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A Critical Edition
of
al-Ta'rif Bimā Anasat al-Hijra
min Ma'ālim Dār al-Hijra
By
Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-
Muṭarī
(671/1272-741/1340)

By
Faisal Farhan al-Anazi

Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
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Durham University, UK

Volume I of II

Abstract

The aim of this study is to authenticate the attribution of *“al-Ta‘rif bimā‘anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra”* to its original author, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī (d.741/1340) a well-known historian of Medina. In doing so, this research explores his life and the socio-economic and political conditions of his time with an attempt to locate the significance of this manuscript.

His work is considered to be one of the key sources of the history of Medina throughout several different eras. He witnessed some events which took place in Medina and his work includes a great number of quotations extracted from important missing sources, such as the works of Muḥammad ibn Zabāla and Zubayyr ibn Bakār.

This study describes al-Muṭarī’s life in some detail and investigates the different conditions related to the history of Medina and its topography. At different stages of this study the descriptive approach and historical analysis methods are applied in order to achieve its aim.

After using several methods, the study reveals that the author of the manuscript is indeed Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī as based on a number of evidences. In addition, this research provides a critical commentary on the significance of language and the contents of the text it self.

Acknowledgments

First of all, praise and gratitude be to Allāh without whose help and success this work could not have been accomplished.

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I am indebted to my beloved mother who always remembered me in her prayers.

My deepest appreciations go to my brothers for their support and care of my family during my absence from Saudi Arabia in the course of conducting this work. My sincere thanks and love is also due to my wife who shared all the hardship and problems I faced during the course of research. I also thank my children (Abdulaziz, Jehan, Renad, Rimas and Saud) for their continuous encouragement to finish this work and return to Saudi Arabia.

Declaration

I hereby declare that no portion of the work that appears in this study has been used in support of an application for another degree qualification to this or any other university or institution of learning.

Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No extract from it should be published without his prior written consent, and all information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Transliteration Scheme

1. Consonants:

ء	’	ض	d
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	z
ث	th	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	هـ	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

2. Vowels:

Short vowels		Long vowels	
اَ	a	اِ	ā
اُ	u	و	ū
اِ	i	ي	ī

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Chapter One

1.1. INTRODUCTION:

Mecca and Medina are two respected places in the hearts of all Muslims worldwide. This special position is confirmed by the Holy Qur'ān and the Prophet's Traditions. In addition, Medina is the place where the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) spent the rest of his life after his migration from Mecca.

Following the Hijra, Medina became the capital of the Muslim state where a large number of historical events took place. As a result, its history attracted many scholars even those who came from outside Medina. However, any historical work is likely to be more reliable and authentic if written by someone who lived in the place in question, given that he would have witnessed the historical events, landmarks and locations of that place. He is expected to be more knowledgeable about the history of his city. The work in hand is attributed to one of Medina's most eminent scholars. Therefore, al-Muṭarī's work is undeniably valuable.

The significance of this study can be summarized by the following factors:

First, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī, author of *al-Ta'rif bimā anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*, which literally means "informing people of derelict locations and historical landmarks of Medina which have been forgotten because of concentrating on the Prophet's migration", al-Muṭarī was an inhabitant of Medina who spent his life there. This gives him merits and advantages over other scholars from his era with respect to the history of Medina and its topography. Whilst other scholars transmitted the material of their books from previous scholars, al-Muṭarī was an eye-witness to many events which took place there. In fact, he relied on his personal observation to describe the sites of the historical events that he visited for this purpose.

Second, every field of study has its own style. The majority of authors of historical works usually pay more attention to political issues, hence they ignore any social, economic, and topographical features related to their works. However, al-Muṭarī in his work on the history of Medina paid more attention to those topics which had been ignored and this makes his work undeniably valuable. He would reveal some important information, resulting in a clear picture of some historical events.

Third, this work contains a number of quotations cited from important missing sources which deal with the history of Medina. Examples of such works include *Akḥbār al-Madīna* by Muḥammad ibn Zabāla who died in 199/814, and *Akḥbār al-Madīna* by Zubayyr ibn Bakār who died in 256/869. Both works are considered to be of the earliest important sources of Medina. Al-Muṭarī recorded some narratives from these works, which contributes to the value of his work.

Fourth, a number of eminent historians of Medina refer to this work as a primary source of the history of Medina, which they quote in different contexts. Among such historians are Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Marāqī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fayrūz 'abādī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Samḥūdī and Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Ḥamayīd al-'Abbāsī, in addition to some contemporary historians of Medina such as Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Khiyārī, Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī and Abd Allāh 'Usaylān and Abd al-Bāsīṭ Badr.

Fifth, this work revealed some places in Medina which were unknown even to its residents. It described such places and refuted the claims of former historians who denied them.

Sixth, the author gave full details about a number of events that have been mentioned in his work, revealing any development made later to the site of the historical event in order to help the reader to understand and analyze the reality of the event.

Despite the fact that *“al-Ta‘rīf bimā’anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra”* has been edited twice these editions do not meet the required academic criteria of research. The first edition was undertaken by Mr. al-Luhayb and the second approach to this manuscript was conducted by Dr. al-Rehaili. However, both of them were flawed. Mr. Al-Luhayb’s attempt fails to meet criteria as he based it on a single copy of the manuscript. Although he recognized the existence of other copies he claimed that all the copies were completely identical. Nevertheless, revision conducted by the current researcher of other copies reveals that there are, in fact, differences. Al-Rehaili’s edition also appears to be academically insufficient for a number of reasons. These include basing his critical edition on the oldest copy of the manuscript which is full of mistakes although he admitted that better revisions had been done on other copies and not making references that the original author had used although they were accessible.

Both editions remarkably share some unprofessional techniques such as the lack of historical background of the political, social and economic conditions at the time of the original author. In addition, a number of errors can be found in their studies.

1.2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

This study aims to authenticate the attribution of the work, *al-Ta‘rīf bimā’anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*, to its author, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī. Consequently, its objectives include the following:

First, to present the work as closely as possible to how it looked in the original version and to how its author wanted it to be;

Second, to remind people and history readers of places, related to Medina, which have been neglected and which have disappeared;

Third, to reveal more detailed information of the history of Medina and its topography;

Fourth, to help to preserve a number of accounts and works written by earlier Muslim historians;

Fifth, to investigate those well-known historians who studied the poorly-tackled subject of Medina's history and topography, including al-Muṭarī himself.

1.3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

It is necessary to mention here that the motivation for studying this particular emerges from the fact that the author had certain advantages over other historians who wrote about the history of Medina, even though he only wrote this manuscript, which is rather limited in nature. There are two main reasons for this; the first is that he was a resident of Medina, which surely made him more knowledgeable about it than others. The second factor is that he was an eye-witness to many of its events.

It should also be noted that considering the change and the speedy modernisation of Medina makes this manuscript rather valuable, which refers to the existing historical environments and monuments as well as place in his own times.

By based on the above mentioned reasons, a study of this author is undeniably valuable.

It should also be noted that some of the places and issues mentioned in the manuscript is no longer part of the public memory due to the changes have taken place over the centuries. Therefore, this research motivated by this fact also and therefore by studying this manuscript it might be possible to claim the forgotten historical places and events as explored and identified by al-Muṭarī.

1.4. CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY:

The author of the manuscript in question paid more attention, through his study of the history of Medina, to topics which could be described as neglected and ignored areas of the city's history. As a result, the main contribution of al-Muṭarī's work was to reveal indepth information about those places in Medina which were unknown even to its inhabitants. Some of them have been destroyed and are no longer known. Therefore, the author did his best to identify them and to provide us with all the changes and developments, which had taken place in those locations. This study will shed light on these neglected features of Medina's history.

1.5. DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT:

Six versions of this manuscript have been collected for the purpose of this study (see below). In fact, the first three of them have been adopted for the purpose of authenticating and verifying the book. The following is a synopsis of each version:

Murad Molla library in Turkey, Manuscript no 4289: This manuscript was photocopied by the Islamic University in Medina and registered under no 9316. This manuscript comprises 82 double folios. It is written in clear, neat *naskh* script. The scribe of this manuscript is unknown, and the number of lines on each page is fifteen. Each line consists of nine to thirteen words. The manuscript is complete, with some marginal comments and repeated amendments made by the scribe himself. In addition, there are some marginal indications confirming that this version was read and approved by the author's son. Therefore, the scribe used the term *balagh muqabala*¹ six

¹ This term means that the manuscript, whose text was used as an origin for investigation, is completely identical to the manuscript owned by the author.

times in the margins of the manuscript in order to demonstrate that this version is complete and original. This manuscript was written in Cairo in 759/1357 and reviewed by the author's son in the Prophet's mosque in Medina in 760/1358. It was chosen as the reference for editing for two reasons. First, it was complete and reviewed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jamāl, the author's son. Second, a brief comparison between various versions of the manuscript, conducted by the researcher, reveals that this version is more accurate and contains fewer mistakes than other versions.

Al-Şāfi library in Medina, Manuscript no 152: This manuscript consists of 69 double folios. It is written in clear script. The scribe of this manuscript was Abū Muḥammad Abd al-Şamad ibn 'Alī al-Işfahānī. Each page consists of nineteen to twenty one lines. Each line consists of eleven to fourteen words. This copy is complete, apart from a few holes likely to have been caused by moisture. This manuscript was written in Medina in 772/1370.

'Ārif Ḥakmat's library in Medina, Manuscript no 69/900: This manuscript consists of 85 double folios. It is written in clear neat script. The scribe of this manuscript is unknown. The number of lines on each page is fifteen lines. Each line consists of ten to fourteen words. This copy is complete and written in Damascus in 743/1342. Therefore, it is considered to be the oldest copy. Seals of 'Ārif Ḥakmat are seen in different places in the manuscript. Ownership of this manuscript belonged to Badr al-Dīn ibn Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Ḥasan al-Jaray before it transferred to 'Ārif Ḥakmat.

'Ārif Ḥakmat's library in Medina, Manuscript no 70/900: This manuscript was written in the twelfth century of the Prophet's migration and consists of 84 double folios. It is written in clear neat script. The scribe who produced this manuscript is unknown. The number of lines on each page is seventeen. Each line consists of ten to thirteen words. This copy is incomplete because the scribe omitted the narration chains intentionally. Therefore, it was excluded from the authentication process of the book.

Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no 21 Dahlawī: This manuscript consists of fifty double folios. Each page consists of twenty three lines. The scribe of this manuscript is ‘Abd al-Satār ibn Abd al-Wahhāb Dahlawī who died in 1355/1936. He transcribed it from the Damascus’ copy, so it was excluded from the authentication process of this work.

Maktabat Dār al-kutub al-Maṣriya, no 564 Tarīkh: This manuscript consists of 57 double folios. The scribe of this manuscript is unknown. The number of lines on each page is nineteen. The manuscript’s title in this copy is Tarīkh al-Medina al-Sharifa which is known as *al-Ta’rīf bimā anasat al-hijra min ma’ālim dār al-hijra*. This manuscript was transmitted from the Damascus’ copy in 1299/1882, so it was excluded from the authentication process of this work.

1.6. THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY:

This study consists of two parts and a different method is used in each of them. The first part of this study is a library-based research due to the fact that the materials of the research are derived from books and articles, consequently, this part is simply descriptive. The descriptive approach and historical analysis through textual analysis enabled us to achieve the aim of the study by confirming the attribution of this manuscript to its original author, al-Muṭarī, and the method was very helpful in giving a full picture of different issues related to this study in this part of the research.

In the second part of the study text comparison is applied to the Arabic text to enable us to achieve certain objectives, such as producing and presenting the text of the manuscript as closely as possible to what the original author wanted.

Upon examining the copies of the manuscript, the first three complete copies were adopted in order to authenticate the book. Murad Molla’s Manuscript no 4289 was chosen as the reference for a number of reasons mentioned earlier.

Al-Ṣāfi's Manuscript no 152, hereinafter (M) and 'Ārif Ḥakmat's Manuscript no 69/900, hereinafter (D)², were compared with the original copy.

The reason for adopting the first three copies in the process of manuscript verification is that they were complete manuscripts, but the fourth manuscript was not. As for the fifth and sixth manuscripts, they were transcribed from the third copy which was adopted in manuscript verification.

The researcher compared M and D manuscripts with the original copy and highlighted the differences using parentheses (). The researcher also uses [] to refer to missing words, corrections made by the researcher on the basis of other copies, or additions made by the researcher to make the text more appropriate. The brackets ({ }) are used to quote Qur'ānic verses. Also, the Sūra to which quoted verses belong is mentioned as a footnote, accompanied by its number. *Ḥadīths*, quoted in the work, are all referenced to their original sources, e.g. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and other books of *Ḥadīth*. The footnotes often contain interpretations of unknown words, using lexicographic sources. In addition, the footnotes contain some brief biographies of names and descriptions of locations. The edited text is supplied with indices of Qur'ānic verses, *aḥadīth*, persons and locations.

It should also be noted that interpretative method is also used to engage with the manuscript by locating it within its historical but also in a larger socio-economic and political framework.

1.7. KEY SOURCES:

It is useful to give some information about the main sources used for the purpose of the current study:

Ibn al-Najjār (d.643/1245)'s *al-Durah al-thamayna fī tārikh al-Medina*: it gives a clear picture of Medina and contains more details about its archaeological locations. In addition, it describes the Prophet's Mosque throughout different

² M and D are the initials of places where the cited manuscripts were written.

eras. It is also one of a number of significant sources used by al-Muṭarī in writing his manuscript, the subject of the current study.

Ibn Farḥūn (d.769/1367): he was one of al-Muṭarī's students and he wrote a very important book about different aspects of Medina's life, in which he described the political and social life of Medina. In addition, his work, titled *Naṣiḥat al-mushawir wa ta'zīat al-mujāwir*, provides us with a numbers of biographies of renowned men who lived in Medina in ibn Farḥūn's lifetime. Therefore, it is considered an important source for all researchers interested in the history of Medina.

Al-Fayrūzabādī (d.817/1415): he wrote a valuable source on the history of Medina, titled *al-Maghānīm al-muṭābah fī ma'ālīm ṭābah*. In this work, he provided useful information covering different historical eras of Medina. In addition, he was the author of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīt*, a very important Arabic lexicon which is considered to be a primary source for scholars of Arabic. The current study benefited from both books with regard to the history of Medina and definitions of some key terms.

Al-Sakhāwī (d.902/1496): he is the author of a well-known book, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī tārikh al-Medina al-sharīfa*, which is considered as a biographical work. In this work, he lists names and brief biographies of a number of Medina's well-known characters, demonstrating any relevant aspects of Medina's history.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī (d.911/1506): he is a well-known historian of Medina who wrote a famous book under the title of *Wafā' al-wafā' bi' akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā*. The book covers the history of Medina and gives some details regarding its topography.

Al-Ḥamawī (d.622/1225): he is a great Muslim geographer who wrote a valuable book titled *Mu'jam al-buldān*. He gives details of every location and a brief history of each. This book is essential for any researcher. It has been

used extensively in the course of writing the current study when identification of locations is needed.

Al-Dhahabī (d.748/1348): he is considered as a creative historian and biographer who left behind a number of works, including the most significant titles *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* and *al-‘Ibar fī khabar mn ghabar*. Both works give more biographical information of many renowned Muslims in different historical periods.

Al-Fāsī (d.832/1429): he is the author of *al-‘Iqd al-thamayn fī tārikh al-balad al-‘amayn*, a useful biography of Mecca’s inhabitants, covering the eighth century. The current study uses it as a primary source in different issues.

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d.852/1448): he is a well-known Muslim scholar who wrote a number of books, among which are *al-Durar alkāmina fī a‘yān almā’a althāmina* and *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. In both works, he gives a biography of narrators of *hadīths* and many other people. Therefore, the current study benefited from both works, particularly in the Arabic section.

1.8. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY:

This study is divided into two sections: the first studies the al-Muṭarī’s work and the second edits the manuscript. The first section examines the author’s work through critical analysis and consists of five chapters.

Chapter One presents an introduction to the study, its significance, the study’s structure, description of the versions of the manuscript, key sources of this research and the method of editing adopted in the study.

Chapter Two is devoted to the author’s life in some detail: his lineage, his birth, his teachers, his journeys to seek knowledge, his students, his job, and his death.

Chapter Three is dedicated to examining the manuscript and some related issues, including its authentication and attribution to the author. This chapter

also discusses the objective of the manuscript, its subject matter and the sources used by the manuscript. In addition, this chapter demonstrates the status of the author among other scholars and those who benefited from his work.

Chapter Four covers the political and social conditions prevailing in Medina during the author's era. It starts by listing the *amirs* of Medina, then giving a brief biography of each of them. Then, the chapter discusses the relationship between *amirs* of Medina and Mamlūk sultans, in addition their relations with Mecca amirates and neighbouring tribes of Medina. This chapter also studies the social and economic life of Medina during the author's era.

Chapter Five gives comments and notes taken on the manuscript during the process of editing. This chapter starts with commentary on the language used in the manuscript. Then, it comments on its text. The chapter also contains two glossaries of key terms mentioned in the work: a glossary of words, and a glossary of places.

The second section of the study is a critical edition of the Arabic text of al-Muṭarī's manuscript. This section includes the following indices:

- Index of Qur'ānic verses.
- Index of Ḥadīths and narrated Traditions.
- Index of poetry.
- Index of eminent persons.
- Index of places.
- Bibliography.

Chapter Two

AL-MUṬARĪ BIOGRAPHY

2.1. HIS LINEAGE:

His full name was Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn (Khalaf)³ ibn ‘Īsā ibn Badr ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī al-Madanī al-Shāfi‘ī⁴. He was also known as al-‘Ubādī al-Sa‘dī due to his lineage which can be traced back to the companion of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubāda ibn Dulaym ibn Ḥāritha⁵ who was the chief of al-Khazraj’s tribe in Medina (Yathrib) during the prophetic era⁶.

His *kunya* (honorific name) was Abū Abd Allāh. He was also known as *al-Ḥāfaz* (the Memorizer) Abū Abd Allāh al-Jamāl al-Muṭarī, owing to his family’s

³ Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, in his work, *Laḥz al-‘Alḥāz*, claimed that his name was Muḥammad ibn Khalaf. However; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, in his book, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī a ‘Yān al-Mi’a al-thāmina* states that the author’s name was Muḥammad ibn Khalīd; refer to Muḥammad Ibn Fahd *Laḥz al-‘Alḥāz* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya,2007), p.75; and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī a ‘Yān al-Mi’a al-Thāmina* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya,1997) vol.3, p.192

⁴ Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1993) vol. 2,p.413; ‘Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn* (Beirut: Dār ‘Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī) vol. 2,p.150; Abd Allāh ‘Usaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal Medina al-Munawwarah* (Medina : Nādī Medina al-‘Adabī, 1994), p.354

⁵ He was one of the closest companions of the Prophet (PBWH). Moreover, he had a high stature among the population of Medina. He was very generous as he was dedicated to sending food to the Prophet’s home every day. There are two suggested dates for his death; the first opinion proposed the year 15/636 while the second pointed to the year 16/637; for more information see Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Birr, *al-Istay‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-‘Aṣḥab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī,1940) vol. 2, p.33; also Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Īsāba fī Tamayaz al-Sahaba* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī,1940) vol. 2, p.27

⁶ Muḥammad Mūsa, *Nazḥat Alfudalā’* (Jeddah: Dār al-‘Andalus al-Khazrā’,1998) vol.1, p.161

village in Egypt which is called al-Muṭariyya⁷. This is the place where they came from before residing in Medina in the seventh century of AH.

2.2. HIS BIRTH:

With respect to al-Muṭarī's birth, three different dates have been suggested. While Ibn-Ḥajar⁸ and Ibn Farḥūan⁹ claimed that al-Muṭarī was born in 671/1272, Ibn Fahd¹⁰ and al-Sakhāwī¹¹ were undecided between two dates. The first one was 671/1272 and the other was 673/1274.

On the other hand, some writers insist that the date of al-Muṭarī's birth was 676/1272 based on the writings of al-Muṭarī's son in which he mentioned his father's birth¹². As his son is likely to be better informed about the specific details of his father's life rather than al-Muṭarī's friends or students, the third opinion is the most acceptable. Despite the fact that historians hold different views on al-Muṭarī's birth, there is consensus among them about his birth place which was Medina¹³.

There is not much information about al-Muṭarī's early life based on available sources. However, there are some indications which help us to give a brief description of that time. It is evident from his father's job that he grew up in a religious family in Medina. In this environment, fathers usually encouraged their children to spend most of their time on the recitation of the Holy Qur'ān and trying to attain a fundamental knowledge of *'ilm ḥadīth* (Science of

⁷ Al-Muṭariyya is a small village located on the South of *'Ayn-Shams*. For more information see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār 'Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1997) vol.8, p.282

⁸ See *al-Durar al-Khāmīna*, vol. 3, p.192

⁹ See *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir wa Ta'zīrat al-Mujawir* (Beirut: Dār al-'Arqam, 1996), p.138

¹⁰ See *Laḥz al-'alḥaz*, p.75

¹¹ See *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol. 2, p.413

¹² Ibid

¹³ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol. 2, p.413

tradition) and ' *uṣūl*. During this part of his life there is no indication that he travelled outside Medina, which means his trip to Mecca in 696/1298 was his first trip to a new city. It is obvious from his name and from his teachers, who will be discussed in more detail in the following section, that the author belongs to the Shāf'ī School.

2.3. HIS TEACHERS (*SHAYKHS*):

For the duration of the sixth and seventh centuries there were some places which were considered as education capitals in the Islamic world. Some of these centres are Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Cairo and Alexandria. Baghdad was also one of them until the Mongol invasion in 656/1258 which caused a lot of damage to Muslim society and the world of learning¹⁴.

In terms of the shaykhs from whom al-Muṭarī acquired his knowledge and education by attending their lectures and sitting in their circles in different places, it is clear that he met a great number of prominent and renowned scholars of different subjects and discussed some issues with them. Undoubtedly, these scholars influenced both Al-Muṭarī's writing and his personal character. These teachers were as follows:

Al-Muṭarī:

Al-Muṭarī would have started his education in his home, so his father Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Muṭarī, who was the *muezzin* of *al-Masjid al-Nabawi* (the Prophet's Mosque), was his first teacher. Abd al-Bāsiṭ Badr who mentioned

¹⁴ 'Ismā'īl ibn Khathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Misr: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1932) vol. 14, p.200; Abd al-Razāq ibn al-Fūawṭī, *al-Hawādith al-Jāmi'a wa al-Tajārīb al-Nafi'ah fi al-Mī'a al-Sabī'a* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Furāt, 1932), pp.323, 326 and 331

this period of Al-Mūtari's life said that: "He acquired his knowledge at his father's hand"¹⁵.

As was the tradition, his father taught him the Holy Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. In addition, he studied with him the fundamentals of *ʿIlm Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and Arabic grammar. At this stage of his education he probably learned some verses of the Holy Qur'ān by heart from his father and also studied some books written by other scholars with him.

Ibn al-Mājed Al-Dimyāṭī:

His full name was Sharf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdulmū' min ibn Khalaf ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dimyāṭī al-Shāf'ī. He was born in Dimyāṭ in 613/1216¹⁶. He started his education in Dimyāṭ and studied jurisprudence with some of its scholars¹⁷. Then he decided to expand his knowledge in other places. Therefore, he travelled to the capitals of knowledge of his time, *viz.* Alexandria, Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus and Ḥalab (Aleppo). In these cities, he met and studied with a great number of scholars¹⁸. Al-Dimyāṭī was described as *thiqah* (trustworthy) and a Ḥāfaz and a serious scholar of Islamic knowledge and Jurisprudence¹⁹. He wrote many books on Ḥadīth, Jurisprudence and History. The following are some of his books: *Sīair al-Nabai (PBWH); Qabā' l al-khazraj; Qabā' l al-Aws; Mu'jam al-Shīayūkh; Faḍal al-Khail.*²⁰

¹⁵ Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fī Medina Munawwara fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī, *Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, vol.5, p.71

¹⁶ Muḥammad Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya,2007) vol. 4, p. 179; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.253

¹⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol.4, p.179

¹⁸ Ibid; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.253; Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāf'īya al-Kubra* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Husyanah,1906) vol.6, p.133

¹⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol.4, p.179

²⁰ For more information about his books, see ʿIsmāʿīl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol.1, p.631; Muḥammad al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafyāt* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyah,1951) vol. 2, p.38; Khayr al-Dīn Al-Zirkilī, *al-ʿAʿlam* (Miṣr: Maṭbaʿat Kūstamās ,1954) vol.4, p.318

Al-Dimyāṭī was considered the Shaykh of *Muḥaddīthin* (scholars of Ḥadīth) in Cairo in his era²¹. He was appointed as a teacher of the Ḥadīth discipline in al-Zāhiriyya school in Cairo²². Al-Muṭarī was one of his students and he kept company with him for a long time²³. Al-Muṭarī studied some books with him, as he mentioned in his own manuscript. Al-Dimyāṭī died on the, 15th of Dhū al-Qi‘dah 705(29/5/1306)²⁴.

Al-Qabtūwrī:

His full name was Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ‘Abdul‘Aziz ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Ghāfiqī. He was born in ‘Ishbālā (Seville) in Spain in 615 /1218²⁵. He travelled extensively to acquire knowledge from prominent scholars in Sebta, Damascus and Cairo. Al-Qabtūwrī studied many books on different subjects, *viz. Sibawaihi, Al-Shifā’* and books by other scholars. Subsequently, he visited Mecca and Medina and stayed in *al-Ḥaram* (the Holiest Mosque in the world) as well as the Prophet’s Mosque, for a while to teach students and knowledge seekers religion and history. This method of education, called *al-Mujāwarah*, was popular and common at that time.

Al-Qabtūwrī was also a poet and wrote poems on different occasions²⁶. Al-Sakhāwī²⁷ states that al-Muṭarī studied some books with Abū al-Qāsim al-

²¹ Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tathkirat al-Huffāz*, vol.4, p.179

²²Al-Zāhiriyya School attributed to al-Zāhir Baybars who was the founder of this school in 662/1263 to be a school of Ḥanafī and Shaf‘ī schools and it comprised a large library with a great number of books. For more see Aḥmad al-Maqrīzi ,*al-Sulūk* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah,1934) vol.1, p. 504; Muḥammad al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafyāt*, vol.1, p.165

²³ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p. 413

²⁴ Abd Allāh al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir’at al-Jinān wa ‘Ibrat al-Yaqzan* (Beirut: Mū’sasat al-‘A‘lamī,1970) vol.4, p. 241

²⁵ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p. 48; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p. 320

²⁶ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p. 49

²⁷ *Al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.413

Qabtūwrī and that he heard al-Shifā' by *al-Qādī* (judge) 'Iyād al-Yahṣubi²⁸ from him. It seems that al-Muṭarī studied with him for a considerable time because al-Qabtūwrī spent the rest of his life in Medina and died there in 704/1304²⁹.

Al- 'Abraqūhī:

His full name was Shīhāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mū'yad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Ismā'īl al-Hamadānī. He was also known by his nickname Abū al-Ma'ālī³⁰. He was born in 615/1218. His father was the judge of 'Abraqūh³¹. He travelled to different cities, including Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and Jerusalem, to learn from scholars living there. In these cities, he studied the principles of religion as well as Ibn Ishāq's *Sīrah* with some scholars whom gave him a licence to teach³². Al- 'Abraqūhī was the *Musnīd* (Narrator) of Egypt and described as a great knowledgeable and humble scholar³³. It is most likely that al-Muṭarī met him in Mecca and studied some books with him and listened to him speak.

Later in his life, he visited Mecca and died there on the 20th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 705 (16/8/1305)³⁴.

²⁸ His real name was 'Iyād Ibn Mūsa Ibn 'Iyād al-Yahṣubi, nicknamed Abū al-Faḍl; he was a prominent scholar of Ḥadīth. He wrote more than twenty books in Ḥadīth, Jurisprudence and History. He died in 544/1149. For more information see 'Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol.1, p.805

²⁹ Al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.49; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol. 2, p.320

³⁰ Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-'Amīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya,1998), vol.3, p.9; Muḥammad Ibn Rāfi' al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh 'Ulamā' Baghdad* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-'Ahālī, 1938), 20

³¹ 'Abraqūh is a famous town about 20 *farskh* (*farskh* is unit of length equal to three miles) away from Isfahan. For more see al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.1, p.66 ; Muḥammad al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt* (Beirut: al-Resalah foundation,1998),257

³² Al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-'Amīn*, vol.3, p.9

³³ Ibid; Ibn Rāfi' al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh 'Ulamā' Baghdad*, p.22,23

³⁴ Ibid; also Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* (Miṣr: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1930) vol.8, p.198

Al-Gharāfi:

His full name was Abū al-Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Gharāfi. He was born in Alexandria in 628 /1230³⁵. His father was a trader and al-Gharāfi accompanied him on his journeys. Thus, he visited Baghdad, Ḥalab, Damascus and Cairo along with his father. Al-Gharāfi benefited a great deal from these travels by attending the study circles of great scholars where he could study and discuss different issues with them³⁶. Al-Gharāfi was considered as a jurist and reliable *muhaddith*. When Al-Ḥāfaz Abū al-Faḥ ibn Sayyid al-Nās was asked by another scholar about the best memorizer he had ever seen in his life; he answered as follows:

I entered Alexandria and heard from more than a hundred Shaykhs that there is no one among them who could be described as a scholar of great knowledge except al-Muḥaddith Tāj al-Dīn³⁷.

He was a member of the teaching staff at Dar al-Ḥadīth in Alexandria. He died when he was seventy six years old in Alexandria on the 17th of Muḥarram 704(20/8/1304)³⁸. Al-Muṭarī met him on his quest for knowledge in Alexandria in Ramaḍān 697/1297, where he benefited a great deal from al-Gharāfi’s knowledge. Moreover, he narrated a large number of *ḥadīths* in his manuscript which he had heard from him.

Al-Fārūnī:

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Farj ibn Sābūr ibn ‘Alī al-Fārūnī al-Wasīṭī³⁹ was also known as Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Maqarī al-

³⁵ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.11; ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.66

³⁶ Muḥammad ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.66

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.11; Abd Allāh al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir’at al-Jinān* (Beirut: Mū’sasat al-’A‘lamī, 1970), vol.4, p.239

³⁹ Ibn Rāfi‘ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad*, p.18

Muṣṭafawī⁴⁰. He was born in Iraq on 26th of Dhū al-Qi‘dah 614(24/2/1218). He travelled to a number of educational centres, including Mecca and Damascus. He was knowledgeable in a variety of subjects such as Jurisprudence, Ḥadīth, Exegesis and Arabic Grammar. He kept company with a number of renowned scholars of his time⁴¹. Then, he returned to Mecca and stayed there to teach. It is possible that al-Muṭarī met him and studied with him when he was residing in Mecca during al-Fārūnī’s visit to Medina. In 690/1291 al-Fārūnī left Mecca for Damascus to teach there and to be the preacher of Damascus. He died four years later in Iraq in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 694/1294⁴².

Al-Sarrāj:

His full name was ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Zāfir ibn Ṭrād ibn Abī Al-Futūḥ al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī⁴³. He was born in 635/1237⁴⁴. He travelled extensively to expand his intellectual scope and studied under the supervision of prominent scholars in Cairo like Al-Rashayyd al-‘Aṭār and ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Salām⁴⁵. Al-Sarrāj was one of the greatest scholars in different branches of knowledge.

Based on this status, some writers recount that he mastered about twelve different disciplines such as Ḥadīth, Jurisprudence and History. In 682/1283, he moved to Medina to be the *Preacher* of the Prophet’s Mosque⁴⁶. At the same time he was one of the scholars who taught in this mosque. His study circle was full of students like al-Muṭarī and ibn Farḥūn. Moreover, scholars

⁴⁰ Ibid; ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.75

⁴¹ Ibn Rāfi‘ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad*, p.19

⁴² Ibid, p.19,20

⁴³ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.191

⁴⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.328

⁴⁵ Ibid; ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.191; al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir’at al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.275

⁴⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.191

were also enthusiastic to attend his classes⁴⁷. In 726/1325, he went to Egypt looking for treatment for an illness he had and died in Suez⁴⁸.

Al-Muḥib Al-Ṭabarī:

His full name was Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad⁴⁹. He was born in 615/1218⁵⁰ and started his education in Mecca where he studied with the resident scholars and visiting scholars who came to Mecca especially during the Hajj season. In addition, he travelled to a number of places to seek knowledge. For instance, he went to Baghdad, Syria and Yemen⁵¹. He gained some licences confirming that he was able to teach; He got these certificates from renowned scholars such as Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad who was known as ibn al-‘Adaym and Bashaīr ibn Ḥamīd al-Tabrayzī, and Ibn al-Khazīn⁵². Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Ḥadīth and History were subjects of knowledge which al-Muḥib al-Ṭabarī studied. Thus, he had an encyclopaedic knowledge of different disciplines. As a result he wrote more than twenty books. The following are the key works he wrote: *Al-‘Aḥkām al-Kubrā; Al-‘Aḥkām al-Wuṣṭā; Al-‘Aḥkām al-Ṣuḡhrā; ‘Arba ‘ayn fi al-Ḥadīth; Khulāṣat al-‘Ībar fi Sīr Sayid al-Bashr; Al-Riāyḍ al-Nadīra fi Manāqīb al-‘Ashara; Dhakhā’r al-‘Uqbā fi Manāqīb Dhawī al-Qurbā; Al-Simṭ al-Thamīn fi Manāqīb ‘Umahāt al-Mū’minayn. Al-Sīra al-Nabawīa*⁵³

⁴⁷ Ibid; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tūḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.330

⁴⁸ Suez is a seaport town located on the red sea in the north-east of Egypt. For more see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.96; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tūḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.330; al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.275

⁴⁹ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tūḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.116; ‘Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol.1, p. 101; Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt Al-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-Husayniyah, 1906) vol. 5, p.8

⁵⁰ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.43; al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.224

⁵¹ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.39

⁵² Ibid (3/39); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nūjūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.74

⁵³ For more information, see al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.40; ‘Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol.1, p.101

He also had great respect for the King of Yemen, al-Muḏafar (647/1294-695/1295). That is why he visited him in Yemen many times. Due to this special relationship and al-Ṭabarī's status among scholars, al-Muḏafar appointed him as a teacher at al-Manṣūrīa⁵⁴ school in Mecca. He was also very generous towards him and gave him a monthly salary of fifty dinars⁵⁵. In 647/1249 al-Ṭabarī visited Medina and stayed there for some time teaching in the Prophet's Mosque. His classes were full of students and scholars. His audience included students from Medina as well as its visitors. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī was one of his students in Medina where he heard him speak. Scholars like al-Quṭab al-Qaṣṭalānī and Abd Allāh ibn Abdul'aziz al-Mahdawī also attended his classes in Medina⁵⁶.

Al-Ṭabarī held the scientifically distinctive status between scholars. For that reason he was praised by a number of scholars. Al-Barzālī⁵⁷ described him as a Shaykh of Ḥijāz and Yemen⁵⁸, while al-Dhahabī said about him: "He was the Shaykh of al-Ḥaram and al-Shāfi'ah and the *Muhaddith* of Ḥijāz"⁵⁹. Another biographer described him as the *Muhaddith* of Ḥijāz of his time⁶⁰. Some

⁵⁴ Al-Manṣūrīa school: established by the King of Yemen 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Rasūl and he intended it to be an endowment (Waqf). See Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muzaynī, Al-Ḥayat al-'Ilmiyya fi Mecca wa Medina khilāl al-Qarnayn al-sāba' wa al-thāmin, *Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, vol.3, p.117

⁵⁵ Al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.41; al-Yāf'ī, *Mir'āt al-jinān*, vol.4, p.224

⁵⁶ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.117; Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, *al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiyya fi Medina*, vol.5, p.77

⁵⁷ His full name was al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Dīmashqī; he was born in 665/1266. He was the narrator and a great Syrian historian. He died in 739 /1338. For more see Muḥammad al-Dīmashqī, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2007), p.10

⁵⁸ Al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.41

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Al-Yāf'ī, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.224

scholars claim that Mecca did not produce any scholar after al-Shāf‘ī’s period like al- Muḥīb al-Ṭabari⁶¹.

Al-Başrai:

‘Afif al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad ibn Mazrū‘ ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Azāz al-Muḍarī⁶² was born in 625/1227⁶³. He received his knowledge from numerous scholars in Başra, Mecca and Medina and was regarded as a *muḥaddith* and poet⁶⁴. He moved from Başra and settled in Medina where he lived for fifty years. He was strict in matters of piety and was a diligent worshiper, thus, he went to Mecca for Hajj more than forty times⁶⁵. In Medina, there were many students who attended his classes in the Prophet’s Mosque. It is clear from al-Muḍarī’s manuscript that he kept company with him for a long time. He died in Medina on the 23rd of Şafar, 699(18/11/1299)⁶⁶. His funeral prayer was performed in the Prophet’s Mosque and he was buried in al-Baqī‘ graveyard⁶⁷.

Al-Wāsītī:

His full name was ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāsītī al-Shāf‘ī and his honorific name was Abū al-Ḥasan⁶⁸. Al-Wāsītī studied with and accompanied a great number of renowned scholars, including ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Fārūnī and ‘Amayyīn al-Dīn ibn ‘Asākīr who taught him different disciplines⁶⁹. He taught in the sacred

⁶¹ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.42; al-Yāfī‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.224; ‘Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol.1, p.101

⁶² Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.73; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.176

⁶³ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.176

⁶⁴ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.73

⁶⁵ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.176

⁶⁶ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.73

⁶⁷ Ibn Rāfī‘ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad*, p.95

⁶⁸ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 3, p.23; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.310; al-Yāfī‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.288

⁶⁹ Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.23

precinct of Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque. Some historians report that al-Muṭarī had a good relationship with him. Whenever al-Wāsiṭī visited Medina, he would reside in al-Shihābīa⁷⁰ or al-'Azkaḵjīa⁷¹ school and al-Muṭarī was his companion throughout his period of stay⁷². It is evident from this that al-Muṭarī spent a lot of time with al-Wāsiṭī. Undoubtedly, he learned a great deal from al-Wāsiṭī who died in Badr⁷³ in 733 /1332 on his way to Mecca for Hajj⁷⁴.

Al-Baskarī:

Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh ibn 'Umrān ibn Mūsa al-Maqribī⁷⁵ has been described as being great, humble, knowledgeable scholar who wrote many poems praising the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH)⁷⁶. Originally, al-Baskarī came from Morocco where he was related to a rich and noble family. He decided to leave everything behind and settle in Medina. He kept company with a number of renowned scholars such as Abd Allāh al-Marjānī. As a result of al-Baskarī's decision to settle in Medina, al-Muṭarī was able to listen to him

⁷⁰ Al-Shihābīa school: this school was established by Ayyubid's ruler Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn al-'Ādil who died in 645/1247. It was considered as one of the biggest schools during the eighth century. It taught *Jurisprudence* according to al-Shāf'ī and al-Ḥanbalī school and it had a vast library that contained a large number of books. For more information, see al-Yāf'ī, *Mir'āt al-jinān*, vol.4, p.288; Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muzaynī, *al-Ḥayat al-'Ilmiyya fī Mecca*, vol.3, p.124

⁷¹ Al-'Azkaḵjīa or al-Yāzkūja school is related to Shām's Amir Yazkūj al-'Asdī who was its founder in Medina to teach al-Ḥanafī's rite. For more see 'Alī al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā' bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, Taḥqīq: Muḥammad Abd al-Ḥamaīd (Beirut: Dār 'Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī) vol.2, p.692; Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī, *'Umdat al-'Akhbār fī Madīnat al-Mūkhtār* (Medina : al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya), p.112

⁷² Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.73; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.310

⁷³ Badr: it is famous water well between Mecca and Medina where the battle of Badr, the first battle in Islamic history between Muslims and their opponent from Qurayish, took place on the 17th of Ramaḍān 2(17/3/624). For more, see al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.2, p.284

⁷⁴ Al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.23; al-Yāf'ī, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, vol.4, p.288

⁷⁵ Al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.170; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.66

⁷⁶ Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Marāqī, *Tahqīq al-Nuṣrah bi Talkhayṣ Ma'ālīm Dār al-Hijra* (Medina : Maktabat al-Thaqāfa, 1981), p.208

speak and he studied some books under his supervision. There are some indications confirming that they had a very strong relationship⁷⁷. Al-Baskarī died in Medina in 713 /1313 and was buried in al-Baqī‘ Cemetery⁷⁸.

Al-Qaşṭalānī:

His full name was Abū al-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Rāshīd al-Qaşṭalānī. He was born in Mecca in 635/1237⁷⁹. His teacher in the primary stage of his life was his father who was a renowned scholar known as al-Qūṭab al-Qaşṭalānī⁸⁰. After that, he studied under the supervision of numerous scholars in Mecca. Subsequently, he travelled to Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad⁸¹. Al-Qaşṭalānī was an expert in Ḥadīth and jurisprudence. Moreover, he was considered the Shaykh of Ḥadīth science in sacred precinct of Mecca. According to al-Muṭarī’s manuscript, he listened to al-Qaşṭalānī talk in Mecca in 696/1296. Logically, he had the chance to study some books and discuss some issues with him, particularly in Ḥadīth. He used to teach at al-Muṣafaraya school there and died in Mecca in 704 /1304, and was buried in al-Ma‘lāt Cemetery⁸².

Ibn ‘Asākīr:

His full name was Abū al-Yemen ‘Abd Alṣamad ibn Abd Alwahhāb ibn Abī al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Dimashqī⁸³. On the 19th of Rabī‘ al-‘Awal 614(26/6/1217) Ibn ‘Asākīr was born in Damascus⁸⁴. He grew up in a family which comprised a number of famous

⁷⁷ Ibn Farḥūn, *Nasiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.63

⁷⁸ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.66

⁷⁹ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.352; al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.105

⁸⁰ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-‘Alḥaz*, p.55

⁸¹ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.352

⁸² Ibid; al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.105

⁸³ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-‘Alḥaz*, p.58; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.176; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, vol.1, p.572

⁸⁴ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.74

scholars. His father and his grandfather were considered among the greatest Islamic scholars during the seventh century⁸⁵.

Ibn ‘Asākīr started to acquire knowledge from his father. He followed the very same method of his father in seeking knowledge. For that reason he decided to travel away from home to seek knowledge. He went with his father to Iraq in 634 /1236. Then they went to Ḥijāz where they mixed with a number of scholars in Ḥijāz region. From Ḥijāz they travelled to Syria where he attended some of its scholars’ classes. Next, they visited Egypt. Eventually, he returned alone to Ḥijāz to settle there⁸⁶.

Ibn ‘Asākīr, throughout his journeys, met a great many scholars and benefited from their classes. In Damascus, he met renowned scholars like Muḥammad ibn Ḥussayn al-Qazwīnī and Muḥammad ibn Ghasān al-Ḥīmṣī and al-Imām al-Ḥafīẓ ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who was known as Ibn al-Ṣalāh⁸⁷.

Ibn ‘Asākīr went to Iraq twice on his journeys and he found it a good opportunity to meet scholars there. On these trips he met the great Iraqi historian, Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Maḥāsīn, who was known as Ibn al-Najjār⁸⁸.

In Ḥalab, he heard from Ya‘āish ibn ‘Alī al-Mawṣali⁸⁹. He also studied with Yūsuf ibn Mahmūd al-Ḥussayn and Muḥammad ibn Abd Allāh Al-Mursī and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sa‘dī in Cairo⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Asākīr, *’Itḥāf al-Zā’ir wa A’ṭraf al-Muqāim Līasā’ir*, introduction, Taḥqīq: Muṣṭafā Manilā (Medina : Medina Munawwara Research and Studies Centre, 2005), p.7

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp.9-10

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.11

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.14

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.15

Dimyāt was the target of the seventh Crusade. However, the Muslim army tried to expel the invaders and started mobilizing their forces. Ibn ‘Asākīr participated in the battle of al-Manṣūra in Rabī‘ al-’Awal 648/1250. After the battle he decided to spend the rest of his life in Mecca and Medina, and he stayed there for thirty eight years⁹¹.

He moved back and forth between Mecca and Medina to teach in the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet’s Mosque. His classes attracted numerous students among whom were Jamāl al-Din al-Muṭarī. Moreover, al-Muṭarī heard him recount his famous book *’Īthāf al-Zā’ir wa ’Aṭrāf al-Mūqaīm Līasā’ir*⁹². It is evident from al-Muṭarī’s book that he kept company with him for a long time and that he studied several books with him.

Ibn-‘Asākīr wrote his books on different subjects of knowledge, viz. Ḥadīth, History and Literature. The following are some of his books:

’Īthāf al-Zā’ir wa ’Aṭrāf al-Mūqaīm Līasā’ir

Juz’ fi ’Aḥādīth al-Safar

Juz’ fi Khabar Ḥirā’

*Ghazwat Dimyāt*⁹³

He was described as an encyclopaedic scholar. In addition, he was said to be a great poet praising the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) as well as Mecca and Medina in some of his verses.

He died in Medina in 686 /1287 and was buried in al-Baqī‘ Cemetery⁹⁴.

⁹¹ Al-Fāsī, *al-’Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.76

⁹² Al-Fāsī, *al-’Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.75; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.177

⁹³ Ibn ‘Asākīr, *’Īthāf al-Zā’ir wa ’Aṭrāf al-Mūqaīm Līasā’ir*, p.40; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkilī, *al-’A’lam*, (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Kūstamās, 1954), vol.4, p.131

⁹⁴ Ibn Rāfi‘ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad*, p.98; ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.58

A number of historians have paid tribute to him; they described him as the Imām of his time⁹⁵. Al-Fāsī said about him: "He was trustworthy, knowledgeable scholar and participated in all aspects of knowledge and was the shaykh of Ḥijāz of his time⁹⁶.

Al-Zajāj⁹⁷:

According to al-Muṭarī himself, al-Zajāj was one of his teachers in Medina and he attended his classes with his colleague Muḥammad ibn Ṣālah ibn Ibrāhīm⁹⁸. Al-Muṭarī described him as a respectful and righteous person⁹⁹.

The foregoing section is a brief biography of al-Muṭarī's teachers. However, ibn Fahd¹⁰⁰ also claims that al-Muṭarī narrated from Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Zāfir ibn Abi al-Manṣūr al-Mālikī who was born in 595/1198. From the researcher's point of view, this is unlikely because al-Mālikī's death was in 682/1283. At that time, al-Muṭarī was just eleven years old at most – possibly only seven years old.

According to available sources, the above list represents a concise record of al-Muṭarī's teachers as far as the researcher is aware.

2.4. HIS STUDENTS:

After al-Muṭarī finished his journeys to some important centres of learning where he sought knowledge and met a number of prominent scholars of different subjects, and as a result of his abundant education, he was

⁹⁵ Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, vol.1, p.573

⁹⁶ See *Al-Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.75

⁹⁷ I could not find any information about him in available sources.

⁹⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.30; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p. 415

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ *Laḥz al-'Alḥaz*, p.75

considered as a Shaykh of Jurisprudence, Ḥadīth and History¹⁰¹. Al-Muṭarī had a level of knowledge that qualified him to pass on his knowledge. Therefore, he became able to have his own students. Thus, his circle was held in the Prophet's Mosque¹⁰². His classes were not limited to students from Medina only, but included its visitor as well. Among his students were the following:

Al- ' Afif al-Muṭarī:

' Afif al-Dīn Abū Ja ' far Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī who was his eldest son was born on the 14th of Shawwāl 689(15/7/1299)¹⁰³. He was taught by al-Muṭarī and by some other scholars in Medina¹⁰⁴. Then he travelled to Mecca, Damascus, Ḥalab, Alexandria and Baghdad searching for knowledge. He concentrated his studies on Ḥadīth and History¹⁰⁵. He wrote a book entitled *Al- ' Ī ' lām fī mn Dakhal Medina Min al- ' A ' lām*. He succeeded his father as a *muezzin* in the Prophet's Mosque¹⁰⁶. Furthermore, he became a chief of the *muezzins* of the Prophet's Mosque and died on the 16th of Rabī ' al-Awal 765(23/12/1363)¹⁰⁷.

Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan:

His full name was Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū al-Qāsim Farḥūan ibn Muḥammad ibn Farḥūan al-Ya ' murī¹⁰⁸. Originally, his father moved from Tunisia to reside in Medina in the first half of the seventh

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.96; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.75

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al- ' Alḥaz*, p.96

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.138; al- ' Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, pp. 173-174; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.75

¹⁰⁶ Al- ' Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p.174; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.77; Khayr al-Dīn Al-Zirkilī, *al- ' A ' lam*, vol.4, p.271

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al- ' Alḥaz*, p.97; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.77; Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi ' iyya al-Kubrā*, vol.6, p.103

¹⁰⁸ Al- ' Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.183; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.85

century¹⁰⁹ where he was born on 6th of Jumāda al-ʾAkhīr 693(4/5/1294)¹¹⁰. He studied different disciplines such Ḥadīth, Jurisprudence, Exegesis and History with Medinan scholars. Jamāl al-Muṭarī was one of his teachers. When his father passed away, al-Muṭarī took care of him and his family. He brought them up and took care of their education. As a result, he was closer to al-Muṭarī than other scholars¹¹¹. Later, he became a teacher of Mālikiyah at the al-Shihābīa school in Medina. He also worked as a judge of Medina for more than twenty years¹¹². He belonged to the Mālikī School and was considered, along with his father, as one of its renowned scholars. He made a great effort to extend the Mālikī tradition in Medina. He wrote some books; amongst his key works were the following: *Nihāyyat al-Ghāya fi Sharḥ al-ʾĀya*; *Kashf al-Ghīṭā fi Sharḥ al-Mūwaʾṭā*; *Al-ʿUda fi Īʿrāb al-ʿUmda*; *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir wa Taʿziyat al-Mujāwir*¹¹³.

According to Badr: "More than ten of his books have been published. However, other books are still in manuscript"¹¹⁴.

Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūn was described as the Imām of Scholars in Jurisprudence, Exegesis, Ḥadith and its meaning¹¹⁵. He died on the 10th of Rabīʿ al-Akhīr 769 (4/11/1367) and was buried in al-Baqīʿ graveyard¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.9; ʿAbd al-Bāsīt Badr, *al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fi Medina*, vol.5, p.71

¹¹⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.86

¹¹¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, pp.9,10 and 136

¹¹² Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.87; ʿAbd al-Bāsīt Badr, *al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fi Medina*, vol.5, p.73

¹¹³ For more information, see ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.10; ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn*, (Maṭbaʿat al-Taraqī, 1959) vol.6, p.137; Khayr al-Dīn Al-Zirkilī, *al-ʾAʿlam*, vol.4, p.271

¹¹⁴ ʿAbd al-Bāsīt Badr, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fi Medina*, vol.5, p.73

¹¹⁵ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.87

¹¹⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.11

‘Alī ibn Farḥūn:

His full name was Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Farḥūn. He was born on the 20th of Rabī’ al-’Akhīr 697(5/1/1298) in Medina¹¹⁷. As would be expected he started his education in basic Arabic grammar under the supervision of his father. Then he studied a number of books in different disciplines with Medinan scholars such as Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan al-Zarandī and al-Jamāl al-Muṭarī. He was particularly close to his teacher al-Muṭarī and he studied Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muṣlīm with him and would listen to him discuss ‘*Īthāf al-Zā’ir wa ‘Aṭraf al-Mūqaīm Līasā’ir*’ by Abū al-Yemen ‘Abd Alṣamad ibn ‘Asākīr¹¹⁸.

Then, he travelled to Damascus, Cairo and Morocco to meet a number of scholars and mixed with others from different backgrounds who were also seeking knowledge. He was also a famous poet and wrote a *Dīwān* (poetic work) that comprises a number of his poems¹¹⁹. ‘Alī ibn Farḥūn left behind a number of works. Among the books written by him were the following:

*Tārīkh al-’Akhbār; Al-Zāhīr fī al-Mūā’id wa al-Ḥikāyyat wa al-’Aḥādīth wa al-Dhkhā’ir; Tuḥfat al-Rāghbīn fī ‘Akhtīṣār Manāzīl al-Sā’irayn*¹²⁰.

Some biographers state that he held an important position among the scholars of Ḥijāz region¹²¹.

His relations with Medina’s governors were distinguished. He died on the 13th of Jumāda al-’Akhīr 746(11/10/1345)¹²².

¹¹⁷ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.295

¹¹⁸ Ibid, vol.2, p.296,413; al-’Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.68; al-Zirkilī, *al-’A’lam*, vol.5, p.157

¹¹⁹ Al-’Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.68

¹²⁰ For more, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.296; ‘Ismā’īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-’Ārifīn*, vol.1, p.709; Al-Zirkilī, *al-’A’lam*, vol.5, p.157

¹²¹ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.296

¹²² Ibid

Al-Khashabī:

His full name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā Al-Khashabī al-Madani¹²³. He studied some books with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī in Medina and listened to him discuss *'Īthāf al-Zā'ir wa 'Aṭrāf al-Mūqaīm Līasā'ir*¹²⁴. He also studied with other scholars in Medina. He was one of the *Mū'adhinīn* of the Prophet's Mosque¹²⁵.

Al-Marāghī:

His full name was Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥussayn ibn 'Umar ibn Abū al-Fakhar al-Marāghī¹²⁶. He was one of al-Muṭarī's students who were enthusiastic to attend al-Muṭarī classes in the Prophet's Mosque. He listened to him discuss ibn 'Asākīr's book¹²⁷. Later, he became one of the greatest jurists in Medina of the eighth century and he died after the year 760/1358¹²⁸.

Al-Zarandī:

'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Zarandī was born in Medina in 703/1303¹²⁹. His family was renowned for a number of its scholars in Jurisprudence, Ḥadīth and Grammar. He acquired his primary knowledge in Medina from its scholars such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī and Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Gharnāṭī¹³⁰. After that, he started his journey to seek knowledge in some centres of learning of the time. He started in Damascus and attended some of its scholar's circles. Then he went to Ḥalab and concluded his trip in Baghdad where he mixed with its students and scholars. As a result he gained a number of licenses to

¹²³ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.151; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

¹²⁴ Ibid, vol.2, p.413

¹²⁵ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.151

¹²⁶ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.298

¹²⁷ Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Asākīr, *'Īthāf al-Zā'ir*, p.49

¹²⁸ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.298

¹²⁹ 'Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, *al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fi Medina Munawwara*, vol.5, p.74

¹³⁰ Ibid

teach and have his own students. This was exactly what he did in the Prophet's Mosque when he returned from his journey. He died in 772/1370¹³¹.

Al-Shawāiṭi:

His full name was Abū al-‘Izz ‘Izz al-Dīn Dīnār ibn Abd Allāh al-Shawāiṭi¹³². He was a servant in the Prophet's Mosque. He attended some of al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī's classes¹³³.

Al-Wāsīṭi:

His full real name was Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-Māzīnī al-Wāsīṭi¹³⁴. He attended al-Muṭarī's classes and studied a number of books with him in Medina al-Munawwara in 714/1314. He died in Mecca on the 17th of Ramaḍān 723(19/9/1323)¹³⁵.

The above list includes some of al-Muṭarī's student who benefited from his knowledge, based on available sources as far as the researcher is aware.

2.5. HIS JOURNEYS TO SEEK KNOWLEDGE:

It is clear that al-Muṭarī spent his childhood in Medina; this is proven by the fact that there are no indications of his travel away from Medina before his maturity.

However, after he reached adulthood he travelled extensively in order to expand his knowledge. As a result he visited a number of centres of knowledge in pursuit of education. In the seventh century there were many Islamic cities which were considered as capitals of knowledge. Among these

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p.59

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.8

¹³⁵ Ibid, p.9

cities were Mecca, Medina, Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Ḥalab and Baghdad (until the Mongols' invasion in 656/1258). Therefore, some of them were selected by al-Muṭarī to be destinations on his journeys. This will be looked at in more detail in the following section.

It is clear that al-Muṭarī did not speak about these journeys directly. However, there are some implicit indications which have provided us with some information about his travels outside his hometown. Some of them can be derived from other biographers. For example, when al-Sakhāwī, in his work *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, referred to al-Muṭarī's journeys he said: " He heard and travelled and met scholars and Shaykhs"¹³⁶.

We can also find some of these journeys between the lines in his work. Al-Muṭarī indicates his trips when he wants to confirm his meetings with and studying with specific scholars. For example, when he mentioned a number of the wells related to the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH), al-Muṭarī said:

That is what Al-Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mū’ min ibn Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī told me when I was studying with him in 697/1297 in al-Zāhiriyya school in Cairo¹³⁷.

His Journey to Mecca:

There is no doubt that Mecca would be the first place for the residents of Medina to visit for many reasons: First of all it is considered as a sacred city for Muslims all over the world because it comprises the holiest Mosque in the World. Usually Muslim knowledge seekers start their journey by performing Hajj or ‘Umrah.

Secondly, it was a good opportunity to meet a number of scholars who came from different regions, particularly in the season of Hajj, and benefit from them. Some of these scholars planned to stay and teach in *al-Ḥaram*. Moreover, it was also a suitable place to mix with different students.

¹³⁶ Vol.2, p.414

¹³⁷ See volume II, p.95

Thirdly, Mecca is considered to be the nearest centre of knowledge to Medina, compared to other knowledge centres.

The above reasons may have led al-Muṭarī to make this decision.

His trip to Mecca took place in 696/1296 and it was very useful for him as he had the chance to meet a number of scholars there. He mentioned some of these scholars in his works. For example, he referred to Abū al-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qaṣṭalānī. Unfortunately, there is no information about the duration of al-Muṭarī’s residence in Mecca.

His Journey to Cairo:

Cairo was al-Muṭarī’s second stopping point on his journey to seek knowledge. The reasons for that choice may have been Cairo’s status among other capitals of knowledge in the Muslim world. Furthermore, we have already mentioned he was of Egyptian ancestry, which may have affected his decision. Whatever the reasons it was a wise decision as, for the duration of his residence, he benefited a great deal from studying under the supervision of some renowned scholars in Cairo. Information about this trip was derived from Badr who referred to al-Muṭarī’s trip, saying: “ Then he travelled to Cairo and studied with its scholars”¹³⁸.

This trip was confirmed by al-Muṭarī himself as we have already mentioned his meeting with his teacher al-Dimyāṭī who was one of the Egyptian scholars. According to al-Muṭarī himself, this trip was in the year after the year of his trip to Mecca in 697/1297. Subsequently, he visited Cairo again in 727/1326.

¹³⁸ Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiyya fī Medina Munawwara fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī, *Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, vol.5, P.71

His Journey to Alexandria:

This trip took place in Ramaḍān in 697/1297. It is possible that after he spent some time in Cairo he decided to visit Alexandria to expand his knowledge by attending its scholars' circles and studying some books with them. Al-Muṭarī met a number of great scholars in Alexandria, including his Shaykh, Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Gharāfī. Al-Muṭarī did not give many details about the length of his residence in Alexandria.

His Journey to Ṭā'if¹³⁹:

Al-Muṭarī went to Ṭā'if twice: The first trip took place in 696/1296, while the second visit was in 729/1328. However, he did not mention any of the scholars he met there. He referred to some places in Ṭā'if in his work.

It is evident from the above that al-Muṭarī's journeys were exclusive to two regions. The first one was Ḥijāz which includes Mecca, Medina and Ṭā'if, and the second region was Egypt.

Overall, based on available sources, the above list shows al-Muṭarī's knowledge-seeking journeys. The researcher has not found any indication confirming that al-Muṭarī went anywhere else on his trips to seek knowledge. Perhaps the reason for the lack of information about his journeys, from the researcher's point of view, was that his book dealt with the history of Medina and some issues relating to its landmarks.

The aim behind listing the names of the author's teachers and his scientific trips was to clarify the scientific status of those scientists who were considered the most famous scholars of that era, where the author was affected by them and their knowledge, and indeed this will be reflected in his scientific writings. Addressing these topics about the author's life informs the reader of the scientific status of the author among the scholars of Medina.

¹³⁹ Ṭā'if: is a city located in waḥj valley and the distance between it and Mecca is about 30 mile. For more details see al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.6, p.241

2.6. HIS JOB:

Prayer is the one of the five pillars of the Islamic religion, and God has imposed five daily prayers on Muslims. Each one of these prayer is linked to a specific time of the day. The time of prayer is usually announced by *al-’Ādhān* (call to prayer). As a result, it is clear that there is a strong connection between time and prayer. Therefore, each Muslims city needs at least one timekeeper to determine the prayer time. However, there was a lack of timekeepers in Medina in the first half of the seventh century. For that reason al-Muṭarī’s family was called from Egypt to settle in Medina. It is reported by Ibn Farḥūn that:

Because there was no one reliable to determine the times for prayers, they sent three people there from Egypt. They were Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn father’s Aḥmad ibn Khalaf al-Muṭarī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh ‘Izz al-Dīn¹⁴⁰.

When they arrived in Medina, al-Muṭarī’s father became the *muezzin* of the Prophet’s Mosque. After a while he was promoted to chief of the *muezzins* of the Prophet’s Mosque. However, at the end of the seventh century, al-Muṭarī’s father passed away. At that time al-Muṭarī was called to take his father’s job as chief of the *muezzins* of the Prophet’s Mosque. Al-Muṭarī occupied this job for a long period of his life¹⁴¹.

Ibn Baṭūṭa informs us that during his trip to perform hajj in 727/1326 the chief of the Prophet’s Mosque was al-Muḥaddith Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī¹⁴². Later, al-Muṭarī practised *al-Qaḍā* (administration of justice) in 737/1338 in accordance with the decision of the governor of Medina¹⁴³. When the

¹⁴⁰ *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.137

¹⁴¹ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.75; al-’Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.192; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

¹⁴² Muḥamad al-Ṭanjī, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭūṭah*, Taḥqīq: ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī (al-Rībāt: Academia al-Mamlaka al-Maghribā, 1997) vol. 1, P.257

¹⁴³ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-’Alḥaz*, p.75

governor dismissed al-Qaḍī Sharf al-Dīn al-ʿAmayūṭī¹⁴⁴, he appointed Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī in his position. In addition, he became the Imām and preacher of the Prophet’s Mosque¹⁴⁵. According to available sources which have dealt with al-Muṭarī’s biography, it seems that the decision made by the governor of Medina was a successful one as they always describe al-Muṭarī as the fairest judge in Medina¹⁴⁶.

Moreover, al-Muṭarī was a teacher of different disciplines of knowledge. He taught many students for a period at al-Ḥaram in Mecca and for a long time at the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina¹⁴⁷.

It is clear that the jobs filled by al-Muṭarī were considered as high and important positions.

2.7. THE AUTHOR’S INTERACTION WITH HIS SOCIETY:

Throughout the seventh century there were many families that emigrated from Egypt to Medina. Among them were three main timekeepers’ families, they were Aḥmad al-Muṭarī, Ibrāhīm al-Kinānī and ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mū’ dhhīn, who settled in Medina al-Munawwara¹⁴⁸.

Usually immigrating families need more time to adapt to the new society to which they have just moved. However, al-Muṭarī’s family succeeded in establishing a good relationship with all members of Medinan society. Thus, they were accepted and welcomed among the community of Medina. As a

¹⁴⁴ His full name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā. He was born in Cairo in 674 /1275 and he was a master of Jurisprudence and Ḥadīth. He was the Qaḍī of Nābīls before moving to Medina. He died in Ṣafar 745/1344. For more information, see al-ʿAsqalānī; *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.99

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.203 ; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-ʿAlḥaz*, p.75; ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.203

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-ʿAlḥaz*, p.75

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.136

result of this position Muṭarī's life reflected his own dealings. According to available sources, al-Muṭarī was sociable and tried to mix with all members of the community around him¹⁴⁹. He used to involve himself in different community events. Additionally, he made effective contributions to his community. It is clear that al-Muṭarī's relations with the public were very good. Moreover, he also had an excellent relationship with decision-makers in Medina al-Munawwara.

His relations were not limited to residents, but also covered visitors to Medina. He was very supportive towards them. It is reported by Ibn Farḥūn that: "Al-Muṭarī used to warmly welcome any visitor to Medina as if he was a member of his family"¹⁵⁰.

It is evident from different sources that whenever al-Muṭarī met a stranger he would offer him immediate help and make every effort to find a suitable place for him to reside. In addition, he would provide all the necessities a visitor might require, such as food and clothes. Also, he would try to get him involved in Medinan society by introducing him to them and vice versa¹⁵¹.

Some historians state that al-Muṭarī established good relations with a number of scholars who came to Medina for *al-Mujāwara*¹⁵² in the Prophet's Mosque. Al-Muṭarī visited them in their residences in Medina either in al-Shihābīa or al-'Azkaḥīa school where he served and provided them with their daily needs for the duration of their stay¹⁵³.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol. 2, p.414

¹⁵⁰ *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir wa Ta'zīrat al-Mujawir*, p.136

¹⁵¹ Ibid; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol. 2, p.414

¹⁵² *Al-Mujāwara*: means staying in the Grand Mosque in Mecca or the Prophet's Mosque to teach different disciplines in particular religion and sīra. For more, see Muḥammad ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadīr, 1955) vol.4, 156; *Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Miṣr, 1960), vol.1, p.146

¹⁵³ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.73; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.311

A number of influential families lived in Medina. Among these families were al-‘Umaraya family who were related to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb¹⁵⁴. This family was powerful and had many properties in Medina. The chief of this family in al-Muṭarī’s era was ‘Alī ibn Muṭrīf al-‘Umarī¹⁵⁵. Al-Muṭarī was very close to him and kept up this strong relationship with his family after al-‘Umarī’s death¹⁵⁶.

Al-Muṭarī did not isolate himself and was eager to participate in different community events. As a consequence, he contributed, together with a number of Medina scholars, to restoring stability to Medina after some riots caused by *sharīfs* of Medina¹⁵⁷ who were waiting for any chance to expel al-Mujāwirūn from Medina. For that reason, there was a divided situation in Medina and relationships among the people of Medina, especially between *sharīfs* and al-Mujāwirūn, got worse. These events took place shortly before the Hajj season in 712/1312. During this crisis, al-Muṭarī played an important role in solving this problem. He met a number of decision-makers in Medina and exhorted them to participate in finding a solution to the problem. Moreover, he advised his fellow scholars to find a quick solution for the situation. Al-Muṭarī went to Shaykh Abū al-Rabī‘¹⁵⁸ and consulted him about what they should do to prevent the extension of this problem between the residents of Medina. They worked together to calm the population of Medina

¹⁵⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.301

¹⁵⁵ Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muṭrīf ibn Ḥasan ibn Ṭarīf al-‘Umarī was very close to the governor of Medina, Wadī ibn Jammāz al-Ḥusaynī. He died in 728/1327, and after that his family moved to Cairo. For more information, see al-‘Asqalānī; *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.76

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir wa Ta‘zīrat al-Mujawir*, p.172; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.301

¹⁵⁷ Sharīfs (singular is Sharīf), literally means noble and indicates to descent from the Prophet (PBWH), they ruled Hejāz for long time until Hejāz was conquered by Saudi troops in 1343/1924. See Richard Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World* (U.S.A: Macmillan Reference, 2004), vol.2, p.619

¹⁵⁸ Sulaymān al-Ghamārī al-Mālīkī was a prominent Shaykh in Medina. He died there and was buried in al-Baqī‘ Cemetery. For more, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.423 also

by reminding them of the true brotherhood in Islam and the consequences of this conflict between them, until they received news from a close companion of al-Mamlūk caliph al-Nāṣir¹⁵⁹ who confirmed that he would come to Ḥijāz to perform Hajj and visit the Prophet's Mosque in Medina in that year. When this news was announced to the residents of Medina, Sharifs feared this visit and the problem was eventually solved¹⁶⁰. The crisis was completely resolved before the Sultan's visit. It is clear that the effort which was made by al-Muṭarī played an important role in this event.

In addition, al-Muṭarī created good relations with all masters of al-Ḥaram servants. When Naṣayr al-Dīn Naṣr 'Aṭāllah¹⁶¹ was in this position, he used to consult al-Muṭarī, even about minor matters, and accept what al-Muṭarī suggested¹⁶².

In 727 /1326 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ṭawāshī¹⁶³ occupied 'Aṭāllah's position and he had a good relationship with al-Muṭarī that was full of mutual affection and understanding¹⁶⁴.

¹⁵⁹ Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn ibn Abd Allāh al-Salāhī al-Najmī was born in 648/1250. He ruled the state of Mamlūk for three separate periods. The first period of his rule was nearly one year (692/1293- 693/1294). Then he was expelled from his position for six years by another competitor. He returned to rule the state from (698/1299-708/1309). Then he was removed for one year. Later, he returned in 709/1310 to continue as ruler of al-Mamlūk state until his death in 741/1341. For more see ibn Khathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.14, p.190;

'Ismā'īl abū al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtasar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar* (Istanbul: Dār al-Ṭabā'a al-'Amīra al-Shahāniya, 1869), vol.4, p.22, 42 and 137; Abd al-Malik al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al-'Awālī fī 'Anbā al-'Aw'īl wa al-'Awākhir* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafay, 1960) vol.4, p.21, 22

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.74; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.423

¹⁶¹ He occupied this job in 723/1323 until his death in 727/1326. For more, see al-'Asqalānī; *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.241

¹⁶² Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.41

¹⁶³ Dīnār ibn Abd Allāh al-Ṭawāshī al-Shihabī worked as a Shaykh of al-Ḥaram servants until 747/1346 when he was dismissed. Then he returned in 752/1351 until his death in 758/1356. For more, see al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p.59

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.43

With reference to public relations with the local people, al-Muṭarī endeavoured to create a good relationship with all members of his community. He had a positive attitude towards them and was very cooperative with his surrounding community. Thus, al-Samhūdī described the way he dealt with his community by saying: "al-Muṭarī has befriended all people"¹⁶⁵.

Al-Muṭarī was enthusiastic to help everyone in need of help, especially old people. Some historians have commented that he assisted and provided the elderly with all their various needs¹⁶⁶.

In addition, he was very generous and helpful towards orphans. When Muḥammad ibn Abū al-Qāsim ibn Farḥūan al-Ya‘murī passed away, he left behind a number of sons and a wife. They needed a lot of help in different aspects, such as education and upbringing as well as taking care of their property. Al-Muṭarī made a great effort in this respect according to Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan himself who, described al-Muṭarī's help, saying: "I am not exaggerating if I say that al-Muṭarī took the place of our father"¹⁶⁷.

Overall, al-Mūtarī had a good reputation and great manners. For that reason he was welcomed by all categories of Medinan residents. All of them liked to listen to him talk and to sit with him regardless of how much time they spent¹⁶⁸.

On the other hand, al-Muṭarī faced some problems caused by his opponents in Medina. He did not make mention of these irritations. However, Ibn Farḥūan refers to one of these problems which took place in 727/1326 with the propaganda surrounding the appointment of Ṣafī al-Dīn Jūhar as a Shaykh of al-Ḥaram servant who was not in harmony with al-Muṭarī. Hence, some of

¹⁶⁵ *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.3, p.949

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.136; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol. 2, p.414

¹⁶⁷ *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.136

¹⁶⁸ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-'Alḥaz*, p.75

Jūhar's proponents started to cause a trouble for him by spreading rumours about him in addition to threatening him on several occasions¹⁶⁹. However, the caliph went back on his decision and appointed 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ṭawāshī instead of Jūhar. Hence, they did not accomplish their target of bothering al-Muṭarī¹⁷⁰.

2.8. HIS WORKS:

As far as the researcher is aware, most sources agree that Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muṭarī did not write any books other than *al-Ta'rif bimā anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*¹⁷¹. However, Ḥājī Khalifah¹⁷² claims that there was another book written by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī called '*Īthāf al-zā'ir*.

From the researcher's point of view, however, Khalifah's claim is not true for several reasons. Among these reasons are the following:

- 1- Al-Muṭarī himself did not give either explicit or implicit indication of another book having been written by him. As writing a book was regarded as a source of pride among scholars there would have been no logical reason for him not to announce that work publicly.
- 2- The sources which would have had more knowledge of the details of his life and were around during his lifetime, such as his student Ibn Farḥūn or al-Sakhāwī, did not mention that he had written another book.

¹⁶⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.42,43

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-'Alḥaz*, p.75; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.192; al-Zirkilī, *al-'A'lam*, vol.6, p.22; 'Usaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal Medina*, p.354

¹⁷² *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an 'Isāmī' al-Kutūb wa al-funūn* (Beirut: Dār 'Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1941) vol.2, p.6

- 3- The vast majority of sources confirm that *'Īthāf al-Zā'ir* belonged to Abū al-Yemen Abd alṣamad ibn 'Asākīr who was al-Muṭarī's Shaykh, as has been shown previously in the section on al-Muṭarī teachers.
- 4- Ḥājī Khalifah himself had his doubts when he referred to it. Therefore, he refers to the title of the book (*'Īthāf al-Zā'ir*) three times with three different authors. The first time, he attributed it to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī. In the second indication to the work, he cited the author as al-Shaykh Abū al-Yemen Abd alṣamad ibn 'Asākīr. The third time he mentions *'Īthāf al-Zā'ir*, he claims that the author was Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kīndī al-Baghdadī¹⁷³.

It is evident from the above points that Khalifah and all those writers who followed him were mistaken when they pointed to another book written by al-Muṭarī under the title *'Īthāf al-Zā'ir*. Therefore, both 'Ismā'īl al-Baghdadī, in his book, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn*¹⁷⁴ and 'Umar Kaḥḥālah, in his book *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*,¹⁷⁵ were mistaken because they transmitted what Khalifah said without making any effort to investigate.

2.9. HIS DEATH:

Al-Muṭarī's date of birth was the subject of disagreement between a number of historians. However, there was consensus among them about the date of his death. Al-Mūtarī died on the 17th of Rabī' al-'Akhīr 741(10/10/1340)¹⁷⁶ and was buried in al-Baqī' Cemetery¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷³ Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol.2, p.6

¹⁷⁴ Vol.2, p.150

¹⁷⁵ Vol.7, p.257

¹⁷⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.138; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.192; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

¹⁷⁷ Ibn Fahd, *Lahz al-'Alḥaz*, p.76

2.10. CONCLUSION:

This chapter represent an attempt to shed light on the various stages in the author's life. For instance, his lineage, his birth, his teachers and students, his journeys to seek knowledge, his works, his relations with members of his community and his death. Other points have been discussed in the previous sections. It is evident from this part that al-Muṭarī's family came from Egypt to reside in Medina during the seventh century. The main reason for his family's immigration was that Medina was in need of someone to do his father's job, in addition to some causes that may have contributed to its religious importance. In addition, he studied under the supervision of renowned scholars from different regions in the Muslim world. It is certain that he did not write any book beside his book *Al-Ta'rif bimā anasat al-Hijrah min ma'ālim dār al-Hijrah*. Finally, it is clear that he had positive dealings with all members of his society.

Chapter Three

EXAMINATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

3.1. AUTHENTICITY OF THE AUTHOR'S WORK:

Establishing whether a book is attributed to the original author is considered to be the most significant part in any critical study of a manuscript. There are a number of Arabic manuscripts falsely attributed to authors which causes perplexity for the reader, particularly when the content of such books completely contrasts with the views and principles of the authors to whom they are attributed. This kind of inaccurate authorship can occur for various possible reasons when a manuscript has been stored in a library. First, the manuscript's author might have written another scholar's name on the cover of the manuscript. A second possible reason is that a student of the author or the manuscript's scribe wrote their names on the manuscript's cover which wrongly suggests the manuscript belongs to them, not to the real author. Third, the author's name could have been accidentally removed from the manuscript while binding. However, this type of removal appears to be undertaken intentionally sometimes¹⁷⁸.

A great deal of investigation has been conducted to ensure that the subject of the current study, the manuscript entitled *"al-Ta'rif bimā' anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra"*, is attributed to Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muṭarī. In this regard, the researcher has ensured through the following evidence that this manuscript is the work of al-Muṭarī:

1- The author himself claims this work as his own in its introduction, saying:

I reported in this short book what I have known about Medina and some of its superiority, hoping for rewards from God, and I gave it the title of *al-Ta'rif bimā' anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ For more information and examples see 'Ābīd al-Mashukhī, *Anmāṭ al-Taūthayq bayn al-Makhtūṭ al-'Arabī fī al-Qarn al-Tāsī'* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malīk Fahd, 1994), pp.164-172

¹⁷⁹ See his introduction in volume II, p.2

- 2- Towards the end of the manuscript, Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jamāl al-Muṭarī, the author's son, verifies that the manuscript entitled "*al-Ta'rif bimā 'anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*" belongs to his father. Furthermore, on 15th Shawwāl 760/1385 the author's son made a comparison between this manuscript and the oldest original one at the Prophet's Mosque¹⁸⁰. This kind of authentication is considered to be efficient evidence in which the manuscript's scribe seeks evidence from relatives of the author that his manuscript is identical to the original copy.
- 3- Attribution of the manuscript entitled "*al-Ta'rif bimā 'anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*" to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī is confirmed by Carl Brockelmann in his work *Geschichte der Arabischen literature*¹⁸¹ which is considered an authentic source for confirming the attribution of manuscripts to their original authors.
- 4- In addition to the above evidence, a number of historians have confirmed attribution of this manuscript to al-Muṭarī, among whom are:
- a- Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī (d.871/1466) who says in his work *Laḥz al-'alḥāz* that: "Al-Muṭarī wrote a book on Medina and entitled his book *al-Ta'rif bimā 'anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*"¹⁸².
- b- Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d.902/1496) who indicates the point, saying that: "Al-Muṭarī writes a useful book about Medina"¹⁸³.
- c- Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkilī writes that: "Al-Muṭarī has written a history about Medina under the title of *al-Ta'rif bimā 'anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*"¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸⁰ See volume II, p.146

¹⁸¹ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen literature* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1949) vol.2. p.220

¹⁸² see *Laḥz al-'alḥāz*, p.75

¹⁸³ *Al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

¹⁸⁴ *Al-'A'lām*, vol.6, p.222

Furthermore, al-Muṭarī's authorship is endorsed by a number of historians such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī¹⁸⁵, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Marāqī¹⁸⁶, ‘Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī¹⁸⁷ and ‘Umar Kaḥḥālah¹⁸⁸.

All of the above authors affirm that al-Muṭarī is the author of *al-Ta‘rīf bimā ‘anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*.

5- A number of historical books written after the author's era contain some implicit indications which are strong evidence that this manuscript belongs to al-Muṭarī. Such works quote different ideas from his book where they refer to him as the author. On account of their large numbers, the current research will focus only on the historians of Medina as they are expected to have more awareness and knowledge about Medina than others. They include:

a- Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Samhūdī (d.911/1506) who wrote some books dealing with the history of Medina. He refers to al-Muṭarī's book on different occasions in a number of his books¹⁸⁹. Authentication of al-Samhūdī's information proved that such information was quoted from al-Muṭarī's book *“al-Ta‘rīf bimā ‘anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra”*.

b- Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Ḥamayīd al-‘Abbāsī in his work¹⁹⁰ has dealt with a number of themes quoted from the book. He has referred to al-Muṭarī in different places of his work and quoted some of his views on some matters.

¹⁸⁵ See *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.192

¹⁸⁶ See Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol.1, p.303

¹⁸⁷ *Haddāyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol.2, p.150; *‘Īdāḥ al-Maknūn fi al-Dhayl ‘alā Kashf al-Zunūn* (Beirut: Dār ‘Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī), p.296

¹⁸⁸ *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn* (Maṭba‘at al-Taraqī, 1959), vol.7, p.357

¹⁸⁹ See *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, vol.3, pp.856,866,1031,1073,1076; Ḥamad, al-Jāssīr, *Rasā’il fi Tārīkh al-Madīna* (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāma, 1972), pp.97,99,103,128,147

¹⁹⁰ *‘Umdat al-‘Akhbār fi Madīnat al-Mūkhtār*, pp.124,128,145,175,177

- c- Contemporary historians of Medina such as Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Khiyārī¹⁹¹, Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī¹⁹² and Abd Allāh ‘Usaylān¹⁹³ insist that al-Muṭarī was a historian of Medina during the eighth century and that he was the author of *al-Ta ‘rif bimā ’anasat al-hijra min ma ‘ālim dār al-hijra*.

Clearly, the above-mentioned confirm that al-Muṭarī is the one who wrote the book in question about the history of Medina under the title of *al-Ta ‘rif bimā ’anasat al-hijra min ma ‘ālim dār al-hijra*.

3.2. OBJECTIVE OF THE BOOK:

The motives for writing a book are sometimes obvious, but in some cases are less so. Trying to identify an author’s reason for writing any particular book is essential to help the reader understand the ideas and arguments proposed by the author.

Throughout different historical periods, authors would introduce their readers to their reason for writing the book before starting its actual content, *i.e.* usually in the book’s introduction. Al-Muṭarī does not deviate from the norm of that time, as he declares the motivation and reasons beyond writing his book in the introduction of his book and as follows:

None of Medina’s residents know its landmarks, its news and its history; therefore, I have reported in this short book what I have known and some of its superiority, hoping for rewards from God¹⁹⁴.

In addition, we can extract al-Muṭarī’s objective from the title of the book itself which literally means “informing people of derelict locations and historical landmarks of Medina which have been forgotten because of

¹⁹¹ See *Tārīkh al-Medina al-Munawwarah Qadīm wa Ḥadīthn* (Jeddah: Dār al-‘Īlm, 1993), pp.183,188,189,205

¹⁹² See *’Athār al-Medina al-Munawwara* (Jeddah:Dār al-Manḥal,1999), pp.35,71,135,242

¹⁹³ See *Dirāsāt ḥawal al-Medina*, pp.354,355

¹⁹⁴ See volume II, p.2

concentrating on the Prophet's migration". Hence, al-Muṭarī highlights the objective as well as the subject matter of his book. The book deals with mostly forgotten locations and historical places of a very significant era in Islamic history.

A study of this book shows that al-Muṭarī managed to achieve his objective by studying locations and landmarks of Medina and he was able to connect such places to different historical events which occurred during the time of the Prophet, the Rightly-guided caliphs (*al-Rāshidūn*), the Umayyad caliphs, the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, the Ayyūbid dynasty and the Mamlūk state. Al-Mutarī attempts to help people remember these events more easily by establishing links between the places and the historical events which took place in them. He regularly informs the reader about the changes that occurred in each of the places mentioned up until his time.

It is noticeable from al-Muṭarī's objective that he concentrated on the history of Medina and the identification of its locations.

3.3. AUTHOR'S METHODOLOGY:

Certainly, every author has his own methodology of writing which distinguishes him from others. This section will shed light on the methodology al-Muṭarī used in his work through investigation and analysis.

Al-Muṭarī starts his book with an introduction. In his introduction, he discusses his reasons for writing the book. In addition, he mentions the book's title and the reason for choosing it. This approach of writing in which the authorial motive is set out explicitly was commonly used by the authors of his era.

It is evident that the author was very keen to quote as many as possible of the Prophet's sayings in his book. For that reason, he cited a great deal of ḥadīths. Furthermore, the first two sections of his book were about the

superiority of Medina, which relied on authentic sources such as *Ṣaḥīḥ*¹⁹⁵ *al-Bukhārī*¹⁹⁶ and *Ṣaḥīḥ*¹⁹⁷ *Muslim*¹⁹⁸.

Al-Muṭarī included some poems on various subjects in his book. The names of some of the poets are clearly indicated¹⁹⁹; however, others are unknown²⁰⁰. From the researcher's point of view, the 'unknown' poems might be attributed to the author himself on the basis that he was also a poet²⁰¹.

Al-Muṭarī did not set out the contents of his book in chronological order; rather his book was organised thematically. Examples of some topics addressed by the author in his book include mentioning unknown mosques in Medina, and the trench around Medina, as well as the valleys of Medina and their names, Uḥud, and water wells in Medina. He dealt with the history of Medina through individual and independent topics in twenty five sections. He was interested in combining all aspects of a historical event in one topic even if it extended into to another era. This method helps the reader to understand the development of events more efficiently. For example, when discussing the Prophet's Mosque, he starts by explaining how the land was purchased and how the Prophet (PBWH) took part in the construction himself. Then, he reported all the alterations that were made to the Mosque throughout different historical periods, through the *al-Rāshidūn*, the Ummayyad and

¹⁹⁵ See volume II, p.3

¹⁹⁶ Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Ismā'īl ibn 'Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī was born in Shawwāl 194/809. He travelled a lot to hear *aḥādīth* from scholars in different regions and He is considered to be the Imām of the Science of Tradition. He was extremely authentic with respect to memorization and verification. Besides *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, he wrote a number of books in different disciplines including his famous three books: *al-Tārikh al-Kabayir*, *al-Tārikh al-'Aṣṣaṭ* and *al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr*. He died in 256/869. For more information, see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.104; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol.2, p.6; Mūsa, *Nazḥat al-Fuḍalā'*, vol.3, p.1010

¹⁹⁷ See volume II, p.9

¹⁹⁸ Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī was born in 204/819. He was considered to be one of the greatest scholars in the Science of Tradition and Many narrators quoted from him. He wrote many books, among which are *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-kīnā wa al-'Asmā'* and *al-Tamayyaz*. He died in 261/875. For more information, see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.125; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalā'*, vol.3, p.1035

¹⁹⁹ See volume II, pp.2,7,37,113,137

²⁰⁰ See volume II, pp.34,35,93

²⁰¹ See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.413

‘Abbāsīd caliphs and the Ayyūbid dynasty up until the Mamlūks’ reign. All these alterations were covered in one topic.

Al-Muṭarī clearly attempted to establish a link between locations and historical events which took place around them. He would point out many historical events when he mentioned where they occurred. For example, he recounted the Battle of Uḥud (Shawwāl 3/March 625) whilst describing Uḥud Mountain²⁰². He did exactly the same with the Battle of al-Khandaq (5/627). When writing about the tribe of *Banū Abd al-’Ashhal*²⁰³, he mentioned the *al-Ḥara* conflict which took place there between the residents of Medina and the Umayyad army (63/682). There are countless examples like this in the book.

In his book al-Muṭarī mentions the *sanad* (the chain of narrators) which can be defined as ascribing the narrative to the witness²⁰⁴. This practice has been commonly applied in narrating ḥadīth; therefore it is called the method of the *muḥaddithīn*. However, it was expanded to be used in different disciplines of knowledge during the early Islamic centuries. Al-Sulamī said: “The use of *asnād* is no longer limited to ḥadīth but it has become the most dominant feature for writing in all Islamic knowledge disciplines”²⁰⁵.

This was very common in historical writing before al-Muṭarī’s time. We can find clear examples of it in the writings of ibn Shabbah²⁰⁶, ibn Sa‘d²⁰⁷, ibn al-Najjār²⁰⁸ and many other authors.

²⁰² See volume II, pp.76-79

²⁰³ Banū Abd al-’Ashhal is a clan of the Aws of the tribe of al-’Anṣār, see Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans* (Leiden: Brill,1995), p.20

²⁰⁴ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.29; ‘Usaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal al-Medina*, p.355

²⁰⁵ *Manhaj Kitābat al-Tārikh al-’Islāmī* (Riyadh: Dār Ṭaybah,1986), p.149

²⁰⁶ Abū Zayd ‘Umar ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī al-Baṣrī (d.262/875) an eminent historian wrote a number of books which are *Tārikh al-Madīna*, *Akhhbār al-Kūfa* and *Faḍā’l al-Baṣra*. For further information see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.340; al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-’Ārifīn*, vol.1, p.780

²⁰⁷ Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d ibn Munī‘ al-Zahrī (d.230/844) was born in Baṣra and travelled to Baghdād to hear from his famous teacher al-Wāqadī. He left beyond number of books among them *Akhhbār al-Nabī*, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Suḡhrā*. See Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.11; *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tarīkh Baghdād (Qāhirah: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘ādah*, 1931), vol.5, p.321

²⁰⁸ Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Maḥāsīn (d.643/1245) he was also known as Ibn al-Najjār and considered as a renowned historian and a trustworthy

Al-Muṭarī was renowned for being as clear and brief as possible while maintaining the meaning and not affecting the topic²⁰⁹. He attempted to achieve the goal of his writing with no complication, confusion or distraction caused to the reader.

Al-Muṭarī did his best to combine all issues related to the topic which had been written by earlier historians and made a comparison between such writings in his book. This way of writing gave him an advantage over the other Medina historians. For example, throughout his book he would cite what Ibn Zabāla, Zubayyr ibn Bakār and Ibn al-Najjār said about an issue and then make a comparison between each of those views²¹⁰. After that, he would highlight his own view clearly by saying: "I say". In this way, he wanted to prevent the reader from being misled or confused. The reader, otherwise, might think that this view belonged to the historian mentioned before al-Muṭarī.

Investigating and viewing the location of a historical event was one of al-Muṭarī's strengths. In a historical analysis, this quality plays an important role in describing an event fully as it actually happened. The vast majority of historians convey the event without having its locations fully investigated or inspected. However, it is very helpful for the reader to know all possible available information about an event and its location in order to get a better grasp of the event. Al-Muṭarī thought that it was insufficient to convey an event alone, with no information about its location. Therefore, he decided to visit the location of the event in question himself and reported all changes made to it.

Muḥadīth. He travelled a lot to expand his knowledge and visited different learning centres in Syria, Egypt, Persia, Mecca and Medina and wrote number of books the key amongst them was *al-Durah al-Thamīnah fī Tārīkh al-Madīna*, *al-Kamāl* and *al-Mu'talīf wa al-Mukhtalīf*. For more see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.4, p.148; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArīfīn*, vol.2, p.122; Ṣalāḥ Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period and the Shi'a influence upon it* (PhD Thesis: University of Leeds,2008), p.217

²⁰⁹ Usaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal al-Medīna*, p.355

²¹⁰ For example see volume II, pp.18,49,57,59,67

Another of al-Muṭarī's strengths is that he did not accept what other historians said whenever it was possible for him to investigate it. Instead he opted to investigate many locations himself. On several occasions throughout his book he rejects the point of view of the 'Iraqi historian Muḥammad ibn al-Najjār in terms of the measurements of the Prophet's Mosque, having measured it himself²¹¹.

Al-Muṭarī was renowned for giving full descriptions of places and names about which he thought that reader might not have sufficient background, e.g. al-Naqā, Ḥājjīr and Sunjur.²¹²

3.4. AL-MUṬARĪ IN THE EYES OF OTHER SCHOLARS:

Al-Muṭarī travelled a lot to expand his knowledge. He visited many important centres of learning and mixed with scholars and students from different backgrounds and benefited from such travels; therefore, he became qualified to disseminate his knowledge among the seekers of knowledge. He was also described as one of the greatest scholars of Medina, taking into account the great depth of knowledge he had and the harmonious relations he had established with scholars and students from both inside and outside Medina. In turn, his personal character and his knowledge (including his book) were highly praised by many scholars after his death. For example, Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d.902/1496) said: "He was distinguished and after his death no other came like him"²¹³.

Another biographer said about his book: "Al-Muṭarī's book is considered to be the best book which deals with the history of Medina"²¹⁴.

Al-Ḥāfaẓ Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar (d.852/1448) praised him and said:

²¹¹ See volume II, p.49

²¹² See volume II, pp.93,109

²¹³ *Al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.414

²¹⁴ Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol.1, p.303

Al-Muṭarī was a chief *muezzin* of the Prophet's Mosque and his voice was very beautiful. He wrote a valuable history of Medina and participated in different disciplines of knowledge. He had many good qualities²¹⁵.

Another biographer described him as follows: "His manners were distinguished; he combined all advantages of good qualities"²¹⁶.

In addition, his student Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūn (d.769/1367) stated that:

There were a number of *al-Masjid al-Nabawī* muezzins among whom was the judge, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-‘Ubādī, who was an expert in ḥadīth, history, jurisprudence, and other different disciplines²¹⁷.

Likewise, al-Zirkīlī praised him and described him with the qualities mentioned above²¹⁸.

The above quotations show that al-Muṭarī occupied a respected and high status among the scholars of Medina throughout the Eight Century, on the basis of his comprehensive knowledge and his participation with other members of his society on different issues.

3.5. SUBJECT MATTER OF THE MANUSCRIPT:

The manuscript comprises twenty-five sections excluding the introduction. The main subject of the book is the history of Medina and its locations.

In the introduction the author starts by giving a brief autobiography. Then he starts, as most Islamic writers do, by thanking God and sending prayers of peace to His Prophet (PBWH). After that, he discusses the significance of writing the history of Medina, the place which is considered sacred and is respected by all Muslims all over the world. He believes that Medina holds this position because it is the city of the Prophet (PBWH) and also because his

²¹⁵ *Al-Durar al-Khāmina*, vol.3, p.192

²¹⁶ Ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-‘Alḥaz*, p.75

²¹⁷ *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.136

²¹⁸ Al-Zirkīlī, *Al-‘Alām*, vol.6, p.222

Sacred Mosque is located there. The author divulges the motive beyond his concentration on Medina's historic sites in his book. He states that Medina's residents do not know enough about these sites. In the conclusion of his introduction, he also states the title of his book to be *al-Ta'rif bimā anasat al-hijra min ma'ālim dār al-hijra*.

Chapter One of the manuscript deals with the virtues of Medina reflected in traditions of the Prophet which are sourced from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*²¹⁹. Twelve ḥadīths are cited in this section in order to show the superiority of Medina over other cities. Such ḥadīths also show that the Prophet (PBWH) prayed to God to bless Medina and protect it from the terror of *Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*²²⁰. The author also cites some ḥadīths to confirm the advantages of being a resident of Medina. Some ḥadīths of this type are already mentioned, and the following are examples of others:

- It is narrated by Abū Bakra²²¹ that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "the terror caused by *Masīḥ al-Dajjāl* will not enter Medina because, at that time, it will have seven gates and there will be two angels at each gate"²²².
- In another ḥadīth the Prophet (PBWH) said that: "there will be no town which *al-Dajjāl* will not enter except Mecca and Medina, and there will be no entrance or road leading to any of them but with angels standing in rows guarding from him. Then, Medina will shake with its inhabitants three times and God will expel all the disbelievers and the hypocrites from it"²²³.

²¹⁹ See volume II, p.3

²²⁰ *Masīḥ al-Dajjāl* in Arabic represents the false *Masīḥ* (antichrist) and he is an evil figure in Islamic traditions pretending to be *Masīḥ* at a time in the future before the Day of Judgment. See Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization and Religion*, p.133

²²¹ His real name is Nafay' ibn al-Hārīth (d.51/671). He was one of the Prophet's companions who was also a *muḥadīth*; see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayīr* (al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at al-Fārūq, 2006) vol.8, p.112 ; Al-'Asqalāni, *al'Isāba fi tamayyaz alṣahāba*, vol.3, p.542

²²² Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth no.1879, vol.3, p.72

²²³ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth no.1881, vol.3, p.73

- It is narrated by Anas ibn Mālik²²⁴ that the Prophet (PBWH) said: " O God bestow on Medina twice the blessings you bestowed on Mecca"²²⁵.

Likewise, al-Muṭarī sheds light on these virtues of Medina from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* in the second chapter. However, his focus in this regard is devoted to different issues, such as the sanctity of Medina, the advantage of being patient with its difficulties and the protection of it against plagues and *al-Dajjāl*. The author cites a number of these ḥadīths to show the superiority of Medina over other cities:

- Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āṣim²²⁶ narrated that the Prophet (PBWH) said: " Verily Ibrāhīm declared Mecca sacred and supplicated for blessings to be showered upon its inhabitants, and I declare Medina to be sacred as Ibrāhīm declared Mecca to be sacred, I have supplicated God for his blessings to be showered in its *ṣā’* and its *mudd* (two standards of weight and measurement) twice as Ibrāhīm did for the inhabitants of Mecca"²²⁷.
- It is reported by Ibn ‘Umar²²⁸ that the Prophet said: "he who patiently endures the hardship of Medina, I will be an intercessor or witness on his behalf on the day of resurrection"²²⁹.
- It is narrated by Abū Hurayra²³⁰ that God’s Messenger (PBWH) was given the first fruit produced in Medina and he said: "O God, shower blessings

²²⁴ Abū Ḥamza Anas ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍīr al-’Anṣārī (d.92/710) was the servant of the Prophet and one of his companions. He was also considered as reliable *muḥadīth*. For more information, see al-Bukharī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayīr*, vol.2, p.27; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.1, p.37; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al- Fudalā’*, vol.1, p.399

²²⁵ Al-Bukharī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth no.1885, vol.3, p.75

²²⁶ Abd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ‘Āṣim ibn ka’b al-Māzinī al-’Anṣārī (d.63/682) was one of the Prophet’s companions; see al-Bukharī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayīr*, vol.5, p.12; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-’Istay ‘āb fi Ma’rifat al-’Aṣḥāb*, vol.2, p.304; al-’Asqalānī, *al-’Isāba fi tamayyaz al-ṣahāba*, vol.2, p.305

²²⁷ Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Translated by: Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣiddīqī (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan,1990) Ḥadīth no.3150, vol.2, p.686

²²⁸ Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī (d.74/693) was one of the Prophet’s companions and was a trustworthy and reliable *muḥadīth*. He narrated copious *aḥadīth*, for more see al-Bukharī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayīr*, vol.5, p.152; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.1, p.31; al-’Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir,1968) vol.5, p.328

²²⁹ al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth no.3180, vol.2, p.692

upon us in our city, and in our fruits, in our *mudd* and in our *ṣāʿ*, blessings upon blessings". Then, the Prophet gave that fruit to the youngest children present there"²³¹.

- In another ḥadīth, Abū Hurayra reported that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "he who intends to do harm to Medina's inhabitants, God will efface him as salt dissolved in water"²³².

Furthermore, in this chapter al-Muṭarī shows some historical aspects of Medina. He declares that Medina has many names such as Ṭāba, Ṭayba, al-Miskayna, Jābira and al-Majbūra. Then, he gives a historical background of the inhabitants of Medina living in the pre-Islamic era through to the Islamic era. He highlights al-ʿAmālayīq, Jews and the Aws and the Khazraj as consequent tribes who lived there. He concludes this chapter with the fact that an endless list of authentic ḥadīths confirms the superiority of Medina.

Chapter Three is dedicated to the virtues of the Prophet's Mosque and in it al-Muṭarī quotes a number of ḥadīths highlighting such virtues. It is narrated, for example, by Abū Hurayra that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "Do not undertake journeys but to three mosques: this mosque of mine, the mosque of al-Ḥarām and the mosque of al-ʿAqṣā"²³³. Then, he shows the advantage of performing a prayer at the Prophet's Mosque which is a thousand times more rewarding than a prayer performed in any other mosque except *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*²³⁴. However, some of the *aḥadith* cited by the author in this regard are classified as *daʿīf* (weak)²³⁵.

²³⁰ His real name was Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sakhr al-Azdī one of the prophet's companion. He embraced Islam in 7/629 and was described as a *ḥāfaz* and was a trustworthy *muḥadīth*, in addition, he was one of the major narrators of *ḥadīth*. He died in 57/676. for more see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.1, pp.28-31; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalāʿ*, vol.1, pp.307-316

²³¹ al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth no.3171, vol.2, p.689

²³² al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth no.3197, vol.2, p.694

²³³ al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth no.3218, vol.2, p.699

²³⁴ Ibid, Ḥadīth no.3209, vol.2, p.697

²³⁵ See Volume II, p.26 ; Ṣāliḥ al-Rifāʿī, *al-ʿAḥādīyath al-Wārīdah fī faḍl al-Medina* (al-Medina al-Munawwara: Maktabat al-ʿUlūm wa al-Ḥakam,2005) vol.2, p.437

The focus of Chapter Four is devoted to the virtues of the place located between the Prophet's tomb and his pulpit. Quoting some ḥadīths, al-Muṭarī agrees that this place is considered to be one of the gardens of Paradise. It is narrated by Abd Allāh ibn Zayd al-Māzinī that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "that [the place] which is between my house and my pulpit is a garden from the gardens of Paradise"²³⁶. Al-Muṭarī concludes this chapter saying that scholars recommend that all visitors to the Prophet's Mosque pray in this place before visiting the Prophet's tomb.

Chapter Five highlights the significance of visiting the Prophet's tomb (PBWH) and praying two *raka'a* there²³⁷. In addition, the book provides the reader with some teachings related to this visit. Al-Muṭarī identifies the right place to stand in front of the Prophet (PBWH): "Whoever wants to face the Prophet (PBWH) should face the torch located in the prayer's direction"²³⁸.

Al-Muṭarī shows the changes that have occurred to this sign (*i.e.* the torch) during different ages of history. He states that the Prophet's house and the rooms of his wives were attached to his mosque at a later date. He also describes a specific historical event that took place in 654/1256, *i.e.* the accidental burning of the Prophet's Mosque. Following this disaster, al-Muṭarī shows that a new sign was made of a silver nail in red marble. He states that the rooms of the Prophet's wives surrounded the mosque from all directions except the west. At the end of this chapter, he advises people to visit the ancient places and mosques in which the Prophet (PBWH) used to pray in Medina in order to receive blessings from God.

Chapter Six is a historical view of the Prophet's pulpit and the fire in the Prophet's Mosque. Al-Muṭarī states that, during the time of the Prophet, the

²³⁶ al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ḥadīth no.3205, vol.2, p.696

²³⁷ It is one unit of the prayer and each daily prayer in Islam is comprises of a different number of *raka'a*. See Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization and Religion*, p.553

²³⁸ See Volume II, p.32

length of the pulpit was two *dhīrā*²³⁹ (Cubit) and three fingers and its width was one *dhīrā*²³⁹ and it had three steps. In addition, he states that the Rightly-Guided caliphs did not change any of the features of the pulpit for thirty years. However, Mu‘āwīya ibn Abī Sufyān²⁴⁰, the first of the Umayyad caliphs, when he performed pilgrimage, ordered six more steps to be added to make nine in total.

In the ‘Abbāsīd reign al-Mahdī ibn al-Manṣūr²⁴¹ in 191/806 tried to return the pulpit to its original state, as it had been in the Prophet’s time, but his companion on his trip to hajj, Imām Mālik²⁴², advised him not to change it, fearing that the structure of the pulpit would fall apart. Al-Muṭarī mentions some of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs who refurbished the pulpit on different occasions. In addition, the book deals with the fire in the Prophet’s Mosque which took place in Ramaḍān 654/September 1256 and describes the subsequent events and correspondences that took place between Medina’s Governor, Munīf ibn Shīḥa²⁴³ and the ‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Musta‘ṣim bi Allāh²⁴⁴. Al-Muṭarī points out that the fire caused the complete destruction of

²³⁹ *Dhīrā*²³⁹ is an old measurement standard which starts from the elbow to the end of the middle finger; see al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.716

²⁴⁰ His full name was Mu‘āwīya ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Abd Shams ibn Abd Manāf al-Qurashī (d.60/680). According to early Islamic historians he embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca. He became one of the Prophet’s companions and served in the Islamic army. Then, he was appointed by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the Governor of Syria. He established the State of Umayyad in 41/661, through which he started the hereditary system of ruling; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-‘Istay‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-‘Aṣḥāb*, vol.3, p.375; al-‘Asqalānī, *al-‘Isāba fī tamayyaz al-ṣahāba*, vol.3, p.412

²⁴¹ Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbās (d.169/785). He became a caliph after his father passed away in 158/774. He was the third ruler in the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty; for more see Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, reviewed by Darūaysh al-Jūaydī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyyah, 2007) vol.1, p.831; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.501; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalā*, vol.2, p.710

²⁴² Abū Abd Allāh Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik (93/711-179/795) was one of the four Imāms and the Mālikīyah school of thought is attributed to him. He was the *Imām of Ḥadīth* and had a lot of works among which are *al-Mū‘ūṭa’ fī al-Ḥadīth* and *Rasāla fī al-Wa‘ḍ*; see al-Bukharī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayir*, vol.7, p.310; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.1, p.154; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalā*, vol.2, p.726; al-Baghdādī, *Haddāyyat al-‘Arīfin*, vol.2, p.1

²⁴³ Abū al-Ḥasan Munīf ibn Shīḥa ibn Hāshīm ibn Qāsīm ibn al-Muhanā al-Ḥusaynī (d.657/1258) ruled Medina in 649/1251. Rulers of Medina continued to be from his family until the eleventh century AH; see Ibn Farḥūn, *Nasiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228

²⁴⁴ Al-Musta‘ṣim bi Allāh Abd Allāh ibn Manṣūr ibn al-Zāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nāṣir ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Abbāsī (609/1212 -656/1258) became the last Muslim caliph in 640/1242. He was killed by Mongol troops during the Mongol invasion of Baghdad; see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn*

the ceilings of the Prophet's Mosque. This fire was caused by one of the mosque's attendants, Abī Baker ibn Aūḥad. He entered the mosque's store with a torch. While he was arranging things there, the fire caught quickly and he could not extinguish it²⁴⁵.

Later, the Governor of Medina asked the 'Abbāsīd caliph for urgent help to rebuild it as soon as possible. Thus, al-Musta'ṣim sent a number of craftsmen and labourers with their tools from 'Iraq with 'Iraq's hajj caravan to refurbish the Prophet's Mosque. However, when they decided to remove remains from the sacred graves they consulted the 'Abbāsīd caliph who did not respond to them because he was busy with the Mongol invasion, after which he died in 656/1258.

Following this scene, al-Muṭarī concentrates on the movement of Mongol troops until he reaches the time when King al-Muzafr Saif al-Dīn Quṭuz²⁴⁶ defeated them in Ramaḍān 658/1260 at the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt²⁴⁷.

After these historical events, al-Muṭarī returns to the issue of rebuilding the Prophet's Mosque and the ruling of Mamlūk sultans in this context. He states that Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Baybars²⁴⁸ completed the work in the Prophet's Mosque in the area between the al-Raḥma Gate and the al-Nīsā' Gate. Also,

Khalḍūn, vol.1, p.1048, Yaḥyā Ibn Junayd, *al-Musta'ṣim bi Allāh al-'Abbāsī* (Beirut: al-Dār al-'Arabīya li al-Mūsu'āt, 2008), p.15

²⁴⁵ See volume II, p.39; al-Jāsīr, *Rasā'il fi Tārīkh al-Medīna*, p.97

²⁴⁶ Al-Muzafr Saif al-Dīn Quṭuz al-Mu'izī (d.658/1260). He was an assistant of al-Manṣūr Alī ibn Aybak al-Mu'izī until he declared himself as the Sultan under the pretext that the current situation needs a stronger and more capable sultan. He ruled the State of Mamlūk between (657/1259-658/1260); for more see Al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fi Khabar mn Ghabar* (Kuwait: Dā'irat al-Maṭbū'āt wa al-Nashr, 1966) vol.6, p. 247; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafyāt*, vol.2, p.267; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, pp.405,417; Sa'eed 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām fi 'Aṣr al-Ayyubayn wa al-Mamālīk* (Miṣr: Dār al-Nahḍa), p.183

²⁴⁷ 'Ayn Jālūt is a small town located between Baysān and Nablus in Palestine; see al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, vol.6, p.368

²⁴⁸ Al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Banduqdārī (d.675/1277) had a high rank in the Mamlūk army which then was serving under his leadership. Therefore, he played an important role during the war against Mongol troops at the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt. He became the Sultan of the Mamlūks from 658/1260 to 675/1277; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fi Khabar mn Ghabar*, vol.6, p.38; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.7, p.200; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.436

he goes through the refurbishment of the mosque's ceiling by Sultan Qalāwūn²⁴⁹.

Then, al-Muṭarī studies the expansions that have been made to the Prophet's Mosque from the time it was established in 1/622 until the author's era. He mentions what the measurements of the Mosque were when the Prophet (PBWH) and his companions built it immediately after the immigration. It was a square shape of seventy by sixty *dhīrā'*. There were three doors through which it could be accessed. It was built with mud walls and palm trunks. After the number of Muslims increased, there was a need to expand the mosque. Therefore, the Prophet (PBWH) worked with his companions to expand it. Overall, its total measurements reached one hundred by one hundred during the Prophet's era. Al-Muṭarī also mentions changing the *qibla* (direction of prayer) from facing Jerusalem to facing Mecca. This event took place sixteen or seventeen months after the Prophet's migration²⁵⁰.

In the second phase of expansion, forty *dhīrā'* of length and twenty *dhīrā'* of width and three doors were added to the mosque by the second of the Rāshidūn caliphs, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb²⁵¹.

By the end of 'Uthmān's period of ruling, the total measurement of the mosque was a hundred and sixty by a hundred and fifty²⁵². However, the fourth phase of expansion, which took place during the Umayyad period, was undertaken by Walīd ibn Abd al-Malik²⁵³ when he decided to rebuild, embellish and enlarge the Prophet's Mosque. For that reason, he sent to the leader of

²⁴⁹ Al-Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn was inaugurated three times. His first ruling continued for about one year, the second period continued for ten years and the third reign for more than thirty years, until his death in 741/1341; see al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.340; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.90

²⁵⁰ See Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, Taḥqīq: Muḥammad 'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997) vol.1, pp.184,187

²⁵¹ See volume II, p.46

²⁵² Ibid, p.47

²⁵³ Abū al-'Abbās Walīd ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Marūān ibn al-Ḥakam al-Qurashī (d.96/715) was the sixth Umayyad caliph for ten years until his death. He made great reforms to the two holy mosques and built the Umayyad *Jāmi'* (mosque) in Damascus as well; see al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.6, p.193; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalā'*, vol.2, p.508

the Byzantines requesting him to provide him with craftsmen to decorate the mosque. The leader of the Byzantines, in turn, provided him with between eighty and a hundred Coptic and Greek workmen. He also sent with them a huge amount of mosaic and chains for hanging the torches²⁵⁴. Then, Walīd instructed his agent in Medina, ‘Umar ibn Abd al-‘Aziz²⁵⁵, to purchase all buildings surrounding the Prophet’s Mosque in order to expand it. The work of this phase of expansion took three years during which time four minarets were built in different parts of the mosque. The length of each minaret was fifty five by eight *dhīrā*’. According to al-Muṭarī, one of them was later destroyed by Sulaymān ibn Abd al-Malīk²⁵⁶. The ‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Mahdī added one hundred *dhīrā*’ to the length and width of the mosque.

Chapter Seven itemises and names the famous *aṣṭwanas* (columns) within *al-Rawḍa al-Sharīfa*, among which was *al-Mukhalaqa* or *al-Muhājirūn* column. The author explains the name of *al-Taūba* (lit. repentance) column by the fact that one of the Prophet’s companions tied himself to this column for six nights after he informed *Banū Qurayza* of the Prophet’s verdict following the battle of Trench (5/627)²⁵⁷. Al-Muṭarī mentions that *al-Muḥars Aṣṭwana* is the place where ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālīb used to sit to protect the Prophet. In addition, there was *al-Ūfūd aṣṭwana* where the Prophet used to welcome his guests.

Chapter Eight deals with the tree trunk which the Prophet (PBWH) used to lean on when giving a speech or a sermon. Then, he points out where trunk is located in the Prophet’s Mosque²⁵⁸.

²⁵⁴ Michell George, *Architecture of the Islamic World* (London: Thames and Hudson,1978), p.210

;Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press,1994), p.72

²⁵⁵ ‘Umar ibn Abd al-‘Aziz ibn Marūān (101/719) was the eighth Umayyad caliph. He was considered the fifth Rāshīd caliph, owing to his justice and righteousness; see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.1, p.89; al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.7, p.475; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.347

²⁵⁶ Sulaymān ibn Abd al-Malīk ibn Marūān (d.99 /717) was the seventh Umayyad caliph. He was a caliph for three years; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar fī Khabar min Ghabar*, vol.1, p.118; Mūsa, *Nazḥat Al-Fuḍalā*, vol.2, p.585

²⁵⁷ The companion was Abū Lubāba Basheer ibn Abd al-Mundhīr al-Anṣārī; see Abd al-Malīk ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya* (Beirut: Dār al-Jayl) vol.4,p.196; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-‘Istay ‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-‘Aṣḥāb*, vol.4, p.167; ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.591

²⁵⁸ See ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol.1, p.192

Chapter Nine is about the stick located to the right of the mihrāb on which the Prophet used to stand. The author states that this stick was stolen after the death of the Prophet and was not found during Abū Bakr's era. It was found by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who returned it to its original place.

Chapter Ten is dedicated to a description of the place in which the Prophet used to perform his night prayer, which was behind the house of his daughter, Fāṭima.

Chapter Eleven describes the *Khūkhas'*²⁵⁹ (small doors) of the Prophet's Mosque. He starts with the *khūkha* of Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar which was originally the house of Ḥafṣa bint 'Umar. During Walīd's expansion, they attempted to negotiate its removal with Abdullah's family. The caliph offered to pay compensation for this; however, the family did not accept his offer and the door stayed until al-Muṭarī's era. In the west of the mosque there was Abū Bakr's *Khukha* which became an entrance to the Mosque's storage in al-Muṭarī's time.

Chapter Twelve gives a historical description of the doors of the Prophet's Mosque throughout various ages. The Prophet (PBWH) first built the Mosque with three doors; the first door was at the back of the mosque and this was blocked after the direction of prayers was changed towards Mecca, the second door, 'Ātika's door, lies in the west of the mosque. The third door, 'Uthmān's door, was used by the Prophet (PBWH) to access the mosque. During the expansion performed by Walīd ibn Abd al-Malik, more doors were added to the Prophet's Mosque, making them twenty in total. Al-Muṭarī lists these doors and mentions their names: al-Nabaī, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Rayṭa, etc.²⁶⁰

As well as describing the renovation work undertaken on these doors in different periods, al-Muṭarī also mentions some related historical events. For example, he describes the alterations undertaken by Jamāl al-Dīn al-

²⁵⁹ *Khūkha* is a small door within a big door; see Majam' al-Lugha al-'Arabīyah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ*, (Cairo: Maṭba'at Miṣr, 1960) vol.1, p.261

²⁶⁰ See volume II, pp.57-68

Isfahānī²⁶¹, and then he discusses all other alterations undertaken by him in Medina. He also mentions the *ribāṭ*²⁶² (shelter) which was built by al-Isfahānī in Medina to protect the poor from severe weather. According to al-Muṭarī, al-Isfahānī also refurbished a part of the pulpit of the Grand Mosque and its doors in Mecca. In addition, he renovated the fence around Medina²⁶³. Later, the fence was rebuilt by Nūr al-Dīn Zankī²⁶⁴ in 558/1162, at the request of the inhabitants of Medina during his visit, to prevent the removal of the Prophet's remains from Medina. This issue will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter Five.

Moreover, al-Muṭarī describes different aspects of Medinan life in his time, such as the *al-Azkajīa* school or *al-Yāzkūja* and the Prophet's tomb. He also describes the alterations made to the Prophet's tomb-chamber (*ḥujra*) by the sultan Saif al-Dīn Qalāwūn, who built the first dome on top of the *ḥujra al-Sharīfa*. Al-Muṭarī then describes the alterations and improvements made by Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī²⁶⁵, Governor of Medina, to the walls of the *ḥujra* in 548/1153 and 554/1159.

Al-Muṭarī then gives a description of the warm welcome the Anṣār gave to the Prophet (PBWH) when he arrived in Medina. They were all keen to host him in their own homes. However, he told them that he would stay wherever his camel sat. His camel sat down by Abū 'Ayyūb Khālīd ibn Zayd al-'Anṣārī²⁶⁶

²⁶¹Abū Ja'far Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Alī al-Isfahānī (d.559/1163) was one of banū Zankī's ministers and was known by al-Jaūād (the generous) because of his generosity and provision of help to people; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī Khabar min Ghabar*, vol.4, p.166; Al-Yāf'ī, *mir'at al-jinān*, vol.3, p.342; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.308

²⁶²Ribāṭ is a building used as a shelter for poor people. See Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabīyah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.323

²⁶³ See al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.309; al-'Abbāsī, *'Umdat al-'Akhbār*, p.123; R Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), p.123

²⁶⁴ Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Imād al-Dīn ibn Zankī (d.569/1173) was the Amir of Damascus and Aleppo. He fortified numbers of Syrian castles and led the Muslim army against the Crusaders companies; for more see Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam* (Haydar Ābād: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1940), vol.10, p.248

²⁶⁵Abū Fulayta Qāsim ibn Muhanā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī had been Governor of Medina for twenty five years; see al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.459; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.387

²⁶⁶ Khālīd ibn Zayd ibn Kulayb ibn al-Najjār (d.51/671) was one of the Prophet's companions who witnessed *Bay'at al-'Aqaba* (the Pledge of al-'Aqaba) and all Muslim battles; see Ibn

therefore the Prophet became his guest. Al-Muṭarī states that this house had become a school in his era. The book describes how land belonging to two orphans was bought for the mosque to be built on²⁶⁷.

Chapter Thirteen is dedicated to the merits of al-Baqī' Cemetery. The book names a number of companions of the Prophet who were buried there. Then it describes the importance of visiting those graves and saying prayers for those buried there. However, the author cites some weak ḥadīths to show the superiority of al-Baqī' Cemetery over other graveyards. For example, it is narrated by Ibn Ka' b al-Quraẓī²⁶⁸ that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "On the day of judgement, I will be the intercessor of whoever is buried in this cemetery"²⁶⁹. The book provides us with names of some companions who were buried there such as 'Uthmān ibn Maẓa' ūn and Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awūf, in addition to Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son. Also buried in this cemetery are all of the Prophet's wives, except his first wife Khadayja bint khūwaylid, who is buried in Mecca, and Maymūna bint al-Ḥarīth, buried in Saraf²⁷⁰. Furthermore, al-Muṭarī states that some graves of the *Ahl al-Bayt* are also in this cemetery.

Chapter Fourteen is devoted to the superiority of Uḥud Mountain and Muslim martyrs buried on it. It starts by narrating some related traditions of the Prophet. It is reported by Abū Ḥumaid that the Prophet (PBWH) said: "this is a mountain that loves us and is loved by us"²⁷¹. Weak ḥadīths are also cited by the author in this context in addition to the authentic ḥadīth. The author

Abd al-Barr, *al-'Istay' āb fi Ma' rifat al-'Aṣḥāb*, vol.1, p.402; al-'Asqalāni, *al-'Isāba fi tamayyaz al-sahāba*, vol.1, p.404

²⁶⁷ See ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.3, p.24; ibn Sa' d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol.1, p.184

²⁶⁸ Abū Ḥamza Muḥammad ibn Ka' b al-Quraẓī(d.108 or 118/726 or 736) was a *muḥadith*; see Khalīfa ibn Khayāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Taḥqīq: Akram al-'Umarī (Baghdād: maṭba' at al-'Ānī,1976), p.264; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayir*, vol.1, p.216

²⁶⁹ It is a mursal ḥadīth (incompletely transmitted) because the narrator did not meet the prophet

²⁷⁰ Saraf is about six or seven miles from Mecca; see Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik wa Amākīn al-Hajj wa Ma' ālīm al-Jazayra* (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāmah,1969), p.465; al-Ḥamawī, *Mu' jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.40

²⁷¹ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth no.4422, vol.5, p.435

identifies Uḥud and states that precise locations of the graves of Uḥud martyrs were unknown, except those of Ḥamza ibn Abd al-Muṭlīb²⁷² and his nephew Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh²⁷³ which were known to be under the high dome built by the mother of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir Aḥmad in 590/1193.

Al-Muṭarī informs the reader that there is a tomb near Ḥamza’s grave, which many people think belongs to an Uḥud martyr. In fact, it is that of a Turkish man called Sunqur who built the mausoleum and died there. Therefore, he was buried where he died. He also identifies the location where Muslim archers stood on ‘Aynayn Mountain during the Battle of Uḥud. Al-Muṭarī concludes this chapter by stating the distance between Uḥud and Medina.

Chapter Fifteen is dedicated to Medina’s other known mosques. First, al-Muṭarī describes Qubā’ Mosque and the reforms made to it up until his time. Second, he names the people who performed these reforms such as ‘Umar ibn Abd al-‘Aziz and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahanī. Then, he discusses the merits of Qubā’ Mosque. In addition to Qubā’ Mosque, he names a number of other mosques in Medina such as al-Jum‘a, al-Faḍaykh or al-Shams, Banū Qurayṣa, Banū Ḍafr, Banū Mu‘āwīya and al-Faṭḥ. He describes these mosques and identifies their locations and informs the reader of all changes and reforms made to each one. However, some of these mosques were destroyed. The author also discusses some misconceptions people have had about a rock that might help barren women become pregnant.

Masjid al-Qiblatayn (Mosque of the Two Directions) is the topic of Chapter Sixteen, where al-Muṭarī mentions the reason why it was so named. While the Prophet (PBWH) was praying with his companions, he was commanded by

²⁷² Ḥamza ibn Abd al-Muṭalīb ibn Hāshīm ibn Abd Manāf (d.3/624) was the Prophet’s uncle who was called ‘Asad Allāh and ‘Asad Rasūlah. He was treacherously killed in the battle of Uḥud; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-’Istay‘āb fi Ma‘rifat al-’Aṣḥāb*, vol.1, p.270; al-Fasī, *al-’Iqd al-Thamayn fi Tārīkh al-Balad al-’Amayyn*, vol.3, p.441; Ibn Ḥajar al-’Asqalānī, *al-’Iṣāba fi tamayyaz alṣahāba*, vol.1, p.253

²⁷³ Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh ibn Ri‘āb al-’Asdī (d.3/624) was one of the earlier Muslims who migrated to al-Ḥabasha to escape from the harassment of Quraysh. He was first leader of Muslim force in Nakhla; see Ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.3, p.146; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-’Istay‘āb fi Ma‘rifat al-’Aṣḥāb*, vol.2, p.263

God to change the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca. This explains why this mosque has two prayer niches.

In Chapter Seventeen al-Muṭarī identifies five places where the Prophet (PBWH) used to perform the Eid prayers and he mentions some rules and regulations related to Eid prayers. He also gives a brief description of some places related to Eid prayers which were unknown to the general public.

Chapter Eighteen provides a survey of the wells (*'abār*) of Medina, which are linked with to the Prophet himself. The author mentions a number of these wells and describes some historical events which took place near them. Among the wells of Medina is the well of 'Arays, located to the west of the Prophet's Mosque, where the Prophet's ring fell from 'Uthmān's finger. In search of the ring, 'Uthmān drained all of its water but he did not find it. It is claimed by al-Muṭarī that every bad incident that happened to 'Uthmān afterwards was attributed to the missing ring. However, it is clear that he was exaggerating the matter. This well was altered by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Sulāmī²⁷⁴ and this included the addition of a ladder in 714/1314.

Al-Muṭarī states that the well of Ghars, which was about half a mile from Qubā', was destroyed after 700/1300. It was a pleasant place surrounded by palms, according to some historians from before al-Muṭarī's time. After that, al-Muṭarī describes the wells of al-Baṣa and Ḥā. Ḥā well was owned by Abū Ṭalḥa al-'Anṣārī²⁷⁵ who donated it to some poor relatives of his during the time of the Prophet. According to the author, this well was bought by some women and they bequeathed it to the poor during the reign of the Mamlūks. Al-Muṭarī also describes Baḍā'a and Rūma's well and provides us with the story of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān buying Rūma well from a Jewish man who lived

²⁷⁴ Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad al-Sulāmī (d.715/ 1315) was attributed to al-Sulāmaya in Iraq and he resided at Medina where he built two Rībāṭs for its poor people; one for men and another for women; see Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.102

²⁷⁵ His real name is Zayd ibn Sahl ibn Ḥarām. He was one of the Prophet's companions, and was considered to be one of the rich men of the 'Anṣār tribe; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-'Iṣṭay'āb fī Ma'rifat al-'Aṣḥāb*, vol.1, p.530; al-'Asqalāni, *al-'Iṣāba fī tamayyaz al-ṣahāba*, vol.1, p.549

in Medina. The book updates the reader on locations and alterations made to all wells throughout different historical periods.

In Chapter Nineteen al-Muṭarī deals with the Prophet's spring which was opposite his mosque. However, he identifies its location and confirms that it had been destroyed. In this context, he mentions another artificial spring having been established by Marūān ibn al-Ḥakam²⁷⁶ whose water came from Qubā'. This chapter concludes with the mention of some other unknown wells located in Medina such as Jaml, al-'Aīhn, Abī 'Anaba and Zamzam's wells.

Chapter Twenty is about the valleys of Medina. Al-Muṭarī introduces these valleys and lists their names, *e.g.* *Wadī* (valley) al-'Aqīq, *Wadī* Ranūnā, *Wadī* Jafāf, *Wadī* Mudhīnayb and *Wadī* Mahzūr. These valleys are introduced via geographic descriptions and historical backgrounds. One historical event mentioned in this chapter is the al-Ḥara fire which took place in 654/1256 and will be looked at in more detail in the fifth chapter. Al-Muṭarī conveys this event from a number of witnesses from among the people of Medina and describes the dam, which was caused by this fire. Later, this dam was destroyed in 690/ 1291, according to al-Muṭarī.

The trench surrounding Medina is the topic of Chapter Twenty One. Al-Muṭarī shows the reason for digging this trench, which was to protect Muslims from confederates attacking them in 5/627. He claims that the trench extended from the upper valley of Baṭḥān up to the west of the site where Eid prayer was performed, then to al-Faṭḥ Mosque and Rātīj Mountain.

Because of the important position that *Wadī* al-'Aqīq has in the history of Medina, it is allocated the whole of Chapter Twenty Two by al-Muṭarī in his book. As usual, the author starts with some ḥadīths emphasizing the merits of

²⁷⁶ Marūān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn abī al-'Āṣ ibn 'Umayya (d.65/685) was the Governor of Medina during Mū'āwīya's reign, then he became the fourth Umayyad caliph in 64/684; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-'Iṣṭay'āb fī Ma'rifat al-'Aṣḥāb*, vol.3, p.405; al-'Asqalāni, *al-'Iṣāba fī tamayyaz al-ṣahāba*, vol.3, p.455

Wadī al-‘Aqīq. Then, he gives a brief description of the place where people started to settle and build their homes, which took place during the reign of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān. Also, he names a number of the Prophet’s companions who lived in this valley and some castles built there. Then, he refers to some places and how they were named according to their origins.

Chapter Twenty Three covers the borders of the sanctuary of Medina. The author cites a number of ḥadīths in order to confirm this sanctuary to be located between ‘Īayr Mountain and Thaūr Mountain. Al-Muṭarī was first to prove that there is a mountain in Medina called Thaūr, like the one in Mecca. However, this information was denied by some earlier authors such as Abū ‘Ubayyd ibn Salām²⁷⁷ (d.224/838) and Muḥammad al-Māzīnī²⁷⁸ (d.536/1141). Al-Muṭarī states that there is a small mountain located from the north side behind Uḥud called Ṭhaūr. In this chapter the author claims that there is a historical battle linked with the sanctity of Medina, *i.e.* Dhī Gird (6/627). In this battle, ‘Auayyina ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Fazārī²⁷⁹ attacked the Prophet’s camels while they were in al-Ghāba²⁸⁰.

Chapter Twenty Four discusses some places and mosques located between Mecca and Medina, which the Prophet (PBWH) visited and prayed in. Al-Muṭarī updates readers with all the changes and reforms made to these locations. He mentions Dhī al-Ḥulayfa Mosque, al-Rūḥā’ Mosque and al-Ghazāla Mosque. Moreover, he identifies and describes the locations of some

²⁷⁷ Al-Qāsīm ibn Salām ibn Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī was born in (157/791). He was an eminent expert in different disciplines of knowledge, particularly in Syntax, Jurisprudence and Ḥadīth. He wrote a number of books among them are *al-‘Amūāl* and *al-Nasīkh wa al-Mansūkh*; see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabayīr*, vol.7, p.172; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.5; al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.8, p.315

²⁷⁸ Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Alī al-Māzīnī was born in (453/ 1061). He was considered trustworthy and an expert in jurisprudence who left behind him some key works, e.g. *al-Mu‘alīm bi Fawā'id Sharḥ Muslim*; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar*, vol.4, p.100; al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol.2, p.88

²⁷⁹ ‘Auayyina ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn Ḥudhayfa ibn badr al-Fazārī embraced Islam later and the Prophet gave him a hundred camels after the Battle of Ḥunayn; see Ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.4,5, pp.243,170; Abd Allāh Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif* (Misr: al-Maṭba‘a al-Islāmīa,1934), p.149

²⁸⁰ See Muḥammad Al-Wāgadī, *al-Maghāzī* (al-Qāhīrah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif,1965) vol.2, p.537; Ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.4, p.243

mosques which were destroyed. These have also been mentioned by al-Bukhārī and Ibn Zabāla. Then, the book enumerates more than ten mosques located between Medina and Tabūk in which the Prophet (PBWH) prayed on his way to the battle of Tabūk (9/630).

As mentioned above, al-Muṭarī is renowned for the way he narrates and relates historical events. He mentions the place first, and then he links it with the related event. For example, in this context, following the introduction of Banū Juhayna's Mosque, which is located near the wall of Medina, he gives a historical background of the building of the wall. He also explains the reasons for building the wall and that it was first built in 360/970 by 'Aḍīd al-Dawla and rebuilt by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Isfahānī in 540/1145 and Nūr al-Dīn Zīnkī in 557/1161.

The final chapter, Chapter Twenty Five, introduces some of the mosques that were significant in different Islamic battles. Al-Muṭarī introduces a number of mosques, *e.g.* 'Aṣr, al-Ṣahbā, Badr and al-Ṭā'īf. He gives a brief historical description of some events that took place there such as the battle of Badr (2/624), the battle of Khaybar (7/629) and the *Ṣulḥ* (Treaty) of al-Ḥudaybiyya (6/628). He also describes all refurbishments made to al-Ṭā'īf Mosque by the 'Abbasīd caliph al-Nāṣir Aḥmad. Then he describes his trip to al-Ṭā'īf and concludes with the advantage of building mosques and the God rewards may give to those who participate in building mosques.

3.6. SOURCES OF THE MANUSCRIPT:

It is evident from reading the manuscript that al-Mutarī relied on different sources when writing his book. Among these sources is the oral narrative he received from local people or heard from scholars and his shaykhs. In addition to his observation of where events took place, he also referred to books of earlier historians. Al-Muṭarī used all the following sources to collect information for his work:

A- **Oral narratives:** al-Muṭarī accepted such narratives if the narrator was trustworthy and had witnessed the occurrence of the event himself. The book contains many examples which prove the application of this method. He would indicate this kind of sourcing by saying: "So-and-so told me that" or "I've known that from so-and-so". For example, he mentions the emergence of the al-Ḥara fire (Jamāda al-'Akhīr 654/1256) in Medina and refers to 'Alm al-Dīn Sunjur al-'Izzī who was sent by the governor of Medina to examine the authenticity of this fire. In the same context, he writes some details of this event which he heard from elders. When he mentions the burning of the Prophet's Mosque (654/1256), he narrates that it is from Ya'qūb ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aūḥad²⁸¹ whose father caused this fire.

B- **Hearing personally from scholars:** this means passing on information from scholars without mediators. The biographies of those scholars were covered in the previous chapter. In his book al-Muṭarī makes a direct link with a scholar by saying: "the scholar so -and- so told us that". This expression confirms that the author heard the narrative directly from the scholar in his class. Among such scholars are:

- 1- Abū al-Yemen 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn 'Asākīr (d.686/1287). Al-Muṭarī narrated from him numerous themes in relation to the superiority of Medina, the Prophet's Mosque and the advantage of the area located between the Prophet's tomb and the pulpit. Moreover, he transmitted ibn 'Asākīr's speech about the wells of Medina.
- 2- 'Afif al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad Al-Baṣraī (d.699/1299). Al-Muṭarī mentioned hearing from him in many parts of his book. One of these examples is when he mentions the superiority of al-Baqī' cemetery.

²⁸¹See al-Marāqī, *Tahqīq al-Nūṣrah*, p.68; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.2, p.598; al-'Abbāsī, *Umdat al-'Akhbār*, p.121

He also narrates some information from him related to the Mosque of Qubā'²⁸² and Medina's sanctity.

- 3- Sharf al-Dīn 'Abdulmū' min al-Dimyāṭī (d.705/1306). Al-Muṭarī heard from him about the superiority of Medina, its wells which were attributed to the Prophet (PBWH) and Qubā' Mosque.
- 4- Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh ibn 'Umrān al-Baskarī (d.713/1313). Al-Muṭarī narrated from him the etiquettes of visiting the Prophet's (PBWH) tomb and saying prayers of peace for him and his companions Abū Bakr and 'Umar (may Allāh be pleased with them).

C- Personal observation:

This unique quality makes al-Muṭarī distinct from other historians and makes his works more reliable. This method is very useful in terms of being able to update the reader with all changes made to the sites of historical events. Al-Muṭarī indicates the use of this method throughout his book by saying: "today or later this location has become". Almost every chapter of al-Muṭarī's book contains indications to updated information.

D- Writings of earlier historians:

It is clear that the author has benefited from various references written by earlier historians in his field. Such resources belonged to different disciplines such as ḥadīth, General History, History of Medina and Geography. Amongst such resources are the following:

- 1- *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, compiled by Muḥammad ibn 'Ismā'īl ibn 'Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī (d.256/869). Al-Muṭarī benefited a great deal from this book and he dedicates the first chapter of his book to the superiority of Medina

²⁸² Qubā' is a small village situated about two mile south-east of Medina where the Prophet (PBWH) stayed for several days on his way to Medina during immigration; see al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.7, p.15

through many ḥadīths cited from Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. In addition, he quoted many of its ḥadīth in other chapters of his book.

- 2- *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, compiled by Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī (d.261/875). Many ḥadīths were cited by al-Muṭarī from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* when writing Chapter Two of the book, which was dedicated to the superiority of Medina over other cities.
- 3- *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* by Sulaymān ibn al-ʿAshʿath al-Sajistānī (d.275/888). Al-Sajistānī was a renowned scholar and dependable authority in the science of ḥadīth²⁸³. Al-Muṭarī transmitted different themes from him related to the wells of Medina, al-ʿAqīq valley and Medina’s sanctuary.
- 4- *Al-Musnad* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.241/855), who was considered to be the greatest and most trusted scholar of ḥadīth in his time²⁸⁴. Al-Muṭarī has transmitted ibn Ḥanbal’s view regarding the naming of Medina as Yathrib and also about *Masjid al-Fath*.
- 5- *Al-Muwattāʿ* by Mālik ibn Anas (d.179/795). The author referred to this source with regards to the superiority of Medina.
- 6- *Akḥbār al-Madīna* by Muḥammad ibn Zabāla (d.199/814). He was a *muḥadīth* and historian as well and His book is considered to be an important source of the history of Medina. However, unfortunately, it is missing except for some narratives which were found in some historical books. Fortunately, al-Muṭarī wrote about forty rich narratives from Ibn Zabāla, some of which are related to names of Medina, the superiority of al-Baqīʿ graveyard and the wells of Medina.

²⁸³ See Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.127; al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol.1, p.395

²⁸⁴ See Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol.2, p.15; Ibn taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.1, p.435

- 7- *Akhhbār al-Madīna* by Zubayyr ibn Bakār²⁸⁵ (d.256/869). More than twenty quotations are cited by Al-Muṭarī from this book, some of which are related to the names of Medina, Banū Ṣafr Mosque and Eid Mosque.
- 8- *Al-Durah al-thamayna fī tārikh al-Madīna* by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd who was known as Ibn al-Najjār (d.643/1245).The author benefited from his book in about thirty themes on different issues of his book.
- 9- *Akhhbār al-Madīna* by Razayn ibn Mu‘āwīya²⁸⁶(d.525/1130). The author used this work when covering most important historical events that happened after the Prophet (PBWH) migrated to Medina, mainly building his mosque and all the changes made to it throughout subsequent Islamic periods.
- 10- *Al-Sīra* by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d.151/768). Al-Muṭarī used this work when covering three themes related to the route the Prophet took on his migration to Medina, the place where the gains of the Battle of Badr were distributed and the mosques located between Medina and Tabūk.
- 11- *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d al-Zahrī (d.230/844). Al-Muṭarī referred to this work in the context of carrying sand to the Prophet’s Mosque from al-‘Aqīq valley during ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s reign.
- 12- *’Iḥyā’ ’ulūm al-dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d.505/1111). Al-Muṭarī conveyed from this work the exact location where the Prophet (PBWH) used to pray in *al-Rawḍa*.

²⁸⁵ He was a *muḥadīth* and historian who wrote a number of books, such as *Nasab Quraysh*, *al-‘aqīq* and *al-’Aws wa al-Khazraj*; see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol.2, p.85; al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.3, p.312; ‘Usaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, p.348

²⁸⁶ He was the Imām of al-Mālīkayah in Mecca who wrote *akhhbār Mecca*, *akhhbār al-Madīna* and *Tajrayid al-Siḥāḥ al-Sitah*; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar*, vol.4, p.95; al-Fasī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamayn*, vol.4, p.96

- 13- *Wafiyāt al- 'a 'yān* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khillikān (d.681/1282). Al-Muṭarī makes use of this work with reference to building the wall used for protecting the people of Medina in 360/970.
- 14- *al- 'Istay 'āb fi ma 'rfit al- 'Aṣḥāb* by Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr²⁸⁷(d.436 /1044). Al-Muṭarī quoted from this work the story of purchasing Rūma's well by 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.
- 15- *al-Shifā' bi ta 'rif ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* by al-Qaḍī 'Iyād ibn Mūsa al-Yaḥṣubī²⁸⁸(d.544/1149). The author refers to al-Yaḥṣubī's view regarding the distance between Medina and Qubā'.
- 16- *Mu 'jam mā Īsta 'jam* by Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (d.487/1094). This is a geographic book that deals with locations, from which al-Muṭarī was able to determine the location of al-Rūḥā'.
- 17- *Jāmī' al- 'uṣūl* by Mubārka ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī²⁸⁹ (d.606/1209). Al-Muṭarī referred to this work regarding al- 'Aqīq valley.
- 18- *Dhakhā'ir al- 'Uaqbā fi Faḍl' al-Dhawī al-Qurbā* by Muḥib al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī (d.694/1294). Al-Muṭarī made use of this book in the context of al-Bāqī' Cemetery.

In addition to the above books, the author of *al-Ta 'rif bimā anasat al-hijra min ma 'ālim dār al-hijra* referred to other sources. For example, he referred

²⁸⁷ He was described as a trustworthy *muḥadīth* who left beyond him a number of books, such as *al-Durar fi Akhtīṣār al-Maqāzī wa al-Sīayr* and *Bahjat al-Majālīs*; see Al-Dhahabī, *al- 'Ibar fi Khabar mn Ghabar*, vol.3, p.255; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al- 'Ārifīn*, vol.2, p.550

²⁸⁸ He originally came from Andalucía; then he moved to Morocco. He was a renowned scholar of *ḥadīth*. He wrote a number of books, e.g. *Jāmī' al- Tārīkh* and *Mashārīq al- 'Arḍ*; see *al-Shifā'*, reviewed by Hatham al-Ṭu 'aymī and Najīb Majīdī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al- 'Aṣriyyah,2006), p.7; ibn Taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.5, p.287; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al- 'Ārifīn*, vol.1, p.805

²⁸⁹ His nickname was Ibn al- 'Athayīr and he wrote some books such as *al-Bāhīr fi al-Naḥū*, *al-Nihayah fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth and al-Shāfi*; see Aḥmad ibn Khillikān, *Wafiyāt al- 'A 'yān*, Taḥqīq: Muḥammad Abd al-Ḥamīd (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Nahḍah,1948) vol.3, p.289; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al- 'Ārifīn*, vol.2, p.2; al-Zirkilī, *Al- 'A 'lām*, vol.6, p.152

to Abū ‘Ubayda Mu‘amar al-Taymī when he discussed the definition of Yathrib and to Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-’Shbayyī and al-Qāsim ibn Salām with respect to Qubā’ and the sanctity of Medina. In addition, he referred to Abd al-Ghanī ibn Sa‘eed al-’Azdī when he described the mosques located between Medina and Tabūk.

3.7. WHO BENEFITED FROM AL-MUṬARĪ’S WORK?

Al-Muṭarī’s work proved to be a target reference for many researchers and scholars in the field. In this regard, the current study focuses on looking at which highly remarkable works dealing with the history of Medina relied on information from al-Muṭarī or from his work *al-Ta‘rīf bimā anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*. This limitation is based on the sole fact that they deal with the history of Medina. Among authors who have referred to Al-Muṭarī’s work are:

1- Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan al-Ya‘murī (d.769/1367):

As already mentioned, al-Ya‘murī was one of al-Muṭarī’s students who wrote a book under the title of *Naṣīhat al-mushāwir wa ta‘zīat al-mujāwir*. In this work, he referred to a great deal of themes from al-Muṭarī’s book²⁹⁰.

2- Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Marāqī (d.816 /1414), who quoted more than twenty five themes from al-Muṭarī for his book, *Tahqīaq al-nūṣrah bi talkhāiṣ ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*²⁹¹.

3- Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Firūz’abādī (d.817/1415), who left behind him a list of good works, the most important of which is *al-Maghānīm*

²⁹⁰ For examples see *Naṣīhat al-Mushāwir*, p.63,74,100,176,177,184

²⁹¹ For examples see *Tahqīaq al-Nūṣrah*, p.23,67,70,84,109,132,138,143,144,149,153

al-muṭābah fī ma ‘ālim ṭābah, for which he referred to al-Muṭarī’s book in the context of thirty themes²⁹².

4- Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Abd Allāh al-Sumhūdī (d.911/1506) who wrote a numbers of books on different disciplines. He extensively quoted from al-Muṭarī’s book, particularly for his two books, *Wafā’ al-wafā’ bi ‘Akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* and *al-Wafā’ bima yajib liḥadrat al-Muṣṭafā*²⁹³.

5- Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Ḥamaīd al-‘Abbasī (died in the 10th/16th), who was the author of *‘Umdat al-’akhbār fi madīnat al-mūkhtār* in which he cited about thirty themes related to historical events and locations from al-Muṭarī’s book²⁹⁴.

6- Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-‘Aayāshī who referred in his work, *al-Medina bayn al-māḍī wa al-ḥāḍir*, to a number of themes cited from al-Muṭarī’s *al-Ta’rīf bimā anasat al-hijra min ma ‘ālim dār al-hijra*²⁹⁵.

7- Aḥmad Ibn Yāsīn al-Khiyārī who benefited from al-Muṭarī’s book for different themes of his work *Tārīkh al-Madina al-Munawwarah qadīmna wa ḥadīthna*²⁹⁶.

8- Abd al-Qaddūs al-’Anṣārī who extensively referred in his work, *’Athār al-Madina al-Munawwarah*, to al-Muṭarī’s book²⁹⁷.

The addition of the names of those who benefited from the manuscript confirms its value, which cannot be ignored, because it addresses important issues about Medina which may not be included in the books of other authors.

²⁹² For examples see *al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah fī Ma ‘ālim Ṭābah* (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāmah,1969), p.27,30,38,45,47,77,96,98,115,145,149,172,180,182,196,212,227

²⁹³ For examples see Ḥamad al-Jāsīr, *Rasā’ il fi Tārīkh al-Medina*, pp.97,99,103,128,147

²⁹⁴ For examples see *‘Umdat al-’Akhbār*, pp.124,128,145,172,175,177,184,204

²⁹⁵ For examples see *al-Medina bayn al-Māḍī wa al-Ḥāḍir* (Medina al-Munawwara: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa,1994), pp.62,94,182,183,521

²⁹⁶ For examples see *Tārīkh al-Medina al-Munawwarah Qadīmna wa Ḥadīthna* (Jeddah: Dār al-‘Īlm,1993), pp.183,188,189,205

²⁹⁷ For examples see *’Athār al-Medina al-Munawwarah* (Jeddah: Dār al-Manḥal,1999), pp.26,35,71,135,195,250

Those authors referred to the manuscript only because of their full awareness of its importance as a source of the history of Medina.

3.8. CONCLUSION:

From the above, it is clear that the manuscript titled *‘al-Ta‘rīf bimā ‘anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra’* is the work of al- Muṭarī, and the purpose behind it was to remind people of many sites in Medina which may no longer exist, as well as to provide some information about those sites which may not be known, even by the residents of Medina themselves. Not only had the author gathered his scientific material from what he heard from his teachers or from reading history books, but he had personally visited many places and was thus able to describe their condition during his era and the changes they had undergone. He also relied on oral narrations, which he mentioned in his book, from people who had witnessed certain historical events, and he was an eye-witness to most of the events that happened in Medina during his era, which increased the importance and value of his manuscript.

Chapter Four

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS DURING AL-MUṬARĪ'S ERA

4.1. OVERVIEW:

Since the migration of the Prophet (PBWH), Medina has been deemed sacred by Muslims. From the researcher's point of view this status is attributed to two main factors:

First, it has religious importance as it is the site of the Prophet's Mosque.

Second, Medina became the capital of the Islamic state and the place of the emergence of *da'wa* (the Muslim call) to other places, and the base of Muslim armies.

Medina maintained its status as the political, administrative and economical centre of the Islamic state throughout the time of the Prophet (PBWH) and the era of the 'Rightly-Guided' Caliphs. It remained the most important city for four decades. However, with the emergence of the Umayyad state the caliph capital moved to Damascus. Then, during the 'Abbāsīd era it moved again to Baghdad. Despite no longer being the Islamic state capital, Medina did not lose its significance throughout different historical periods. On the contrary, it was highly important to all Muslim Caliphs. Furthermore, it has been the venue of a number of historical events in Islamic history.

For the duration of al-Muṭarī's life Medina was ruled by the Ḥusaynid family which can be traced back to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib. This family was also known as the Banū Muhannā. In 366/976 a Ḥusaynid family member ruled Medina as an agent of the Fāṭimid caliph and later established an

independent amirate in Medina²⁹⁸. With reference to this regard Mortel says: 'the amirate of Medina was founded early in the last third of the 4th/10th century by the Ḥusaynid *sharif*, Ṭāhir ibn Muslim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh'²⁹⁹.

From that date onwards Medina was ruled by the Ḥusaynid family through 'Abbāsīd, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk states.

This chapter, hence, renders a discussion on the political and socio-economic conditions in Medina during the life of al-Muṭarī. The aim of presenting such a discussion is to provide a larger context, which might have impacted the author in his decision of writing this manuscript. In addition, such a discussion also helps to locate the manuscript in its natural environment which witnessed certain changes and developments. It is inevitable that these had significant impact on the nature and the contents of the manuscript, which provides rationale for discussing these issues in this chapter.

4.2. AMIRS OF MEDINA DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES:

It is difficult to give an account of Medina history during this period without mentioning some of its rulers of the time.

- **Sālim ibn Qāsim (588-1192/612-1215):**

His full name is Sālim ibn Qāsim ibn Muhannā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Qāsim ibn Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ja'far ibn Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁸ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, reviewed by: Darūish al-Jūaydī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al- 'Aṣrīay,2007), vol.1, p.1127

²⁹⁹ The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.97

³⁰⁰ Al-Fāsī, *al- 'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol. 5, p.459; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.378; Aḥmad al-Barādī 'ī, *al-Medīna al-Munawwara 'Abr al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub,1972), p.113

Sālim succeeded his father as ruler of Medina and followed in his father steps in dealing with the ‘Abbāsīd and Ayyūbīd states in a diplomatic way. He was very close to Ayyūbīd Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb and was his consultant on different issues³⁰¹. Due to this strong relationship Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn supported Sālim ibn Qāsīm during his war against Mecca’s amirs. His rule ended with his death in 612/1251³⁰².

- **Qāsīm ibn Jammāz (612-1215/624-1226):**

He inherited the office of Amir of Medina from his uncle Sālim ibn Qāsīm. However, he did not maintain the mutually-cooperative relationship with the Ayyūbīd state³⁰³. He spent his rule confronting his enemies, either Mecca Amirs or tribes of nearby Medina. He was assassinated by a Bedouin of the tribe of Lām in 624/1226³⁰⁴.

- **Shīḥa ibn Hāshim ibn Qāsīm (624-1226/647-1249):**

He received the news of Qāsīm ibn Jammāz’s assassination very swiftly and he took advantage of that fact by announcing himself as the amir of Medina³⁰⁵. Shīḥa was very keen to resume the peaceful relations with the Ayyūbīd Sultans³⁰⁶. In addition, he made the internal security of Medina his first priority and used to delegate his authority to his son ‘Isā during his absence from Medina³⁰⁷.

Later, ‘Umayr ibn Qāsīm ibn Jammāz exiled Shīḥa to the outskirts of Medina and wrested the Amirate of Medina for a while in 639/1241. However, Shīḥa

³⁰¹ Al-Barādi ‘ī, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara ‘Abr al-Tārīkh*, p.113; Jamayl Ḥusayn, *al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen fī al-‘Aṣr al-Ayyūbī* (Jeddah: Dār Tuḥāma,1985), p.79

³⁰² Ḥusayn, *al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen*, p.80

³⁰³ Ibid

³⁰⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.375; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*,No.74, p.72

³⁰⁵ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.447

³⁰⁶ Jamayl Ḥusayn, *al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen*, p.81; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=8061>

³⁰⁷ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228 ; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.447; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.74,p.72

regained rule from him easily and quickly³⁰⁸. In 647/1249 Shīḥa ibn Hāshim was assassinated by some of his enemies from the tribe of Lām on his way to Baghdad³⁰⁹.

- **‘Isā ibn Shīḥa (647-1249/649-1251):**

We have already seen that he used to delegate for his father on different occasions during his father’s travels outside Medina, therefore, it was a logical and natural progression that he would succeed his father as the amir of Medina³¹⁰. He started his reign with a strong contest from two of his brothers, Jammāz and Munīf. In order to frustrate any challenge from his rivals he expelled them and issued an order to prevent them re-entering Medina. However, they conspired with ‘Isā’s vizier who enabled them to enter the citadel at night and capture ‘Isā and to drive him out of Medina’s citadel in 649 /1251³¹¹. Nevertheless, he spent the rest of his life in Medina as a member of the Ḥusaynid family. Mortel states that: “He remained in Medina until his death in 683/1284 and refrained from any intervention in political life”³¹².

- **Munīf ibn Shīḥa (649-1251/657-1259):**

After the expulsion of ‘Isā from Medina amirate Munīf became the Amir of Medina. The two major events that took place in his era were: the Medina volcano in the east of Medina and the fire at the Prophet’s Mosque in 654/1256³¹³. He was assisted in most amirate matters by his brother Jammāz. Munīf’s reign ended with his death in 657/1259³¹⁴.

³⁰⁸ Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.74, p. 72

³⁰⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228 ; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.4, p.268

³¹⁰ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228 ; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.366

³¹¹ For more information see ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.99; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=7825>

³¹² The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.99

³¹³ See volume II, p.109; also Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=14782>

³¹⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.228; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.244

- **Jammāz ibn Shiḥa (657-1251/700-1259):**

It was logical that he would succeed his brother Munīf because he had been his assistant from the year 649/1251. However, the events which followed showed that Jammāz had a new rival, his nephew. Mālik ibn Munīf believed that he deserved this position after his father's death so he made his plans and went to Egypt in 664/1265 to meet the Sultan of Mamlūk, al-Zāhir Baybars. Thereupon, Baybars issued a decree appointing Mālik as co-amir of Medina with his uncle. Moreover, the Sultan gave him the right to half the *waqfs* (endowment) revenues bestowed on the *sharifs* of Medina in Egypt and Syria³¹⁵. Medina's amir, Jammāz, was forced to accept this resolution. Two years later, Mālik ousted his uncle Jammāz from Medina amirate and ruled Medina as an independent amir. Thereupon, the expelled amir went to seek help from some tribes in nearby Medina and contacted the *sharif* of Mecca for help. However, Mālik prevented them from entering Medina and wrested the office of Medina amirate from him. Then, Mālik decided to surrender the amirate to his uncle voluntarily³¹⁶. Mortel described that saying: "Then, in a sudden change of heart, Mālik ibn Munīf resigned all pretensions to the amirate in favour of his uncle who thereby became sole amir"³¹⁷.

In 666/1276 Jammāz ibn Shiḥa return to the amirate and continued to rule Medina until he handed it over to his son in 700/1300³¹⁸.

- **Manṣūr ibn Jammāz (700-1300/725-1324):**

There were a number of Jammāz sons who were dissatisfied regarding the resolution made by their father confirming the appointment of Manṣūr as the Amir of Medina. However, they were obliged to accept it as long as their father was alive. Immediately after Jammāz passed away in 704/1304 Muqbil

³¹⁵ Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100

³¹⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.229; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.285; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.244; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=8064>

³¹⁷ The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100

³¹⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.229; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.285

and Wadī started fighting with Manṣūr³¹⁹. Despite all the problems and conflicts with them Manṣūr remained ruler of Medina. In 710/1310 Manṣūr went to Cairo with some gifts confirming his loyalty to the Mamlūk Sultan, al-Nāṣr Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, who transferred all the revenues from Muqbil to him³²⁰. In 725/1324 the reign of Manṣūr ibn Jammāz ended with his assassination by his nephew Ḥudaytha ibn Qāsim ibn Jammāz while they were outside Medina³²¹.

- **Kubaysh ibn Manṣūr (725-1324/728-1327):**

Manṣūr was succeeded by his son Kubaysh who had deputised for him on many occasions³²². However, the conflict over the Medina amirate between Kubaysh and his uncles had not ceased, in particular with Wadī ibn Jammāz. Kubaysh ibn Manṣūr used to delegate his brother Ṭufayl in case of his absence. While Kubaysh was away from Medina, Wadī took advantage of this opportunity and attacked Medina and ousted Ṭufayl who went to Cairo. Finally, Kubaysh was restored as amir by a contingent of Mamlūk soldiers³²³.

In 728/1327 Kubaysh was assassinated by one of the sons of Muqbil ibn Jammāz³²⁴.

- **Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr (728-1327/736-1335):**

Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr was in Cairo when Kubaysh died and the news reached him there. He returned to Medina after gaining a royal decree from the Mamlūk Sultan. As a result of this decree he did not face any resistance from Wadī's

³¹⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.229; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.1127

³²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.94; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.103

³²¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.233; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.285; al-Barādi ‘ī, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, p.120

³²² Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.391

³²³ Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.105

³²⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.233; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.391; however, al-Maqrīzī in his work *al-Sulūk li Ma‘rifat Dūwal al-Mulūk* cited that the assassinator was one of the sons of Wadī ibn Jammāz. vol.2, p.304

army³²⁵. However, Wadī, in turn, was also granted another decree from Mamlūk Sultan confirming that Medina amirate was to be shared between him and his nephew, Ṭufayl. Tufayl found it difficult to accept having to share power with his traditional opponent so he travelled to Cairo to convince the Sultan to rescind that decree³²⁶. Ṭufayl's reign continued for eight years before it was ended by another royal decree issued by Mamlūk Sultan to transfer all rights of amirate from him to Wadī ibn Jammāz in 736/1335³²⁷.

- **Wadī ibn Jammāz (736-1335/743-1342):**

Wadī occupied the position of amir of Medina for seven years. He concentrated his power on establishing internal stability for Medina. However, Ṭufayl and his followers took advantage of his absence and entered Medina and Wadī's deputies were imprisoned³²⁸. Consequently, Medina came under Ṭufayl's control and Wadī ibn Jammāz remained without power until he died in 745/1344³²⁹.

- **Ṭufayl ibn Maṣṣūr (743-1342/750-1349):**

Ṭufayl regained Medina amirate and tried to prevent any of the Ḥusaynid family wresting this position from him again. With reference to this period of his rule Mortel says:

Both of Wadī's deputies in Medina, Jukhaydib ibn Munīf and Barjis ibn Muqbil, were imprisoned and then put to death on Ṭufayl's orders, a sign that he would henceforth deal harshly with any opposition to the rule of Āl Maṣṣūr³³⁰.

Peace and stability existed in Medina at this stage of Ṭufayl's rule until 749/1348 when Medina was attacked by Faḍl ibn Qāsim and his followers who

³²⁵ Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.106

³²⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.392; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.106

³²⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.392; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.106

³²⁸ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.285

³²⁹ Ibid; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.107

³³⁰ Ibid

plundered Medina's market-place. They were eventually expelled by Ṭufayl's army³³¹.

As a result of this news, in addition to Ṭufayl's hostile stance against al-Mujāwirūn in Medina, the Mamlūk Sultan's decree was issued appointing Sa'ad ibn Thābit ibn Jammāz instead of Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr³³².

4.3. RELATIONS BETWEEN MAMLŪK SULTANS AND MEDINA AMIRS:

From the second half of the seventh century to the first third of the tenth century the Muslim world was ruled by the Mamlūk state in Egypt which was established in 648/1250 and fell in 923/1517³³³. Muslim dynasties followed each other, such as the 'Abbāsids, who came after the Umayyads and likewise the Ayyūbids in Egypt and Syria were followed by the Mamlūk state.

'Mamlūk' literally means a slave or a man or a person who is owned by another³³⁴. In fact, throughout the early centuries of Islam they were a group of people imported from various regions, particularly from Samarqand and Farghāna, by Muslim Caliphs³³⁵. The main reasons for importing them were described by Muir: "they used both as bodyguards and also as contingents to countervail the overweening influence of the Arab soldiery"³³⁶.

In addition to these reasons the 'Abbāsīd Caliph was afraid of the domination of the Persians who reached important positions in this era³³⁷. It is evident that the 'Abbāsīd Caliph endeavoured to balance the power between all sections of the population.

³³¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.236

³³² Ibid, pp.236,237; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.107

³³³ Clifford Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), pp.63-64; Sa'eed 'Ashūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām fī 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbayyn wa al-Mamālīk* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍa), pp.171,282

³³⁴ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.954

³³⁵ Aḥmad 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah* (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣaḥrā,1985), p.11

³³⁶ William Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1896), p.3

³³⁷ 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.11

According to various sources, the phenomenon of importing Mamlūks began in the ‘Abbāsīd period during the reign of al-Mu‘taṣīm Bi Allāh who imported thousands of them to settle in Baghdad, the capital of the Caliphate. However, the populace of Baghdad and the Mamlūks could not live together in harmony and peace and so a number of conflicts occurred. When al-Mu‘taṣīm realized the importance of separating them he established a new town called Sāmīrrā’ and all Mamlūks were sent there³³⁸. Over time, thousands of Mamlūks were brought in and this strategy was also followed by the Ayyūbid dynasty. During the Ayyūbid era Mamlūks represented the backbone of the army³³⁹. By that time some Mamlūks occupied powerful positions and led the Muslim army in several battles. Years later, Arab soldiers were forced to obey army leaders who were Mamlūk and came under their command³⁴⁰. Based on this ruling, the Mamlūks benefited a great deal from the conflicts and the weakness of the Ayyūbid state and established their own state in Egypt. The Mamlūk state endured for two and half centuries and the period was divided into two Mamlūk dynasties: the first were the Baḥrī Mamlūks (648 -1250/783-1381) and the second were the Burjī Mamlūks (783-1381/923-1517). These names were explained by Bosworth as follows:

Within the two and a half centuries of independent Mamlūk rule, two lines of sultans were somewhat artificially distinguished: the Baḥrī ones, so called because these guards originally had their barracks on the island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile (al-Baḥr) and the Burjī ones, thus named because Sultan Qalāwūn had quartered his guards in the citadel (al-Burj) of Cairo³⁴¹.

He also made reference to their ethnicity saying: “Ethnically, the Baḥrīs were mainly Qīpchaqs (also spelled Kipchaks) from South Russia, with a mixture of

³³⁸ David Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), p.316; William Muir, *the Caliphate* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1891), p.509

³³⁹ Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, p.65; R. Stephen Humphreys, The Emergence of Mamlūk army, *Studia Islamica* (1977), No.45, pp.70,74

³⁴⁰ William Muir, *the Mameluke*, p.5

³⁴¹ *The Islamic Dynasties*, p.65

Mongols and Kurds; the Burjī were primarily Circassians from the Caucasus³⁴².

With the death of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn in 648/1250, the real power passed briefly to his son Tūransha who ruled the Mamlūk state for four months before he was assassinated in 648/1250³⁴³; then his father's widow, Shajarat al-Durr, led the Mamlūks for only eighty days before she was removed by Aybak³⁴⁴. In order to benefit from this situation the leaders of the Mamlūks put great pressure on her to marry their commander, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak. This conspiracy with all the accompanying circumstances of the time needed a strong leader. In addition it was unacceptable for Muslims to be ruled by a female³⁴⁵. Killing the last Ayyūbid's Caliph Tūransha and the rising of Aybak to the throne of Islamic state was considered the beginning of the Mamlūk state³⁴⁶.

A brief look at the significance of Medina for the Mamlūk Sultans shows that its importance for them was based on two main aspects: its religious status and its political status³⁴⁷. Its religious importance was due to it being the site of the Prophet's Mosque which is considered the second holiest mosque after the Grand Mosque in Mecca which gives Medina an advantage over other Islamic cities³⁴⁸. In addition to that all Muslim Caliphs were keen to take the real or minor control of this sacred city so their name would be mentioned in the *khutba* at the Prophet's Mosque. This was common among all Muslim dynasties before the Mamlūks.

With reference to political importance it is necessary to point out that the Mamlūk state was in fierce contest with the Rasūlid state in Yemen over the

³⁴² Ibid

³⁴³ 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.126

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p.175

³⁴⁵ 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, pp.172,175; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.37

³⁴⁶ 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.35; Muir, *the Mameluke*, p.8

³⁴⁷ Richard Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, vol.1, p.314

³⁴⁸ Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization and Religion*, p.406

control of Medina³⁴⁹. On account of the alliance between Mecca's amirs and the Rasūlid sultan, on the other hand the Mamlūks were obliged to do whatever they could to forestall Rasūlid's plan, which is why they strove to sign an alliance with Medina's amirs. Before going into the details of the relations between the Mamlūk state and the Medina amirate a brief biography of some of the Mamlūk sultans who dealt with the Medina amirs during the period under review may be very useful. They included:

- **Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aybak (655-1257/657-1259):**

Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aybak was the second sultan of the Mamlūk dynasty of Egypt and he was only fifteen years when his father was assassinated. Even though he succeeded him in ruling the Mamlūk state³⁵⁰, two years later, while Mamlūk faced some serious threats on its border from Mongol Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī was removed from the throne by Quṭuz al-Mu'izī. The pretext behind this was that the situation at the time needed a strong sultan and so Quṭaz appointed himself as sultan of the Mamlūk state³⁵¹.

- **Al-Zāhir Baybars (658-1260/675-1277):**

His full name was al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-faḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī³⁵². Also known as Baybars al-Banduqdārī, he was born in the Kipchack Turks country on the northern shore of the Black Sea in 620 AH/1223 CE³⁵³. However, he demonstrated loyalty to the sultans and displayed exceptional military ability on several occasions, therefore the sultan appointed him Commander of the Sultan's Bodyguards³⁵⁴.

³⁴⁹ 'Alī al-Sulaymān, *al-'Alāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy Zaman Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Dār Hīrā, 1973), p.18

³⁵⁰ Sa'eed 'Ashūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām fī 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbayyn wa al-Mamālīk* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍa), p.182; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.41

³⁵¹ Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* vol.7, p.41; 'Ashūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.182; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.43

³⁵² P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*(Leiden: Brill,1995),33

³⁵³ Encyclopedia Britannica online, <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9356781>

³⁵⁴ Ibid

His reputation was further enhanced during the battle of al-Manṣūra when he achieved his victory against the Crusade army in 648 /1250 and captured the French leader of that army Louis IX³⁵⁵. Ten years later, Baybars achieved the most important Mamlūk victory against Mongol troops in ‘Ayn Jālūt battle³⁵⁶.

For these military achievements Baybars reached a higher rank than other Mamlūk leaders, therefore he and some of his followers attempted a conspiracy to assassinate Quṭuz on their way home. Accordingly Baybars was elected as the Sultan of the Mamlūk state in 658/1260³⁵⁷. As sultan he introduced a number of reforms both internally and externally. He established good relations with the surrounding amirs and provided them with Iqṭā‘āt to guarantee their allegiance. He also rescinded all levies on the public which had been implemented by the former sultan, Quṭuz³⁵⁸. In addition, he concentrated on the protection of his state and on strengthening his army, refurbished a number of fortresses in different regions and built mosques, such as al-Jāmī‘ al-Zāhirī, and a number of schools, the key amongst which was al-Zāhiriyyah school with its library. The postal service was also greatly improved in his era³⁵⁹.

With regards to external reforms Baybars’ era was distinguished by a number of diplomatic and commercial treaties which were signed with various countries³⁶⁰. Baybars died in Damascus in 675/1277³⁶¹.

³⁵⁵ Syedah Sadeque, *Baybars 1 of Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.34

³⁵⁶ Ibn taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.7, p.79; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, pp.430,431

³⁵⁷ ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.37; Muir, *the Mameluke*, p.14; Amalia Levanoni, The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate, *international Journal of Middle East Studies* (1994), No.3, vol.26, p.376

³⁵⁸ ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.51

³⁵⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.588; ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, pp.54,55

³⁶⁰ For more see Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp.32,42; ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.85; Encyclopaedia Britannica online, <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9356781>

³⁶¹ Encyclopedia Britannica online, <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9356781>; Muir, *the Mameluke*, p.32

- **Sultan Qalāwūn (677-1279/689-1290):**

The seventh Mamlūk sultan was known as Qalāwūn, His full name was al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn ibn Abd Allāh al-ʿAlfī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī³⁶². Like former sultans, Qalāwūn imported thousands of slaves to support him and to build a number of citadels³⁶³. However, Qalāwūn faced some difficulties and hardships during his reign. With regard to these difficulties the internal situation was the most serious threat; among them was the rebellion of the Damascus amir, Sunqur al-Ashqar, who tried to rule Damascus as an independent amir. Eventually, Qalāwūn succeeded in accomplishing internal stability and won his war against the rebellious amir Sunqur³⁶⁴. In terms of external threats, Mongol troops attempted to invade Syria, however, they were defeated by Qalāwūn's army at the battle of Ḥimṣ³⁶⁵. Qalāwūn followed in Baybars' footsteps with regard to foreign relations and signed a number of allegiances with different parties. An example of one of these treaties was indicated by Northrup: "In 680/1281 Qalāwūn signed an agreement for political and commercial alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus"³⁶⁶.

The most important reform associated with Qalāwūn's era is the number of schools and the al-Mnṣūrī hospital that were built by him in Egypt³⁶⁷. His rule ended with his death in 689/1290³⁶⁸.

³⁶² Ibn taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.7, p.292

³⁶³ ʿAdūān, *al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.57

³⁶⁴ Al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al-ʿAwālī*, vol.4, p.20; ʿAdūān, *al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.58; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* (Stuttgart: Steiner,1998), pp.90-97

³⁶⁵ ʿĀshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.182; ʿAdūān, *al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.213; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p.108

³⁶⁶ *From Slave to Sultan*, p.113

³⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.118,119

³⁶⁸ Ibn taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.7, p.383; ʿĀshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.216, Islam online, http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&pagename=Zone-English-HealthScience%2FHSELayout&cid=1157962465167

- **Sultan al-Nāṣir:**

His full name was al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. He was the ninth Mamlūk Sultan and ruled the Mamlūk state for three different periods³⁶⁹: His first reign lasted for about one year (693/1293 -694/1294), the second was for ten years (698/1299 -708/1308) and the third reign was for more than thirty years from 709/1309 until his death in 741/1340.

Al-Nāṣir was appointed as sultan after the assassination of his brother Sultan al-ʿAshraf Khalīl. At that time he was only nine years old; therefore Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā was his vice-Sultan and the latter had actual power and was the decision-maker³⁷⁰. However, Kitbughā officially became sultan of Mamlūk by removing al-Nāṣir from the throne of Egypt and justified this with the claim that al-Nāṣir was unable to manage and control the affairs of state on account of his age³⁷¹. In 698/1298 the competition and strife over the post of sultan in Egypt reached its peak. Eventually, the opponents decided to restore al-Nāṣir as sultan. During this reign al-Nāṣir was also sultan in name alone and the real power was in the hands of the vice-sultans, Sayf al-Dīn Salār and Baybars al-Jāshnakir. They successfully isolated him from the public and prevented him from using the sultan’s funds, and even controlled his food³⁷². Al-Nāṣir was unhappy with the uncomfortable atmosphere because he felt he was being confined, therefore he decided to escape from the citadel. In 708/1308 he pretended to perform hajj and made his way to Ḥijāz through al-Karak route. When he arrived there, he told his supporters that he had decided to give up his position as sultan and settle in al-Karak³⁷³. The real reason behind this decision may have been his fear for his life at the hands of Salār and Baybars al-Jāshnakir. Later, because of increasing prices in the Mamlūk State, as well as the spread of diseases, Egypt’s inhabitants were very upset with

³⁶⁹ Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.41

³⁷⁰ Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.41

³⁷¹ Ibid, p.49

³⁷² Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.116; ʿĀshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, pp.226,227;

ʿAdūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, pp.62,63

³⁷³ Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.292; Saʿeed ʿĀshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.228

Baybars al-Jāshnakir and they began negotiations with al-Nāṣir to return to rule them again. After that, al-Nāṣir entered Cairo as sultan in 709/1309 and stayed in the post for more than thirty years³⁷⁴. Al-Nāṣir started his third reign by arresting his enemies and imprisoning them, while Baybars al-Jāshnakir who had ruled Egypt for ten months was put to death on al-Nāṣir's order, and Salār was jailed until his death³⁷⁵. Then, he started to fight all kinds of corruption in his state. He rescinded a number of positions which had been corruptly engaged by influential people and confiscated their assets from these jobs, as well as cancelling all unfair taxes that had been imposed on the public³⁷⁶. Additionally, he built al-Nāṣiriya school which comprised a rich library, as well as a large mosque bearing his name in 735/1334 and many palaces and fortresses³⁷⁷. As 'Adūān recounts: " The number of mosques established during al-Nāṣir era in Cairo alone reached twenty four, not counting those in other parts of Egypt and Syria"³⁷⁸.

It is clear that he was very fond of architecture and maintaining buildings. Phillip Speiser wrote: "His third reign, which lasted for thirty-one years, saw four hundred and fifty new buildings and renovations"³⁷⁹.

Al-Nāṣir's era ended with his death in 741/1340³⁸⁰.

- **Sultan al-Ḥasan (747/1347-752/1352):**

His full name was Abū al-Ma'ālī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣaliḥī and he was born in 735/1334. He began his rule of the Mamlūk state when he

³⁷⁴ Ibn taqrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol.8, p.243; 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.232

³⁷⁵ 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.232

³⁷⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, pp.507,534,538; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.66

³⁷⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, pp.538,539,544,545; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.69

³⁷⁸ 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījiah*, p.71

³⁷⁹ The Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah in Cairo, *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2008), No.2, vol.12, p.197

³⁸⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.523

was only eleven years old; therefore he was easily controlled by other powerful amirs³⁸¹.

In actual fact during al-Ḥasan's reign the state suffered from poor economic conditions. In addition to this he was sultan in name only and the real power was in the hands of a number of amirs around him who removed al-Ḥasan from the sultanate and appointed his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in his place³⁸². However, in 755/1354 al-Ḥasan was reappointed as sultan and made great efforts to limit the influence of those amirs on his rule. He became the real sultan and implemented many reforms and built many fortresses in Syria, in addition to winning the war against tribal riots and returning them to his rule³⁸³. His reign ended in 762/1360 when the leaders of Yelabughā attacked him in his citadel and cast him into prison where he remained until his death³⁸⁴.

As far as the present researcher is aware the first direct contact between a Medinan amir and a Mamlūk sultan in Egypt took place in 656/1258 when al-Malik Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aybak contributed toward rebuilding the Prophet Mosque after the fire in 654/1256. The repairs were started by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Musta'ṣim bi Allāh, however later he was busy protecting his state's borders from Mongol troops. As a result, al-Malik Nūr al-Dīn Aybak sent all the equipment from Egypt to rebuild the Mosque³⁸⁵. At that time Medina was ruled by Munīf ibn Shīḥa who basically sought help in rebuilding the Prophet's Mosque from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, when Munīf felt his request met with a lukewarm response he may have contacted the Mamlūk sultan or later found it to be a great opportunity to participate in something such as rebuilding the Prophet's Mosque, particularly when the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate was dying.

³⁸¹ Al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, pp.22,23; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm*, vol.4, p.25

³⁸² 'Āshūr, *Miṣr wa al-Shām*, p.236; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.75

³⁸³ 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, pp.76-77

³⁸⁴ al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.23; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.77; Muir, *the Mameluke or slave or slave*, p.97

³⁸⁵ See Volume II, p.41; al-Marāqī, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.70; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://al-Madina.org/madina/section.php?sid=7838>

According to al-Maqrīzi, three years later Baybars send equipment and money to be spent on refurbishing the Prophet's Mosque³⁸⁶; with this aid they built the area between al-Raḥma door and the north of the mosque up to al-Nīsā' door and replaced the ceilings of some parts of the mosque³⁸⁷. In 662/1263 Sultan Baybars provided the Ka'ba in the Grand Mosque of Mecca and the Prophet's tomb in Medina with new *kiswah* (covers) which he sent to Medina. It is reported that the Amir of Medina sent a letter to al-Zāhir confirming that he went with the cover for the Ka'ba and hung it in the Grand Mosque in Mecca³⁸⁸. It is easy to deduce that the Ḥusaynid amir was keen to prove his loyalty to the Mamlūk sultan. Two years later Baybars sent his agent, Amir Shakāl ibn Muḥammad, to collect money from the inhabitants of Medina as a contribution toward the war against the Crusaders. Initially the Medinan amir, 'Izz al-Dīn Jammāz, refused to pay this money, but when he was threatened by Shakāl that if he did not pay he would fight him with the Banū Khālid's tribe, finally Jammāz paid the required money³⁸⁹.

In 665/1266 the intervention of the Mamlūk sultans in the internal Medina amirate affairs became obvious and direct, they involved themselves in the struggle between Ḥusaynid families regarding Medina amirate³⁹⁰. This intervention was described by Mortel:

Mālik ibn Munīf complained to the sultan (Baybars) that his uncle Jammāz had unjustly deprived him of his political and financial rights in the amirate of Medina, since he was a child when his father died. Baybars thereupon issued a royal decree appointing Mālik ibn Munīf as co-amir of Medina with Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, and granting him the right to benefit from one-half of the revenues of the waqfs devoted to the sharifs of Medina in Egypt and Syria, Mālik's uncle, the sharif Jammāz, is said to have acquiesced to the Sultan's decree³⁹¹.

³⁸⁶ *Al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.445

³⁸⁷ See Volume II, p.42; al-Marāqī, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.71

³⁸⁸ Al-Maqrīzi, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.512

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, vol.1, p.558; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=14186>

³⁹⁰ Al-Maqrīzi, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.560

³⁹¹ The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100

It seems that the Amir of Medina, Jammāz ibn Shīḥa was keen to maintain strong relations with the Mamlūk sultan. Therefore, in 666/1267 he collected *zakāt*³⁹² (charity) from Medina's inhabitants which amounted to one hundred and eighty camels in addition to ten thousand dirham's and send them to the Mamlūk sultan³⁹³. According to al-Muṭarī's work Baybars sent a new pulpit for the Prophet's Mosque after removing the old one which had been presented by the King of Yemen, al-Muzafar³⁹⁴.

However, the good relations with the Mamlūk state no longer existed. Therefore, in 667/1268 when al-Zāhir Baybars went toward to Ḥijāz to perform hajj and visited the Prophet's Mosque in Medina on his way to Mecca, the Amir of Medina, Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, avoided meeting him which may have been a reflection of the tense relations between them³⁹⁵. During that Hajj season Baybars ordered his adviser to take the measurements of the Prophet's tomb to make a balustrade to be placed around it, which was sent the following year from Egypt³⁹⁶.

The available sources are silent regarding the relations between the two parties during the subsequent twenty years except for two occasions: in 678/1279 the first dome on the Prophet's tomb was made by al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn³⁹⁷. In addition there was further contact between them when Jammāz asked the Sultan for a new cover for the Prophet's pulpit after the damage to the roof of the Prophet's Mosque which was caused by heavy rains in 686/1287³⁹⁸.

During the last ten years of the seventh century it seems that the ties between the Mamlūk sultan and the Amir of Medina were strong and

³⁹² Zakāt is the third pillar of Islam whereby 2.5% of one's possessions are given to eight categories shown in the holy Quran among them poor people.

³⁹³ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.562

³⁹⁴ See Volume II, p.42

³⁹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, pp.581-582

³⁹⁶ See Volume II, p.65

³⁹⁷ Ibid, p.63; al-ʿAbbāsī, *ʿUmdat al-ʿAkhbār*, p.126

³⁹⁸ See al-Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=7850>

distinguished by mutual respect. For instance, when Jammāz ibn Shīḥa visited al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl in Cairo he was received with a high degree of honour in 692/1292. Furthermore, the Sultan provided him with a huge amount of money for himself and for Medina³⁹⁹.

After Jammāz passed away the contest between his sons over Medina amirate started again between Muqbil and Wadī against Manṣūr who succeeded his father. Muqbil took advantage of the Sultan's desire to intervene in the internal affairs of Medina, and complained about his unjust brother to the sultan in Cairo. As a result a royal decree appointing Muqbil as co-amir with Manṣūr was issued by the Mamlūk sultan, al-Nāṣr Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn⁴⁰⁰.

Over the next two years al-Nāṣr ibn Qalāwūn refurbished the Prophet's Mosque and its western and eastern roofs⁴⁰¹.

The peak of the Mamlūk sultans' intervention in internal affairs of Medina took place in 716/1316. In that year Manṣūr ibn Jammāz ordered the attendants of the Prophet's Mosque to pay one thousand dirhams, and some of them were imprisoned after refusing to comply with this order. When this news reached the Mamlūk sultan, he immediately ordered the commander of the Egyptian pilgrimage campaign to bring Manṣūr and his deputy, Kubaysh, back to Cairo. They went to Egypt with the campaign to stay for a month and were released after being threatened by the Sultan himself, and pledging that they would not return to cause trouble in the future. Eventually, the Mamlūk sultan gave them some money and they were released to go back to Medina⁴⁰².

When Manṣūr arrived in Medina Mājed ibn Muqbil gathered a large force of tribes to oust him from Medina. Mājed would have accomplished his aim, however the Mamlūk sultan got involved in the matter and sent military

³⁹⁹ al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.1, p.320; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.245

⁴⁰⁰ Al-Sulaymān, al-‘Alāqāt al-Ḥijāzīya al-Miṣrayy, p.36; ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.147

⁴⁰¹ See Volume II, p.42; al-Marāqī, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.71

⁴⁰² Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, pp.230,231

support to assist Manṣūr until he achieved his victory against Mājed ibn Muqbil⁴⁰³.

During this era there was a kind of dependency on Egypt which was represented by the Master of the Prophet's Mosque attendants being appointed by the Mamlūk sultan. For example when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn performed his second Hajj in 719/1319, he dismissed Sa' d al-Dīn al-Zāhīrī and in his place he appointed Ṣahayr al-Dīn al-Ashrafī as Master of the Prophet Mosque's attendants⁴⁰⁴.

Six years later Wadī ibn Jammāz rebelled against Kubaysh rule and the Mamlūk sultan was very angry with Wadī and imprisoned him⁴⁰⁵.

It is clear that the Mamlūk sultan was eager to prove the Egyptian suzerainty on the Medina amirate if he found the opportunity. Therefore, when he received news of Kubaysh's death in 728/1327 Sultan al-Nāṣir issued a royal decree appointing his brother Ṭufayl to the position in the same month⁴⁰⁶. The same happened eight years later when Wadī brought a royal decree signed by the Mamlūk sultan supporting his rule against Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr⁴⁰⁷.

With the passage of time, the Mamlūk suzerainty on Medina increased noticeably and this was apparent when al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn sent his army to Mecca and Medina to prevent their residents from carrying any kind of weapons in 741/1340⁴⁰⁸.

Two years later the Mamlūk sultan dispatched a group of attendants to work in the Prophet's Mosque and take care of the Prophet's tomb⁴⁰⁹. In that year

⁴⁰³ Al-Sulaymān, al- 'Alāqāt al-Hijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.37

⁴⁰⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.40

⁴⁰⁵ Al-Sulaymān, al- 'Alāqāt al-Hijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.37

⁴⁰⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.233,234; 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.148; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, pp.105-106

⁴⁰⁷ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.134; Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.235

⁴⁰⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.533; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=7880>

⁴⁰⁹ See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=7881>

Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr took advantage of his rival's absence and put his deputies to death. Then he sent his brother to Cairo to return with a royal decree showing his authority as amir of Medina⁴¹⁰. Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr remained in power until 750/1349, when a new decree naming his cousin, Sa' d ibn Thābit ibn Jammāz, as amir of Medina was issued. Ṭufayl and his followers caused much chaos and looting shortly before the appointed amir arrived in Medina. Eventually, Ṭufayl was captured and sent to Cairo to be imprisoned there until his death in 752/1351⁴¹¹.

Based on the above, the relationship between the Mamlūk sultan and amir of Medina had three aspects: political, economical and religious.

Politically, in different cases the sultan of Mamlūk state appointed and removed some Medina amirs by royal decree which he himself issued. He also either punished or rewarded them by supporting them financially or with military force. However, this intervention was very limited, particularly in terms of appointing Ḥusaynid family members as amirs of Medina; they did not dare to appoint any person who did not belong to the Ḥusaynid family to govern the emirate.

With reference to economic ties, on many occasions the Sultan of the Mamlūk state paid the Medina amirs' salaries and provided them with a number of revenues on their lands. At the same time, they would send their region's zakāt to him in Cairo.

With regard to religious relations, it is clear that throughout Islamic history all dynasties who ruled the Islamic world after the Rāshidūn era were keen to legitimize their rule by confirming that they were the custodians of the two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina which gave them the advantage over their rivals. Therefore, they were prepared to carry out any required

⁴¹⁰ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.134; Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.236

⁴¹¹ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. 2, p.134; Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.237; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.468

maintenance to the Prophet's Mosque before it could be undertaken by the Rasūlid state or any other rival of the Mamlūk sultan.

In fact, the interventions of the Mamlūk state in the internal Medina amirate's affairs became more obvious throughout the eighth century compared with the previous century. We find the opponents of the Ḥusaynid family were eager to obtain royal decrees from the Mamlūk sultan confirming their share in the political and financial rights in the Medina amirate; in addition they supported them financially. However, the Mamlūk sultan sided with whoever was stronger. The best example of this was when he appointed Wadī ibn Jammāz after he captured Medina and rebelled against the legal governor, Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr, who already had a royal decree from the sultan. However, when Ṭufayl and his followers captured Medina and restored his position again a decree was issued for him.

In conclusion, it is clear that a number of obstacles prevented the sultan of Mamlūk from fully incorporating Medina including:

- 1- The strong opposition to the Mamlūk state by the Rasūlid state in Yemen (626/1228-858/1454) for control of Mecca and Medina⁴¹².
- 2- The internal conflicts in the Ḥijāz region between Mecca and Medina amirs which will be looked at in more detail in the following section⁴¹³. These conflicts caused the loyalty of the Medina governor to alternate between Egypt and Yemen according to their own personal benefits.
- 3- External threats that were directed toward the Mamlūk state by its opponents, the Mongol and Crusaders which forced them to concentrate on protecting their borders instead of incorporating Medina amirate⁴¹⁴.

⁴¹² Al-Sulaymān, al-‘Alāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.25; ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.144

⁴¹³ Al-Sulaymān, al-‘Alāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.26; ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.144

⁴¹⁴ ‘Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīyah*, p.144

4.4. RELATIONS BETWEEN MECCA AND MEDINA AMIRATES:

Mecca was ruled by the Banū Qatāda, another branch of the al-Ashrāifs, and they were known as al-Ḥusanayn attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālīb⁴¹⁵. We understand from this that there was a familial connection between them, however that did not prevent them of fighting each other. Generally, the ties between Mecca and Medina amirate before the Mamlūk state was established were often tense on account of each of them wishing to occupy and rule the other amirate. As a result many battles were waged between them during the first third of the seventh century. These battles took place over several years, for example in 601/1204, 602/1205, 603/1206, 604/1207, 609/1212, 613/1215 and 617/1220⁴¹⁶.

The key battle between them took place in 637/1239 when Shīḥa ibn Hāshim was supported by the sultan of the Ayyūbid state, al-Malik al-Ṣaliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, with one thousand horsemen to wrest Mecca from Rājih ibn Qatāda and oust the Rasūlid garrison from Mecca. Shīḥa ibn Hāshim’s army retook Mecca and controlled it for a while after Rājih fled to Yemen. The latter asked for help and he was supported in his march on Mecca; nevertheless Shīḥa and his followers left Mecca before he became involved in armed confrontation with them⁴¹⁷.

The relations between the two parties could be described as good over the following twenty years in the middle of the seventh century. With respect to this era Mortel says:” Relations between Mecca and Medina during the joint reign of Munīf and Jammāz appear to have been based on mutual support

⁴¹⁵ Aḥmad Shaynī, Maḏāhīr al-Ḥayāt al-Ajtimā‘ aya fi Makkah wa al-Medina Abān al-Qarn al-Thāmīn, *al-Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, 2004, no.8, p.59

⁴¹⁶ For more see ‘Alī ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭabā‘ah al-Munīriyah, 1929), vol.9, p.269; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.1128; Sulaymān Mālīkī, *Bilād al-Ḥijāz* (Riyadh: Dārat al-Malik ‘Abdul‘aziz, 1983), p.61; ‘Abdallāh ‘Ankāwī, Mecca fī ‘Ihd Qatāda, *Majalat kulayat al-‘Adāb, King Saud university*, 1985, no.1, p.88

⁴¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.300; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.4, p.268; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1991, no.74, p.73

and cooperation in the face of common danger"⁴¹⁸. An example of these good relations is the cooperation between Medina's amir, Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, and Mecca's amirs, Abū Numayy Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Qatāda and his uncle Idrīs ibn Qatāda, when Mecca amirs sought military support of Jammāz ibn Shīḥa to face the Rasūild army led by 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bartās to control Mecca in 652/1254. The response of the Medina amir was quick and he led his army to support them and prevent Rasūild's army from taking over Mecca. However, Rasūild's army defeated them and occupied Mecca, and Jammāz returned with his army to Medina⁴¹⁹.

This kind of mutual affection continued between the amirs of the two holy cities for about two decades. In 666/1267 when Jammāz ibn Shīḥa faced a difficult challenge from Mālik ibn Munīf regarding the office of Medina amir, whereupon, Abū Numayy in turn led a force from Mecca to support Jammāz ibn Shīḥa. However, they failed in their mission and returned to Mecca⁴²⁰.

Years later the dealings between Mecca and Medina amirs became hostile on account of the amir of Medina wishing to annex Mecca to his amirate and he was waiting any opportunity to involve himself in the internal affairs of Mecca. This opportunity to attack Mecca came in 670/1271 when Abū Numayy ousted his co-amir Idrīs ibn Qatāda from Mecca. The latter went to Yanbu' and sought help from Medina's amir, Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, against Mecca's amir, Abū Numayy. Jammāz in turn led a force and entered Mecca with Idrīs while Abū Numayy was expelled and they ruled it for forty days before being driven out of Mecca by Abū Numayy⁴²¹.

⁴¹⁸ The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.97

⁴¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.397; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al-'Awālī*, vol.4, p. 221; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1991, no.74, pp.99-100

⁴²⁰ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.229; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.285; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.244

⁴²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.604; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.443; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al-'Awālī*, vol.4, p.225

In the subsequent year Jammāz raided Mecca again, however no more details are available regarding this raid to the researcher's knowledge⁴²². In 673/1274 Jammāz ibn Shīḥa again advanced towards Mecca, but his attack concluded with a treaty being signed between them. According to its terms, Jammāz returned to Medina for a large figure of money provided to him by Abū Numayy⁴²³.

Two years later, Medina's amir entered into alliance with the amir of Yanbu' against Mecca's amir. The situation was described by Mortel as follows:

In 675/1276, Jammāz b. Shīḥa once again allied himself with the amir of Yanbu', Idrīs b. Al-Ḥasan b. Qatāda, and together they marched against Mecca, with an army composed of 215 horsemen and 600 foot soldiers. In Wādī Marr al-Ḍahrān on the outskirts of Mecca, they were met by the force of the Sharif Abū Nummay who, despite their inferior numbers-100 horsemen and 80 foot soldiers- managed to defeat the Medina-Yanbu' alliance in battle⁴²⁴.

It is clear that Jammāz's ambition to control Mecca had not ceased so he took advantage of the lack of trust between the Mamlūk sultan, Qalāwūn, and Mecca's amir on account of the latter beginning to collect unauthorized taxes from pilgrims which caused the sultan to become angry with Abū Numayy. Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, in turn, began his correspondence with the sultan and offered him his cooperation in waging a war on Mecca if he supported him with soldiers. In 687/1288 the sultan's army reached Medina and advanced on Mecca under the leadership of the Medina amir, Jammāz ibn Shīḥa, and they took over Mecca. Immediately, Jammāz inserted his own name in the sermon at the Grand Mosque and stamped it on the coinage. After several months of controlling Mecca, Jammāz returned to Medina when he received news

⁴²² Badr, Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiya fī Medina, *al-Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, 2003, no.5, p.51

⁴²³ Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.101

⁴²⁴ Ibid, pp.101-102

confirming that there was a conspiracy against him led by Abū Numayy and the sultan's garrison⁴²⁵.

Years later, cordial relations between Jammāz ibn Shīḥa and Abū Numayy were re-established. Moreover, we find that in 692/1292 Jammāz visited the Mamlūk sultan, al-Ashraf Khalīl, in Cairo, where he was received with honour, to intercede with the Sultan on behalf of Mecca's amir, Abū Numayy, on account of his failure to meet the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan in the previous year⁴²⁶.

The cordial relations continued until the death of Abū Numayy in 701/1301, and the beginning of the contest between his sons. His sons, Ḥumayḍa and Rumaytha united against their brother Abū al-Ghayth and ousted him from the amirate of Mecca. Then, the latter went to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo and informed him of the coup made by his brother in Mecca. The sultan, in turn, sent three hundred soldiers from Egypt and five hundred horsemen were provided by Medina's amir, Maṣṣūr ibn Jammāz, to restore Abū al-Ghayth and they succeeded in their task in 714/1314⁴²⁷. After this event as far as the researcher is aware and based on available sources there is no clear information indicating that any wars took place between Mecca and Medina amirs until the second half of the eighth century, these peaceful relations may have been due to both of them being busy with their internal troubles regarding the amir's position which they considered more important than involving themselves in conflicts with a new external enemy⁴²⁸. However, in the beginning of the second half of the century the relationship

⁴²⁵ Al-Fāsī, *al- 'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.284; al- 'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al- 'Awālī*, vol.4, p.225; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.102; See al-Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=7849>

⁴²⁶ Al- 'Asqalānī, *al- 'Iṣāba fī tamayyaz al-ṣahāba*, vol.1, p.320; al-Barādī 'ī, *al-Medīna al-Munawwara 'Abr al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*, p.118; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.102

⁴²⁷ Al-Fāsī, *al- 'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.447; al- 'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-Nujūm al- 'Awālī*, vol.4, p.227; Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.104

⁴²⁸ For more regarding these internal conditions see Al-Fāsī, *al- 'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, pp.189-191; al-Sulaymān, *al- 'Alāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy*, pp.34-35

became cordial again, as proven by the visit made by Mecca's amir, 'Ajlān ibn Rumaytha, to Medina in 752/1351⁴²⁹.

4.5. RELATIONS BETWEEN MEDINA AMIRATE AND TRIBES:

It is obvious that the history of the tribes is considered the most difficult theme to study of all the historical periods. The lack of documentary evidence of the history of these tribes has contributed to this difficulty; even when some historians mentioned the tribes they would use a general phrase for them, such as "Bedouin" without determining a specific tribe. Bedouin as a title or quality includes a huge number of Arabian tribes. In addition to that the Bedouin lifestyle, particularly their permanent geographical movement from place to place looking for somewhere suitable, rich with water and grass for their livestock, contributed to making their history very difficult to study for historians. It is clear that these tribes were entirely independent and they only acted in accordance with their Shaykhs.

However, there are a few indications which may help to give us a general idea about the relations between them and the amirate of Medina. In order to understand these relations we need to recognise the neighbouring tribes of Medina during this era. The key neighbouring tribes of Medina were: the Juhaynah, the Banū Ṣakhr, the Ḥarb, the Zu'b, the 'Anazah, the Banū Salaym, the Balī, the Banū Lām and the Banū Khālid⁴³⁰ and most of them definitely played an important role in the political life of Medina by attacking it or hajj caravans, or by supporting one member of the Ḥusaynid family in his fight regarding Medina amirate. They also participated with the Medina amir in his wars against his enemies outside Medina.

⁴²⁹ Al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.191

⁴³⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.563; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Qabā'il al-'Arab al-Qadīmah wa al-Ḥadīthah* (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Hāshimīyah, 1949) vol.1, pp.214,215,259, vol.3,1007; Ḥamad al-Ḥaqīl, *Kanz al-Ansāb wa Majma' al-'Adāb* (Riyadh: Maṭba'at al-Nahḍa, 1984), pp.108,176

According to available sources some raids upon Medina were carried out by some of its neighbouring tribes. Thereupon, Medina's amirs in different historical periods decided to build a wall in order to protect Medina and its inhabitants from looting and pillaging by raiders⁴³¹.

Ibn al-Athīr recounts that in 590/1193 while the amir of Medina, Jammāz ibn Qāsim, was absent owing to his travels to Syria, the Banū Zu‘b, together with some other tribes, took advantage of this and set out to raid Medina and fight with Jammāz's deputy, his brother Hāshim. However, the Banū Zu‘b dominated in their attack against Hāshim who died in this raid and his men were defeated, and tribes entered Medina looting houses and shops and terrified Medina inhabitants before returning to their tribe⁴³².

On the other hand, tribes also sometimes supported the Medina amir in his war against Mecca amirate. In the year 601/1204 the Banū Lām assisted the Medina amir, Sālim ibn Qāsim, in the battle of al-Maṣārī‘ against Qatāda ibn Idrīs's army⁴³³.

During the conflicts between the Ḥusaynid family members in Medina, the tribes played an important role until 639/1241 when ‘Umayr ibn Qāsim ibn Jammāz gathered a number of followers from the tribes and wrested the office of amirate from his uncle Shīḥa who was ousted to outskirts of Medina quickly and easily⁴³⁴.

In fact Medina amirs avoided direct confrontation with the tribes, perhaps because they feared the consequences or because they were preoccupied with something more important than involving themselves in struggles with the tribes. An obvious example of this was when Jammāz refused to pay

⁴³¹ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.309; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, vol.2, p.768; al-‘Abbasī, *‘Umdat al-‘Akhbār*, p.123; al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah fī Ma‘ālim Ṭābah*, p.190

⁴³² See *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol.9, p.231

⁴³³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.1128

⁴³⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.447; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, no.74, p.72; Jamīl Ḥarb, *al-Hijāz wa al-Yemen fī al-‘Aṣr al-Ayyūbī* (Jeddah: Dār Tahāmah, 1985), p.82

Medina's contribution of money to Shakāl ibn Muḥammad, Baybars' agent, in 664/1265. Shakāl threatened to fight him with the Banū Khālīd tribe if he did not pay, whereupon Jammāz paid Shakāl the required money⁴³⁵.

Two years later a number of tribes attempted to help Jammāz to restore his position which had been wrested by his nephew Munīf ibn Shīḥa; however they failed to accomplish their aim⁴³⁶.

This happened again in 709/1309 when the tribes assisted Kubaysh ibn Manṣūr in his war against his uncle Muqbil ibn Jammāz who died at their hands⁴³⁷. It is clear the tribes did not all have the same level of relations with the Medina amirs; while some were in agreement with the amirs others stood against them. Therefore, when Manṣūr ibn Jammāz started to drive al-Mujāwirūn out of Medina in 717/1317 he asked the Banū Sālim to provide him with camels to transfer al-Mujāwirūn. At that time his relations with the Banū Khālīd and the Lām were not good⁴³⁸.

In 729/1328 some of tribes supported Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr during his struggles with his opponents Wadī ibn Jammāz and the sons of his uncle Muqbil⁴³⁹. In addition tribes participated with Ṭufayl in trying to prevent the new amir of Medina, Sa'ad ibn Thābit, appointed by Mamlūk sultan from entering Medina in 750/1349⁴⁴⁰.

On the other hand there were a numbers of wars between tribes and Medina governors and some of Medina's amirs were killed at the tribes' hands. As far as the researcher is aware the Banū Lām themselves fought against Medina

⁴³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.558; See Medina Research & Studies Centre, <http://www.al-madinah.org/madina/sections.php?sid=14186>

⁴³⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.229 ; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.244

⁴³⁷ 'Adūān, *al-Mamālīk wa 'Alāqātuḥm al-Khārījīyah*, p.147

⁴³⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.232

⁴³⁹ Ibid, p.234

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, p.237

governors several times and they killed a number of Medina amirs, among them Qāsim ibn Jammāz in 624/1226 and Shīḥa ibn Qāsim in 647/1249⁴⁴¹.

4.6. THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF MEDINA:

Undoubtedly, studying the economic life of Medinan society during seventh and eight centuries is a difficult task. The difficulty comes because all aspects of economic activities (agriculture, commerce and manufacture) are strongly linked with the political situation. In other words, whenever the political situation is stable economic growth becomes more obvious and vice versa.

It is evident from the preceding section regarding the political situation in Medina that during the period in question Medina did not enjoy long-term political stability. Rather, it faced different threats represented by either external or internal enemies; external threats were presented by the Mamlūk and Rasūlid state who were in competition to dominate it, while the internal threats were presented by the conflicts between the Ḥusaynid family in their struggle to control the office of amir in Medina. In addition the tribes played role in Medina's loss of stability by waging a number of raids.

All of above the elements give a confused view of Medina's economy throughout the seventh and eighth centuries. In addition to that a number of historians confirm that there is a lack of information concerning economic life in Medina compared with other cities during this era⁴⁴². Mortel says: " the sources available for the history of Medina cast precious little light on economic life"⁴⁴³. Based on available information the researcher will attempt to shed light on the economic life of Medina, by investigating different aspects of the economy, in particular: agriculture, commerce and manufacture.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, p.228; al-Fāsī, *al- 'Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.4, p.268; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, pp.477-478; Ḥarb, *al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen fī al- 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbī*, p.82

⁴⁴² Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.118; Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.198

⁴⁴³ The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.118

4.6.1. Agriculture:

Agriculture has been one of the main economic features of Medina throughout different historical periods; however it relies on the existence of some fundamental elements such as suitable soil and enough water. Medina was rich with different sources of water in Al-Muṭarī's era; among these were rainwater, wells and springs⁴⁴⁴. In addition, there were a number of valleys in Medina: al-'Aqīq, Ranūnā, Jafāf, Mudhīnayb and Mahzūr which were considered as a motive for people to participate in this type of economic activity. Therefore, agriculture has been the main trade in Medina throughout its history⁴⁴⁵. The Mamlūk era is an extension of the previous Islamic periods, therefore Medina's inhabitants continued to work in cultivation. During this era, agricultural lands in Medina were divided up into small-holdings and large-holdings: the former belonged to the general populace while the latter belonged to Medina's *sharifs* and rich people⁴⁴⁶. Al-Muṭarī lists some of these holdings and identifies their locations, such as the orchards of al-Ashrāf al-Kubrā, garden of the Banū Ayyūb, called the Dār Faḥl, al-Ja'farīah garden and the garden of al-Baṣa's well⁴⁴⁷. He also mentions a number of alterations made to wells in Medina to provide water for drinking and irrigation. Some of those mentioned were al-Baṣa which was provided for the poor in 697/1297, 'Arays' well which was altered by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Sulāmī in 714/1314 and Ḥā which was transferred to an endowment for the benefit of all Muslims in the author's time after it was bought by some women of Medina⁴⁴⁸.

With reference to agriculture areas in Medina, Salāmaḥ says:

⁴⁴⁴ Abdullāh Ibn Idrīs, *Mujtama' al-Medina fi 'Ihd al-Rasūl* (Riyadh: King Saud University, 1996), p.21 ; Al-Wakayl, Muḥammad, *Yathrib qabl al-Islām* (Jeddah: Dār al-Mujtama', 1989), p.147

⁴⁴⁵ Faiṣal al-Anazi, *The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba in Supporting Islamic Cause* (MA Dissertation: King Abdulaziz University, 2004), p.20

⁴⁴⁶ See volume II, pp.95,98,99,100

⁴⁴⁷ See volume II, pp.68,96,100; Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.185; al-Marāqī, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.44

⁴⁴⁸ See volume II, pp.99,100

Cultivated areas in the Medina region were distributed amongst many locations, such as Qubā' and Al-ʿAwālī, situated south of Medina, and al-Sāfilah, situated north of Medina on the Syria Road, which contained many gardens⁴⁴⁹.

Throughout different periods of history Medina has been known as the city of palm trees on account of the countless numbers of palm trees cultivated there⁴⁵⁰. The most important cultivated product in Medina was dates which were considered the staple food of its inhabitants. There were many additional benefits to be had from palm trees: they used date stones as camel fodder and used palm fronds to produce many domestic implements, such as brooms, bags and baskets⁴⁵¹. Medina also produced wheat and barley as well as different varieties of vegetables which they needed as foodstuff, such as gourds, onions, tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers and potatoes, as well as fruit, such as grapes, lemons, pomegranates and figs⁴⁵².

4.6.2. Commerce:

Medina's commercial significance stemmed from three factors: its location on the main trading route in the Arabian Peninsula that links Syria and Yemen, the presence of the Prophet's Mosque and its large number of markets. Therefore, the population of Medina was affected by these and practised this type of work⁴⁵³.

In terms of its location, it was able to benefit from the heavily-laden caravans that would pass Medina on their way to Yemen or Syria. Therefore, the tendency of its inhabitants to trade with these caravans was natural due to

⁴⁴⁹ *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.198

⁴⁵⁰ al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.1, p.15; ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Medina al-Munawwara*, Jeddah: Sharikat al-Medina al-Munawwara, p.13

⁴⁵¹ Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.199; al-Anazi, *The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba*, p.21

⁴⁵² al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.4, p.1231,1238; Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.199; al-Anazi, *The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba*, pp.21,22

⁴⁵³ ʿUmar Rajab, *al-Medina al-Munawwara* (Jeddah: Dār al-Shurūq,1979), p.39; al-Anazi, *The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba*, p.22

the trade route passing their city. In general, Medina and its population benefited a great deal in this way, and they bought and exchanged goods from different regions. This was described by Salāmah as follows:

These caravans would pass through Medina laden with Yemeni, Abyssinian and Indian goods, returning with Syrian and Egyptian products, the Medinan population benefited when these caravans made a halt there, through the services they offered them, such as food and accommodation. Merchants would also purchase goods from these caravans⁴⁵⁴.

Medina also took advantage of its religious significance which influenced the commercial life there. Following the immigration of the Prophet (PBWH), Medina received thousands of Muslims who would come to visit the Prophet's Mosque every year, in addition to the hajj season which was considered the high season of Medina's commerce and all of its visitors had to deal with Medina's merchants by buying or selling goods in its marketplace⁴⁵⁵.

With regards to Medina's market-places there are numerous indications confirming that Medina comprised many market-places such as al-Ṣaūāqīn, al-ʿAṭṭārīn, al-Ḥaṭṭābīn and al-Tammārīn⁴⁵⁶.

It is clear that Medina was considered a major link for the exchange of commercial goods between different regions such as Syria, Egypt, Yemen, India, Iraq and Persia, and various goods were imported to Medina from these regions, including clothes, textile, perfumes, oils, seasonings, precious stones, Persian rugs and frankincense. Medinan traders, in their turn exported the surplus of these goods and different sort of dates to different places⁴⁵⁷.

⁴⁵⁴ *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.202

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.203

⁴⁵⁶ al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.2, pp.725,736,765

⁴⁵⁷ Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, pp.203-205; M Makki, *Medina* (England: Avebury,1982), p.33; al-Anazi, *The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba*, p.23

4.6.3. Occupations and Trades:

It is clear that there are some crafts and professions without which no society could obtain their daily needs. However, available sources do not provide us with sufficient details about these activities during the period under consideration, except a few indications deduced from some books dealing with biographies bearing the title of their occupation as their family name. The most famous activity among them was perfumery (al-‘Itāra) which means perfume selling. However they were not restricted to that purpose alone but often they practised the role of physician or pharmacist. In addition, they provided the population with seasonings and food flavourings. Therefore, this job may have been considered important for all Medina’s inhabitants. Due to this significance plus the high earnings achieved by doing such work a number of Medinan families were encouraged to become specialists in this field. During the era in question the key families to practise this activity with their sons in Medina were al-Mashākayr and al-Shaklayūn⁴⁵⁸. There was a special market for them in Medina called the market of al-‘Atṭārīn⁴⁵⁹.

One of the crafts practised in Medina in this era was tanning, which was mainly dedicated to leather tanning but they also sewed leather to make different products, such as bags and shoes. According to Medina’s historians, among those people who worked in this trade were Abū al-Ḥasan, Abū Abd Allāh al-Kharāz and ‘Umar ibn ‘Īyād⁴⁶⁰.

Carpentry was considered an important trade to meet the community’s needs and carpenters also worked on the refurbishment of the Prophet’s Mosque; the pulpit was replaced by a carpenter called Abū Bakr ibn Yūsuf who carved his name upon it⁴⁶¹. Also there was famous carpenter named Adam al-Maqrībī who originally came from Morocco to reside in Medina and worked as a

⁴⁵⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, pp.170-171

⁴⁵⁹ al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, vol.2, p.736

⁴⁶⁰ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.104; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.351

⁴⁶¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.154

carpenter⁴⁶². There was a painter called Abū Abd Allāh al-Qarnāṭī who participated in painting the walls of the Prophet's Mosque⁴⁶³. Some tailors in Medina worked for both men and women, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Salāwī was one of them⁴⁶⁴. Many other occupations existed in Medina, such as construction, butchery and blacksmithing⁴⁶⁵.

Overall, Medina's inhabitants practised some trades which were sufficient to meet their daily needs; however, the majority of these types of work were not carried out by native Medinans but by newcomers to Medina from the other parts of the Islamic world.

4.7. THE SOCIAL LIFE OF MEDINA:

It is important to mention that most historians to date have concentrated on the political issues of the community, while completely neglecting its social life, therefore a study of the social life of community is quite difficult. According to Salāmah:

The student of history will notice that most of those who recorded the history of cities and peoples devoted most of their attention to political events and to civil unrest, revolutions, governmental issues and war, seldom concerning themselves with a discussion of societies and the circumstances of their population. Consequently, a picture of the social life is all but missing from their writings, without being given a specific treatment as such, except by way of sundry references in passing to events⁴⁶⁶.

However, there are a few scattered lines in some historians' works such as Ibn Farḥūn and al-Sakhāwī which deal with the social life in Medina. For that reason, many studies describe the social life of Medina - in different historical periods - by studying the groupings of its society and the relationship

⁴⁶² al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.59

⁴⁶³ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.144

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, p.166

⁴⁶⁵ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.65; Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, pp.200-202

⁴⁶⁶ *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.154

between them and the ruler⁴⁶⁷. During the seventh and eighth centuries these groupings can be divided into four main groups as follows: the *sharifs*, the old population of Medina, al-Mujāwirūn and the attendants of the Prophet's Mosque.

4.7.1. The *Sharifs*:

As we have already mentioned this title is dedicated to the descendants of the Prophet (PBWH), in particular the two sons of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālīb al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Medina was ruled by the Banū Muhannā branch of al-Sharāf family whose lineage can be traced to al-Ḥusayn, therefore they were known as al-Ḥusaynid *sharifs*. The Banū Muhannā was at the top of the social pyramid in Medina's society, however their family split into number of branches as follows: al-Manṣūr, al-Qawāsīm, al-Madā'ibah, al-Budūr, al-Wahāhīdah and al-Manāifah⁴⁶⁸.

4.7.2. The Old Population:

This group included the descendants of the Anṣār who were the original inhabitants of Medina before the migration of the Prophet (PBWH)⁴⁶⁹, the Anṣār comprises the al-Aws and al-Khazraj tribes. In addition to the Muhājirūn who emigrated as groups from Mecca to Medina according to the Prophet's order after they faced different types of persecution from the Quraysh⁴⁷⁰. However, after the death of the Prophet and Muslim conquests which ensued,

⁴⁶⁷ Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, pp.154-155; Shaynī, *Mazāhīr al-Ḥayāt al-Ajtīmā'īya fi Makkah wa al-Medina*, *al-Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal*, 2004, no.8, pp.59-62

⁴⁶⁸ See volume II, pp.68,86; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mudayris, *al-Medina al-Munawwara fī al-'Asr al-Mamlūki* (Riyadh: King Faiṣal Centre,2001), p.131

⁴⁶⁹ Philip Hitti, *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1973), p.33

⁴⁷⁰ Montgomery W, Watt, Muḥammad. In: P.M. Holt and Ann K.S. Lambton and B. Lewis, *The Cambridge history of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1970), vol.1a, p. 40

many families from the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn moved out of Medina to the new Islamic cities, while a small number of families remained in Medina. Among the al-Anṣār families who stayed in Medina were the family of Abd Allāh al-Ḥadhā who lived in their own quarters there⁴⁷¹.

As for the al-Muhājirūn, there were two families, al-Bakrīaūn and al-‘Umarīūn. The former were descended from the first Muslim Caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq and they were known as a good and righteous family among Medinan society. Most of them left Medina to live in Egypt, with the exception of Jamāl al-Bakrī’s family⁴⁷². The latter were descended from the second Muslim Caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and called al-‘Umaraya family. It has been said that this family was powerful and had many properties in Medina, and was very close to its amirs. The head of this family during the era under consideration was ‘Alī ibn Muṭrīf al-‘Umarī⁴⁷³.

4.7.3. Al-Mujāwirūn:

This term was used for people who came to the Grand Mosque in Mecca or the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina for indefinite period in order to enjoy proximity to the sacred places⁴⁷⁴. They originally came from different places such as Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, Yemen, Andalucía and other different Islamic countries⁴⁷⁵. Among them were scholars, knowledge seekers and professionals, who mostly came alone however some brought their families. An example is the family of al-Qayshānī and al-Sulāmī who came from Iraq⁴⁷⁶.

⁴⁷¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.172

⁴⁷² Ibid, p.171

⁴⁷³ Al-‘Asqalānī; *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.3, p.76; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.2, p.301

⁴⁷⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol.4, 156; *Majam ‘al-Lughā al-‘Arabīyah*, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.146

⁴⁷⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, pp.60,104,117; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.59; al-Mudayris, *al-Medīna al-Munawwara*, p.134

⁴⁷⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, pp.102,194

4.7.4. Attendants of the Prophet's Mosque:

It is clear that there were a large number of attendants at the Prophet's Mosque based on the existence of a special quarter in Medina in which they lived. Their main goal was to serve as an attendant at the Prophet's Mosque under the supervision of the head of attendants whose position was considered very important in Medina⁴⁷⁷.

With regards to the relationship between the people of Medina, it is clear that there were two distinct types of relations: first, the relationship between the *sharifs* and Medina's inhabitants, while the second type concerned the relationship between the other sectors of Medina's population with each other.

The relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Medina throughout the second half of the seventh century could be described as distinctive and peaceful. Available sources do not mention any serious quarrels between the amir of the *sharifs* and Medina's residents except for the tension between him and al-Mujāwirūn. With the beginning of the eighth century relations between the two parties become worse. In particular, Sharif Manṣūr ibn Jammāz adopted a hostile stance toward them and tried ruthlessly to expel them from Medina. As we mentioned earlier these events took place shortly before the hajj season of 712/1312 and were completely resolved with the announcement of the visit of the Mamlūk sultan, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir to Medina in that year owing to the *sharifs'* fear of this visit⁴⁷⁸.

Four years later Manṣūr ibn Jammāz stipulated that they should pay one thousand dirhams and some of them were imprisoned. However, they did not pay the required amount to the Medina's amir because the latter was advised by many scholars and other Medina inhabitants to stop charging it⁴⁷⁹. The most important indication confirming this aggressive relationship is that the

⁴⁷⁷ Salāmah, *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.171

⁴⁷⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.74; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.423

⁴⁷⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.230

Mamlūk sultan, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, ordered an Egyptian pilgrimage caravan to capture Manṣūr and his son and bring them to Cairo. Then, he released them after agreeing not to harass them again⁴⁸⁰.

The relationship between Medina's inhabitants themselves could be described as a good one with mutual affection regardless of their status in the community. The best example of their co-operation was during the Mujāwirūn case when they did their best in the mediation to solve this dispute⁴⁸¹.

Members of Medinan society in the era in question were very cooperative and helpful toward each other. They supported each other economically, and made the outstanding payment on behalf of other Medinans and helped any new traders by supporting them in different ways, such as buying their old goods or lending them money etc⁴⁸².

4.8. CONCLUSION:

It is clear from the above that Medina, during the era of the author, was ruled by the Ḥusaynid family, and a number of the members of this family successively ruled during the life of the author. There are also signs of Mamluk state's clear desire to have an influence, even informally, over the city of Medina, which contributed to giving it religious status, especially the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and to undermine the attempts of Rasūld State to control the city of Medina after its success in achieving alliance with the emir of Mecca. It is clear that relations between the emirs of Mecca and Medina were peaceful at times but not without some conflicts. With regard to the economic life of Medina, it is clear that its religious significance and its location on the trade route between Yemen and Syria helped to establish business activities, even if such trade was limited. As for the nature of social

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, pp.230,231

⁴⁸¹ Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.74; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfa*, vol.1, p.423

⁴⁸² Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.186

relations, they were characterized by mutual cooperation between the residents of Medina.

Chapter Five

COMMENTARY ON THE MANUSCRIPT

5.1. COMMENTS AND NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT:

Like any work, al-Muṭarī's manuscript contains a number of issues that require some thorough commentary. The researcher in the current chapter attempts to comment on al-Muṭarī's book, while maintaining a high level of appreciation of the significance of the work.

Finishing the process of editing undertaken on the book, it can be concluded that al-Muṭarī used a clear and simple style. This style helped him express his ideas without any complication and made his writing easier for the reader to understand. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the author uses some verses of poetry in his work, some of which belong to known poets whose names are mentioned in the work. However, the source of the other verses of poetry is unknown and they may have been written by the author himself. In addition, Al-Muṭarī employs the *saj'* (ryhme) style in the introduction of his work⁴⁸³, which is often considered to be a sign of a skillful poet.

This research has established the following regarding the language and orthography of al-Muṭarī's work:

- The author has not always followed correct sentence structure and sometimes used inappropriate lexis, as shown by the following examples:
 1. *Fāṭma ibnat al-Ḥusayn* (p.107): *ibnat* is used here to mean "daughter of", where the correct form is *bint*.
 2. *Salmā ibnt 'Amrū* (p.67): again, one would expect the author to say: *Salmā bint 'Amrū*, which literary means *Salmā* (is) the daughter of *'Amrū*.

⁴⁸³ See Volume II, pp.1,2

The author has done the same with Rayṭa bint Abī al-‘Abbās (p.60) and Asmā’ bint al-Ḥusayn (p.61).

3. *Wa fihā al-‘An qiblat masjidah wa fihā Athār al-Miḥrāyib* (p.68): the author uses *al-Miḥrāyib* where the correct plural form is (*Miḥārayb*) and it should have been used. He wants to say “now, in this land there is the Mosque’s prayer direction and there are ancient Miḥāraybs”.

- He has adopted the style of *Takhfif al-hamzah* in two specific ways:

1. Omitting the *hamzah* from its right place when it comes at the end of a word as shown in the following examples:

Jā’ became *Jā* (p.31)

Al-Jazā’ became *al-Jazā* (p.120)

2. Changing the *hamzah* to *yā’*

Used form	Correct form	Page
<i>Rāyḥa</i>	<i>Rā’ḥa</i>	18
<i>Ṣāygh</i>	<i>Ṣā’gh</i>	19
<i>al-Mashāykh</i>	<i>al-Mashā’kh</i>	28
<i>Al-Ḥāyṭ</i>	<i>al-Ḥā’ṭ</i>	40
<i>Māayah</i>	<i>mā’ah</i>	46
<i>Al-Qāaym</i>	<i>Al-Qā’īm</i>	54
<i>Al-Dāayr</i>	<i>Al-Dā’ir</i>	56
<i>Al-Wasāayd</i>	<i>Al-Wasā’id</i>	121

Such words are used by the author in the same way throughout the text. However, in the edited text, they have all been corrected in compliance with the rules of conventional orthography.

- The author has used *alif mamdūdah* instead of *alif maqṣūrah*, as shown in the following examples:

Used form	Page
<i>Manjā</i>	35
<i>Jarā</i>	57
<i>Al-Muṣalā</i>	93

- The scribe has not distinguished between *yā'* at the end of the word and *alif maqṣūrah*, so he has sometimes opted to use *yā'* instead of *alif maqṣūrah*, as shown in the following examples:

Used form	Correct form	Page
<i>Maḥalī</i>	<i>maḥalā</i>	34
<i>Al-a 'lī</i>	<i>al-a 'lā</i>	34
<i>Al-wathqī</i>	<i>Al-wathqā</i>	54

In the edited text, all of these words have been written with *alif maqṣūrah*.

- Some words ending with *tā' marbūtah* are written with *tā' maftūḥah*, as shown in the following table:

Used form	Page
<i>Sarawāt</i>	52
<i>Muthanāt</i>	89

These words have also been corrected in the edited work.

- The grammar of dealing with numbers from three to ten in Arabic says: "numbers from three to ten are written in feminine form when used with masculine nouns and in masculine form when used with feminine

nouns⁴⁸⁴. However, in some cases the scribe has not followed this pattern, as shown in the following examples:

Used form	Correct form	Page
<i>Arba ‘ Adhru ‘</i>	<i>Arba ‘at Adhru ‘</i>	32
<i>Thalāth Aṣābī ‘</i>	<i>Thalāthat Aṣābī ‘</i>	39
<i>Arba ‘ Aṣābī ‘</i>	<i>Arba ‘at Aṣābī ‘</i>	39
<i>Thalāth wa Khamsūn dhrā ‘</i>	<i>Thalāthat wa Khamsūn dhrā ‘</i>	42
<i>Khams wa ‘Ashrūn dhrā ‘</i>	<i>Khamsat wa ‘Ashrūn dhrā ‘</i>	50

In the edited text all of above mentioned have been corrected in accordance with the above rule.

- In addition to the above comments, this study has also found the following examples of language and orthography mismatches:

Used form	Correct form	Page
<i>Masjīd Ṣaghīrah</i>	<i>Masjīd Ṣaghīr</i>	75
<i>Min khārj</i>	<i>Min al-khārj</i>	60
<i>Al-thalāthah min raḥbat al-masjīd</i>	<i>Al-thālithah min raḥbat al-masjīd</i>	51
<i>Wa mā aslah</i>	<i>Wa mā aṣlah</i>	55
<i>Banū Wā’īl qabīlān min al-Aws</i>	<i>Banū Wā’īl qabīltān min al-Aws</i>	140

⁴⁸⁴ Jane Wightwick & Maḥmūd Gaafar, *Mastering Arabic* (Palgrave Macmillan,1990), p.120; Raja Naṣr, *the structure of Arabic*(Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1967), p.121

5.2. COMMENTS AND NOTES ON THE TEXT:

The following comments and notes belong to the edited section of this work. In an attempt to make the text easily understandable, the researcher has listed them in numerical order. Each comment is headed by a two-part combination of numbers: the first indicates the number of the comment, whilst the latter indicates the number of the page on which the issue of commentary is located in the edited text.

1. 1 and 2: The author has not deviated from the introductory style used by other authors in his era. In other words, in order to demonstrate his ability in the field, he has opted to write his introduction adopting a remarkable level of *saj'*.

2. 2, 34, 35, 37 and 39: The author has included in his work some poems on various subjects with the purpose of supporting his ideas and proving his talent as a poet at the same time.

3. 3 and 9: Due to the religious importance of Medina and its special status in the hearts of Muslims, the author has chosen to introduce chapters of his book by emphasizing Medina's merits, quoting a number of the most authentic *ḥadīths* from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.

4. 14: The manuscript has mentioned al-Madrassa al-Mustanṣirayya, located in Baghdad. The school was founded by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Mustanṣir bī Allāh, and its construction lasted for six years. The work was finished in 631/1234, costing in total nearly seven hundred thousand dinārs. The school taught exegesis and jurisprudence according to the four Islamic schools⁴⁸⁵.

5. 19: The work has indicated that prior to the Prophet's (PBWH) migration there were two main tribes in Medina; namely, the Aws and the Khazraj. Both tribes can be traced back to Ḥarītha ibn Tha' laba ibn 'Amrū ibn 'Āmer and

⁴⁸⁵ Ma' rūf, Nājī, *Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Mustanṣirayya* (Baghdad, Maṭba'at al-'Āni, 1959), pp.7,8

attributed to al-Azd tribe from Yemen. They came to Medina after the destruction of the Great Dam in Yemen. Some of them converted to Islam and spread the religion among their relatives and friends in Medina. Years later, the number of Muslims in Medina increased rapidly because of the efforts of the Aws and the Khazraj. When God instructed His Messenger to migrate to Medina, both tribes gave him and his followers their support. Thus, thereafter, they were known as Anṣār which literary means the helpers⁴⁸⁶.

6. 36: The *Ridda* wars (the wars of Apostasy) are mentioned in the author's work. These wars took place during the era of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (11/632-13/634), first Muslim Caliph. After Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) died, several tribes in different parts of the Arabian Peninsula decided to stop giving *zakāt* to the Muslim Caliph, representing the Muslim state at that time. On account of that, the decision made by Abū Bakr against them was considered to be strong and effective. He ordered Muslim troops, who were prepared to fight the Roman Empire, to join the army of 'Osāma ibn Zayd to fight apostasy. The total number of military campaigns participated in by Muslims troops was eleven. Eventually, the Caliphate's armies defeated them by the end of Abū Bakr's era⁴⁸⁷.

7. 74: Dawalat al-ʿUbaydīah (Faṭimid state): this state was founded in 297/909 by 'Ubayīd Allāh al-Madī ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfr in the north of Africa. Qayrawān was the capital of the state until its leaders successfully annexed Egypt to their own land. A new city called al-Qāhira (Cairo) was established by Jūhar al-Ṣiqelī in 358/969 and became the capital of the Faṭimid state. The state survived for more than two hundred and sixty years⁴⁸⁸.

⁴⁸⁶ For more information see Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, p.49; Al-Wakayl, *Yathrib qabl al-Islām*, pp.73-75

⁴⁸⁷ For more see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol.2, p.231

⁴⁸⁸ For more see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.935; Michael Brett, *The rise of the Faṭimids* (Leiden: Brill,2001), pp.100,311-312

8. 78: ‘Ām al-Ramāda (year of the famine): in 18/639, Medina suffered from severe drought and suspended rains, as a result of which the inhabitants of Medina found it hard to feed themselves and their families. At this time, the Muslim Caliph was ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who swore not to eat ghee or drink yogurt syrup until they became available for all Muslims in Medina. Shiblī mentioned that:

In the year of famine, he [‘Umar] ate barley alone. At times a number of things, namely meat, olive oil, milk, vegetable and vinegar, also formed part of the menu. When guests or deputations came, they suffered as they were not used to such plain fare⁴⁸⁹.

9. 83: Masjid al-Ḍirār: this mosque was built by some of the hypocrites shortly before Tabūk battle took place in 9/630. It is believed to have been built as an attempt to forestall the Muslims from participating in this battle. The hypocrites also invited the Prophet (PBWH) to perform a prayer in this mosque under the pretext of wishing to find a spacious place for the Muslim army to perform their prayers. However, God commanded his Messenger not to pray there. The Prophet (PBWH) then ordered his companions to set fire to the mosque immediately after the battle had finished, while on their way to Medina⁴⁹⁰.

10. 85: Banū al-Naḍayr is a Jewish tribe who lived in Medina until they plotted to kill Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) after he asked them to participate with other Muslims in paying blood money to al-Kalābayn tribe, in accordance with the treaty signed between the Prophet and the Jews of Medina following the migration. As a result of their plot, the Jews were expelled from Medina in 4/626⁴⁹¹.

11. 85: Banū Qurayza is a Jewish tribe who lived in the northern part of Medina. They breached their treaty with the Muslims when they cooperated

⁴⁸⁹ Shamsul shiblī Nu‘manī, *Omar the Great* (Pakistan: Lahore,1962), vol.2, pp.334-335; For more see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol.2, p.388

⁴⁹⁰ For more see Aḥmad, Maḥdī Rizq Allāh, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya fī daw’ al-Maṣādir al-’Aṣliyah* (Riyadh: king Faiṣal centre,1992), pp.619-620; Lecker, *Muslims*, p.74

⁴⁹¹ Ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.4, p.143; Aḥmad, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, p.417

with the army of Quraysh against the Prophet during the battle of al-Khandaq in 5/627. For this their men were executed and their properties were distributed among Muslims⁴⁹².

12. 109: The Ḥara fire which took place in 654/1256. The author has based his coverage of the event and description of the damage caused by the fire on the accounts of a number of witnesses. In fact, he gives more information regarding this topic. However, something which was quite incomprehensible; even though recounted by the author is that when the Amir despatched someone to investigate the reality of the Ḥara fire. This person said: "I was sent by the amir of Medina to explore this fire with one Bedouin, and when I reached there I put my arrow in the fire and took it out without its being burnt"⁴⁹³. Al-Muṭarī accepted his narrative without investigation; yet he opted to justify what had happened as a result of the sanctuary of Medina and its nature and trees. However, it is hard to believe that the fire would not give up any of its features and al-Muṭarī did not observe the event. On the contrary, a contemporary historian called al-Qaṣṭalānī, who reported on this fire, confirmed that "this fire ate everything in its way even rocks and green trees"⁴⁹⁴.

13. 117: Jabal Thūr (the mountain of Thūr): the author has revealed that there was a mountain in Medina sharing its name with the famous mountain in Mecca. He identified its location and described it in precise and clear terms. This was the first attempt to reveal the existence of this mountain in Medina, although its existence had been denied by some previous Muslim scholars, such as al-Qāsim ibn Salām al-Baghdādī (d. 224/839) and Muḥammad al-Māzī (d. 536/1142).

⁴⁹² Ibn Hīshām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.4, p.143; Ibn al-Najjār, Muḥammad, *al-Durah al-Thamīnah fī Tarīkh al-Medīna* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīnīyah, 1995), p.38; Aḥmad, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, p.459

⁴⁹³ See Volume II, p.109

⁴⁹⁴ al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.1, p.146

14. 126: The author has reported the existence of a mosque on the road between Mecca and Medina. Besides this mosque, he says, was a tree by which ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar used to stay. He also used to walk around it, and then pour the surplus of his ablution upon its trunk, following what the Prophet (PBWH) used to do. This account seems to be inaccurate as there is no clear evidence supporting it. In addition, none of the companions was reported to have done this.

15. 132: The author has narrated that he heard from people that there was an attempt to steal the body of the Prophet (PBWH):

The sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zinkī came to Medina and the reason beyond this visit is that he saw the prophet (PBWH) in dream three times in one night where the prophet asked him to prevent two blond men from hurting him. Then, Zinkī consulted his vizier who recommended him to go there as soon as possible. When Zinkī reached there, he asked all Medina inhabitants to take their portion of gold distributed by him. He did not see the two blond men among them, so he asked if there was any person left who did not come with them. The response he had received was that there were two men from Andalućía. Zinkī then commanded his soldiers to bring them. He immediately recognised them and asked them about the reason of their residence near the Prophet mosque. In the beginning, they denied that. Then, they told him they were ordered by their king to take the body of the Prophet from Medina to their country. So, he put them to death in his order⁴⁹⁵.

This is a summary of al-Muṭarī’s narrative regarding the attempted theft of the Prophet’s body. This account was transmitted from al-Muṭarī by several historians, such as al-Marāqī⁴⁹⁶, al-‘Abbāsī⁴⁹⁷, al-Samhūdī⁴⁹⁸ and Salāmah⁴⁹⁹. However, this event was an issue of doubt for some others like al-‘Aayāshī⁵⁰⁰ and al-Muzaynī⁵⁰¹. From the researcher’s point of view, the latter position is likely to be more reasonable, as the denial of this event was based on various evidences. Al-Muzaynī states that “occurrence of this event was first raised by

⁴⁹⁵ See Volume II, p.132

⁴⁹⁶ See *Tahqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.146

⁴⁹⁷ *‘Umdat al-‘Akhbār*, p.129

⁴⁹⁸ *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, vol.2, p.648

⁴⁹⁹ *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.68

⁵⁰⁰ Al-‘Aayāshī, *Medina bayn al-Māḍī wa al-Ḥādīr*, p.154

⁵⁰¹ Al-Muzaynī, Ibrāhīm, *Rīwāyāt Ṣab al-Raṣās Ḥawl Qabr al-Rasūl*, *al-Dārah*, 1997, no.22, pp95-119

al-Muṭarī who died in 741/1340, while the event dated back to 557/1162, which means he wrote after hundred and eighty four years from the event⁵⁰². In addition, al-Muzaynī mentions all the contemporary sources dealing with the biography of Nūr al-Dīn Zinkī, yet there was no reference to such an event. As indicated by al-‘Aayāshī, it is impossible to believe that two men came to Medina to carry the body from Medina to their region in Spain, passing al-Ḥijāz, Egypt and other Muslim regions in the north of Africa without helpers. It is difficult to see how they would have managed to do that secretly over such a long distance⁵⁰³. In addition, al-Muṭarī has not conveyed this narration from written sources. Historians also varied regarding the name of the vizier who suggested it to Zinkī. Although al-Muṭarī has not mentioned him by name, it is Jamāl al-Dīn al-Maūṣilī⁵⁰⁴ according to al-Samhūdī and Mūfaq al-Dīn al-Qaysarānī according to al-Marāqī⁵⁰⁵. All of the above questions make the story weak. Al-Muṭarī might have had written this because of his love and admiration of Zankī’s personal and Islamic character.

16. 143: The author writes about the village of al-Ḥudaybiyyah, where the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah was signed between the Quraysh and the Prophet in 6/628. When over one thousand four hundred Muslims went to Mecca to perform ‘*umrah*, they were intercepted by the Quraysh due to the misunderstanding of the real purpose of their visit. The Quraysh thought the Muslims had come for a war, whereupon, the Prophet sent ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān to clarify the real reason behind their visit. When ‘Uthmān was delayed, the Muslims thought he had been killed or taken prisoner by the Quraysh, upon which they pledged allegiance to start a war against the Quraysh. However, ‘Uthmān returned immediately after the pledge was made. Then, the Quraysh sent some of its men to the Prophet to sign an agreement between them. Articles of this agreement stipulated a 10-year

⁵⁰² Ibid, p.105

⁵⁰³ *Medīna bayn al-Mādī wa al-Ḥādīr*, p.155

⁵⁰⁴ *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, vol.2, p.648

⁵⁰⁵ *Tahqīq al-Nuṣrah*, p.146

period of peace between the two parties and that Muslims would not enter Mecca that year but they could do so the following year⁵⁰⁶.

17. 143: The valley of Ḥunayn between Mecca and al-Ṭā'f is where the battle of Ḥunayn (8/630) took place. Nineteen days after the Muslims achieved the right to enter Mecca, some tribes in al-Ṭā'f such Hawāzn and Thaqayf recruited all possible military to fight the Muslim troops. This news reached the Prophet in Mecca whereupon he ordered his followers to participate in this war. In addition, new Muslims from Mecca decided to go with them making the Muslim army highly confident of their victory. However, the enemy tribes reached the Ḥunayn valley before the Muslim army and chose the best strategic locations and appointed many archers there. When the Muslims arrived at the battle field, they were faced with the archers, which could have led to their defeat. However, the Prophet and hundreds of his companions remained steadfast and continued to call other Muslims to return to the battle field reminding them of Paradise and the rewards promised by God if they fought the non-believers. Eventually, the Muslim army won this battle and the enemy tribes fled to different places⁵⁰⁷.

5.3. GLOSSARY OF WORDS MENTIONED IN THE MANUSCRIPT:

The purpose of including the glossary is to introduce the meanings of some Arabic words as found in the manuscript in order to help the reader to understand the text, especially as some of these words are not commonly used in the contemporary Arabic language.

abū: "father of"; in some Arab places, this phrase (followed with the name of one's oldest son) is usually used to refer to a man

⁵⁰⁶ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.126; Aḥmad, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, pp.484-490

⁵⁰⁷ Aḥmad, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, pp.581-600

instead of the mere use of his name, expressing a higher level of politeness, e.g. Abū Muḥammad, Abū Abdullah, etc.

adhān: the call to prayer, informing Muslims that the time of prayer has begun.

al- 'adīm: tanned leather⁵⁰⁸.

al- 'arāk: "*Salvadora persica*"⁵⁰⁹; a type of tree whose fibrous branch is used as a toothbrush (*maswāk*) which keeps teeth clean and freshens the breath. It is recommended by the Prophet in some Traditions.

ajāf: beginning to produce a stink; smell⁵¹⁰.

'ajam: this term is used to refer to non-Arabs, in particular Persians.

anṣār: "helpers"; a title which refers to the people of Medina, either the Aws or the Khazraj, who supported and aided migrant Muslims who came from Mecca after they faced different types of torture and persecution at the hands of Quraysh.

'arq: cooked animal bones covered with some meat⁵¹¹.

athāfī: stones around a wood fire which prevent the pot from falling during cooking⁵¹².

al-Samayṭ: baked bricks used in the construction of old buildings.

al-Khabr: the account or the story.

amir al-Mū 'minīn: the Commander of the Faithful; the term is used to refer to Muslim Caliphs particularly in the 'Rightly-Guided' era.

⁵⁰⁸ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.1074

⁵⁰⁹ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al- 'Arab*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣadīr,195), vol.10. p.446

⁵¹⁰ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.798

⁵¹¹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.908

⁵¹² Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.791

- baraka*: blessings.
- barakt*: to sit on the ground, mainly used for animals⁵¹³.
- bay‘a*: a pledge given by the Muslims to their ruler.
- bazaq*: spit⁵¹⁴.
- bid‘a*: ‘innovation’, i.e. inventing a new way of worshipping God, which was neither mentioned in the Holy Qur’ān nor practiced by the Prophet. *Bid‘a* can refer either to utterances or religious actions.
- burma*: an old pot made of stone⁵¹⁵.
- caliph*: a title given to a Muslim ruler; it literary means “Successor”.
- dakkah*: a high place built outside the house in a circle- or square-shape for men to sit and chat⁵¹⁶.
- dayym*: continuous rain; it is usually used if the rain does not stop for more than a day⁵¹⁷.
- darābzīn*: balustrade.
- dhīrā‘*: Cubit (an old measurement which extends from the elbow to the end of the middle finger⁵¹⁸).
- farsakh*: a unit of length, equal to three miles⁵¹⁹.
- fiqh*: Jurisprudence.
- al-fusayfīsā‘*: Mosaic. Small pieces of marble stones or glass mixed in plaster to decorate walls or ceilings⁵²⁰.

⁵¹³ Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.51

⁵¹⁴ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.867

⁵¹⁵ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.1079

⁵¹⁶ See: Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.292

⁵¹⁷ See: Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.305

⁵¹⁸ See al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.716

⁵¹⁹ See al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.257

- ghalah*: the highest level of being thirsty⁵²¹.
- ḥā'ṭ*: orchard.
- hajj*: Pilgrimage to Mecca; it is the fifth pillar of Islam; it is compulsory for every Muslim to perform it once in lifetime if capable of doing so.
- ḥanafī*: According to Islamic Law, Ḥanafī is one of the four Sunnī schools; it was founded by Abū Ḥanifa al-Nu'ṣmān ibn Thābit (80/699-150/767).
- ḥaṣil al-ḥaram*: a storage place belonging to al-Ḥaram where surplus materials are kept⁵²².
- hijra*: migration; this term refers to the migration of Muslims and the Prophet from Mecca to Medina which took place in 1/622. Later, this event was chosen by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the beginning of the Muslim calendar.
- ḥīsh*: orchard.
- al-jabāna*: cemetery, in Baṣran Arabic⁵²³.
- jāmi'*: a large mosque; it is usually big enough to accommodate Muslims for Friday prayer.
- jīd' al-shajara*: the tree trunk.
- isnād*: the chain of oral narrators of a Tradition.
- ka'ba*: described by Martin as:
The name of the sacred, cube-shaped building located in the Ḥaram in Mecca. The Black Stone is set in a silver frame in one

⁵²⁰ See Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.2, p.688

⁵²¹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.1039

⁵²² Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.984

⁵²³ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.27

of the lower corners and the whole building is covered by an embroidered cloth. Muslims pray towards the Ka‘ba and circumambulate it during hajj. Muslims believes that the Ka‘ba was constructed by Ibrāhim and Ismā‘īl⁵²⁴.

kayīr: a tool used by blacksmith to fan the fire⁵²⁵.

khuṭba: a sermon delivered by the preacher on religious occasions.

khūkha: a small door within a bigger door⁵²⁶.

laqaḥa: a she-camel which always produces a lot of milk⁵²⁷.

madrasa: a school.

mafḥaṣ al-qaṭāh: *Mafḥaṣ* is "a nest"; *al-Qaṭāh* is a particular type of birds⁵²⁸.

mashhad: the mausoleum⁵²⁹.

masjid: place of prayer; a mosque.

marbad: place where dates are left to dry⁵³⁰.

miḥrāb: an arched niche in a mosque used to show direction of the prayer.

al-muhājirūn: the Muslim migrants who left Mecca.

muḏāhira: support and assistance⁵³¹.

musham‘: pieces of cloth dipped in melted wax to make a building water-resistant⁵³².

⁵²⁴ Richard Martin, *Encyclopediā of Islam*, vol.1, p.752

⁵²⁵ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.473

⁵²⁶ See Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.261

⁵²⁷ See Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.2, p.834

⁵²⁸ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, pp.625,1325

⁵²⁹ See Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.497

⁵³⁰ See Majam‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabīyah, *al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.322

⁵³¹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.434

⁵³² Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.735

- nādh:* An animal used to carry water from a well⁵³³.
- naqb:* a narrow pass between mountains⁵³⁴.
- naqar:* to make a hole in a solid barrier⁵³⁵.
- Naṣārā:* An Arabic title referring to Christians⁵³⁶.
- jarayd:* long plum leaves⁵³⁷.
- qandayt:* torch.
- qādī:* an Islamic title meaning "Judge".
- qībla:* the direction of prayer.
- rajf:* earthquake⁵³⁸.
- rasūl:* a messenger.
- razm:* the sound produced by a she-camel when missing her baby⁵³⁹.
- rībāt:* a building used as a shelter or hospice for poor people⁵⁴⁰.
- saḥar:* the time just before dawn⁵⁴¹.
- sāj:* the teak tree; it is black and originally came from India⁵⁴².
- samra:* a big tree⁵⁴³.
- ṣanda:* a particular type of quality wood which is usually red or white⁵⁴⁴.

⁵³³ See Majma' al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.2, p.928

⁵³⁴ See Majma' al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.2, p.943

⁵³⁵ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.486

⁵³⁶ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.5, p.212

⁵³⁷ See Majma' al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.116

⁵³⁸ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.812

⁵³⁹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.1113

⁵⁴⁰ See Majma' al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.323

⁵⁴¹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.405

⁵⁴² Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, vol.2, p.458

⁵⁴³ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.410

- ṣāʿ* : an old weight measurement⁵⁴⁵.
- shafayr*: an edge/a side of a river or a valley⁵⁴⁶.
- shāh*: the female of a sheep⁵⁴⁷.
- Shaykh* : a respectful title given to a Muslim scholar.
- surāt al-nas*: highly respected people in the society who have power due to being rich or because of their ancestry⁵⁴⁸.
- thāman*: to value something⁵⁴⁹.
- al-ʿuḏāh*: a very big tree with thorns⁵⁵⁰.
- ʿumra*: defined by Netton as:
the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca which may be undertaken at any time of the year, as distinct from the greater pilgrimage, the hajj, which takes place annually at the prescribed time during the month of pilgrimage. The ʿumra may also be performed during the hajj. All the ceremonies associated with it are completed within a few hours in the precincts of the Grand Mosque in Mecca⁵⁵¹.
- wākīf* rain: heavy rain⁵⁵².
- waqf*: An endowment such as a building, a well, a hospital, etc. whose revenue is used to help poor people.
- wuḏūʿ* : Ablution performed before prayer by Muslims.
- wazīr*: a vizier or a minister.

⁵⁴⁴ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.1023

⁵⁴⁵ See Ian Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization and Religion* (London and New York: Routledge,2008), p.566

⁵⁴⁶ Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.478

⁵⁴⁷ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.1143

⁵⁴⁸ Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.428

⁵⁴⁹ Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.101

⁵⁵⁰ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.1249

⁵⁵¹ Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilisation and Religion*, p.669

⁵⁵² See Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīyah, *al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.2, p.1054

ṣahāba: ‘companions’; this title refers to Muslims who lived during the Prophet’s era and were in contact with him. Most companions narrated a number of Ḥadīths directly from the Prophet (PBWH).

yūm: a day

5.4. GLOSSARY OF PLACES:

This section provides a glossary for the places mentioned in the text with the objective of identifying the places which are mostly not referred in the contemporary context.

‘Adhkhṛ: a mountain located in Mecca⁵⁵³.

‘Asqalān: a city located in Palestine⁵⁵⁴.

Al-‘Aṣba: a place situated to the west of the Qubā’ Mosque, which had a number of farms and wells⁵⁵⁵.

Baṭn Nakhl: a small village on the way between Medina and al-Baṣra⁵⁵⁶.

Dārayn: a small city located in Bahrain, which was taken over by the Muslim army in 12/633 and was considered one of the most important markets due to the large amounts of goods it used to receive from India via the sea⁵⁵⁷.

Al-Far‘: one of the villages of Medina⁵⁵⁸.

Farsh mall: a valley, about twenty-eight miles from Medina⁵⁵⁹.

⁵⁵³ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.1, p.109

⁵⁵⁴ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.6, p.327

⁵⁵⁵ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.6, p.331

⁵⁵⁶ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah*, p.57

⁵⁵⁷ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.4, p.283

⁵⁵⁸ al-‘Abbāsī, *‘Umdat al-’Akhbār*, p.388

⁵⁵⁹ Al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik wa Amākīn al-Hajj*, p.441

- Harāt: one of the key cities of Afghanistan⁵⁶⁰.
- Ḥalab: the Arabic name of Aleppo in Syria⁵⁶¹.
- Jalayl: a valley in Mecca⁵⁶².
- Al-Khaḍamāt: a valley in the Ḥijāz region⁵⁶³.
- Kawākīb: some mountains located on the road between Medina and Tabūk⁵⁶⁴.
- Al-Khalayqa: a place about twelve miles from Medina⁵⁶⁵.
- Khaybar: a city located to the north of Medina in Saudi Arabia, between Medina and Syria; it was entered by the Prophet (PBWH) and the Muslim army in 7/628⁵⁶⁶.
- Madrān: a place between Medina and Tabūk, forty five miles from Tabūk⁵⁶⁷.
- Majana: an old Arab market, which existed prior to the Islamic era⁵⁶⁸.
- Mur al-Ḍahrān: a valley in the Ḥijāz region⁵⁶⁹.
- Najd: literally "highland"; this area is considered to be the central region of the Arabian Peninsula⁵⁷⁰.
- Al-Raūhā ' : a small village located nearly forty miles from Medina⁵⁷¹.

⁵⁶⁰ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.8, p.471

⁵⁶¹ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.166

⁵⁶² Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.72

⁵⁶³ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah*, p.415

⁵⁶⁴ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.7, p.157

⁵⁶⁵ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah*, p.133

⁵⁶⁶ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.263

⁵⁶⁷ al- 'Aṭawī, Mas 'ad, *Tabūk Qadīm wa Ḥadīthn* (Riyadh, Maktabat al-Tūba,1993), p.62

⁵⁶⁸ al- 'Azraqī, Muḥammad, ' *Akbār Mecca wa mā jā ' fihā min al- 'Athār* (Mecca: al-Maṭba 'at al-Mājidayya,1932), vol.1, p.124

⁵⁶⁹ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.8, p.247

⁵⁷⁰ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.8, p.369-370

⁵⁷¹ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, vol.4, p.426

- Sal‘ : a mountain in the north of Medina, whose stones are black⁵⁷².
- Sarf: a place six or seven miles from Mecca⁵⁷³.
- Al-Suqayā‘ : a well in Medina which belonged to the companion Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqāṣ; it is also where the Prophet (PBWH) inspected his troops at the battle of Badr⁵⁷⁴.
- Al-Sayḥ: a place in Medina, located towards the west of Masjid al-Faḥḥ⁵⁷⁵.
- Al-Saūārqiay: a village between Mecca and Medina⁵⁷⁶.
- Al-Ṣafrā‘ : a valley located near Medina with a number of palm trees⁵⁷⁷.
- Al-Ṣahbā‘ : a place between Medina and Khaybar⁵⁷⁸.
- Thaūr: a mountain in the south of Mecca, which contains the cave where the Prophet (PBWH) and his companion Abū Bakr hid from the people of Qurayash who were following them during their migration to Medina⁵⁷⁹.

5.5: CONCLUSION:

This study mainly aims to authenticate an important manuscript, which dates back to the eighth Hijri century. It was written by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī under the title of '*al-Ta‘rīf bimā anasat al-hijra min ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*'. A critical and analytical study is applied to this work. The researcher has referenced all Qur’ānic verses and sayings of the Prophet

⁵⁷² Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.58

⁵⁷³ Al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik wa Amākīn al-Hajj*, p.465

⁵⁷⁴ Ibn Shaba, ‘Umar, *‘Akhbār al-Medina al-Munwwara*, taḥqīq: fahaym shaltūt (Beirut, Dār al-Turāth:1990), vol.1, p.158

⁵⁷⁵ Al-‘Abbāsī, *‘Umdat al-‘Akhbār*, p.345

⁵⁷⁶ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.88

⁵⁷⁷ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.193

⁵⁷⁸ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.5, p.211

⁵⁷⁹ Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol.3, p.17

and provided biographies of persons and places mentioned in the manuscript. In addition, the researcher has explored different aspects of life in Medina during the era in question.

The process of editing applied to this work raised some significant findings which can be divided into two groups: findings related to al-Muṭarī, and findings related to the current study.

5.5.1 Findings Related to al-Muṭarī:

A thorough examination of the manuscript shows that al-Muṭarī was considered to be one of the key eminent historians of Medina. He achieved this status due to a number of unique features, which proves his ability to write an important work related to the history of Medina and its landmarks. Al-Muṭarī's work proved to have many advantages, though some drawbacks can also be observed. Overall, the advantages of this work outweighed its drawbacks. Below is a synopsis of some of the advantages:

- 1- Al-Muṭarī showed all accounts related to any particular event, then he criticised them, and sometimes he corrected some of the mistakes made by previous authors in the context (if available). For an example of this see his view regarding the Mountain of Thūr in Medina.
- 2- He followed the development of any event chronologically. He recorded any changes made to the place of the event, including details like changes made to the name of the location. For example, when the author wrote about the Mosque of al-Faḍaykh, he confirmed that the mosque was known as al-Faḍaykh Mosque until shortly before the author's era when it became al-Shams Mosque.
- 3- He attempted to update the reader and provide him with more information and details about any location he described, avoiding any kind of vagueness for the reader.

- 4- The author made a great effort to examine any information given by previous historians. He travelled in person to many of the sites of the events he described. He referred to this procedure throughout his work, stating: 'I find it...'
- 5- When the author felt suspicious of any information he had been given, he explicitly stated his doubt saying: "I did not find any source which could authenticate this point".
- 6- He devoted the focus of his work to the social and economic life of Medina and its landmarks, paying little attention to its politics. By doing so, he distinguished himself from other historians who dedicated their works completely to the political life of Medina, while ignoring its social and economical life.

However, al-Muṭarī's work, like the work of any other human being, had a number of drawbacks such as:

- 1- The author sometimes related stories that may contradict with other Islamic school of thought⁵⁸⁰. For example, he stated that "the one who stands at the tomb of the Prophet and recites a specific Qur'ānic verse for seventy times, then he asks God any things he wants, God will give him whatever he asks for"⁵⁸¹.
- 2- He exaggerated the incidents that happened to the third Rightly-Guided Caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, claimed to be resulting from the loss of the Prophet's (PBWH) ring in the 'Arays well⁵⁸².

⁵⁸⁰ Muḥammad al-Musnid, Fatāwa Islāmāyḥ, vol.4, p.31

⁵⁸¹ See Volume II, p,36

⁵⁸² See Volume II, p,97

5.5.2 Findings Related to the Study:

The first section of this study consists of five chapters, each of which has its own significance.

Chapter One presents an introduction to the study and some related issues, exploring its significance, the various versions of the manuscript, the method of editing, and the main sources of the study.

Chapter Two contains a biography of the author of the manuscript, describing his family, teachers, students, jobs, status among scholars and how he used to deal with his community.

This chapter significantly pinpoints the actual reason beyond the migration of al-Muṭarī with his family from Egypt to settle in Medina. Due to the fact that Medina had experienced a severe lack of time-keepers who could determine the times of prayers, al-Muṭarī and his family decided to move to Medina. Also, the author did his best to improve his knowledge by studying under supervision of eminent scholars in different learning centres until he became qualified to have his own students in Medina.

Chapter Three is mainly devoted to the study of different issues related to the manuscript itself, e.g. attributing it to the author and describing its themes. Moreover, this chapter explores the sources of the manuscript and the methodology adopted by the author.

The main finding of this chapter was to confirm that this work was that of al-Muṭarī, based on a number of evidences already presented in the study. In addition, this chapter concludes that the majority of the work concentrated on the history of Medina. This study also reveals that the author transmitted some accounts from important missing books, such as those written by ibn Zabāla and ibn Bakār.

Chapter Four is dedicated to the political and social life of Medina during the author's era. This chapter shows the relationship between Amirs of Medina

and other parties such as Amirs of Mecca, Sultans of Mamlūk and Bedouin tribes living near Medina. Then, the study describes the social life of Medina and the construction of its population as well as some aspects of their occupations.

This chapter generates a number of important findings. First of all, a number of wars occurred among members of Ḥusaynid family in order to take the office of amirate in Medina. Secondly, it shows that a strong contest between the State of Mamlūk and the State of Rasūld occurred for the right to rule Medina. However, this study reveals that there were a number of obstructions making this target impossible for either of them to achieve.

This study also describes the relationship between Amirs of Mecca and Amirs of Medina which was not always pleasant, as both had the desire to annex the other's city. However, they both belonged to the same family, the roots of which could be traced back to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

With regard to the social life of Medina, the study shows that there had been strong ties among the Medinan society. The people of Medina were found to be very co-operative with each other. Economically, the study shows that Medina was an important trading place during the seventh and eighth centuries.

The focus of Chapter Five is mainly dedicated to the language and text of the manuscript, where commentary on both aspects is provided. In addition, two glossaries are included in this chapter: one to define culturally-oriented keywords, and the other to define places mentioned in the manuscript.

It should be noted that these findings demonstrates al-Muṭarī's manuscript as a significant piece. While some of his contributions have been included by later scholars in their work, the original contribution however, made by al-Muṭarī, underlines the importance of his work. It is also a fact that most of the issues and places mentioned in the manuscript have been withered away from the memory and also the writings in the later period. Thus, rendering a

critical edition to al-Muṭarī's work provides an opportunity to claim the forgotten history by bringing back to the contemporary times. Thus, the manuscript plays an important role in revealing a forgotten past and also the places, which might be an important interest to academia in particular but also the larger public in general.

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