Nādir set out again for Zohāb on the 22nd Rabiʿ II (Oct 2) and then attacked Memish Pāshā who had occupied the pass of Agh darband (1st Djumādā II = Nov 9, 1733) Then Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā with the bulk of his army intervened in the battle but lost it and had his head cut off The Ottomans hastened to abandon Ādharbāidjān By the 15th Radjab (Dec 22) Nādir was already on his way

to Persia via Baghsāy (Bā kusāyč), Bayāt, Bayān and Shūshtar

Mahmūd Balūč The reason of this hurried move was the rebellion raised by Mahmūd Khān Balūč in S W Persia Mahmūd Khān was quickly driven from the pass of Shūlistān and on 27th Sha'bān (Feb 1, 1734) Nadir reoccupied Shīrāz

Campaign in Transcaucasia In Isfahān Nādir received the Turkish ambassador 'Abd al-Karīm Efendi and informed him that the retrocession of Transcaucasia was a *sine qua non* of peace On the other hand, prince S D Golitsine was received at Isfahān on May 20–31, 1734 and thereafter by Nādir's order accompanied him everywhere (his itinerary in Lerch Schnese) On the 12th Muharram 1147 (June 17, 1734) Nādir left Isfahan for Ādharbāidjān and as the Turks did not reply, Nadir began by attacking the Daghestān chief [Ghāzī-Kumūk] Surkhāy whom the Porte had appointed governor of Shīrwān Lahmāsp Kuli Djalāyir defeated the Daghestānians near Dawa-batan (in the district of Kabala) while Nādir to cut off the retreat penetrated into the heart of the extremely difficult region of Ghāzī Kumūk In spite of the exploits of the Abdālī the success gained in Daghestān was only partial for Surkhāy had escaped to the north

On 6th Djumādā II (Nov 3, 1734) Nādir was before the walls of Gandja, which was defended by 'Alī Pāshā The siege necessitated considerable works and prince Golitsine procured Russian engineers for Nādir On March 21, 1735 a treaty was signed at Gandja by which Russia and Persia became practically allies

On 1st Muharram 1148 (May 26, 1735) Nādir went first to Kars but the encounter with 'Abd Allāh Pāshā Koprulū-zāde took place near Erīwān on the plain of Baghāwaird, on 26th Muharram (June 18, 1735) the Ottomans were defeated Gandja there upon capitulated on the 17th Safar (July 8) and Tiflis on 22nd Rabī' I (Aug 13)

Nādir returns to Daghestān Via Tiflis [q v], from which 6,000 families were transferred to Khurāsān, Nādir attacked the Lezgī of Djār and Tala (north of the Alazan) The Khān of the Crimea Kaplan Girāy, who had in the meanwhile advanced as far as Darband and had placed his nominees everywhere, withdrew to the Crimea and Nādir endeavoured to pacify Daghestān but Surkhāy still evaded capture

Nādir proclaimed king On 13th Ramadān (Jan 27, 1736) Nādir came to Mughān [q v] where in the meanwhile the governors and notables of the province had assembled It was explained to them that Nādir, having liberated Persia, wished to retire to Khurāsān and that the delegates were free to put the government in the hands of Tahmāsp II or 'Abbās III "who were alive" Nādir finally accepted the crown but on condition that the Persians abandoned the Shī'a practices introduced by Ismā'īl I which were "contrary to the beliefs of Nādir's ancestors" The Persians were to form a fifth orthodox madhhab, placed under the patronage of the Imām Dja'far Sādik A document to this effect was sealed by the assembly The five clauses of the treaty to be proposed to Turkey were next drawn up 1 the Turks were to recognise the new Dja'farī rite, 2 the latter was to be given a place of prayer (*rukn*) at Mecca, 3 Persia was to send an amīr al-hadjdj every year through Syria, 4 prisoners should be exchanged and 5 ambassadors were to be exchanged after mutual approval of the appointments The formal coronation of Nādir took place on Thursday, 24th Shawwāl 1148

Kandahār This principality in which Husain Khān, brother of Mahmūd, still asserted himself remained the only black spot on the horizon Leaving Isfahān on 2nd Shawwāl (Feb 3, 1737), Nādir was before Kandahār before Nawrūz 1149 (March 1737) and had a new town built on the site of his camp (Surkha Shīr) which was called Nādirābad

Kandahār capitulated on the 2nd Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1150 (March 23, 1738) The citadel was dismantled

Expedition into India So far Nādir's military expeditions had been dictated by a desire to reestablish the old frontiers of the Safawid empire The expedition to India was provoked solely by the attraction of ill-guarded provinces and by the desire to replenish the treasury exhausted by repeated campaigns Ghaznī was occupied on the 22nd Safar 1151 (June 11, 1738), Kābul on 12th Rabī' I (June 30), Djalālabād on 8th Djumādā II (Sept 17) From the neighbourhood of the latter town, the prince Ridā-Kuli was sent back to Persia to act as regent, he and his brother Nasr Allāh were given crowns

Going via Sarčōba Nādir avoided the Khaibar Pass and took prisoner Nasīr-Khān, governor of Pēshāwar On 15th Ramadān (Dec 27) Nādir left this town He next took Lahore and reappointed the local governor Zakarīyā-Khān (a Khurāsānian) (Nasir-Khān also was restored to his post) Leaving Lahore on 26th Shawwāl (Feb 6, 1739) Nādir learned that Muhammad Shāh had reached Karnāl and was in a place between the jungle and the river He succeeded in cutting Muhammad Shāh off from his capital and hastened to attack the reinforcements which Sa'ādat-Khān (a Khurāsānian) was bringing from the province of Oudh Thus began the decisive battle of 15th Dhu 'l Ka'da 1151 (Feb 24, 1739) in which the commander-in-chief Khān Dawrān was mortally wounded and Sa'ādat-Khān captured Nādir and Muhammad Shāh entered the capital where Nadir's name was inserted in the *khuṭba* and coins struck in his name On the 15th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (March 26, 1739) a rumour spread that Nadir had been assassinated and the populace massacred 3,000—7,000 of his soldiers Next morning Nādir went to the mosque and gave the signal for the massacre of the inhabitants On 26th Dhu 'l Hidjdja (April 6) Nasr Allāh Mirzā was married to a Mughal princess On 3rd Safar 1152 (May 12, 1739) a great council was held in Dihlī in the course of which Nādir replaced the crown on the head of Muhammad Shāh but the latter had in return to cede to Nadir all the provinces north of the Indus The amount levied by Nādir cannot be estimated According to Ānandrām, who was attached to the vizier's office, it amounted to 6,000,000 rupees in specie and 500,000,000 in jewels and precious stones, including the Kōh-i Nūr diamond and the Peacock throne Large sums were distributed among the soldiers and the people of Persia exempted from taxation for three years

Nādir left Dihlī and reached Kābul on 1st Ramadān (Dec 12) Now took place one of the most remarkable of his expeditions He suddenly turned back to reduce the lord of Sind Khudā-yār Khān 'Abbāsī (a native of Siwī, cf Malcolm, *op cit*, ii 88) and going via Bangash, Lārkāna and Shahdādpūr penetrated into the desert south of

the Indus and took Khudā-yār prisoner, he had shut himself up in ʿUmarkot (north of Thar and Parkar in the province of Bombay) Having organised his Indian possessions in three provinces Nādir returned to Nādir-abād (via Sīwī and Shāl) on 7th Ṣafar (May 5, 1740)

Nādir in Turkestān Nādir returned to Herāt on 10th Rabīʿ I (June 5) and after a fortnight devoted to festivities set out for Balkh which he reached on 7th Djumādā I (July 31) Arriving before Bukhārā on 19th Djumādā II (Sept 22), Nādir treated Khān Abu 'l Faid kindly and renewed his investiture by crowning him with his own hands The Oxus was proclaimed the frontier and the Khān had to supply Nādir with 20,000 Özbegs and Turkomans, which indirectly left in the hands of the conqueror the control of the internal affairs of Bukhārā

On the 16th Radjab (Oct 7), Nādir had set out for Khwārizm The fleet followed the army The Khān II Bars of Hazārasp retired to his fortress of Khanḳāh which surrendered on 24th Shaʿbān after bombardment Finally Khīwa, the capital of the kingdom, also capitulated By 4th Shawwāl (Dec 23) Nādir had returned to Čārdjūy and entered Mashhad at the end of Shawwāl

Nādir sets out again for Transcaucasia While in India, Nādir had learned of the death of his brother Ibrāhīm Khān who had been killed by the Lazgī rebels of Djār and Tala To punish them, Nādir left Mashhad and on his way learned that the Abdālī troops who had been sent in advance had already ravaged Djār, Djawukh (?) and Akzibīr, but the pacification of Daghestān was by no means complete

An incident that followed marks the turning-point in the career of Nādir Shāh On the 28th Safar (May 15, 1741) near Kalʿa-yi Awlād (Māzandarān) an unknown man concealed in the brush wood shot at Nādir, wounding him slightly Connecting this with events in Daghestān Mahdī Khān says that the crime was committed by a slave of the son of Dilāwar Khān Tāimanī [q v] but suspicion very soon turned upon the prince Ridā-Kulī who had besides not behaved well during his regency He was sent for the time to Tihrān while Nādir continued his march via Kazwīn, Karadjadagh, Bardaʿ and Kabala

In June 1741, for the third time, Nādir entered Daghestān and remained there a year and a half The shamkhāl of Tarkhū, the *usmī* of the Kara-Kaytaḳ and Surkhāy Khān of the Ghāzī Kumūk came over to Nādir but new difficulties kept cropping up Relations with Russia became somewhat strained for the Russian representatives suspected Nādir of designs on the northern Caucasus As a precaution the Russians in May 1742 concentrated 42,000 men at Kizlar (s Butbow, 1 220) Cares were undermining the health and character of Nādir At the beginning of Dec 1742 when the camp was at Bashlu the heir to the throne Ridā-Kulī, denounced by the author of the attempt on Nādir in Māzandarān, was blinded after a form of trial Nādir himself was thoroughly upset by this incident Rebellion was now threatening everywhere (in Khwārizm and in Balkh)

Third campaign against the Turks In Dhu 'l-Kaʿda I 1742, the Turkish ambassador brought from Constantinople a letter from the Sulṭān refusing to recognise the fifth *madhhab* Nādir then reminded the Sulṭān that the whole of Persian territory had not been regained from Turkey and added that he soon would take the field to make his own terms

Nādir left Daghestān on the 16th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (Feb 7, 1742) and came to Kirkūk (14th Djumādā II = Aug 5, 1742) which capitulated as did Irbil On the 26th Radjab (Oct 5) Nādir arrived near Mawsil but the siege of this fortress was unsuccessful and on 2nd Ramadān (Oct 20) he retreated to Kirkūk and Khanāḳīn Friendly relations were established with Ahmad Pasha of Baghdād Nādir with his wives made the pilgrimage to the Shiʿī and Sunnī sanctuaries of Mesopotamia and on the 24th Shawwāl 1156 (Dec 12, 1743) summoned a great assembly of ecclesiastics at Nadjaf The document drawn up by Mahdī Khān summing up the discussions confirmed the renunciation by the Persians of the "heresy of Shāh Ismāʿīl", while the *ʿulamāʾ* of Mesopotamia and Transcaucasia recognised the claims of Djaʿfar al-Sadīk and declared the special features (*furūʿāt*) of the Persian beliefs compatible with Islām The Sunnī theologian ʿAbd Allāh b Husain al-Suwaidī, *Kitāb al Hudjdjadj al-kaṭʿiya li'ttifāḳ al-Firak al-Islāmīya*, Cairo 1324, also gives a very interesting summary of this dispute, cf Ritter, *Isl*, xv, 1926, 1 106 and the detailed account by Prof A E Schmidt, *Iz istorii sunnitsko shiitskikh otnoshenii* in the *ʿIkd al Djumān* (Barthold Festschrift, Tashkent 1927, p 69–107)

Rebellions The strange abandonment of the campaign in Mesopotamia is to be explained by the new risings in the east Much more important was the rising in Fārs led by the beglerbegi Takī Khān, a great favourite of Nādir He was ultimately captured and castrated In Astarābād the Kādjārs rose against the oppression of the governor's son (Hanway, *Hist Account*, 1 192) Nādir had to send his nephew ʿAlī Kulī to Khwārizm Finally the Ottomans of Kars disseminated in Ādharbāidjān letters from the new pretender Safī Mīrzā (Muhammad ʿAlī Rafsindjānī) and then refused to begin an exchange of prisoners

Fourth Campaign against the Turks In the meanwhile the Porte equipped a new army (150,000 horse and 40,000 janissaries) which advanced on Erzerum and Kars under the command of the former vizier Yegen Muhammad Pāsha while ʿAbd Allāh Pāshā Djebedjī's army went via Diyārbakr and Mawsil On the 21st Radjab (Aug 20) came the news of the victory won by Nasr Allāh Mīrzā over ʿAbd Allāh Pāshā's army (near Mawsil) and at the same time Yegen Muhammad Pāshā died leaving his army in complete disorder Nādir again won a brilliant victory (on the very scene of his first victory in 1735) but then, quite unexpectedly, wrote to the Sultān saying he was abandoning the first two clauses of Mughān Personal fatigue may explain why Nādir could not exploit his success

On Sept 4, 1746, peace was signed with the Turkish envoys and on 10th Muharram 1160 (Jan 22, 1747) the Shāh's representatives (Mustafā Khān Shāmlu and the historian Mahdī Khān) set out for Constantinople with the *ṣulh nāma* Nādir renounced his famous religious clauses in favour of the Sultān, "the Khalīfa of the people of Islām and the glory of the Turkoman race" By the treaty the frontier was restored to that of the time of Murād IV [cf TABRĪZ] but in a platonic fashion, Nādir expressed the wish to receive one

of the provinces which had belonged to the "Turkoman Sultāns"

On the 10th Muharram, Nādir left for Kirmān marking his route by piles of skulls erected everywhere After the Nawrūz, Nādir returned to Mashhad and devoted himself to "spilling the blood of the innocents" His conduct was now clearly abnormal In an epilogue to his history written after the death of Nādir, Mahdī Khān records the denunciations, executions and extortions carried out by the agents of the treasury and the ruin of the country, which had however begun before the Indian expedition (Otter, *Residents russes*, Hanway, i 230) The Shī'ī opposition must also have been intensified in view of the frankly Sunnī turn which Nādir's "Khurāsānian" policy had taken

The rising in Sīstān, which brought matters at a head was provoked by the activities of the tax collectors who were demanding a contribution of 300,000 tumāns from the province 'Alī Kulī Mīrzā, nephew of Nādir, put himself at the head of the rebels Even Lahmāsp Kulī Khān Djalāyir, the most faithful prop of the throne, wanted to proclaim one of Nadir's sons as king The troubles spread to Khurāsān and the Kurds of Khabūshān raided the royal stables at Rādkān Nādir marched on them but on the eve of 11th Djumādā II 1160 (June 20, 1147) he was assassinated in his camp near Fathābād by the Kādjār and Afshār chiefs in conspiracy with the bodyguard Father Bazin was a witness of the disorder which broke out in the camp after the assassination On the 27th Djumādā II (July 5, 1752) 'Alī Kulī Mīrzā came from Herāt and was proclaimed king All the royal princes were massacred

The treasure amassed by Nādir was soon scattered to the winds, the country, utterly exhausted, was in the throes of crisis Nādir's attempts to compose religious difficulties had failed completely, but Persian territory and its periphery were cleared of enemies But for Nādir Shāh, Persia would probably not exist, even in its present bounds

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NADIR (Naẓīr al-Samt or al-Naẓīr κατ' ἐξοχήν), the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical, also the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven The nadir is the opposite pole to the zenith [q v]

The word *naẓīr* (from *nazara*, "to see", "to observe") originally (and generally) means the

point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere, we find *mukābal* as a synonym of *nazīr* in this general meaning [cf also MUKĀBALA]

(WILLY HARINER)

NAḌĪR (BANU 'L-), one of the two main Jewish tribes of Madīna, settled in Yathrib from Palestine at an unknown date, as a consequence of Roman pressure after the Jewish wars Al-Ya'kūbī (II 49) says they were a section of the Djudhām Arabs, converted to Judaism and first settled on Mount al-Nadir, whence their name, according to the *Sīra Halabīya* (Cairo, III 2) they were a truly Jewish tribe, connected with the Jews of Khaibar This seems the more probable, but a certain admixture of Arab blood is possible, like the other Jews of Madina they bore Arabic names, but kept aloof from the Arabs, spoke a peculiar dialect, and had enriched themselves with agriculture, money-lending, business in armour and jewels

They were clients of the Aws, siding with them in their conflicts with the Khazradj, and entering with them into the compact with Muhammad known as the Constitution of Madīna in I A H Their most important chief at this time was Huyayy b Akhtab, whose daughter Safīya became Muhammad's wife in 7 A H For a list of Muhammad's worst enemies among the Banu 'l-Nadir see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p 351—352

Their fortresses were half a day's march from Madina, and they owned land in Wādī Buthān and Buwaina, their dwelling places were south of the city

The Banu 'l Nadīr seem to have been in (commercial ?) relations with Abū Sufyān before the battle of Uhud In 4 A H, in Rabī' I, owing to difficulties about the Banu 'l Nadīr's contribution to certain blood-money which was being collected from the whole Muslim community in Madina, Muhammad, who had personally negotiated the matter with their chiefs, became convinced of their enmity towards himself and suspected them of intending to kill him He decided to get rid of such dangerous neighbours, and ordered them through Muhammad b Maslama al-Aws to leave the city within ten days, under penalty of death, allowing them to take with them all their movable goods, and to return each year to gather the produce of their palm groves

The tribe, having no hope of help from the Aws, agreed to leave, but 'Abd Allāh b Ubayy al-Khazradji, chief of the *munāfikūn*, persuaded them to resist in their fortresses, promising to send 2,000 men to their aid Huyayy b Akhtab, hoping the Banū Kuraiza would also help them, prepared to resist, in the face of opposition from moderate elements in the tribe

The siege lasted about a fortnight, help from the *munāfikūn* was not forthcoming, and when the Muslims began to cut down their palms the Banu 'l-Nadir surrendered Muhammad's conditions were much harder than formerly, their immovable property was forfeited, and nothing left them but what they could take away on camels, arms alone excepted After two days' bargaining the tribe departed with a caravan of 600 camels, some went to Syria, others to Khaibar

The Banu 'l-Nadīr's booty Muhammad did not divide in the usual manner, the land was distributed among the *muhādjirūn*, so as to relieve the *Anṣār* of their maintenance, part of it the Prophet kept for himself

Sūrat al-Hashr (lix) was revealed upon the expulsion of the Banu 'l-Nadīr

From Khaibar the exiles planned with the Kuraish the siege of Madina in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 5 A H The treasure of the Banu 'l-Nadīr was captured by Muhammad in Khaibar in 7 A H

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AL **NADJAF** (MASHHAD 'ALĪ), a town and place of pilgrimage in the 'Irāk 6 miles west of al Kūfa It lies on the edge of the desert on a flat barren eminence from which the name al Nadjaf has been transferred to it (A Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p 35)

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b Abī Tālib [q v] was buried near Kūfa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the town of al-Nadjaf later arose (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wustenfeld, IV 760), also called Nadjaf al-Kūfa (Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon geographicum*, ed Salverda de Grave, p 153) Under Umayyad rule the site of the grave near al-Kūfa had to be concealed As a result it was later sought in different places, by many in al-Kūfa itself in a corner above the *kibla* of the mosque, by others again 2 farsakhs from al-Kūfa (al-Istakhrī, ed de Goeje, *B G A*, I 82 *sq*, Ibn Hawkal, *ibid*, II 163) According to a third story, 'Alī was buried in al-Madīna near Fātima's grave (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard, VIII 289), according to a fourth, at Kasr al-Imāra (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, X, 1926, p 967 *sq*, A H 40, § 99) Perhaps then the sanctuary of al-Nadjaf is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islāmic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfa*, ed Defrémery and Sanguinetti, I 416, G Jacob in A Noldeke, *Das Heiligtum al Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909, p 38, note 1) It was not till the time of the Hamdānid of al-Mawsil Abu 'l-Haidjā' [see 'ABD ALLĀH B HAMDĀN] that a large *kubba* was built by him over 'Alī's grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there (Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, p 163) The Shī'ī Būyid 'Adud al Dawla [q v] in 369 (979–980) built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sharaf and Bahā' al-Dawla Al-Nadjaf was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces (Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, VIII 518, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 32 in the year 366 = 976—977). Hasan b al-Fadl, who died about 414 (1023–24) built the defensive walls of Mashhad 'Alī [(Ibn al-Athīr, IX 154) The Mashhad was burned in 443 (1051—1052) by the fanatical populace of Baghdād but must have been soon rebuilt The Saldjūk sultān Malikshāh and his vizier Nizām al-Mulk who were in Baghdād in 479 (1086–1087) visited the sanctuaries of 'Alī and Ḥusain (Ibn al-Athīr, X 103) The Īlkhān Ghāzān (1295–1304),

according to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, built in al-Nadjaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*khānkāh*) The Mongol governor of Baghdād in 1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to al Nadjaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 1508 by order of Shāh Ismāʿīl This canal was originally called Nahr al-Shāh (now al-Kenāʾ) (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, Baghdād, II, 1930—1931, p 458) This Shiʿī Safawid himself made a pilgrimage to the *mashhadān* of Kerbelāʾ and al-Nadjaf Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941 (1534—1535) A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Żerī al-Shaikh and al-Haidarīya canals, the latter of which was made by order of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to al Nadjaf (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, II 458 *sq*, 491) A considerable part of the ʿIrāk with Baghdād, al-Nadjaf and Kerbelāʾ was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1623

According to the Arab geographers, al-Hīra lay on the eminence of al-Nadjaf (al-Yaʿkūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed de Goeje, *B G A*, VII 309) Massignon thinks (*M I F A O*, XXVIII 28, note 1) that al Hīra lay on the site of the present al-Nadjaf, while Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, p 35, note 26) places the centre of the ruins of al-Hīra S E of the *tell* of al-Knēdre which lies halfway between al Kūfa and al Khawarnak Ibn Battūta entered Mashhad ʿAlī which he visited in 726 (1326) through the Bāb al Hadra gate which led straight to the Mashhad He describes the town and sanctuary very fully According to al Yaʿkūbī (*loc cit*) the ridge on which al Nadjaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here For the number of its inhabitants and its architectural beauty, Ibn Battūta reckoned the town among the most important in the ʿIrāk It has now about 20,000 inhabitants (Persians and Arabs), has a Shiʿī college and celebrated cemetery in the Wādī al Salām Near al-Nadjaf were the monasteries of Dair Mār Fāthiyūn (Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, II 693) and Dair Hind al-Kubrāʾ (Yākūt, II 709), also al-Ruhba (5 hours S W of the town, Yākūt, II 762, Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p 110, note 61) and Kasr Abī 'l-Khasīb (Yāḳūt, IV 107) The lake of al Nadjaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, p 105)

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, index, vol II, p 808 (*Mashhad ʿAlī*), 817 (*al-Nadjaf*), al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, Indices, p 784, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāḳ 1323, II 116, V 88, 121, VIII 161, IX 117, XI 24, XXI 125—127, al-Istakhrī, *B G A*, I 82, Ibn Hawkal, *B G A*, II 163, al-Maḳdisī, *B G A*, III 130, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B G A*, V 163, 177, 187, Ibn Rusta, *B G A*, VII 108, al-Yaʿkūbī, *B G A*, VII 309, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed Reinaud, p 300, transl Guyard, II/II 73, al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, III 6, Ibn Djubair, ed de Goeje, p 210, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, IV 760, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, p 164, 302, 354, 364, 573, Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfa*, ed Defrémery-Sanguinetti, I 414—416, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 9, 31, 165 *sq*, 267, Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u a umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, II 254—264 (inscriptions 263), J B L J Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p 75—77, Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, Braunschweig 1895, p 103—111, M v Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, II 137, 274, 281, G I e Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 [repr 1930], p 76—78, A Noldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909 (= *Turk. Bibl*, XI), *passim*, H Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Turkei*, Leipzig 1609, p XIII and table LXXV—LXXIX with illustr 132—134, 137, L Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie (1907—1908)*, Cairo 1910, I 50b—51b, II 88, note 1, 114, 138, note 3 (= *M I F A O*, XXVIII, XXXI), G L Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p 160, 162, St H Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, index, p 372 (*Najf*), A Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p 35, note 26 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, N° 3) (E HONIGMANN)

BANŪ **NADJĀH**, a dynasty of Abyssinian Mamlūks at Zabīd [q v] from 412 to 553 (1022—1158) When the last Ziyādī [q v] had been put to death in the vizierate of the Abyssinian Mardjān by one of his Mamlūk governors Nafīs, the other Nadjāh came forward to avenge him After desperate fighting, Nafīs was slain and Nadjāh in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 412 (Feb 1022) entered Zabīd where he had the vizier built alive into a wall in exact revenge for the Ziyādī As his rival Nafīs had already done, Nadjāh assumed the insignia of royalty, struck his own coins and inserted his own name in the *khutba* after that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph The latter found himself forced to recognise him under the title al-Muʾayyad Nāsir al-Dīn His kingdom extended over al-Tihāma, while the highlands beyond remained divided up among petty chiefs When among the latter the Sulaihīs [q v] came to considerable power, their relationships with the Banū Nadjāh decisively affected the history of the latter The first Sulaihī ʿAlī is said to have had this first Nadjāh poisoned about 452 (1060) through a slave girl sent him as a present In the confusion that followed, ʿAlī occupied Zabīd itself and Nadjāh's sons fled to the island of Dahlak [q v] While the eldest Muʿarik committed suicide, the other two resolved to regain their lands Saʿīd al-Ahwal and Abu 'l-Tāmī Djaiyāsh, whose lost work *al Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd* was the foundation for ʿUmāra's work (in Kay, see *Bibl*) Saʿīd made his preparations in a place of concealment in Zabīd and had Djaiyāsh come later, the two then came out openly, fell upon and killed ʿAlī al Sulaihī, who was on a campaign against Mecca, probably in 473 (1081) Zabīd at once recognised Saʿīd as its lord, he had appealed less to the Sunnīs against the Shiʿīs than to the racial feeling of the numerous Abyssinian soldier slaves (*anā radjulun minkum wa 'l-ʿizzu ʿizzukum* Djaiyāsh in ʿUmāra, p 63, 3—4) But Asmāʾ, the widow of ʿAlī al-Sulaihī who was kept a prisoner in Zabīd, persuaded her son al-Mukarram to relieve the town (475 = 1082—1083) The Nadjāh again escaped to Dahlak In 479 (1086) Saʿīd again returned as ruler but in 481 (1088) was put to death at the instigation of the Sulaihī queen al-Saiyida, the wife of al-Mukarram Djaiyāsh escaped to India with his vizier Khalaf b Tāhir, said to have been an Umaiyad, returned to Zabīd disguised as an Indian, plotted with his compatriots and easily

regained power in 482 (1089) With his death in 498 or 500 (1105—1106) disruption set in He himself had had domestic difficulties He executed the kādī Ibn Abī ʿAkāma whose ancestor had come to the country with the first Ziyādī, his former helper Khalaf had to seek refuge in flight A certain degree of strain in his relations with his brother Saʿīd is already evident from Djayyāsh's account and there were fierce family feuds among his descendants His son Fātik I, the son of a girl bought in India, had to defend himself against his half brothers Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al Wāhid and died young in 503 (1109—1110) The latter's infant son al Mansūr was set aside by his uncles, who were quarrelling with one another, and fled to Sayyida, whose favourite al-Muẓaffar b Abi 'l Barakāt brought him back in 504 (1110—1111) as vassal of the Sulaihīs

On account of the new ruler's minority, events repeated their course under the Ziyādīs The Mamlūk Anīs was Mansūr's vizier and he even assumed royal honours When he attained his majority Mansūr disposed of him by murdering him with his own hand in 517 (1123) after inviting him to the palace Mansūr however was at once poisoned at the instigation of the next vizier Mann Allāh In the following year, the latter defeated under the walls of Zabīd Nadjīb al-Dawla, whom the Fātimids had sent as the Sulaihī power was weakening to restore their suzerainty in the land Mann Allāh had made the boy Fātik II nominal king, the son of Mansūr and a slave girl singer ʿAlam who had been purchased from Anis's estate This woman (d 545 = 1150) endeavoured with great skill to preserve the rights of her house against the encroachments of the viziers and played among the Nadjāh a part similar to that of Sayyida among the Sulaihī In particular she equipped and led regular caravans of pilgrims and thus unconsciously furthered the rise of ʿAlī b Mahdī who was finally to drive her own family from power Mann Allāh in 524 (1130) was killed in his harem through a plot of ʿAlam's His successors were the Mamlūks Ruzaik and then al-Muflih Against the latter ʿAlam put forward her favourites Surūr and Ikbāl, who were however not on good terms In their quarrels the various parties several times brought the petty Arab princes who lived around it against Zabīd Ikbāl had Fātik II poisoned (531 = 1137) As he had no heirs, he was followed by his cousin Fātik III b Muhammad b Fātik I b Djayyāsh The government had been in the hands of Surūr since 529 (1135) His career of indefatigable activity was ended in a mosque in Zabīd on the 12th Radjab 551 (Sept 1, 1156) by an assassin, a "khāridjī" envoy of ʿAlī b Mahdī When the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b Sulaimān was summoned to help them by the Abyssinians, he made it a first condition that Fātik should be deposed and he himself recognised as lord of Zabīd The troops agreed to this but the victory lay with ʿAlī b Mahdī [q v and the article MAHDĪ] On 14th Radjab 554 (Aug 2, 1159) he entered Zabīd

The Banū Ziyād and the Banū Nadjāh continually brought over shiploads of Abyssinian slaves to recruit their troops and thus continued that mixture of races, which already existed before Islām and is still very marked in the Yaman plains These Mamlūks however became a great danger for the Ziyādis and also for the Nadjāh themselves. Djayyāsh had attempted to counteract them with a bodyguard of Turkish Oghuz [cf GHUZZ] But they were not suited to the climate, in particular it was impossible to establish a colony of them there permanently as their children, if they did not die, remained weaklings The Abyssinian admixture was still further increased by the many slave girls, who, particularly when they became mothers, exerted some political influence The enormous harems of the notables created the most complicated family relationships For example the settlement of the estate of the vizier Ruzaik became a notoriously difficult case in the law of inheritence which occupied the ablest *fukahā'* for years until finally a very aged Hadramawtī found a solution in accordance with the Sharīʿa

Bibliography S the article ZABĪD, esp Kay, also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Būlāk 1299, i 153, Husain F Hamdānī, *The Life and Times of Queen Sayyidah Arwā the Sulaihid of the Yemen* (*J C A S*, xviii, 1931, p 505—517), E de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p 117—118 (R STROTHMANN)

AL **NADJĀSHĪ**, designation in Arabic of the king of Abyssinia It is a loanword from Aethiopic ነጋሢ "king, prince" etc In Arabic it is sometimes used as a proper noun, sometimes as a nomen appellativum The word is also genuine Arabic, but as such it has the meaning of driver of game It does not occur in the Kur'ān In Hadīth it is the designation of the king of Abyssinia, just as Kaisar [q v], Kisrā [q v] and al Mukawkas [q v] are the designations of the rulers of Rūm, Fāris and Misr In their totality they represent the Great Powers which in the time of Muhammad surrounded the territory of Islām On the fresco in the hall of the castle of Kusair ʿAmra [cf ʿAMRA], dating from the middle of the viiith century A D, al Nadjāshī appears as the fourth of these Powers, the place of the Mukawkas being taken by Roderick the Visigoth

In the Sīra the Nadjāshī occupies a place of some importance, chiefly in connection with the two hidjra's to Abyssinia, with Muhammad's letter persuading him to embrace Islām, with his conversion from Christianity to Islām and with his equipping two ships in behalf of the return of the emigrants to Arabia, amongst whom was Umm Habība, who was to marry Muhammad (A H 7)

These traditions have been critically examined by Grimme, Caetani and Mis Vacca Grimme denied the historical foundation of the traditions concerning Muhammad's letters to the Great Powers Caetani submitted the question to an elaborate enquiry Mrs Vacca reduces the traditions to the following historical facts *a* the return of Djaʿfar b Abī Tālib from Abyssinia in 7 A H, when Muhammad was besieging Khaibar, *b* the expedition of ʿAmr b Umaiya in A H 6 in order to reconduct the emigrants from Abyssinia to al-Madīna, *c* vague traditions concerning the emigration from Makka to Abyssinia To these groups several episodes agglomerated, viz to *a* the story that Umm Habība, Abū Sufyān's daughter and widow of ʿUbaid Allāh b Djahsh, was asked in marriage by Muhammad and provided with a marriage-gift of 400 dīnārs by the Nadjāshī, to *b* the story of Muhammad's letter to the Nadjāshī, his embracing Islām and his becoming

the intermediary of the conversion of ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs

In Hadīth the Nadjāshī is also mentioned in connection with the story that his death in Ramadān 9 A H was proclaimed, without previous intimation, by Muhammad, who held on the *musallā* [q v] a funeral service in behalf of this fellow Muslim As his proper name is given Ashama or Adhama b Abhar

The title al Nadjāshī is also given in Arabic literature to later kings of Abyssinia, as may be seen from this article

Bibliography Complete bibliography of the passages in the *Sīra* in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, cf index in vol II/II, further esp A H 6, § 45—55, the passages in *Hadīth* in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v Nadjāshī and Abyssinia, further H Grimme, *Mohammed*, I, Munster i W 1892, p 123, V Vacca, *Le ambascerie di Maometto ai sovrani*, in *R S O*, x 87 *sqq*, I ammens, *L'âge de Mahomet*, in *J A*, ser x, vol xvii, esp p 244 *sq*, M Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewand* (Muh b ʿAbd al-Bākī al-Bukhārī al Makkī, *al-Tīrāz al mankūsh fī Mahāsin al-Hubūsh*), Hanover 1924, p 48 *sqq*, Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p 190 *sqq*, do, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p 59

(A J WENSINCK)

AL **NADJĀSHĪ**, KAIS B ʿAMR AL-HĀRITHĪ, an Arab poet of the seventh century A D, lived at first in Nadjrān [q v] and quarrelled with ʿAbd al-Rahmān, son of Hassān b Thābit [q v], because the latter had addressed in song a married female relative of Nadjāshī in Medīna After an exchange of lampoons with his opponent from his native place, he met him at the annual fair at Dhu 'l-Madjāz and again in Mecca when ʿAbd al Rahmān not only proved inferior as a poet but suffered bodily injury, so that his aged father had to interfere on his behalf Nadjāshī had a second conflict with Ibn Mukbil, the poet of the Banū ʿAdjlān, he was so unbridled in his defence that the caliph ʿOmar punished him with imprisonment after procuring an opinion on his verses from Hassān and al Hutaʾa After ʿOthmān's assassination, al-Nadjāshī appeared in Kūfa as one of ʿAlī's poets, and for the latter exchanged political lampoons with Muʿāwiya's poets at the battle of Siffīn But his disorderly life lost him the favour of ʿAlī and after a drinking bout in Ramadān he was given the thrashing prescribed by law and put in the pillory After a conflict with Kūfan notables, in which he expressed his wrath at this punishment in satirical verses, he was expelled by ʿAlī and went over to Muʿāwiya He then went back to his native country Yaman and died in Lahdj in the year 40 (669), in which year he wrote a lament on the death of Hasan

Bibliography Zubair b Bakkār, *al Muwaffakiyāt*, ed Schulthess, in *Z D M G*, liv 421—474, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al Shiʿr*, ed de Goeje, p 183—190, quoting from it ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv 368, Ibn Hadjar al ʿAsḳalānī, *al Iṣāba*, iii 1200, al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al Akhbār al-tiwāl*, p 171, 185, 198, other verses in Nasr b Muzāhim, *Wakʿat Ṣiffīn*, Bairūt 1921, see *Z S*, iv 18, Rescher, *Abriss der arab Literaturgeschichte*, i 114

(C BROCKELMANN)

MĪR ʿABD AL-ʿĀL **NADJĀT**, a Persian poet, born about 1046 (1636—1637), the son of a Husainī Saiyid Mīr Muhammad Muʾmin of Isfahān Little is known of his life Only this much is certain, that he, like many other Persian poets of this time, worked in the offices of different Persian dignitaries For example he was a *mustawfī* [q v] with *Ṣadr* Mīrzā Habīb Allāh, later occupied the same office in Astarābād and ended his career in 1126 (1714) after being for many years *munshī* with the Safawid princes Shāh Sulaimān (1667—1694) and Shāh Sultān Husain (1694—1722) He owes his fame mainly to a long poem *Gul u-Kushtī* ("Wrestling") which he finished in 1112 (1700—1701) and which deals with the theme of the *zūr khāna* [q v] still very popular in Persia As the Persian athletes still form a special closed corporation they use a special language (a kind of slang) which is full of the technical terms of their art and is not intelligible to the outsider Nadjāt used these technical terms very skilfully in his poem which makes it very difficult for laymen to understand This produced several commentaries on his work, of which those of Ārzū, Ratan Singh Lakhmī (printed Lucknow 1258) and Gobind rām (lith Morādābād 1884) are the best known Of Nadjāt's contemporaries some did not approve of his peculiar style and thought his poem degraded the poet's art with its vulgar expressions and low humour As a matter of fact, Nadjāt's tone differs considerably from the traditional lofty style of Persian court poetry and approaches the language of the Persian middle classes, this makes his work of considerable importance for the history of the Persian language Besides the poem, we only know of a collection of lyrics by Nadjāt of which there are manuscripts in several libraries (see below)

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(E BERTHELS)

NADJĀTĪ BEY, properly ʿĪsā (Nūh, also given, is not certain), the first great Turkish lyric poet of the pre-classical period, one of the founders of the classical Ottoman poetry Born in Adrianople (Amasia and Kastamūnī are also given), the son of a slave, obviously a Christian prisoner of war for which reason he is called ʿAbd Allāh, the name given to every one, he was adopted by a well-to-do lady of Adrianople, received a good education and was trained by the poet Sāʾilī In spite of the fact that his non Turkish origin was generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas He early came to Kastamūnī and there began his poetic career and soon gained a great reputation His poems are said here and there to bear traces of the Kastamūnī dialect Coming to Constantinople, he at once gained the favour of Sultān Mehmed II by a ḳasīda on winter, in 886 (1481)

he celebrated the accession of Bāyazīd II in a ḳaṣīda and was rewarded by an appointment as secretary in the Dīwān He gained such favour with the Sultān that he was appointed secretary to his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh and was given the title of bey when the prince went to Karamān as governor (*muteṣarrif*) After the prince's early death (888 = 1483) Nadjātī returned to Constantinople with an elegy on the death of the prince which showed deep emotion After a long interval in which he wrote a great deal but was in continual need, through the influence of Muʾaiyad-Zāde [q v] he became *mushāndjī* to Bāyazīd's younger son Mahmūd when the latter went to Sārūkhān in 910 (1504) Nadjātī wrote his finest verse while on the staff of this prince, this was the happiest period of his life Mahmūd also died prematurely in 913 (1507) in Manissa, the capital of Sārūkhān, and Nadjātī again lost his patron He returned with a beautiful elegy to Constantinople and finally retired from the service of the court on a modest pension He took a house on the Wefā Maidānī where many friends gathered round him, especially his pupils, the poet and *tezkereǧī* Edirneli Sehī and the poet Sunʿī Nadjātī died on the 25th Dhu 'l Kaʿda 914 (March 17, 1509) He was buried near his own house, at the monastery of Shaikh Wefā and a tombstone was put up by Sehī for him

He left a *Dīwān* which he had collected on the advice of Muʾaiyad Zāde and dedicated to prince Mahmūd There is also attributed to him a mesnewī, which is not otherwise known, entitled *Munāzara i Gul u Khosrew*, also quoted as *Laila u Medjnūn* and *Mihr u Māh* Even more uncertain seems to be the existence of the mesnewī mentioned by Sehī *Gul u Sabā* Nadjātī is also mentioned as a translator of Persian works but his pupil Sehī says nothing of this He is said to have translated for prince Mahmūd the *Kīmiyā-i Seʿādet* of Imām Ghazālī (the Persian version of the Arabic *Ihyāʾ*) and the *Djāmiʿ al Hikāyāt* (properly *Djawāmiʿ al-Hikāyāt wa-Lawāmiʿ al Riwāyāt*) from the Persian of Djamāl al Dīn al-ʿAwfī

His *Dīwān* which is still unprinted, gives Nadjātī a very prominent place in Ottoman literature, the Dīwān was regarded as a model for all Ottoman poets Nadjātī, whom Idrīs Bidlīsī in his *Hesht Bihisht* calls *Khosrew i Shuʿarāʾ-i Rūm* and others *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ* and *Tūsī i Rūm* (= the Firdawsī of Asia Minor), was regarded as the best poet of Rūm He does not, it is true, reach the heights that Nesīmī does but he surpasses all his predecessors, of whom Ahmad Pasha and Zātī were the greatest, in originality and creative power Only Bākī and Fuzūlī have surpassed him The problem to be solved by Ahmad Pasha, Nadjātī and Zātī was to incorporate completely into Turkish the matter borrowed and translated from Persian literature, which was still felt to be foreign, to adapt Turkish to Perso-Arabic metres and to domesticate fully the Arabic and Persian vocabulary This was a great achievement for the time Nadjātī brought about a great change in the literature as regards outlook, feeling and language In him the age of Sultān Bāyazīd is most clearly reflected Although he is not to be claimed as a very great poet, he was the king of the gild of poets of his time, who started a great literary movement Nadjātī combined a thorough knowledge of Persian with a masterly command of Turkish In the number of his ghazels he far surpasses Bākī His work as a poet of kasidas was original and stimulating He was specially celebrated for his skill in the use of the proverb

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(Th Menzel)

NADJD [See Nedjd]

NADJDA B ʿĀMIR [See Khāridjites]

AL-NADJDJĀR, AL-Husain B Muhammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a Murdjī and Djabarī theologian of the period of al-Maʾmūn, a pupil of Bishr al Marīsī whose views were combatted by Abu 'l Hudhail al-ʿAllāf and al Nazzām He probably lived in Bamm where he was a weaver According to him, the divine attributes are identical with the essence and express its negative aspects Vision of God is only possible through a divine act which transforms the eye into the heart by giving it the power of recognition The word of God is created, accident when it is read, body when it is written God who knows from all eternity all worldly things, wills them all, good as well as evil, faith as well as unbelief God has a hidden essence (theory of *māhiyā*), there is in him a hidden fund of grace (*lutf*) which would suffice to bring all the infidels back to him Problems of the body and accidents atom = accident, the body then consists of a conglomerate of accidents (= Dirār) which are in juxtaposition without interpenetrating one another (against the *mudākhala* of al-Nazzām), momentariness of the accidents This orientation of the problem is due to the theocentric tendencies of al Nadjdjār All that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestrained activity of God beside whom there is neither reality nor agent God creates the actions of man He gives his assistance to every good action and shows his desertion of every bad one, this assistance and desertion constitute the faculty of doing which accompanies the action (*al-istitāʿa maʿa 'l-fiʿl* against the Muʿtazila) The activity of man consists in his appropriation of the divine will (*kasb*) Man carries out one action only by one *istitāʿa* the secondary effects (*al-muwalladāt*) do not depend on man but on God (against the Muʿtazila theory of *tawallud*) Faith consists in the knowledge of God, of his apostles and his commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth Faith consists of several qualities (*khiṣāl*) each of which

is an act of obedience (*ṭāʿa*), complete faith is the sum of all *ṭāʿāt* Faith may increase but not diminish, it can be completely lost only through unbelief He who commits a heinous sin and dies impenitent is doomed to hell from which he will emerge however, unlike the complete infidel Al-Nadjdjār denied the punishment of the tomb (*ʿadhāb al-kabr*), probably as a result of his determinism — Al-Nadjdjār like his master Bishr represents the reformed and modified Djahmīya The influence of Muʿtazila theology on this school is manifest, on the other hand, the Muʿtazila itself, especially that of Baghdād, seems to have received certain quite important stimuli from his school in spite of its opposition to it Several of al-Nadjdjār's doctrines are found at a later date in al-Ashʿarī — The Nadjdjārīya flourished in Rayy and Gurgān It was divided into three schools 1 the Burghūthīya, the followers of Muhammad b ʿĪsā Burghūth, 2 the Zaʿfarānīya, the followers of a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zaʿfarānī, 3 the Mustadrika, a reforming party which taught paradoxical doctrines on the divine word

Bibliography *al-Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p 179 (with a list of his writings), al-Mukaddasī, *BGA*, iii 37—38, 126, 365, 394—395, al Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol 554a, al Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Intisār*, ed Nyberg, s index, al Ashʿarī, *Makālāt al Islāmīyīn*, ed Ritter, s index, al Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ*, Cairo, p 195–198, 201, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed Cureton, p 61—63 (H S Nyberg)

Muʿallim **NĀDJĪ**, properly ʿOmer, an important Ottoman author, poet, critic and man of letters, who occupies a special and somewhat hybrid position in the history of the Turkish moderns and has given his name to a whole literary period Born in 1266 (1850) in Constantinople, the third son of a master saddler ʿAlī Agha (not Bey, as some literary historians say), he lost his father at the age of seven The widow Fātime al Zehrā, who was descended from a *muhādjir* who had come to Constantinople from Rumelia, went to Varna to her brother, the Kalayʿdjī Ahmad Agha The latter in spite of his limited means, made it possible for ʿOmer to be educated at the medrese and ʿOmer's elder brother Sālim gave him considerable assistance ʿOmer devoted himself at first to calligraphy and for his *levhas* used the *makhlas* Khulūsī A certain Khōdja Hāfiz aroused in him a fondness for poetry and he took the *makhlas* Nādjī for his poems (from a passage in the *Mukhayyalāt* of ʿAzīz ʿAlī Girīdī) He also tried to obtain the title of *hāfiz* His training in the medrese left a permanent influence on him It was long before he decided to put off the turban and the *djubbe* The spirit of the *mollā* and a certain intolerant fanaticism however never left him

In 1284 (1867) Nādjī received an appointment as second master in the Rushdīye school in Varna At an inspection the then *mutesarrif* of Varna, Kurd Saʿīd Pasha (later Foreign Minister, President of the Council of State and several times an ambassador), made the acquaintance of the intelligent young teacher He took him into his service as secretary, when he was moved to Tulča just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, thence he was moved to Tirnowo and later to ʿOsmān Pazarī Nādjī accompanied the much travelled Pasha on his moves and journeys After a brief stay in Constantinople, he went to Yeñi Shehir Fenāri (= Larissa in Thessaly) where Nādjī made the acquaintance of the poet and Mewlewī ʿAwnī Bey, who had a very good knowledge of Persian Nādjī who acted as secretary to the court and judge of investigation had here finally to lay aside the turban When Saʿīd Pasha set out on a nine months' tour of inspection in Asia Minor, the Euphrates and Erzerūm, Nādjī again accompanied him He recorded his impressions in the poem *Shām i Gharībān* he had abondoned himself with other congenial wits to a life of dissipation at Tawk Pazarī, both earlier and after his return to Constantinople The transfer of the Pasha as wālī of the Aegean islands to Chios, where Nādjī acted as *mumayyiz* saved him from this Here he was able fully to develop his literary leanings Already in 1292 he had published poems and articles in Vatan in the *Tuna* newspaper of which some were even reprinted by the Constantinople paper *Basiret*, such as his *Bir Muʿallimīñ Shāgirdānīna Khitābī* From Chios he began his association with Ahmad Midhat Efendi who was then editing the *Terdjumān i Hakīkat*, from his contributions in poetry and prose, which appeared in the *Terdjumān* over the pseudonym Ahmad Masʿūd and Masʿūd i Kharābātī, a close friendship arose which proved of decisive influence on his future career When Saʿīd Pasha went as ambassador to Berlin, Nādjī declined to go with him, which was much to be regretted in the interests of his literary development He therefore resigned his post in the Foreign Ministry and devoted himself entirely to authorship Midhat gave him the editorship of the newly formed literary section of his paper At the suggestion of Midhat, whose son in-law he had become, he learned French although he was now over 30 When he left the *Terdjumān* for literary reasons, he undertook the editorship of the *Seʿādet* newspaper

By his great literary and critical activity, he gained an influence which can hardly be estimated high enough on the intellectual life of Turkey in his time, not least through his position as lecturer on Turkish literature at the Mekteb i Sultānī in Galata Serai and in the law school He became celebrated under the name *Muʿallim* (teacher) of which he was particularly proud In 1307 (1889) he was appointed by imperial *irāde* Turkish historiographer, *Taʾrīkh-nuwīs i Āl i ʿOsmān*, as a reward for his historical poem *Ertoghrul Ghāzī* But he did not live to do anything serious in this field except an introduction which survives in MS He died on 27th Ramadān 1310 (April 14, 1893), at the age of 43 from heart failure and was buried in the garden of the *turbe* of Sultān Mahmūd

As a literary figure, Nādjī revealed two aspects On the one hand, he was a fanatical admirer of the old literature out of which he had developed and for which he endeavoured to revive the taste of his milieu by every means, by his modest poetic talent and considerable skill in versification, on the other hand, he seemed in sympathy with the moderns but in view of his convinced belief in the decadence of western culture he had little real understanding of them

Nādjī's services to Turkish prose are undeniable Over 50 years ago he was already writing the prose of the future, a model, clear, simple, style in the

language of a master who could not be surpassed Two years before Sezāyī's celebrated *Kucuk Sheiler* (1309) with its complicated prose, Nādjī gave a classic specimen of simple prose, in his *ʿÖmeṙiñ Codjuklughu* (1307) which was only properly appreciated and imitated at a much later date In it we find the first suggestions of Turkish realism

The forms not cultivated by the old writers, the story and the drama, he did not, it is true, entirely omit, but apart from autobiographical sketches and a translation from Zola, he wrote no stories and he was a failure as a dramatist In theory, it seemed sufficient to him and his followers to put French stories of crime into the *orta oyunu* form in order to produce regular Turkish "dramas" Here also he approximated to the moderns but did not reach their level or ability

As a poet and artist he is weak He lacks fervour and creative fancy He lacks that depth of feeling which carries one away, with him everything is trivial and superficial, and he never feels or expresses anything deeply His prose style is simple and easy, the sentences short, the mode of expression concise and clear

His main importance lies in his wide influence as a teacher, which he exercised not so much in the actual class room as through his whole literary activity

As a critic he confines himself to externals and goes no further

Nādjī's prolific versatility is best shown by a list of his works He wrote on many subjects and frequently lacked the time for adequate preparation

Of his poetical works, the most celebrated is the collection *Ateṣh-pāre* (1300, 2nd edition 1303), which contains 52 poems in the new western manner The best in it are *Tewḥid*, *Kebūter Kuzu*, *Shām i Ghariben*, *Nisbin djewāmde bir Wādī*, *Tezarruʿ*, *Sedjdjāde*, *Awdjī* — Next come two collections of ghazels in the old style *Sheʿīre*, 1301 and *Furūzān*, then three historical poems *Hamiyet yakhod Mūsā b Ebi 'l-Ghazān*, a description of heroic deeds in Granada in the time of the last king Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Saghir, *Zāt al Nitā lain*, the heroic conduct of Esmā, daughter of Abū Bakr, at the siege of Mecca with regard to her son ʿAbd Allāh b Zubair, *Ghāzi Turtoghrul Bey*, cf above, first printed after his death in *Khazine i Funūn*, 1310, ii, N° 11, 12 On the *Ishʿār-i Shāhane-i ʿosmānīye* written in conjunction with A Midhat cf ʿAli Emirī, in *I O L*, v, N° 27, 1330, p 131, other poetical works are *Terdjīʿ Bend* or *Terkīb Bend*, an imitation of Rūhī i Baghdādī and Ziyā Pasha, *Takti yakhod ʿArūz Numūnesi*, *Mesnewī i Muʿallim Nādjī* and a collection of fugitive pieces edited by Shaikh Wasfi after Nādjī's death *Wādigār-i Nādjī*, 1314

Of his prose works the best known and most important is *Sunbule* (1299 and 1307) The first part contains poems like *Kucuk bir Muzhike*, which is very important for the development of the Turkish poem, and translations from the French The second part *ʿÖmeṙiñ Codjuklughu*, gives in unaffected style intimate memories of his childhood up to the age of eight and has several times been translated into German by A Merx, *Aus Muallim Nadschi's Sunbule Die Geschichte seiner Kindheit*, Berlin 1898, into Russian Vl Gordlevskij, *Dètstvo Omara. Aftobiografiteskiye ocerki*, Moscow 1914, and into Czeck Jan Rypka, *Omarovo Dětstve až do jeho osmého roku*, in *Bibl Světovo Knihovo*, Prag — Memories of his student days were published in the *Terdjumān i Hakīkat* and entitled *Medrese Khāṭreleri*, 1302, to the same year belongs *Shemendofer Seyāhatī* (*Medjmūʿa-i Ebu 'l Ziyā*, N° 41), also *Yazmīsh bulundum*, 1301 (letters and verses in simple language), *Khurde Furūsh* (verses and sayings of Arab and Persian men of letters, 2 parts) — A strongly personal note marks his *Demdeme* (the title is chosen in allusion to Ekrem's *Zemzeme*), a criticism of Menmenli Zāde Fāhir's *Takdīr-i Elhān*, but it is primarily directed against Ekrem and his pronouncements on the stupidity of writing ghazels, it was so personal that its continuation was officially forbidden — Equally vigorous is the criticism of the newspaper *Mīzān* and its owner Murād Bey in Nādjī's *Mudāfaʿa nāme* — Translations and commentaries are found in *Sāʾibde soz*, 1303 (first published in *Imdād el Medād* verses of the Persian poet Sāʾib-i Tebrīzī with commentary), *Sānihāt el ʿArab* (over 1,000 Arabic maxims with notes), *Sāmihāt el-ʿAdjem* (Persian maxims) — Religious in content are *Iʿdjāz i Kurʾān*, 2nd ed, 1308 (translation of the treatise by Fakhr al Dīn al Rāzī on the *Fātihā Esrār i ʿaklīye* in the *Mefātih el Ghaib*, first appeared in the *Terdjumān*), *Taʿlim i Kurʾān*, *Muʿammā i ilāhī* (on the *Hurūf-i mukattaʿa* at the beginning of certain Sūras), *Khulāsāt al-Ilhlās*, 1304, the commentary on Sūra cxii (*Ikhlās*) translated from the *Tefsir-i Tebrī*, *Imsāl i ʿAlī*, sayings of the caliph ʿAlī (*Kitāb-khāne-i Ebu 'l-Ziyā*, N° 1), *Hikem al-Rifāʿī* (sayings of Sayyid Ahmad al Rifāʿī), *Newādir el-Ekābir* (wise sayings of Muslim celebrities), *ʿUbaidīye*, 1305 (Persian originals and translations), *Muterdjim*, 1304 translations from Arabic, Persian and French, *Muhammed Muzafer Medjmūʿasī*, 1306 literary essays based on a collected volume in MS by an otherwise unknown M Muzaffar 1279, *Numūne i sukhan* (an able selection from celebrated authors) — His correspondence *Mektūblarim*, 1303 and 1311 (correspondence with his friends and pupils), *Mukhāberāt we Muhāwerāt*, 1311 (correspondence with A Midhat), *Shoile boile* (correspondence with Shaikh Wasfi), *Intikād*, 1304 (correspondence with Beshīr Fuʾād on V Hugo) — Works on literary criticism *Muʿallim* a collection of expositions of his critical theory which had appeared in the *Terdjumān* and were regarded in their days as of fundamental importance, *Medjmūʿa i Muʿallim*, 1305—1306 a collection of the literary lectures which he had given in the Sultānī and the Law School (58 in number, N° 1—3 even reached a third edition), *Istilāhāt i edebīye*, 1307 and 1314, his celebrated masterpiece on literary history, really only concerned with style, also *Mekteb i Edeb*, 1320 — His important lexicographical works include *Kāmūs i ʿosmānī*, 1308, only 5 parts, first appeared in the *Muruwwet*, *Lughāt-i Nādjī* = *Lughāt i ʿosmānīye*, 1317 Nādjī only wrote the text as far as art *Fetwā*, p 832, the remainder p 833—1426 was prepared by his friend Mustedjāb-zāde Ismet Bey — The biographical works *ʿOsmānlī Shāʿirleri*, 1307, 2 parts (biographies of 13 Ottoman poets), *Esāmī*, 1308, about 850 somewhat arbitrarily chosen biographies in the style of the old *Tezkere*'s — His only drama *Hedī* (*Hāzım Bey yakhod Hedī*), 1326, *Terez Rakın*, the translation of Zola's *Therese Raquin*, a promised

translation of Fénelon *Terbiyet-i Benāt* never appeared

The four parts of his much used *Taᶜlim-i Kirāᵓet*, from 1300 on, were largely responsible for the development and spread of Nādjī's style in the widest circles The first part reached the 31st edition by 1320

Announced but never published were the following *Ahenk-i millī*, *Musāmehāt i Rāghib* (on Kodja Rāghib), *Ferāᵓid-i taᵓrikhiye*, *Terdjemeden Terdjeme*

Nādjī was a contributor to a number of papers and magazines the *Terdjumān-i Hakikat*, the *Seᶜādet*, *Wakit*, the periodicals *Āfāk*, *Gendj Kalemler*, *Medād el-Imdād*, *Codjuk Baghcesi* etc

With Nādjī neo classicism came to an end although his followers, especially ᶜAlī Kemāl, made several attempts to revive it again in the *Ikdām* against H Djāhid and in the *Sabāh* against Djenāb Shihāb al Dīn The movement did not get beyond these efforts, for his followers were as little able as Nādjī himself to produce works of permanent value The present generation has advanced quite out of Nādjī's world

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(Th Menzel)

NADJIS (A), impure, opp *tāhir*, cf TAHĀRA According to the Shāfiᶜī doctrine, as systematised by al-Nawawī (*Minhādj*, I 36 *sqq*, cf Ghazālī, *al-Wadjīz*, I 6 *sq*), the following are the things impure in themselves (*nadjāsāt*) wine and other spirituous drinks, dogs, swine, *maita*, blood and excrements, milk of animals whose flesh is not eaten

Regarding these groups the following may be remarked On wine and other spirituous drinks cf the artt KHAMR and NABĪDH — Dogs are not declared impure in the Kurᵓān, on the contrary, in the description of the sleepers in Sūra XVIII the dog is included (verses 17, 21) In *Hadīth*, however, the general attitude against dogs is very strong, as may be seen in the art KALB Goldziher considers this change due to an attitude of conscious contrast (*mukhālafa*) to the estimate of dogs in Parsism It must not, however, be forgotten that the Jews also declared dogs impure animals, just as swine The latter are already declared forbidden food in the Kurᵓān (Sūra XVI 116, VI 146, V. 4, II. 168) — As to *maita*, cf the article — Blood is mentioned in the Kurᵓān (Sūra XVI 116, VI 146, V 4, II 168) as prohibited food As to the religious background of this prohibition cf the art MAITA — As for excrements and several kinds of secretions of the body, the theory and practice of Jews and Christians sufficiently explain the attitude of Islām in this respect It must also be admitted, though data are very scarce, that in early Arabia religious impurity included some of these things — Details are to be found in the large legal works of each of the *madhhabs* (cf *Bibl*)

Of the differences of the schools regarding this subject the most important only may be mentioned Spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Hanafīs [cf NABĪDH] Living swine are not impure according to the Mālikīs — The Shiᶜa adds to the things mentioned above the human corpse and the infidels The human corpse was one of the chief sources of impurity according to Jewish ideas (cf already *Numbers*, ch XIX) A current in early Islām tending to follow the Jewish customs in ceremonial law was very strong, the Shiᶜī view regarding the human corpse may be a residuum of it — The impurity of infidels is based upon Sūra IX 28, where the polytheists are declared to be filth (*nadjas*) The Sunnī schools do not follow the Shiᶜa in the exegesis of this verse

The *nadjāsāt* enumerated above cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled only (*mutanadjdjis*), with the exception of wine, which becomes pure when made into vinegar, and of hides, which are purified by tanning On purification cf the artt TAHĀRA, GHUSL, WUDUᵓ

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NADJM AL-DĪN KUBRĀ, the founder of the order of the Kubrawīya or Dhahabīya, is one of the most striking personalities among the Persian Sūfīs of the XIIth—XIIIth century A D A large number of popular legends are associated with his name, many of which are not yet forgotten at the present day in Central Asia His importance for the development of Sūfism is very considerable and in the long series of his pupils we find many distinguished representatives of Sūfī

teaching Nadjm al-Dīn, whose full name was Ahmad b ʿUmar Abu 'l-Djannāb Nadjm al Dīn al-Kubrā al Khīwakī al Khwārizmī with the honorific title *al-Ṭāmmat al-kubrā* (the "greatest visitation" Sūra lxxix 34) and *Shaikh-i Walī tarāsh* (the Shaikh who prepares saints) was born in the town of Khīwak in Khwārizm in 540 (1145), spent his youth in travel during which he met in Egypt the famous Shaikh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al Misrī He became his *murīd* and under the supervision of the Shaikh went through a course of most rigid ascetic discipline The youth won the favour of his teacher who gave him his daughter to wife and adopted him as a son Nadjm al Dīn spent some years in Egypt where two sons were born to him One day he heard the lectures on the sunna given by Imām Abū Nasr Hafda in Tabrīz highly praised He at once went off to Tabrīz and studied there under the direction of this theologian who lived in the Khānkāh Zāhida in the Sarmaidān quarter There Nadjm wrote his first theological treatise, a kind of inaugural dissertation entitled *Sharḥ al-Sunna wa 'l-Masālih* During a disputation which arose out of this work he made the acquaintance of the Shaikh Bābā Faradj Tabrizī under whose influence he decided to give up the study of theology and devote himself entirely to the contemplative life of the mystic Bābā Faradj regarded all learning as something superfluous, in his view true knowledge could only be obtained through divine illumination Nadjm al Dīn soon recognised that he could hardly come any nearer his goal by this route He turned to Shaikh ʿAmmār-i Yasīr who advised him to train as a complete Sūfī in the school of Ismāʿīl Kasrī Nadjm al Dīn received his second *khirka* at the hands of the latter, a so called *khirka i tabarruk* ("khirka of blessing") After his return to his first teacher Shaikh Rūzbihān the latter found that he had thoroughly grasped all the depths of Sūfī learning and recommended him to transfer his activities to his native land of Khwārizm Nadjm al-Dīn settled there with his family, built a khānkāh and founded the order of the Kubrawīya or Dhahabīya His teaching met with great success and he soon found himself surrounded by pupils among whom were the most distinguished Sūfīs of the xiiith—xiiith century such as Madjd al Dīn Baghdādī (the Shaikh of the famous poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār), Saʿd al Dīn Hamawī, Bābā Kamāl Djandī, Shaikh Radī' al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā, Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī, Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī and many others Bahā' al Dīn Walad, the father of the great Djalāl al-Dīn Rumī, is also said to have been his pupil, but this is hardly possible Nadjm al-Dīn met his death on 10th Djumādā I 618 (July 13, 1226) at the taking of Khwārizm by the Mongols All his biographers are agreed that the Shaikh had gone out to meet the enemy in the open field and met a martyr's death with weapon in hand The Institute for Oriental Research in Leningrad possesses a manuscript in Eastern Turkī entitled *Shaikh Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā ny Shahīd kīlīp Shahr i Khwārizm-ni Kharāb kilghanīnīñ Bayānī* (How Shaikh Nadjm al Dīn was martyred and the town of Khwārizm destroyed) It is a kind of historical novel dealing with the last days of Khwārizm and its fall Nadjm al-Dīn appears in it as the protector of the city against the Mongols By his power he makes Khwārizm invisible to the enemy and it only falls into the hands of the conquerors after the Shaikh decides to surrender it It is possible that this book is a version of a Persian biography of Nadjm al-Dīn called *Tuhfat al Fukarā'* and mentioned by Hādjdjī Khalīfa (i 234)

Nadjm al-Dīn was a prolific writer and left a number of valuable treatises on different questions of Sūfism The greater part of his works are written in Arabic Hādjdjī Khalīfa gives the following list of his works 1 *al Usūl al ʿashara* (i 339) — a brief exposition of the ten fundamental principles of Sūfism (printed in Constantinople in 1256 with a Turkish commentary), 2 *Risāla fi 'l Sulūk* (iii 410—411) — or more correctly *fi ʿIlm al-Sulūk*, described in Ahlwardt N⁰ 3456, 3 *Risālat al-Tarīk* (iii 418) — in Ahlwardt, N⁰ 3272—3273 *fi 'l Turuk* (possibly identical with N⁰ 1), 4 *Ta wālī ʿ al Tanwir* (iv 171) — unknown to me, 5 *Fawātih al-Djamāl* in Persian — a treatise with this title is given in Flugel, *Wiener Katalog*, iii 332, except that the latter is described as in Arabic, 6 *Luʾmat al-Laʾīm* — or with the full title *al-Khāʾif al-hāʾim min Luʾmat al-Laʾīm* in Ahlwardt N⁰ 3087, 7 *Hidāyat al Tālibīn* — unknown, 8 *Tafsīr* — probably the great commentary on the Kurʾān entitled *ʿAin al-Hayāt*, whose first volume I discovered in the Public Library in Leningrad (see *Islamica*, vol i, fasc 2—3, p 272) Nadjm al Dīn is also known as a composer of Persian quatrains but it is still very difficult to decide whether the quatrains attributed to him are really his Twenty five of these poems were published in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Academie des Sciences de Russie* (1924, p 36)

The Sūfī writings of Nadjm al Dīn form a transition from the older Sūfism of the first theorists (the Nishāpūr school of the xth—xith centuries) to the later Sūfism of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his successors (Sadī al-Dīn Kunawī, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrākī) Like the earlier theorists Nadjm al Dīn likes to deal especially with the practice of Sūfism, the stations on the way to true knowledge Metaphysical questions however are also considered by him and his works with the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī form the basis for the further development of philosophical theory in the xiiith century This is not the place to go fully into his conception of Sūfism, but it is not to be doubted that his teaching can hardly be neglected in a careful investigation of the history of the development of Sūfism

Bibliography *Safinat al-Awliyāʾ* (MS Inst Orient, N⁰ 581, fol 106a), *Khazinat al-Asfiyā*, Bombay, ii 258, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed Lees, p 480, *Tarikh i Guzīda*, ed Browne, p 789, *Haft Iklim* (MS Inst Orient, N⁰ 603bc, fol 462a), *Madjālis al-ʿUshshāk*, Bombay, p 84 *sq* , *Riyād al-ʿArifin*, p 143, *Ātashkada*, p 303, *Tarāʾik al-Hakāʾik*, p 48, 149, *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*, fol 136b, Raverty, *Tabakāt-i Nāṣirī*, p 1100, Massignon, *al-Hallādj*, Bibliography, N⁰ 391, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 440, *Tadhkirat al Shuʿarāʾ*, ed Browne, p 135—136, Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii 438, 489, 491—495, 508, 510 (E BERTHELS)

NADJRĀN, a district (Wādī) and town in northern Yaman, according to others (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A*, vi 133, 248) in southern Nadjd or in the Hidjāz (Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p 575) The position and course of the Wādī has not been exactly ascertained It rises on the eastern slopes of the Yaman highlands, probably between 43°

nd 44° East Long, and runs, perhaps turning orth at first, mainly in a southeasterly direction ehind 18° and 17° N Lat finally disappearing n the great sand desert The distance from Sanʿā' q v] is put at 6—7 days' journey (E Glaser, *kizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, 1 50), according to Philby's investigations (*The Heart of Arabia*, II 166 *sq*), it is seven days' reasonable caravan journey south of Sulaiyil The older idea that the course of the Wādī Nadjrān an N E (or that there was a more northerly twin Wādī Habūna) arose out of the erroneous idea irst finally corrected by Philby (*op cit*, p 165, 22) that the Wādī Dawāsir, with which the Wādī Nadjrān was wrongly thought to be connected, uns from S W to N E

The Wādī Nadjrān drains a wide area of northern Yaman and ʿAsīr (Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al Arab*, p 83, 110, 114, 247) It is, and was in ntiquity, celebrated for its fertility Of European ravellers only Joseph Halévy visited it, in the pring of 1870 He describes (*Bull de la Soc de Geogr*, series VI, vol XIII, p 478) the valley, ome 2 miles broad, as exceedingly fertile and vell cultivated with villages concealed in thick palm-groves Strabo (XVI 781) calls it a peaceful nd rich country To Muslim writers it is a miracle of fertility and wealth, even more so than the Yaman in general, its cereals, vegetables and ruits were unrivalled (Hamdānī, p 199 *sq*), there were also mines there (Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al Buldān*, p 14) and the staple products of the Yaman, leather and cloth, were also made there To this day in less favoured parts of Arabia hey talk of the prosperity of this Wādī (Philby, *op cit*, II 226)

The population of the Wādī Nadjrān, according o Philby, is comparatively large, the majority belong to the tribe of Yām But several unelated tribes, often at enmity with one another, hare in the possession of this rich country It was so in the early Muslim period The Banu l-Hārith b Kaʿb, who appear in *Hadīth* as lords of Nadjrān, were not really such They belong o the large group of tribes Madhhidj, which was represented by other tribes also Their rivals were and are Hamdān tribes (Hamdānī, p 115, 9) among them Hāshid, important at the present day, subdivisions Yām etc) and Bakil (subdivisions Shākir etc), other tribes like al Azd, al-Afʿā etc should also be mentioned We have no reliable nformation about places with a settled population n the eastern part of the Wādī, Halévy visited village of Makhlaf which was afterwards put on the maps at hazard In the immediate vicinity was another village Ridjla, and an hour to the west Madīnat al Khudūd (see below) The Arab geographers mention villages (*kurā*) of Nadjrān and the names of some of them are given as well as those of districts, tributary wādīs, hills and springs

Through Nadjrān runs the very old caravan road from Hadramawt through the Hidjāz to the eastern Mediterranean [cf MAR'IB] Nadjrān was of some importance as the last station in the Yaman on a caravan route from the Yaman to al-Yamāma and thence to Bahrain and the ʿIrāk During Persian rule in the Yaman and later in the ʿAbbāsid period this road must have been of no less importance than the one just mentioned to Syria, which latter however owing to its importance in the early period of Islām is almost alone mentioned in Muslim literature (A Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p lxi, cf also M Hartmann, *Die südarab Frage*, p 496, 509) On the stations on the road see Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, VI p 152 *sq* and 193, A Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p 134—139) A series of forts served to keep it safe (Sprenger, *op cit*, p 138, Hamadhānī, *B G A*, p 28, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, IV, p 541 s v al Mushakkar and thereon Lyall, *Mufaddalīyāt*, II, p 105) On the present importance of the road and of Nadjrān, see Philby, *op cit*, II 226 The road in those days probably went several days' journey across the desert to the Wādī Dawāsir, which was the first station on the other side, at the present day Sulaiyil [q v] corresponds to it This road via Nadjrān was certainly that which connected the Yaman at different times with the ancient Babylonia in the east, with Syriac Christian as well as with Iranian culture

Little is known of the town of Nadjrān Ptolemy mentions it as a metropolis Aelius Gallus attacked it and destroyed it (Strabo, *loc cit*, Pliny, VI 28 [32]) From this Glaser (*loc cit*, II 50, cf p 224) concludes that there was no town of Nadjrān after this but the existence of the town is proved in many ways for various later periods (see below) Now however, no town seems to bear the name Halévy thought he had found the ruins of the old town in Madīnat al Khudūd (see below), which he describes as considerable ruins on the south bank of the river bed Of the city wall roughly built of granite the south and west sides were less destroyed than the others A mosque, which still stood among the ruins, belonged, according to local tradition, to the early Muslim or even pre-Islāmic period (*JA*, ser VI, vol XIX, p 90 and 40) In remarkable agreement with this, Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p 80 says "Al Ukhdūd, which is mentioned in the Kurʾān, was in one of the towns of Nadjrān This city however is now in ruins and nothing is left of it but the mosque which ʿOmar b al Khattāb built"

On the history of Nadjrān we have only scanty and mainly legendary notes The name occurs several times in the South Arabian inscriptions there is one (*C I S*, IV, N° 363) reference to the "towns" of Nadjrān (*ahgār N*, cf above *kurā N*) This means the Wādī In the oldest inscription of north Arabia, the Namāra inscription of the year 328, the name is also found

In the tradition of the introduction of Christianity into the Yaman, Nadjrān plays a part in keeping with its importance for the communications between Yaman and Mesopotamia (see above) According to one reference (*Histoire Nestorienne*, ed Addai Scher, I 218 *sq* = *Patrol Orient*, IV 330), it was a merchant of Nadjrān who first spread Christianity there after he had been converted in al-Hīra Christianity is said to have received a further impetus in the time of Justinian from monophysite Christians who, expelled from Byzantine territory, came to al-Nadjrān also via Hīra (*op cit*, II/1 51 *sq*)

The Christian tradition of later persecutions of the Christians in South Arabia connected with Abyssinian invasions of the Yaman is widely disseminated, Nadjrān was the principal scene of these, first perhaps under Sharahbīl Yakkuf in the last third of the fifth century, notably under Dhū Nuwās, who died in 525 On this tradition

which exists in many forms, Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic, see A Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p xxiv —lxiii, where the sources and other literature to be consulted are given

Arabic literature has also something to say about these happenings, especially in the annotations of the Kur'ānic exegists on Sūra lxxxv 4 *sqq* on the *Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd* But what there is of historical value in this Muslim tradition comes from Christian sources, only it is usually so distorted as to be almost unrecognisable What it records regarding the introduction of Christianity into Nadjrān by a certain Ḥaimiyūn or ʿAbd Allāh b al Ṯāmir is on the other hand a distortion of certain episodes in a Syriac Christian cycle of legends about the Persian martyrs Pethion and Yazdin and has really nothing to do with Nadjrān or Arabia (A Moberg, *Über einige christliche Legenden in der islāmischen Tradition*, p 5, 11 *sq*, 22, 30 and the references given) The name Madīnat al-Khudūd from the ancient Nadjrān is of course the result of the localisation of al-Ukhdūd in Nadjrān Hamdānī (*op cit*, p 67, 169) mentions in the same region a Balad or town of al-Ukhdūd, C van Arendonk mentions a hill Ukhdūd (*De opkomst van het zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, p 168)

It is not till the time of Muhammad and the early Caliphs that we have really historical references to the Yaman and even these have to be critically used We are told that Khālid was sent with 400 horsemen to the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b Kaʿb (and the Banū ʿAbd al-Madān Ibn Saʿd, II/i 112, 5) in Nadjrān and made them adopt Islām and send an embassy in homage to the Prophet (Ibn Hishām, p 958, Ibn Saʿd, I/ii 72) ʿAmr b Ḥazm was appointed *ʿāmil* in Nadjrān and ʿAlī was ordered to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* there (Wāḳidī Wellhausen, p 417 *sqq*, Ibn Saʿd, II/i 122) In addition to pagans and Jews there were many Christians there who formed, it seems, an autonomous community Muhammad received an embassy from them also and concluded a treaty with them which guaranteed the possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion in return for a fixed contribution on their part (Ibn Hishām, p 401 *sqq*, Ibn Saʿd, I/ii 84 *sq*, 35 *sq*) This treaty was confirmed by Abū Bakr and ʿOmar ʿOmar however at a later date drove the Christians and Jews out of the Arabian peninsula whereupon the Christians founded a new Nadjrān in the ʿIrāḳ, two days' journey south of Kūfa The details are variously recorded and it is not quite clear to what extent ʿOmar's orders were actually enforced Bakrī (*op cit*) says that the Jews and Christians in Nadjrān were not at all affected by the measure In any case, at a much later date (see just below), there were not a few Christians in Nadjrān and there are of course still many Jews in the Yaman In the year 40 A H Nadjrān was burned by Djarīra, ʿAlī's general (Tabarī, I 3452) The scantiness of the historical tradition, fantastic accounts of the wealth of the region and the remarkable liberty enjoyed by Christians in Nadjrān gave rise to legends and inspired poets The "material" which thus arose is very fully detailed and utilised in H Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid Ier* (*M F O B*, V/ii, p 327—369)

In the end we find Nadjrān an important fortified town, often simply called al Ḥadjar (cf Hamdānī, p 86), mentioned in the accounts of the fighting which led to the creation of the Zaidī imāmate in the Yaman in the third century A H At this period there were still Christians and Jews there, who were obviously still an important element and enjoyed considerable consideration from their Muslim neighbours (van Arendonk, *op cit*, p 128 *sq*) On bishops of the Nadjrānians or in the Yaman in the ixth and xth century from Syrian sources see Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p liv

The tribes of Nadjrān submitted to Turkish rule as little as those of eastern and northern Yaman generally Nadjrān now belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Saʿūd

On other places Nadjrān see Yāḳūt, IV 751, 757 *sqq*, Hamdānī, p 85

Bibliography given in the article and in some of the works quoted there, on the history of especially Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p 64–68, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II/i, p 312 *sq*, 317 *sqq*, 321 *sq*, 349—353, IV 350–359

(A Moberg)

NAFAḲA [See Nikāḥ Ṭalāḳ]

AL NAFIʿ [See Allāh, II]

NĀFIʿ B AL-AZRAḲ AL Ḥanafī AL Ḥanzalī, Abū Rāshid, according to some sources, the son of a freed blacksmith of Greek origin (Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 56), chief of the extreme Khāridjites [q v], who after him are called Azrakites [q v] At first, after his secession to Ahwāz, Nāfiʿ joined ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair [q v] in Makka Soon, however, he and his followers turned their backs on the holy city and arrived before Basra, where they spread terror among the inhabitants, who left the town in multitudes Al-Muhallab, however, succeeded in driving them back to Persia They made a halt in Ahwāz, where they practised *istiʿrāḍ*, in accord with their doctrine The bloody battle of Dūlāb, fought against Muslim b ʿUbais, put an end to his life (64 or 65 = 683—684)

His special doctrine comprised the following points 1 secession (*barāʾa*) from the quietists (*al-kaʿada*), 2 examination (*miḥna*) of those who wanted to join his encampment, 3 declaring infidels those who did not perform *hidjra* to him, 4 declaring it allowed to kill the wives and children of opponents This is al Ashʿarī's enumeration, which differs slightly from that of al Shahrastānī (p 90)

Bibliography al Ashʿarī, *Makālāt al Islāmiyyin*, ed Ritter, Istanbul 1929, p 86 *sqq*, ʿAbd al Kāhir al Baghdādī, *Kitāb al Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*, Cairo 1328, p 62—67, Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal wa 'l-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, Cairo 1321, IV 189, al Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, p 89—91, al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, indices, s v, Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, p 78 *sqq*, 90 *sqq*, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 56, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawarī, ed Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, p 279, 282, 284, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris ed, V 229, Yāḳūt, ed Wustenfeld, II 574, 623, al-Mubarrad, *al Kāmil*, ed Wright, index, s v (p 943), Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, index, s v, al Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, II 317, 324, M Th Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islâm*, Leyden 1875, p 28 *sq*, Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh G W Gott*, N S, V 2, 1901, p 28 *sq*, 32, R E Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omaiyaden*, Leyden 1884, Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, p 762, G Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index, s v

(A J Wensinck)

NĀFILA (A), plur *nawāfil*, part art fem I from *n f-l*, supererogatory work

1 The word occurs in the Kur'ān in two places Sūra xxi 72 runs "And we bestowed on him [viz Ibrāhīm] Isaac and Jacob as additional gift" (*nāfilatan*) In Sūra xvii 81 it is used in combination with the vigils, thus "And perform vigils during a part of the night, reciting the Kur'ān, as a nāfila for thee"

In *hadīth* it is frequently used in this sense "Forgiveness of sins past and future was granted him [Muhammad] and his works were to him as supererogatory works" (Ahmad b Hanbal, vi 250) — In another tradition it is said with reference to the month of Ramadān, that Allāh "writes down its wages and its *nawāfil* even before its beginning" (Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 524) Of peculiar importance, also in a different respect, is the following *hadīth kudsī* "When My servant seeks to approach to Me through supererogatory works, I finally love him And when I love him I become the hearing through which he heareth, the sight through which he seeth, the hand with which he graspeth, the foot with which he walketh" etc (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 38)

Finally the following tradition may be translated "Whoso performs the *wudū'* [q v] in this way [viz in the way described in the foregoing part of the tradition], receives forgiveness of past sins and his *ṣalāt* and his walking to the mosque are for him as a nāfila" (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad 8, Mālik, *Ṭahāra*, trad 30) In the parallel tradition (Muslim, *loc cit*, trad 7), the term used is *kaffāra* "expiation" — This parallelism is an indication of the effect ascribed to supererogatory works in Muslim theology, viz the expiation of light sins (cf al-Nawawī on Muslim, Cairo 1283, i 308)

Further it must be observed that in theological terminology nāfila is often applied to those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice The latter are called *sunna mu'akkada*, the former nāfila or *sunna zā'ida* (cf *infra*, sub 2)

The place of supererogatory works in theology is further accurately defined in the *Waṣīyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, art 7 "We confess that works are of three kinds, obligatory, supererogatory and sinful The first category is in accordance with Allāh's will, desire, good pleasure, decision, decree, creation, judgment, knowledge, guidance and writing on the preserved table The second category is not in accordance with Allāh's commandment yet according to His will, desire" etc

The term for supererogatory works used here is not nāfila, but *faḍīla*

2 Nāfila is used in *hadīth* especially as a designation of the supererogatory *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *'Īdain*, bāb 11, *Tahaḏḏud*, bāb 5, 27) Sometimes it appears in the combinations *salāt al nāfila* (Ibn Mādja, *Ikāma*, bāb 203) and *ṣalāt al nawāfil* (Bukhārī, *Tahaḏḏud*, bāb 36)

In *fikh* this terminology is often, but not always followed, the other term for the supererogatory *salāts* being *salāt al taṭawwu'* (e g Abū Ishāk al Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed A W T Juynboll, p 26), a term that goes back to the Kur'ān (Sūra ii 153, 180, ix 80), and which occurs also in canonical *hadīth* (Abū Dāwūd has a *Kitāb al-Taṭawwu'* in his *Sunan*) The whole class of supererogatory *ṣalāts* is called *nawāfil* as well as *sunan* Nawāfil, as a general designation of supererogatory *ṣalāts*, covers three subdivisions The following juxta-positions may give a survey of the terminology

Nawāfil (*Fatāwī 'Ālamgīrīya*, i 156, Hanafī)	*sunna*	*Nawāfil* (Khalīl, transl, Guidi, p 95, Mālikī)	*sunna*
	mandūba		*mu'akkada*
	tatawwu'		*mandūba*
Sunan (Fagnan, *Additions*, p 23, Mālikī)	*mu'akkada*	*Nawāfil* (Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, i 174, Shāfi'ī)	*sunna*
	raghība		*mustahabba*
	nāfila		*tatawwu'*

It may be added that the term *rawātib* is used especially for the supererogatory *salāts* preceding or following the *maktūba*, they belong to the first subdivision

In Shi'ī *fikh* nawāfil is the widest term, by *muraghghabāt* the daily and non daily supererogatory prayers are designated

Bibliography *Wasiyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, Haidarābād 1321, p 8—10, Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1888, p 199, Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1931, p 126, 142 *sqq*, Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis v d Moh wet*, Leyden 1925, p 382 *sq*, al Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1302, i 174 *sqq*, al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, Batavia 1882, i 121 *sqq*, Khalīl b Ishāk, *Il Muḫtaṣar*, transl I Guidi, i, Milan 1919, p 20, note 55, p 95, Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, Algiers–Paris 1923, s v, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Muhakkik, *Kitāb Sharā'i' al Islām*, Calcutta 1255, i 25, 51, transl Querry, i 49 *sq*, 52 *sq*, 100 *sqq* Further the artt KHAṬĪ'A, ṢALĀT, III

(A J WENSINCK)

AL-SAIYIDA **NAFĪSA**, a mausoleum outside Cairo, south of the Mosque of Ahmad b Tūlūn in the direction of the sepulchral mosque of al-Shāfi'ī Among the female saints [cf WALI] in Cairo next to Saiyida Zainab bint Muhammad [q v] and "Sitt Sekina" (Sukaina) "Sitt Nefisa" takes a very prominent place In the official recitations of the Kur'ān, al-Saiyida Nafīsa, where the reading is held on Sundays, takes third place among them all, immediately after Imām al Shāfi'ī and Imām al Husainī (see Bergstrasser, in *Isl*, xxi [1933], 110 *sq*) The sanctuary is visited by both men and women, especially in the evening The door leading to the sarcophagus itself is only opened once a year The foundation contains a number of other buildings besides a mosque, including a library and Sūfī cells The land around it is a much sought after place of interment

Nafīsa was a daughter of al-Hasan b Zaid b al-Hasan [q v] She came to Egypt with her husband Ishāk al-Mu'tamin, a son of Dja'far al-Sādik [q v] She had a reputation for learning and piety Shāfi'ī frequently visited her to collect traditions, on his death, his body was brought to her house so that she might say the prayer for the dead over him She had children but her descendants soon died out She herself died in

Ramadān 208 (beg of 824) Legend credits her with great *karāma* [q v], for example as is told of several Egyptian, and not only Muslim saints, it is said that her prayers produced a great rising of the Nile in a single night In contradiction of a story that her husband wanted to take her body to the family burialplace in the al Bakī' [q v] cemetery in Medīna but was prevented by her devotees, is the general opinion that this is her tomb which she built with her own hands and in which she read the Kur'ān long before her death — Several rulers took part in the development of the sanctuary, 'Abbāsids and later Fātimids and Ottoman governors The cupola over the grave was restored by the caliph al Hāfiẓ in 532 (1138) and the mosque in 693—694 (1294—1295) by the Mamlūk al Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad b Kalā'ūn

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Būlāk 1299, II 238 *sq* , Abu 'l Maḥāsin al-Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1349, II 185 *sq* , al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, I 292 *sq* , Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al Zuhūr*, Būlāk 1311—1312, I 34 — On the history of the building cf the references in Makrizī, Sakhāwī, Djabartī etc and their continuation in 'Alī Mubārak, *al Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda al tawfīkīya*, Būlāk 1305—1306, V 133—137

(R Strothmann)

NAFS [1]) (A), soul Nafs, in the early Arabic poetry, meant the self or person, while *rūḥ* meant breath and wind Beginning with the Kur'ān nafs also means soul, and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine quality Only in post-Kur'ānic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* equated and both applied to the human spirit, angels and *djinn*

I The Kur'ānic uses *Al Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* have five uses 1 In most cases they mean the human self or person, e g, III 54 "Let us call ourselves and your selves", also XII 54, II 20, 21 2 In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh V 116*b* "Thou [Allāh] dost know what is in myself [says 'Īsā], but I do not know what is in Thyself (*nafsika*)", also III 27, 28, VI 12, 54 and XX 43 3 One reference, XXV 4 (cf XIII 17), is to gods "They [*ālihа*] do not possess for themselves (*anfusihim*) any harm or benefit at all!" 4 In VI 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *djinn* "We have witnessed against ourselves (*anfusinā*)" 5 It means the human soul VI 93 "While the angels stretch forth their hands [saying,] Send forth your souls (*anfus*)", also I 15, LXIV 16, LXXIX 40, etc This soul has three characteristics *a* It is *ammāra*, commanding to evil (XII 53) Like the Hebrew *nefesh* the basal idea is "the physical appetite", in Pauline usage ψυχή, and in the English New Testament "flesh" It whispers (L 15), and is associated with *al-hawā*, which, in the sense of "desire", is always evil It must be restrained (LXXIX 40) and made patient (XVIII 27) and its greed must be feared (LIX 9*b*) *b* The *nafs* is *lawwāma*, i e, it upbraids (LXXV 2), the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (IX 119) *c* The soul is addressed as *mutma'inna*, tranquil (LXXXIX 27) These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology It is noteworthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels

B Rūḥ has five uses 1 Allāh blew (*nafakha*) of His *rūḥ*, *a* into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (XV 29, XXXVIII 72, XXXII 8), and *b* into Maryam for the conception of 'Īsā (XXI 91 and LXVI 12) Here *rūḥ* equates with *rīḥ* and means the "breath of life" (cf *Gen* II 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh 2 Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *amr* are disputed *a* In XVII 87, it is stated "They ask thee [O Muhammad] about *al-rūḥ*, say *al-rūḥ min amri rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge" *b* In XVI 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but Me, so fear" *c* In XL 15, Allāh "cast *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning" *d* In XLII 52 "We revealed (*awhainā*) to thee [O Muhammad] *rūḥan min amrinā*, thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures" Whatever meanings *amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in *a* with knowledge, in *b* with angels and creatures, to give warning, in *c* with creatures, for warning, and in *d* with Muhammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allāh for prophetic service It reminds forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding and in knowledge" (*Exodus* XXXV 30, 31) 3 In IV 169, 'Īsā is called a *rūḥ* from Allāh 4 In XCVII 4, LXXVIII 38 and LXX 4, *al rūḥ* is an associate of the angels 5 In XXVI 193, *al-rūḥ al amīn*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muhammad's heart to reveal the Kur'ān In XIX 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*", who appears to her as a well made man In XVI 104, *rūḥ al-kudus* sent the Kur'ān to establish believers Three other passages state that Allāh helps 'Īsā with *rūḥ al-kudus* (II 81, II 254 and V 109) This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may be also the *rūḥ* of 4 Thus in the Kur'ān *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's self or person, nor his soul or spirit The plural does not occur

C Nafas, breath and wind, cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in some of its meanings, does not occur in the Kur'ān, but is used in the early poetry (F Krenkow, *The Poems of Tufail and at Tirimmāh*, London 1927, p 32) The verb *tanaffasa* (Sūra LXXXI 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Kur'ānic forms from the same radicals are *falyatanāfasi 'l-mutanāfisūna* (LXXXIII 26) and are derived in al-Tabarī, *Djāmi' al Bayān*, Cairo 1321, XXX 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa*, "he desired"

II The Umaiyad poetry first uses *rūḥ* for the human soul (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed 1285, XVI 126, last line, Cheikho, *Le Christianisme*, Beirūt 1923, p 338) where the Kur'ān had used *nafs* as in N° 5 above

III Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, Cairo 1339, I 126 uses *nasama*, which does not occur in the Kur'ān, and *nafs* (II 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* uses *nasam* (VI 424), *nafs* (I 297, II 364, VI 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (IV 287, 296)

1) For the sake of convenience in this article *rūḥ* is treated as well

Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Constantinople 1331), VIII 44, 162 *sq* and al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1314, IV 133, both use *rūḥ* and *arwāḥ* for the human spirit.

IV The *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (IV 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, as follows spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical The *Lisān* (VIII 119—126) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and the Kur'ān Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (p 2827*b*) The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose these facts 1 Any attribution to Allāh of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided 2 In man, *a nafs* and *rūḥ* are identified, or *b nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or *c* man has *nafsān*, two souls, one vital and the other discriminative, or *d* the discriminative soul is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding

V The influences that affected the post-Kur'ānic uses of both nafs and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of nafs These influences are clearly shown in the records of the religious controversies

A Al-Ashʿarī [q v] (H Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu 'l Hasan ʿAlī bin Ismāʿīl al Asʿarī*, Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāfidīya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ Allāh* in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (p 6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*djism*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only (p 61, 329 *sqq*) His creed of the orthodox (p 290—297) omits any statement about the nature of man

B Al-Baghdādī [q v] (*al Fark bain al-Firak*, Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (p 28, 117 *sqq* , 241 *sqq*), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (p 254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Hulūlīya sects [cf HULŪL] among whom he includes the Hallādjīya (p 247) His position is "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son and Spirit" (p 325)

C Ibn Ḥazm [q v] uses nafs and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kitāb al Fiṣal fi 'l Milal*, 5 parts, Cairo 1317—1321, V 66) He excludes from Islām all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician philosopher Muhammad b Zakarīyā' al Rāzī (I 90 *sqq* , IV 187 *sq*) He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the Ashʿarīya of the continual re creation of the *rūḥ* (IV 69) He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (Sūra VII 171), and that these spirits exist in al Barzakh [q v] in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (IV 70)

D Al Shahrastānī [q v] (*Kitāb al Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed Cureton, part I , London 1842) in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death does not use the terms nafs or *rūḥ*, but says the blood becomes a wraith bird that visits the grave every hundred years One of his most important sections (p 203–240) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ* Al Hunafāʾ, or true believers, debate with al-Sābiʾa [q v], who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics His account of the views of the Sābiʾa faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ikhwān al-Safāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, 4 vols , Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (I/II , 14), and that the substance (*djawhar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al aflāk*) But al Shahrastānī rejects the Neo Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al nufūs al-rūḥānīyāt*) (p 210, 224 *sq*), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (p 236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (p 226 *sq*) He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (p 213) His description of the nature of man (p 216 *sqq*) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, need, place and powers, resembles that of the Ikhwān al Safāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, I/II , 48 *sqq*) Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima*, and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al Kindī [q v], al-Fārābī [q v] each of whom wrote a *Kitāb al Nafs*, Ibn Sīnā [q v] who wrote two, and Ibn Miskawaih [q v], whose *Tahdhīb al Akhlāk* has the same immaterial (p 1) and functional (p 7) psychology for its ethical basis Al Shahrastānī achieved the long needed interpretation of the conflicting usages of nafs and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Kur'ān and Muslim tradition But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam The *Mutakallims* [s art KALĀM] and the great majority of Muslims broadened the Kur'ānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities

VI Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islām's greatest theologian, al-Ghazālī [q v] In al Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (ed Sprenger, Calcutta 1862) are extracts of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī on man's *rūḥ* and nafs He defines man as a spiritual substance (*djawhar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (p 547 at top , cf *Tahāfut al Falāsifa*, Cairo 1302, p 72) He devotes the second section of *al Risāla al-Ladunīya* (Cairo 1327, p 7—14) to explain the words *nafs*, *rūḥ* and *kalb* (heart), which are names for this simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al nafs al-muṭmaʾinna* and *al-rūḥ al-amrī* of the Kur'ān He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics

VII This position of al Ghazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Muʿtazila and the Shīʿa, but it has never dominated Islām The great analytical philosopher

and theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al Rāzī, could not bring himself to accept it In his *Mafātīh al-Ghaib*, v 435, commenting on Sūra xvii 85, he quotes as the opinion of al Ghazālī the statement that is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (p 72, cf also al Rāzī's *Muhassal*, Cairo 1323, p 164), but on p 434 (l 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātīh* he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Maʿālim Usūl al-Dīn*, on the margin of the *Muhassal*, p 117 *sq*, he definitely rejects as baseless (*bātil*) the view of the philosophers that the *nafs* is a substance (*djawhar*) which is not a body (*djism*) and not corporeal

VIII Al-Baidāwī's [q v] system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Tawāliʿ al-Anwār* (lithograph ed with commentary Abu 'l-Thanāʾ al-Isfahānī and gloss by al-Djurdjānī, Stambul 1305, p 285 *sqq*, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 418, ii 111, printed Cairo 1323) He discusses 1 The classes of incorporeal substances, 2 the heavenly intelligences, 3 the souls of the spheres, 4 the incorporeality of human souls, 5 their creation 6 their connection with bodies and 7 their survival His cosmogony follows Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*ʿakl*) This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al sādir*) from Allāh, is the cause (*ʿilla*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*djism*), nor original matter (*hayūlī*) nor form (*sūra*) It is the secondary cause (*sabab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*) There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (p 288) who is the *rūh* of Sūra lxxviii 38 (cf al-Baidāwī's *Anwār al Tanzīl*, ed Fleischer, ii 383, l 4) whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāh*) of mankind Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al nufūs al-falakiya*, and the low *nufūs*, which are in two classes earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nātika*) controlling particular persons In addition (p 285) there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al kurūbiyūn*) and some evil (*al shayātīn*) and the *djinn*, who are ready for both good and evil This is the classification he refers to in his comment on Sūra ii 28 (ed Fleischer, i 47, 25) His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (p. 294) For the incorporeality of the soul (*tadjarrud al nafs*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Kur'ān verses and one tradition His commentator remarks (p 300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body He then argues that all *nufūs* are created when their bodies are completed The *nafs* (p 303) is not embodied in and is not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved It is connected with that *rūh* which comes from the heart and is generated of the finest nutritive particles The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūh* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis*, imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active (*al-muharrika*) which are voluntary (*ikhtiyāriya*) and natural (*tabiʿiya*, p 308)

IX The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūh* and *al-nafs* is most fully given in the *Kitāb al Rūh* of Ibn Kayyim [q v] (Haidarābād, 2nd ed, 1324) Of his 21 chapters Ibn Kayyim devotes the 19th to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (p 279—342) He quotes the summaries given by al Ashʿarī (*op cit*, p 331—335), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātīh al-Ghaib*, v 431—434) He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *Mutakallims* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit The *rūh* is identified with the *nafs*, and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhīya*) from this sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose It is created, but everlasting, it departs temporarily from the body in sleep, when the body dies it departs for the first judgement, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr, and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection He rejects (p 256) Ibn Hazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakh awaiting their time to be blown into embryos He presents 116 evidences for the corporeality of the *rūh*, 22 refutations of opposing arguments and 22 rebuttals of objections He represents traditional Islām

X The earlier Sūfīs had accepted the materiality of the *rūh* Both al-Kushairī [q v] (*al-Risāla*, with commentary of Zakariyāʾ al-Ansārī and gloss of al ʿArūsī, Būlāk 1290, ii 105 *sqq*) and al Hudjwīrī [q v] (*Kashf al-Mahdjūb*, ed Nicholson, London 1911, p 196, 262) call the *rūh* a fine, created substance (*ʿain*) or body (*djism*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood The *nafs* (*al-Risāla*, p 103 *sqq*, *Kashf al-Mahdjūb*, p 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics All together make the man

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūh* that al Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially theosophical Ibn al ʿArabī [q v] (H S Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al ʿArabi*, Leyden 1919, p 15, ii, 7 *sqq*) divides "things" into three classes Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world It is the universal and common reality of all realities Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *barzakh* (p 22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (p 21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (p 96) His animal spirit (*rūh*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (p 95) and his reasoning soul (*nafs nātika*) is from the universal soul (*al nafs al-kulliya*), while his body is from the earthly elements (p 95 *sq*) Man's position as vicegerent (p 45 *sq*) and his resemblance to the divine presence (p 21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūh al kudus*), the first intelligence (p 51), vicegerent (*khalīfa*), the perfect man (p 45) and the *rūh* of the world of command (*ʿālam al-amr*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allāh's direct creation (p 122, 1), In his *Fusūs* (lithograph ed with commentary by al-Kāshānī, Cairo 1309, p 12 *sqq*) he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of

manifestation of the Divine essence This place receives a *rūh*, who is Adam, the *khalīfa* and the perfect man He discusses (Nyberg, *op cit*, p 129 *sqq*) the essence and properties of the *rūh*, quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahāfut* (as above) He finds the differences of doctrine harmless since all agree that the *rūh* is originated In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūh* (M Asín Palacios, *Tratado Acerca del Conocimiento del Alma y del Espíritu*, in *Actes du XIVème Congres international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, iii 167—191) he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūh* and the suppression of the *nafs*

Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporary, the poet Ibn al Fārid (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, chap iii), at times identifies his own *rūh* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tāʾiya al kubrā*, on margin of *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fārid, Cairo 1319, ii 4 *sq*) and with the "pole" (*kutb*) upon which the heavens revolve (p 113, 115) Al-Kāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tāʾiya*, explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūh al arwāh*) and the greatest "pole" The compiler of the commentaries on the *Dīwān* states (ii 196) that incarnat' on (*hulūl*) and union (*ittihād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*janāʾ*) and attainment (*wasl*) of the *rūh* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*

ʿAbd al-Karīm al Djīlānī carries this position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism In *al-Insān al-kāmil* [q v] (Cairo 1334) the terms *rūh al-kudus*, *rūh al arwāh* and *rūh Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al Hakk*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (p 94) Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*) Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūh*) (p 94) One of the aspects of the angel of Sūra xlii 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allāh, and who is an aspect of Allāh as above, is given to the *rūh* of Muhammad, which is identified as the *rūh* mentioned in the verse That angelic and divine *rūh* thereby becomes the Idea (*hakīka*) of Muhammad (p 95 *sq*) and he thereby becomes the "perfect man" (p 96, 131 *sqq*) The *rūh* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulhama*), reproving, and tranquil When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs*, then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*ʿārif*) are those of the One Known (*Maʿrūf*) (p 130 *sq*)

XI In geomancy (*ʿilm al-raml*) the first "house" (*bait*) of the *ummahāt* [cf MADAGASCAR, *supra*, iii 73b] is called nafs because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muhammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-Fasl fī ʿIlm al-Raml*, Cairo n d, p 7, cf Henr Corn Agrippae, *Opera*, Leyden, n d, but early xviith cent, p 412 *Nam primus domus personam tenet quaerentis*)

Bibliography In addition to the references in the article see especially D B Macdonald, *The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam*, in *Acta Orientalia*, Oslo 1931, ix 307—351 (reprinted in *M W*, xxii [1932], 25—42, 153—168) upon which much of the present article is based, Muslim philosophical psychology goes back to Aristotle's *De Anima* (best ed by R D Hicks, Cambridge 1907), for the early metempsychosis beliefs see I Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites* etc, in *J Am O S*, xxviii 1—80, xxix 1—183, for the relation between Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā see S Landauer, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sînâ*, in *Z D M G*, xxix [1875], 335—418, English translation by A E van Dyck, *Avicenna's Offering to the Prince*, Verona 1906, M Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme im Islam*, Bonn 1912, T J De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903 (E E CALVERLEY)

AL-**NAFŪSA**, in Berber INFŪSEN, name of a Berber tribe According to the common genealogical scheme (cf Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, i 107—117 of the text), the Nafūsa are one of the four branches of the large body of the Botr, whose name derives from their chief Mādghīs al-Abtar At present the dwelling place of the Nafūsa is south-west of Tripoli, on the plateau of the same name which from the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania tends eastward, and, if taken in the largest sense, comprises the regions of Nālūt, Fassāto and Yefren The inhabitants of these regions are generally called Nafūsa, although, in a genealogical sense, this name can be applied to some groups only Probably the name Djabal Nafūsa (in Berber *Drār n Infūsen*), which originally belonged to a part of the plateau, was extended to the large area between Wāzzen and Yefren on account of the fact, that of the tribes inhabiting it, the Nafūsa were of prominent importance This use of the name in its widest sense is also to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b Slīmān al-Shammākhī "Castles and Ways of the Nafūsa plateau" (1302 = 1884—1885), in which all the territories of Yefren, Fassāto and Nālūt are described

The scarce data on the history of the Nafūsa, which we possess, are to be found, for the largest part, in Arabic sources In the Greek and Latin authors of pre-Islāmic times there is no single sure allusion to them The name occurring in Corippus' *Johannis* (second song, l 146 Quaeque nefanda colunt tristis montana Navusi), does not refer, in all probability, to a place or a tribe of Tripolitania, but rather of the Aurès (Awrās), its plateau or its neighbourhood The fact that Navus represents a form closely connected with Nafūsa, proves only that the name was widely spread among the Berbers, that it is old and may be probably connected with such words as *ennefūs*, fem *tenefūst* "right, to the right hand" in Augilin

In Islāmic times the name is recorded for the first time in connection with the capture of the town of Tripoli by ʿAmr b al ʿĀs (22 or 23) According to Ibn ʿIdhārī (i 2 *sq*, text) during the siege the inhabitants called to their aid the Nafūsa, who came to their aid At that time they were residing also in the vast plain of Djafāra, situated between the Djabal and the Sea, one of their chief towns, if not their capital, was Sabra on the coast (Roman Sabratha, formerly Phoenician), west of Tripoli, which by Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, i 181, l 8, text) is called "the city of the Nafūsa" This town was taken

by surprise and plundered by a body of cavalry sent by ʿAmr This raid was probably undertaken not only to continue the conquest farther westward, but also to punish the Nafūsa, whose territory ʿAmr had invaded in order to conquer it (cf al-Bakrī, p 9, 10, text), and which he had to abandon by order of the Caliph

According to some sources, the Nafūsa at that time were Christians, according to other reports, however, they were Jews Our latest local information makes it probable that Christianity had spread widely among them, though the conversion of single groups to Judaism is not excluded In fact traces of Byzantine basilicas have been found on the plateau, e g at Temézda, Itarmīsen etc, which are also mentioned in some sources and which must have been used by large numbers of the indigenous population

When the Arab had conquered North Africa, the Nafūsa of Sabra and of the coastal region retired, according to the common opinion, to the plateau, where they remained hostile towards the conquerors A fresh study of the Tripolitan population, however, makes it clear that a part of them must have stayed in their old dwelling-places where they intermarried with other tribes and, in course of time, became arabicised In fact there are tribes in the Western Djafāra and in Tripoli, the town and its surroundings (the regions of al-Sāhil, Iagiura, etc), that, according to the local genealogy, derive from the Nafūsa Apart from this ethnic tradition, there is the fact, recorded in several sources, that after the first case of intervention of the Nafūsa in the affairs of the town of Tripoli — which may have been partly due to a Christian opposition to the Muhammadan invasion — they wanted, under successive dominations, to make their presence felt and their influence preponderant in the north-western region of Tripolitania, so that the outlines of the history of the small, but strong and civilised Berber unit may be supposed to be the following Having its centre in the plateau, it intended to make felt, as often as possible, its dominion in the coastal region and thus keep the control of the main way of communication between Egypt and Ifrikiya, which ran along the coast and which was followed by the various expeditions to the Maghrib Even at present such aspirations may be stirred in the minds of the most cultivated of these populations, to such an extent that even some of them have reckoned with an eventual reoccupation of their old territories in Western Djafāra

The period in which the Nafūsa, according to the sources available to us, vigorous were most active and took a part in the events happening in North Africa, was that of the great Khāridjī [q v] revolts, which began in 122 (739—740) and did not cease before the IVth (xth) century, i e before the era of the Fātimids When the Wahbī doctrines began to spread among the North African populations in the second century A H, they embraced them and so joined the rebellious movement of the Berbers against the Arab conquerors, a movement which, prepared by several other causes, found also some support in the Khāridjī heterodoxy The Nafūsa embraced the Ibādī, i e the more moderate form of the Khāridjī doctrine, and remained ever faithful to it with heroic attachment. In alliance with other Berber tribes, either Ibādīs or other branches of the sect, they repeatedly made war upon the Arab governors of Ifrīkiya

In 140 (757—758), they elected as their *imām*, probably with the intention of founding an Ibādite principality — an intention which manifests itself also at other times — an Arab called Abu 'l-Khattāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā' b al-Samh al-Muʿāfirī [q v], one of the missionaries of Ibādism in North Africa Under his command and in conjunction with other Berber groups, they occupied Tripolis, fought against the Ṣufrite [cf AL-ṢUFRIYA] Wafardjūma, who had sacked Kairawān where they had settled, and against the armies sent by the ʿAbbāsids to reconquer Ifrīkiya Finally, in 144 (761—762), Abu 'l-Khattāb and a large number of his followers perished near Tauorgha (Tāwurghā) in a great battle against the general Muhammad b al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, the governor of Ifrīkiya

Another notorious *imām* of the Nafūsa was a Berber Abū Hatim Yaʿkūb [q v], whose enterprises survive in oral tradition on the plateau, who speaks of his 375 encounters with the Arabs He was killed in battle in 155 (771—772)

When the Ibādī kingdom of the Rustamids [cf RUSTAM], which had Tāhert as its centre, had been founded, the Nafūsa did not elect an *imām* of their own any more, but formed a part of this kingdom under a governor who depended upon it Some of these governors, e g Abū ʿUbaida ʿAbd al-Hamid al-Djanāwuni (of Igennāwen), Abū Mansūr Ilyās (of Tendemmīra), are often praised by the Berbers of the Djabal, for their importance and ability in maintaining the interests of Ibādism, and also for their learning and piety

The Nafūsa were a valuable support of the kingdom of the Rustamids, of which they formed the eastern bulwark Being near the territory of the Aghlabides [q v], they shared to some extent the vicissitudes of this state which had arisen in Ifrīkiya in the beginning of the IXth century A D The town of Tripoli was in the possession of those princes, Western Djafāra, on the other hand, till near the Sea, and probably also part of Eastern Djafāra, was in the power or under the influence of the Nafūsa When Tripoli was beleaguered in 267 (880—881) by the Tūlūnid prince al-ʿAbbās, who, having revolted against his father Ahmad, sought to conquer Ifrīkiya at his own risks, the Nafūsa were called to aid, and, appearing without delay, they defeated the army of the invaders (according to other sources, their help was invoked by the inhabitants of Lebda) This fact, which reminds of the first siege of Tripoli by the Muslims, proves clearly the influence the Nafūsa possessed in northwestern Tripolitania and it accounts also for the severe blow dealt to them in 283 (896—897) by the Aghlabides, when Ibrāhīm II b Ahmad, who led an expedition from Tunis to Egypt, found his passage through the coastal region of Tripolitania barred by the Nafūsa The bloody battle of Mānū, which was followed by acts of terrible cruelty inflicted upon hundreds of Nafūsa prisoners, and which is narrated in a more or less anecdotical form in the Sunnī as well as in the Ibādī sources, is ascribed, ultimately, to the desire of the Caliph to punish the Nafūsa who were the principal support of the heretical state of Tāhert, or to the resentment of the Aghlabides at acts of enmity committed

Additions and Corrections

p 691b l 23, to be added 13 *ʿId al-djawhar al thamin* (extract in I Massignon, *Recueil*, p 171, note 1)

p 692a, l 29, to be added He has been buried at the feet of the poet Niyazi Misri at Kastro Lemnos), where his tomb was still shown in 1916 (cf I Massignon, *Recueil* p 164)

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