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A Critical Edition

of

al-Ta ‘rīf 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
the School of Government and International Affairs,
Durham University, UK

Volume I of II
Abstract

The aim of this study is to authenticate the attribution of "al-Ta‘rif bimāʾ 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 Zubayyrr 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.

Then, my thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Colin Turner, for his invaluable support and encouragement throughout all stages of the research. His continuous help and guidance enabled me to complete this work successfully.

My thanks also go to Dammam University for granting me the scholarship to continue my higher studies. I would also like to extend my thanks to Dr. Abd Allāh al-Rubaish, President of Dammam University, and Dr. Sa‘eed al-‘Umar, Deputy of Dammam University, for the help and support they provide to all staff members of Dammam University, including me, to continue their higher studies.

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

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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’an 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-Taʿrif bimā anasat al-hijra min maʿālim 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 Akhbār al-Madīna by Muhammad ibn Zabāla who died in 199/814, and Akhbār 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 ‘Allī 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‘rif 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‘rif 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-Muṭṭarī 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-Muṭṭarī.
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 ʿAbd 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-Ṣāfi 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-Ṣamad ibn ʿAlī al-İṣfahānī. 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.

**ʿĀrīf 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 ʿĀrīf Ḥakmat are seen in different places in the manuscript. Ownership of this manuscript belonged to Badr al-Dīn ibn Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Hasan al-Jaray before it transferred to ʿĀrīf Ḥakmat.

**ʿĀrīf 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-Makki, no 21 Dahlawi: 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 Dahlawi 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-Maṣrīya, 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-Ṣāfī’s Manuscript no 152, hereinafter (M) and ʿĀrif Ḥakmat’s Manuscript no 69/900, hereinafter (D), 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 Qurʾānic verses. Also, the Sūra to which quoted verses belong is mentioned as a footnote, accompanied by its number. Hadīths, quoted in the work, are all referenced to their original sources, e.g. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and other books of Hadīth. 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 Qurʾānic 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 fi tārīkh 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

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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-Muṭārī in writing his manuscript, the subject of the current study.

Ibn Farḥūn (d.769/1367): he was one of al-Mutari’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 Naṣīḥat al-mushawir wa taʿẓīat 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-mutābah fī maʿālim ābah. In this work, he provided useful information covering different historical eras of Medina. In addition, he was the author of al-Qāmūs al-muhīt, 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-laṭīfah fi tārikh al-Medina al-sharifa, 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.


Al-Ḥamawī (d.622/1225): he is a great Muslim geographer who wrote a valuable book titled Muʿjam 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-Dhahābī (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-Ḥuffāẓ* 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 tārīkh al-balad al-‘amayyn*, 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 aʿyān almāʾa althāmina* and *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*. In both works, he gives a biography of narrators of *hadiths* 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-Muṭāri’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 Yusuf ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al-Khazraji al-Anṣāri al-Madanī al-Shaﬁʿī. He was also known as al-ʿUbādī al-Saʿdī due to his lineage which can be traced back to the companion of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH) Saʿd ibn Dulaym ibn Ḥaritha5 who was the chief of al-Khazraji’s tribe in Medina (Yathrib) during the prophetic era6.

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

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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 Yusuf Ibn Abd al-Birr, al-Istāy ʿāb fī Maʿrif al-ʿAṣḥab (Beirut: Dār al-Kitab al-ʿArabi,1940) vol. 2, p.33; also Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Īṣāba fī Tamayaz al-Sahaba (Beirut: Dār al-Kitab al-ʿArabi,1940) vol. 2, p.27
village in Egypt which is called al-Muṭariyya. 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-Muṭari’s birth, three different dates have been suggested. While Ibn-Ḥajar and Ibn Farḥūn claimed that al-Muṭari was born in 671/1272, Ibn Fahd and al-Sakhāwī 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-Muṭari’s birth was 676/1272 based on the writings of al-Muṭari’s son in which he mentioned his father’s birth. As his son is likely to be better informed about the specific details of his father’s life rather than al-Muṭari’s friends or students, the third opinion is the most acceptable. Despite the fact that historians hold different views on al-Muṭari’s birth, there is consensus among them about his birth place which was Medina.

There is not much information about al-Muṭari’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 Qurʾān and trying to attain a fundamental knowledge of ʿilm ḥadith (Science of

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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 ʾIḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʾArabī, 1997) vol.8, p.282
8 See al-Durar al-Khāmina, vol. 3, p.192
9 See Naṣihat al-Mushāwir wa Ta’ziyat al-Mujawir (Beirut: Dār al-ʾArqam, 1996), p.138
10 See Latḥ al-ʾalṭḥaz, p.75
12 Ibid
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 Shāfʿī 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 learning.

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-Bāṣīṭ Badr who mentioned

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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 ‘Ilm 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-Dimyāṭi:**

His full name was Sharf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdulmū’min ibn Khalaf ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dimyāṭi al-Shāfīʻī. 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-Dimyāṭi was described as thiqah (trustworthy) and a Ḥāfiz 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: Si‘air al-Naba‘ī (PBWH); Qabā‘l al-khazraj; Qabā‘l al-Aws; Mu‘jam al-Shiayūkh; Faḍal al-Khail.20

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17 Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ, vol.4, p.179


19 Al-Dhahabı, Tadhkirat al-Huffāţ, vol.4, p.179

Al-Dimyāṭī was considered the Shaykh of Muḥaddithin (scholars of Ḥadith) in Cairo in his era. He was appointed as a teacher of the Ḥadith discipline in al-Zāhiriyya school in Cairo. Al-Muṭarī was one of his students and he kept company with him for a long time. Al-Muṭarī studied some books with him, as he mentioned in his own manuscript. Al-Dimyāṭī died on the, 15th of Dhū al-Qiʿdah 705(29/5/1306).

**Al-Qabtūwri:**

His full name was Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ʿAbdulʿAziz ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Ghāfiqi. He was born in ʾIshbīalā (Seville) in Spain in 615/1218.

He travelled extensively to acquire knowledge from prominent scholars in Sebta, Damascus and Cairo. Al-Qabtūwri studied many books on different subjects, viz. Sibawaihi, Al-Šifāʾ 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-Qabtūwri was also a poet and wrote poems on different occasions. Al-Sakhāwī states that al-Muṭarī studied some books with Abū al-Qāsim al-

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21 Muḥammad al-Dhahabi, *Tathkirat al-Huffāz*, vol.4, p.179
22 Al-Zāhiriyya School attributed to al-Zāhir Baybars who was the founder of this school in 662/1263 to be a school of Ḥanafi and Shafʿī schools and it comprised a large library with a great number of books. For more see Ahmad al-Maqrīzi, al-Sulūk (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah,1934) vol.1, p. 504; Muḥammad al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafyāt*, vol.1, p.165
27 *Al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.413
Qabtūwrī and that he heard al-Shifā’ by al-Qāḍī (judge) ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubi\textsuperscript{28} 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 704/1304\textsuperscript{29}.

\textbf{Al-’Abraqūhī:}

His full name was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mū’yarīyad ibn ‘Alī ibn ’Ismā’īl al-Hamadānī. He was also known by his nickname Abū al-Maʿālī\textsuperscript{30}. He was born in 615/1218. His father was the judge of ’Abraqūh\textsuperscript{31}. 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 Isḥaq’s Sīrah with some scholars whom gave him a licence to teach\textsuperscript{32}. Al-’Abraqūhī was the Musnīd (Narrator) of Egypt and described as a great knowledgeable and humble scholar\textsuperscript{33}. 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 20\textsuperscript{th} of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 705 (16/8/1305)\textsuperscript{34}.

\textsuperscript{28} His real name was ’Iyāḍ Ibn Mūsa Ibn ’Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubi, 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, Ḥadiyyat al-’Arifīn, vol.1, p.805
\textsuperscript{31} ’Abraqūh is a famous town about 20 farsh (farsh 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
\textsuperscript{32} Al-Fāsī, al-’Iqd al-Thamīn fī Tāriakh al-Balād al-’Amin, vol.3, p.9
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid; Ibn Rāfī’ al-Sallāmī, Tārikh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad, p.22,23
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid; also Yūsuf Ibn Taḥrijbirdī, al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira (Miṣr: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1930) vol.8, p.198
**Al-Gharāfī:**

His full name was Abū al-Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Muḥṣīn ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Gharāfī. He was born in Alexandria in 628/1230. His father was a trader and al-Gharāfī accompanied him on his journeys. Thus, he visited Baghdad, Ḥalab, Damascus and Cairo along with his father. Al-Gharāfī benefited a great deal from these travels by attending the study circles of great scholars where he could study and discuss different issues with them. Al-Gharāfī was considered as a jurist and reliable muhaddith. When Al-Ḥāfaz Abū al-Fath ibn Sayyed 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-Dīn.

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). Al-Muṭarī met him on his quest for knowledge in Alexandria in Ramadān 697/1297, where he benefited a great deal from al-Gharāfī’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 ʿUmar ibn al-Farj ibn Sābūr ibn ʿAlī al-Fārūnī al-Wasīṭī was also known as Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Maqrī al-

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36 Muḥammad ibn Fahd, Laḥz al-ʿAlḥaz, p.66
37 Ibid.
39 Ibn Rāfīʿ al-Sallāmī, Tārīḵ ʿUlamāʾ Baghdad, p.18
Muṣṭafawi. 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 time. Then, he returned to Mecca and stayed there to teach. It is possible that al-Muṭārī 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 694/1294.

**Al-Sarrāj:**

His full name was ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Zāfīr ibn Ṭrād ibn Abī Al-Futūḥ al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī. He was born in 635/1237. He travelled extensively to expand his intellectual scope and studied under the supervision of prominent scholars in Cairo like Al-Rashayyd al-‘Aṭār and ‘Īzz al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Salām. 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 Mosque. At the same time he was one of the scholars who taught in this mosque. His study circle was full of students like al-Muṭārī and ibn Farḥūn. Moreover, scholars

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40 Ibid; ibn Fahd, *Laḥz al-ʿAlḥaz*, p.75
41 Ibn Rāfīʿ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ʿUlamāʾ Baghdad*, p.19
42 Ibid, p.19,20
43 Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.191
46 Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.191
were also enthusiastic to attend his classes\textsuperscript{47}. In 726/1325, he went to Egypt looking for treatment for an illness he had and died in Suez\textsuperscript{48}.

**Al-Muḥīb Al-Ṭabarī:**

His full name was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad\textsuperscript{49}. He was born in 615/1218\textsuperscript{50} 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 Yemen\textsuperscript{51}. 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-ʿAdayym and Bashaīr ibn Ḥamīd al-Ṭabrayzī, and Ibn al-Khazīn\textsuperscript{52}. Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Ḥadith and History were subjects of knowledge which al-Muḥīb 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-ʿAḥkām al-Kubrā*; *Al-ʿAḥkām al-Wūṣṭā*; *Al-ʿAḥkām al-Ṣughrā*; 'Arbaʿ āyn fī al-Ḥadīth; Khulāṣat al-ʿĪbar fi Sīr Sayid al-Bāshī; Al-Riāyād al-Naḍīra fi Manāqīb al-ʿAshāra; Dhakhāʿr al-ʿUqbā fī Manāqīb Dhawī al-Qurbā; Al-Simṭ al-Thamīn fī Manāqīb 'Umahāt al-Mūʾminayn.Al-Sīrā al-Nabawī\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tūḥfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.330


\textsuperscript{50}Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqḍ al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.43; al-Yāfʿī, *Mīr ṣāt al-Jīnān*, vol.4, p.224

\textsuperscript{51}Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqḍ al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.39

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid (3/39); Ibn Ṭaghribīrī, *al-Nūjūm al-Ẓāhīra*, vol.8, p.74

\textsuperscript{53}For more information, see al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqḍ al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.40; ’Ismāʿīl il al-Baghdādī, *Hādiyyāt al-ʿĀrīfīn*, vol.1, p.101
He also had great respect for the King of Yemen, al-Muṣafar (647/1249-695/1295). That is why he visited him in Yemen many times. Due to this special relationship and al-Ṭabari’s status among scholars, al-Muṣafar appointed him as a teacher at al-Manṣūriya school in Mecca. He was also very generous towards him and gave him a monthly salary of fifty dinars.

In 647/1249 al-Ṭabari 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-Muṭārī was one of his students in Medina where he heard him speak. Scholars like al-Quṭab al-Qaṣṭalānī and Abd Allāh ibn Abdulʿaziz al-Mahdawī also attended his classes in Medina.

Al-Ṭabari held the scientifically distinctive status between scholars. For that reason he was praised by a number of scholars. Al-Barzālī described him as a Shaykh of Hijāz and Yemen, while al-Dhahabī said about him: “He was the Shaykh of al-Ḥaram and al-Shāfī‘ah and the Muhaddith of Hijāz.” Another biographer described him as the Muhaddith of Ḥijāz of his time.

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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-Huffāẓ (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2007), p.10

58 Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn, vol.3, p.41

59 Ibid

60 Al-Yāfʿī, Mirʾāt al-Jīnān, vol.4, p.224
scholars claim that Mecca did not produce any scholar after al-Shāfʿī’s period like al- Muḥīb al-Ṭabarī61.

**Al-Baṣraī:**

ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad ibn Mazrūʿ ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAzāz al-Muḍarī62 was born in 625/122763. He received his knowledge from numerous scholars in Baṣra, Mecca and Medina and was regarded as a *muḥaddith* and poet64. He moved from Baṣra 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-Muṭarī’s manuscript that he kept company with him for a long time. He died in Medina on the 23rd of Ṣafar, 699(18/11/1299)66. His funeral prayer was performed in the Prophet’s Mosque and he was buried in al-Baqī‘ graveyard67.

**Al-Wāṣiṭī:**

His full name was ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāṣiṭī al-Shāfʿī and his honorific name was Abū al-Ḥasan68. Al-Wāṣiṭī studied with and accompanied a great number of renowned scholars, including ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Fārūnī and ʾAmayyīn al-Dīn ibn ʿAsākīr who taught him different disciplines69. He taught in the sacred

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64 Al-Fāsī, *Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.73
66 Al-Fāsī, *Iqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.73
67 Ibn Rāfīʿ al-Sallāmī, *Tārīkh ʿUlamāʾ Baghdad*, p.95
69 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *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-Wāṣīṭi visited Medina, he would reside in al-Shihābīa or al-ʾAzkajīa school and al-Muṭarī was his companion throughout his period of stay. It is evident from this that al-Muṭarī spent a lot of time with al-Wāṣīṭi. Undoubtedly, he learned a great deal from al-Wāṣīṭi who died in Badr in 733 /1332 on his way to Mecca for Hajj.

Al-Baskarī:

Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh ibn ʿUmrān ibn Mūsa al-Maqrībī has been described as being great, humble, knowledgeable scholar who wrote many poems praising the Prophet Muḥammad (PBWH). 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.

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70 Al-Shihābī school: this school was established by Ayyubid’s ruler Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn al-ʿĀdil who died in 645/1247. It was considered as one of the biggest schools during the eighth century. It taught Jurisprudence according to al-Shāfʿī and al-Ḥanbalī school and it had a vast library that contained a large number of books. For more information, see al-Yāfī, Mirʾāt al-Jinān, vol.4, p.288; Abd al-ʿRahmān al-Muzaynī, al-Ḥayat al-ʿIlmiyya fi Mecca, vol.3, p.124.


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 Quraysh, took place on the 17th of Ramadan 2(17/3/624). For more, see al-Ḥamawī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.2, p.284.


speak and he studied some books under his supervision. There are some indications confirming that they had a very strong relationship\textsuperscript{77}. Al-Baskarī died in Medina in 713 /1313 and was buried in al-Baqī’ Cemetery\textsuperscript{78}.

**Al-Qaṣṭalānī:**

His full name was Abū al-Ma‘āli Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Rāshīd al-Qaṣṭalānī. He was born in Mecca in 635/1237\textsuperscript{79}. His teacher in the primary stage of his life was his father who was a renowned scholar known as al-Qūṭab al-Qaṣṭalānī\textsuperscript{80}. After that, he studied under the supervision of numerous scholars in Mecca. Subsequently, he travelled to Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad\textsuperscript{81}. Al-Qaṣṭalānī was an expert in Ḥadīth and jurisprudence. Moreover, he was considered the Shaykh of Ḥadīth science in sacred precinct of Mecca. According to al-Muṭari’s manuscript, he listened to al-Qaṣṭalānī 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-Muẓafaraya school there and died in Mecca in 704 /1304, and was buried in al-Ma‘lāt Cemetery\textsuperscript{82}.

**Ibn ʿAsākir:**

His full name was Abū al-Yemen ʿAbd Alṣamad ibn Abd Alwahhāb ibn Abī al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Dimashqī\textsuperscript{83}. On the 19\textsuperscript{th} of Rabī‘ al-ʾAwal 614(26/6/1217) Ibn ʿAsākir was born in Damascus\textsuperscript{84}. He grew up in a family which comprised a number of famous

\textsuperscript{77} Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.63
\textsuperscript{78} Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.66
\textsuperscript{79} Al-Fāsī, *al-ʾIqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.352; *al-ʾAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.105
\textsuperscript{80} Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-ʾAlḥaq*, p.55
\textsuperscript{81} Al-Fāsī, *al-ʾIqd al-Thamīn*, vol.2, p.352
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid; *al-ʾAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.4, p.105
\textsuperscript{84} Al-Fāsī, *al-ʾIqd al-Thamīn*, vol.5, p.74
Ibn ʿAsākīr 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 there.

Ibn ʿAsākīr, throughout his journeys, met a great many scholars and benefited from their classes. In Damascus, he met renowned scholars like Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī and Muḥammad ibn Ghasān al-Ḥīmṣī and al-Imām al-Ḥafīẓ ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān who was known as Ibn al-Ṣalāh.

Ibn ʿAsākīr 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-Najjār.

In Ḥalab, he heard from Yaʿaīsh ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣāli. He also studied with Yūsuf ibn Mahmūd al-Ḥussayn and Muḥammad ibn Abd Allāh Al-Mursī and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Saʿdī in Cairo.

86 Ibid
87 Ibid, pp.9-10
88 Ibid, p.11
89 Ibid, p.14
90 Ibid, p.15
Dimyāṭ 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 years.\(^91\)

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-Mūqāim Liṣā’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-Mūqāim Liṣā’ir

**Juz’ fi Ḥādīth al-Safar**

**Juz’ fi Khabar Ḥirā’**

**Ghazwat Dimyāṭ\(^93\)**

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‘ Cemetery.\(^94\)

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\(^91\) Al-Fāsī, al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn, vol.5, p.76


\(^94\) Ibn Rāfī‘ al-Sallāmī, Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Baghdad, p.98; ibn Fahd, Laḥẓ al-‘Alḥaz, p.58
A number of historians have paid tribute to him; they described him as the Imām of his time\(^{95}\). 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 time\(^{96}\).

**Al-Zajāj\(^{97}\):**

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 Ibrāhīm\(^{96}\). Al-Muṭarī described him as a respectful and righteous person\(^{99}\).

The foregoing section is a brief biography of al-Muṭarī’s teachers. However, ibn Fahd\(^{100}\) also claims that al-Muṭarī narrated from Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Zāfīr ibn Abī 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

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\(^{95}\) Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt ḥ 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.


\(^{99}\) Ibid

\(^{100}\) *Lahz al- ‘Alḥāz*, p.75
considered as a Shaykh of Jurisprudence, Ḥadīth and History. 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 Mosque. His classes were not limited to students from Medina only, but included its visitor as well. Among his students were the following:

**Al-ʿAfīf al-Muṭarī:**

ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī who was his eldest son was born on the 14th of Shawwāl 689(15/7/1299). He was taught by al-Muṭarī and by some other scholars in Medina. Then he travelled to Mecca, Damascus, Halab, Alexandria and Baghdad searching for knowledge. He concentrated his studies on Ḥadīth and History. He wrote a book entitled *Al-ʾĪʿlām fī mn Dakhal Medina Min al-ʾAʿlām*. He succeeded his father as a muezzin in the Prophet’s Mosque. Furthermore, he became a chief of the muezzins of the Prophet’s Mosque and died on the 16th of Rabīʿ al-Awal 765(23/12/1363).

**Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan:**

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

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101 Ibid
102 Ibid
104 Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-ʾAlḥaz*, p.96
century\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr}, p.9; 'Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiaya fi Medina, vol.5, p.71} where he was born on 6\textsuperscript{th} of Jumāda al-ʾAkhīr 693(4/5/1294)\footnote{Al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfā}, vol.2, p.86}. 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 scholars\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr}, pp.9,10 and 136}. 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 years\footnote{Al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfā}, vol.2, p.87; ‘Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiaya fi Medina, vol.5, p.73}. He belonged to the Mālīkī School and was considered, along with his father, as one of its renowned scholars. He made a great effort to extend the Mālīkī tradition in Medina. He wrote some books; amongst his key works were the following: \textit{Nīhāyyat al-Ghāya fi Sharḥ al-ʾĀya}; \textit{Kashf al-Ghīṭā fi Sharḥ al-Mūwaʾtā}; \textit{Al-ʿUda fi Īʿrāb al-ʿUmda}; \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr wa Taʿżīat al-Mujāwir}.

According to Badr: “More than ten of his books have been published. However, other books are still in manuscript”\footnote{‘Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, \textit{Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiaya fī Medina}, vol.5, p.73}. Abd Allāh ibn Farḥūan was described as the Imām of Scholars in Jurisprudence, Exegesis, Ḥadith and its meaning\footnote{Al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfā}, vol.2, p.87}. He died on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of Rabīʿ al-Akhīr 769 (4/11/1367) and was buried in al-Baqīʿ graveyard\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr}, p.11}.  

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\begin{itemize}
\item[\footnotemark] Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr}, pp.9,10 and 136
\item[\footnotemark] ‘Abd al-Bāsīt Badr, al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiaya fi Medina, vol.5, p.73
\item[\footnotemark] Al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfā}, vol.2, p.87
\item[\footnotemark] Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr}, p.11
\end{itemize}
ʿAlī ibn Farḥūn:

His full name was Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Farḥūn. He was born on the 20th of Rabī’ al-ʾAkhīr 697(5/1/1298) in Medina. 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-Muṭārī. He was particularly close to his teacher al-Muṭārī and he studied Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslīm with him and would listen to him discuss Ḥīfẓ al-Zāʾīr wa ʾAṭrāf al-Mūqāʾīm Līṣāʾʼīr by Abū al-Yemen Abd Alṣamad ibn ʿAsākīr.

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 Diwān (poetic work) that comprises a number of his poems. ʿAlī ibn Farḥūn left behind a number of works. Among the books written by him were the following:

Tārīkh al-ʾAkhbār; Al-Zāhīr fi al-Mūāʿīḍ wa al-Ḥīkāyyat wa al-ʾAḥadīth wa al-Dhkhāʾīr; Tuḥfat al-Rāghbīn fi Ṭakhtīṣār Manāzīl al-Sāʾīrayn.

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

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

119 Al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.3, p.68
122 Ibid
Al-Khashabī:

His full name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā Al-Khashabī al-Madani. He studied some books with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī in Medina and listened to him discuss ʾĪthāf al-Zāʾīr wa ʾAṭrāf al-Mūqālīm Līsāʾ. He also studied with other scholars in Medina. He was one of the Mūʾadhinīn of the Prophet’s Mosque.

Al-Marāghī:

His full name was Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥussayn ibn ʿUmar ibn Abū al-Fakhar al-Marāghī. 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 ʿAsākīr’s book. Later, he became one of the greatest jurists in Medina of the eighth century and he died after the year 760/1358.

Al-Zarandī:

ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Zarandī was born in Medina in 703/1303. 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 ʿAlī al-Gharnāṭī. 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

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124 Ibid, vol.2, p.413
125 Al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.4, p.151
126 Al-Sakhāwī, al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa, vol.1, p.298
127 Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ʿAsākīr, ʾĪthāf al-Zāʾīr, p.49
128 Al-Sakhāwī, al-Tuḥfa al-Latīfa, vol.1, p.298
129 ʿAbd al-Bāsīt Badr, al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfīaya fī 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 772/1370\textsuperscript{131}.

**Al-Shawāiṭi:**

His full name was Abū al-‘Izz ʿIzz al-Dīn Dīnār ibn Abd Allāh al-Shawāiṭi\textsuperscript{132}. He was a servant in the Prophet’s Mosque. He attended some of al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī’s classes\textsuperscript{133}.

**Al-Wāsīṭi:**

His full real name was Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-Māzīnī al-Wāsīṭi\textsuperscript{134}. 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 17\textsuperscript{th} of Ramaḍān 723(19/9/1323)\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{131} Ibid
  \item \textsuperscript{132} Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol.2, p.59
  \item \textsuperscript{133} Ibid
  \item \textsuperscript{134} Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn*, vol.3, p.8
  \item \textsuperscript{135} Ibid, p.9
\end{itemize}
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-Tuhfa 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-Mūʾmin ibn Khalaf al-Dīmyāṭī told me when I was studying with him in 697/1297 in al-Ẓāhiriyya school in Cairo\(^{137}\).

**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-Maʿālī 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”\(^\text{138}\).

This trip was confirmed by al-Muṭarī himself as we have already mentioned his meeting with his teacher al-Dimyāṭi 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.

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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-Muṭārī met a number of great scholars in Alexandria, including his Shaykh, Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Aḥmad al-Gharāfī. Al-Muṭārī did not give many details about the length of his residence in Alexandria.

His Journey to Ṭāʾīf139:

Al-Muṭārī went to Ṭāʾīf 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 Ṭāʾīf in his work.

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

Overall, based on available sources, the above list shows al-Muṭārī’s knowledge-seeking journeys. The researcher has not found any indication confirming that al-Muṭārī 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 Ṭāʾīf: is a city located in wajī valley and the distance between it and Mecca is about 30 mile. For more details see al-Ḥamawī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.6, p.241
2.6. HIS JOB:

Prayer is one of the five pillars of the Islamic religion, and God has imposed five daily prayers on Muslims. Each one of these prayers is linked to a specific time of the day. The time of prayer is usually announced by al-ʿĀdhān (call to prayer). As a result, it is clear that there is a strong connection between time and prayer. Therefore, each Muslim 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 Ahmad ibn Khalaf al-Muṭarī, Shaykh Ibrāhim and Shaykh ʿIzz 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-Muhaddith 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.

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140 Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir, p.137
143 Ibn Fahd, Laḥẓ al-ʿAlḥaż, p.75
governor dismissed al-Qaḍī Sharf al-Dīn al-ʿAmayūṭī\textsuperscript{144}, he appointed Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī in his position. In addition, he became the Imām and preacher of the Prophet's Mosque\textsuperscript{145}. 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 Medina\textsuperscript{146}.

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 Medina\textsuperscript{147}.

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 Ahmad al-Muṭarī, Ibrāhīm al-Kinānī and ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mūʾdhhīn, who settled in Medina al-Munawwara\textsuperscript{148}.

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

\textsuperscript{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 Nābīl’s before moving to Medina. He died in Safer 745/1344. For more information, see al-'Asqalānī; al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.4, p.99

\textsuperscript{145} Ibn Farḥūn, Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwīr, p.203; al-Sakhāwī, Al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭīfā, vol.2, p.413

\textsuperscript{146} Ibn Fahd, Laḥẓ al-ʾAlḥaz, p.75; ibn Farḥūn, Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwīr, p.203

\textsuperscript{147} Ibn Fahd, Laḥẓ al-ʾAlḥaz, p.75

\textsuperscript{148} Ibn Farḥūn, Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwīr, p.136
result of this position Mutari’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 him. 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”.

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 versa.

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

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150 Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir wa Taʿziat al-Mujawir, p.136
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 Manẓūr, Liṣān al-ʿArab (Beirut: Dār Ṣadīr,1955) vol.4, 156; Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyyah, al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Miṣr,1960), vol.1, p.146
A number of influential families lived in Medina. Among these families were al-ʿUmaraya family who were related to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. This family was powerful and had many properties in Medina. The chief of this family in al-Muṭarī’s era was ʿAlī ibn Muṭrīf al-ʿUmarī. Al-Muṭarī was very close to him and kept up this strong relationship with his family after al-ʿUmarī’s death.

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 sharifs of Medina 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 sharifs 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‘ 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.

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155 Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muṭrīf ibn Ḥasan ibn Ṭarīf al-ʿUmarī was very close to the governor of Medina, Wādī ibn Jammāz al-Ḥusaynī. He died in 728/1327, and after that his family moved to Cairo. For more information, see al-ʿAsqalānī; al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.3, p.76
157 Sharifs (singular is Sharif), 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-Mālikī 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-Nāṣīr159 who confirmed that he would come to ʿḨijāz 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 ʿAṭallah161 was in this position, he used to
consult al-Muṭarī, even about minor matters, and accept what al-Muṭarī
suggested162.

In 727 /1326ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ṭawāshī163 occupied ʿAṭallah’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-Salāḥī 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.1, p.190;
ʿĪsmāʾīl ibn Abd Allāh al-Ṭawāshī al-Shihābī 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-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.2, p.59
161 He occupied this job in 723/1323 until his death in 727/1326. For more, see al-ʿAsqalānī;
al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.4, p.241
162 Ibn Farḥūn, Naṣihat al-Mushāwir, p.41
163 Dīnār ibn Abd Allāh al-Ṭawāshī al-Shihābi 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-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol.2, p.59
164 Ibn Farḥūn, Naṣihat 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-Samḥūdī described the way he dealt with his community by saying: “al-Muṭarī has befriended all people”.\(^\text{165}\)

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 needs.\(^\text{166}\)

In addition, he was very generous and helpful towards orphans. When Muḥammad ibn Abū al-Qāsim ibn Farḥūn 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 Farḥūn himself who, described al-Muṭarī’s help, saying: “I am not exaggerating if I say that al-Muṭarī took the place of our father”.\(^\text{167}\)

Overall, al-Muṭarī 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 spent.\(^\text{168}\)

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 Farḥūn 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

\(^\text{165}\) \textit{Wafā ’ al-Wafā ’}, vol.3, p.949


\(^\text{167}\) \textit{Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir}, p.136

\(^\text{168}\) Ibn Fahd, \textit{Laḥẓ al- ’Alḥāz}, p.75
Jūhar’s proponents started to cause a trouble for him by spreading rumours about him in addition to threatening him on several occasions. However, the caliph went back on his decision and appointed ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ṭawāshī instead of Jūhar. Hence, they did not accomplish their target of bothering al-Muṭarī.

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-Taʿrīf bimā anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra. However, Ḥājī Khalifah claims that there was another book written by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī called ʾĪthāf al-zāʾīr.

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.

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169 Ibn Farḥūn, Naṣiḥat al-Mushāwir, p.42,43
170 Ibid
172 Kashf al-Ẓunūn ṣan ʿIsāmī ʿal-Kutūb wa al-funūn (Beirut: Dār ʿĪhyaʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1941) vol.2, p.6
3- The vast majority of sources confirm that ʾĪṭḥāf al-Zāʾīr belonged to Abū al-Yemen Abd al-ṣamad ibn ʿAsākīr who was al-Muṭarī’s Shaykh, as has been shown previously in the section on al-Muṭarī teachers.

4- Ḥājī Khalīfah himself had his doubts when he referred to it. Therefore, he refers to the title of the book (ʾĪṭḥāf al-Zāʾīr) 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 al-ṣamad ibn ʿAsākīr. The third time he mentions ʾĪṭḥāf al-Zāʾīr, he claims that the author was Zayd ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥasan al-Kīndī al-Baghdādī.173

It is evident from the above points that Khalīfah and all those writers who followed him were mistaken when they pointed to another book written by al-Muṭarī under the title ʾĪṭḥāf al-Zāʾīr. Therefore, both ʿĪsmāʿīl al-Baghdādī, in his book, Ḥadiyyat al-ʿārifīn174 and ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, in his book Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn,175 were mistaken because they transmitted what Khalīfah 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-Muṭarī died on the 17th of Rabiʿ ʿAkhīr 741(10/10/1340)176 and was buried in al-Baqī’ Cemetery.177

173 Ḥājī Khalīfah, Kashf al-Ẓunūn, vol.2, p.6
174 Vol.2, p.150
175 Vol.7, p.257
177 Ibn Fahd, Laḥẓ al-ʿAlḥāẓ, p.76
2.10. CONCLUSION:

This chapter represents 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-Taʾrif bimā anasat al-Hijrah min maʿālim 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 accidently removed from the manuscript while binding. However, this type of removal appears to be undertaken intentionally sometimes.178

A great deal of investigation has been conducted to ensure that the subject of the current study, the manuscript entitled “al-Ta‘rif bimāʾ anasat al-hijra min maʿālim 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:

\[
\text{I reported in this short book what I have known about Medina and some of its superiority, hoping for rewards from God, and I gave it the title of al-Ta‘rif bimāʾ anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra.}^{179}
\]

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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-Taʿrīf bimā ṣanasat al-hijra min maʿālim 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 Mosque. 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-Taʿrīf bimā ṣanasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra" to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarī is confirmed by Carl Brockelmann in his work Geschichte der Arabischen literature 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:


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".

c- Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkilī writes that: "Al-Muṭarī has written a history about Medina under the title of al-Taʿrīf bimā ṣanasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra".

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180 See volume II, p.146
182 see Laḥẓ al-ʿAlḥāẓ, p.75
183 Al-Tuḥfa al-Laṭifā, vol.2, p.413
184 Al-ʿAʿlām, vol.6, p.222
Furthermore, al-Muṭarī’s authorship is endorsed by a number of historians such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī\(^{185}\), Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Marāqī\(^{186}\), ʿĪsmāʿīl al-Baghdādī\(^{187}\) and ʿUmar Kaṭḥālah\(^{188}\).

All of the above authors affirm that al-Muṭarī is the author of \textit{al-Taʿrīf bimā ʾanasat al-hijra min maʿālim 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 ʿAlī ibn Ḥām ad 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 books\(^{189}\). Authentication of al-Samhūdī’s information proved that such information was quoted from al-Muṭarī’s book “\textit{al-Taʿrīf bimā ʾanasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra}”.

b- Ḥāmad ibn Abd al-Hamayd al-ʿAbbasī in his work\(^{190}\) 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 \textit{al-Durar al-Kāmina}, vol.3, p.192  
\(^{186}\) See Ḥāji Khalīfa, \textit{Kashf al-Ẓunūn}, vol.1, p.303  
\(^{188}\) \textit{Muʿjam al-Muʿallīfīn} (Matbaʿat al-Taraqī,1959), vol.7, p.357  
\(^{190}\) \textit{Umdat al-ʿAkhbār fi Madīnat al-Mūkhtār}, pp.124,128,145,175,177
Contemporary historians of Medina such as Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Khiyānī\textsuperscript{191}, Abd al-Qaddūs al-Ansārī\textsuperscript{192} and Abd Allāh ‘Usaylān\textsuperscript{193} insist that al-Muṭārī was a historian of Medina during the eighth century and that he was the author of \textit{al-Taʾrīf bīmā ‘anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra}.

Clearly, the above-mentioned confirm that al-Muṭārī is the one who wrote the book in question about the history of Medina under the title of \textit{al-Taʾrīf bīmā ‘anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra}.

\section*{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, \textit{i.e.} usually in the book’s introduction. Al-Muṭārī 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 God\textsuperscript{194}.

In addition, we can extract al-Muṭārī’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

\textsuperscript{191} See \textit{Tārīkh al-Medina al-Munawwarah Qadīmn wa Ḥadīthn} (Jeddah: Dār al-ʿĪlm, 1993), pp.183,188,189,205
\textsuperscript{192} See \textit{ʾAthār al-Medina al-Munawwara} (Jeddah:Dār al-Manḥal,1999), pp.35,71,135,242
\textsuperscript{193} See \textit{Dirāsāt ḥawāl al-Medina}, pp.354,355
\textsuperscript{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 Ummayad caliphs, the ʿAbbāsid 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 Ṣaḥīḥ195 al-Bukhārī196 and Ṣaḥīḥ197 Muslim198.

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, Uhud, 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-Rāṣhidūn, the Ummayad and

195 See volume II, p.3
196 Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjāj al-Bukhārī was born in Shawwāl 194/809. He travelled a lot to hear hadīth 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-Tārīkh al-Kabāyīr, al-Tārīkh al-ʿAwwāṣat and al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr. He died in 256/869. For more information, see Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuǧǧāẓ, vol.2, p.104; al-Baghdādī, Ḥadiyyat al-ʿĀrīfīn, vol.2, p.6; Mūṣa, Naẓḥat al-Fudalā’, vol.3, p.1010

197 See volume II, p.9
198 Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn ʿAbd Allāh 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-Jāmīʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ, al-Kīnā wa al-ʿAsmāʿ and al-Tamāyyaz. He died in 261/875. For more information, see Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ, vol.2, p.125; Mūṣa, Naẓḥat al-Fudalā’, 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-Tuhfa al-Latīfa, vol.2, p.413
ʿAbbāsid 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 Mountain\(^\text{202}\). He did exactly the same with the Battle of al-Khandaq (5/627).

When writing about the tribe of Banū Abd al-ʾAshhal\(^\text{203}\), 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 witness\(^\text{204}\). 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”\(^\text{205}\).

This was very common in historical writing before al-Muṭarī’s time. We can find clear examples of it in the writings of ibn Shabbah\(^\text{206}\), ibn Saʿd\(^\text{207}\), ibn al-Najjār\(^\text{208}\) and many other authors.

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202 See volume II, pp.76-79
203 Banū Abd al-ʾAshhal is a clan of the Aws of the tribe of al-ʾAnṣār, see Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans* (Leiden: Brill,1995), p.20
208 Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Mahāsin (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 topic. 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 views. 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.

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209 ʿUsaylān, *Dirāsāt hawal al-Madīna*, 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 himself\textsuperscript{211}.

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.\textsuperscript{212}

\textbf{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"\textsuperscript{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”\textsuperscript{214}.

Al-Ḥāfaẓ ʿĀḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (d.852/1448) praised him and said:

\textsuperscript{211} See volume II, p.49
\textsuperscript{212} See volume II, pp.93,109
\textsuperscript{213} Al-Tuhfa al-Laṭīfa, vol.2, p.414
\textsuperscript{214} Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, 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 qualities\(^{215}\).

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-Nabawi* muezzins among whom was the judge, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṭarī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-ʿUbādī, who was an expert in ḥadīth, history, jurisprudence, and other different disciplines\(^{217}\).

Likewise, al-Zirkīlī praised him and described him with the qualities mentioned above\(^{218}\).

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, *Laḥzh al-ʿAlhaz*, p.75  
\(^{217}\) *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.136  
\(^{218}\) Al-Zirkīlī, *Al-ʿΑ lām*, 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’rīf 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*. Twelve hadīths are cited in this section in order to show the superiority of Medina over other cities. Such hadīths also show that the Prophet (PBWH) prayed to God to bless Medina and protect it from the terror of *Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*. The author also cites some hadīths to confirm the advantages of being a resident of Medina. Some hadīths of this type are already mentioned, and the following are examples of others:

- It is narrated by Abū Bakra 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”.

- In another hadīth 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”.

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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-Ḥārīth (d.51/671). He was one of the Prophet’s companions who was also a muhādīth; see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (al-Qāhirah: Matba’at al-Fārūq, 2006) vol.8, p.112; Al-ʿAṣqalānī, *al-ʾIsāba fi tamayyaz alḥahāba*, vol.3, p.542
222 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Hadith no.1879, vol.3, p.72
223 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Hadith no.1881, vol.3, p.73
It is narrated by Anas ibn Mālik that the Prophet (PBWH) said: ”O God bestow on Medina twice the blessings you bestowed on Mecca”.

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 ʿĀṣim 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 ṣāʿ and its mudd (two standards of weight and measurement) twice as Ibrāhīm did for the inhabitants of Mecca”.

- It is reported by Ibn ʿUmar 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”.

- It is narrated by Abū Hurayra that God’s Messenger (PBWH) was given the first fruit produced in Medina and he said: ”O God, shower blessings

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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-Bukhari, al-Tārīkh al-Kabāyir, vol.2, p.27; Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ, vol.1, p.37; Müsa, Nazhat Al- Fudalā’, vol.1, p.399
225 Al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Hadith no.1885, vol.3, p.75
226 Abd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿĀṣim ibn kaʿb al-Māzinī al-ʾAnṣārī (d.63/682) was one of the Prophet’s companions; see al-Bukhari, al-Tārīkh al-Kabāyir, vol.5, p.12; Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-ʾIstaw ’āb fi Ma rřtī al-ʾAṣḥāb, vol.2, p.304; al-ʾAsqalānī, al-ʾIsāba fi tamayyaz alṣahāba, vol.2, p.305
227 Al-Naysābūrī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Hadith no.3180, vol.2, p.692
228 Abd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashi (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-Bukhari, al-Tārīkh al-Kabāyir, vol.5, p.152; Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ, vol.1, p.31; al-ʾAsqalānī, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir,1968) vol.5, p.328
upon us in our city, and in our fruits, in our *mudd* and in our ʿṣāʿ, blessings upon blessings”. Then, the Prophet gave that fruit to the youngest children present there.¹²³¹

- 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.”¹²³²

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, Jābīra 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-ʿAmālayiq, 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-ʿAqsā”¹²³³. 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-Ḥarām¹²³⁴. However, some of the ʾahadīth cited by the author in this regard are classified as *daʿīf*(weak).¹²³⁵

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¹²³⁰ His real name was Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sakhr al-Azādī one of the prophet’s companion. He embraced Islam in 7/629 and was described as a ḥāfīz and was a trustworthy *muḥaddith*, in addition, he was one of the major narrators of ḥadīth. He died in 57/676. For more see Al-Dhahabi, Ṭadhkīrat al-Ḥuffāẓ, vol.1, pp.28-31; Mūsa, Nazhat Al-Fuḍalāʾ’, vol.1, pp.307-316


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 rakaʿa there\(^{237}\). 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, Hadith 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 *dhīrāʿ* 239(Cubit) and three fingers and its width was one *dhīrāʿ* and it had three steps. In addition, he states that the Rightly-Guided caliph did not change any of the features of the pulpit for thirty years. However, Muʿāwīya ibn Abī Sufyān240, the first of the Ummayad caliphs, when he performed pilgrimage, ordered six more steps to be added to make nine in total.

In the ‘Abbāsid 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-Muṭārī mentions some of the ‘Abbāsid 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 ‘Abbāsid caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim bi Allāh244. Al-Muṭārī points out that the fire caused the complete destruction of

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

240 His full name was Muʿāwīya ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Harb ibn Abd Shams ibn Abī Manāf al-Qurashi (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-ʿİstāyāb fī Maʿrifat al-ʿArshāb, vol.3, p.375; al-ʿAsqālānī, al-ʿĪsāba fī tamayyaz alșāhāba, vol.3, p.412


242 Abū Abd Allāh Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik (93/711-797/795) was one of the four Imāms and the Mālikīyah school of thought is attributed to him. He was the ʿImām of Ḥadīth and had a lot of works among which are al-Mūʿūtā fī al-Ḥadīth and Rasālī fī al-Waʿd, see al-Bukhārī, al-Ṭārīkh al-Kabāyīr, vol.7, p.310; Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkiraṭ al-Huffāẓ, vol.1, p.154; Mushāwir, Nazḥat al-Fudalāʾ, vol.2, p.726; al-Baghdādī, Haddāyyat al-ʿĀrifīn, vol.2, p.1

243 Abū al-Ḥasan Munīf ibn Shīḥa ibn Ḥāshīm ibn Qāsim ibn al-Muḥānā al-Ḥūṣaynī, (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, Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwīr, p.228

244 Al-Mustaʿṣim bi Allāh Abd Allāh ibn Mansūr ibn al-Zāhir ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nāṣir ibn al-Ḥasan al-ʿAbbāsī (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 Khalīd, ʿṬūrīkh Ibn Tārīkh
the ceilings of the Prophet’s Mosque. This fire was caused by one of the mosque’s attendants, Abī Baker ibn Aūhad. He entered the mosque’s store with a torch. While he was arranging things there, the fire caught quickly and he could not extinguish it.

Later, the Governor of Medina asked the ʿAbbāsid caliph for urgent help to rebuild it as soon as possible. Thus, al-Mustaʿṣim sent a number of craftsmen and labourers with their tools from ʿIraq with ʿIraq’s hajj caravan to refurbish the Prophet’s Mosque. However, when they decided to remove remains from the sacred graves they consulted the ʿAbbāsid 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-Muṭṭarī concentrates on the movement of Mongol troops until he reaches the time when King al-Muẓafir Saif al-Dīn Quṭuz defeated them in Ramaḍān 658/1260 at the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt.

After these historical events, al-Muṭṭarī 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 Baybars completed the work in the Prophet’s Mosque in the area between the al-Raḥma Gate and the al-Nīsā’ Gate. Also,
he goes through the refurbishment of the mosque’s ceiling by Sultan Qalāwūn\textsuperscript{249}.

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 \textit{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 \textit{qibla} (direction of prayer) from facing Jerusalem to facing Mecca. This event took place sixteen or seventeen months after the Prophet’s migration\textsuperscript{250}.

In the second phase of expansion, forty \textit{dhīrā‘} of length and twenty \textit{dhīrā‘} of width and three doors were added to the mosque by the second of the Rāshidūn caliphs, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb\textsuperscript{251}.

By the end of ‘Uthmān’s period of ruling, the total measurement of the mosque was a hundred and sixty by a hundred and fifty\textsuperscript{252}. However, the fourth phase of expansion, which took place during the Umayyad period, was undertaken by Walīd ibn Abd al-Malīk\textsuperscript{253} when he decided to rebuild, embellish and enlarge the Prophet’s Mosque. For that reason, he sent to the leader of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{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, \textit{al-‘Iqd al-Thāmin}, vol.2, p.340; al-‘Aṣqalānī, \textit{al-Durar al-Kāmina}, vol.4, p.90.
\item \textsuperscript{251} See volume II, p.46.
\item \textsuperscript{252} Ibid, p.47.
\item \textsuperscript{253} Abū al-‘Abbās Walīd ibn Abd al-Malīk ibn Marūān ibn al-Ḥakam al-Qurashi (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 \textit{Jāmīʿ} (mosque) in Damascus as well; see al-Fāsī, \textit{al-‘Iqd al-Thāmin}, vol.6, p.193; Müsa, \textit{Naẓḥat Al-Fuḍālā‘}, vol.2, p.508.
\end{itemize}
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 torches. Then, Walīd instructed his agent in Medina, ʿUmar ibn al-ʿAziz, 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 dhīrāʿ. According to al-Muṭarī, one of them was later destroyed by Sulaymān ibn Abd al-Malīk. The ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mahdī added one hundred dhīrāʿ to the length and width of the mosque.

Chapter Seven itemises and names the famous āṣṭwanas (columns) within al-Rawḍa al-Sharīfa, among which was al-Mukhalaqa or al-Muhājrūn 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 Quraẓa of the Prophet’s verdict following the battle of Trench (5/627). Al-Muṭarī mentions that al-Muḥars Asṭwana is the place where ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib used to sit to protect the Prophet. In addition, there was al-Ūfūd āṣtwana 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 Mosque.

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255 ʿUmar ibn Abd al-ʿAziz ibn Marūān (101/719) was the eighth Umayyad caliph. He was considered the fifth Rāshid caliph, owing to his justice and righteousness; see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, vol.1, p.89; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.7, p.475; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Latifā*, 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 fi Khabar min Ghabar*, vol.1, p.118; Mūsa, *Nahdat Al-Fudalāʾ*, vol.2, p.585


258 See ibn Saʿd, *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-Khaṭṭ āb 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* (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, ‘Ātīka’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-Malīk, 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-

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260 See volume II, pp.57-68.
Isfahānī\textsuperscript{261}, and then he discusses all other alterations undertaken by him in Medina. He also mentions the \textit{ribāt} \textsuperscript{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 Medina\textsuperscript{263}. Later, the fence was rebuilt by Nūr al-Dīn Zankī\textsuperscript{264} 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 \textit{al-Azkajīa} school or \textit{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 \textit{ḥujra al-Sharīfa}. Al-Muṭarī then describes the alterations and improvements made by Qāsim al-Husaynī\textsuperscript{265}, Governor of Medina, to the walls of the \textit{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 ʾAyyūb Khālid ibn Zayd al-ʿAnṣārī\textsuperscript{266}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{261}Abū Jaʿfr Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad ibn ʿAlī 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-Dhahabi, \textit{al-ʿIbar fī Khabar mn Ghabar}, vol.4, p.166; Al-Yāfī, \textit{mirʿat al-jinān}, vol.3, p.342; al-Fāsī, \textit{al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn}, vol.2, p.308
\item \textsuperscript{262}Ribāt is a building used as a shelter for poor people. See Majamʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah, \textit{al-Muʾjam al-Wasṭī}, vol.1, p.323
\item \textsuperscript{264}Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmud ibn ʿImād 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-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī, \textit{al-Muntazam fī Tārikh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam} (Haydar Ābād: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīyāt, 1940), vol.10, p.248
\item \textsuperscript{265}Abū Fulaṭa Qāsim ibn Muḥānā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī had been Governor of Medina for twenty five years; see al-Fāsī, \textit{al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn}, vol.5, p.459; al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuhfā al-Laṭīfā}, vol.2, p.387
\item \textsuperscript{266}Khālid ibn Zayd ibn Kulayb ibn al-Najjār (d.51/671) was one of the Prophet’s companions who witnessed \textit{Bayʿat al-ʿAqaba} (the Pledge of al-ʿAqaba) and all Muslim battles; see Ibn
\end{itemize}
therefore the Prophet became his guest. Al-Mu’tarî 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 on.267

Chapter Thirteen is dedicated to the merits of al-Baqî’ 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 ḥadîths to show the superiority of al-Baqî’ Cemetery over other graveyards. For example, it is narrated by Ibn Ka’b al-Quraẓî268 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 Maẓā’un and Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awūf, in addition to Ibrāhîm, 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 Saraf.270 Furthermore, al-Muṭarî 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 ḥadîths are also cited by the author in this context in addition to the authentic ḥadîth. The author

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268 Abū Ḥamza Muhammad ibn Ka’b al-Quraẓî(d.108 or 118/726 or736) was a muḥadith; see Khalīfa ibn Khayāṭ, al-Ṭabaqāt, Tahqiq: Akram al-ʿUmarī (Baghdād: matba’a at al-ʿĀnî,1976), p.264; al-Bukhārī, al-Ṭārikh al-Kabayîr, vol.1, p.216
269 It is a mursal ḥadîth (incompletely transmitted) because the narrator did not meet the prophet
271 Al-Bukhārī, Sahîh al-Bukhārî, Hadîth no.4422, vol.5, p.435
identifies Uhud and states that precise locations of the graves of Uhud martyrs were unknown, except those of Ḥamza ibn Abd al-Muṭṭīb and his nephew Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh which were known to be under the high dome built by the mother of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir Aḥmad in 590/1193.

Al-Muṭṭārī informs the reader that there is a tomb near Ḥamza’s grave, which many people think belongs to an Uhud 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 Uhud. Al-Muṭṭārī concludes this chapter by stating the distance between Uhud and Medina.

Chapter Fifteen is dedicated to Medina’s other known mosques. First, al-Muṭṭārī 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-Jumʿa, al-Faḍaykh or al-Shams, Banū Qurayṣa, Banū Zafir, 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-Muṭṭārī mentions the reason why it was so named. While the Prophet (PBBH) was praying with his companions, he was commanded by

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272 Ḥamza ibn Abd al-Muṭṭīb ibn Hāshim ibn Abd Manāf (d.3/624) was the Prophet’s uncle who was called ‘Asad Allāh and ‘Asad Rasulah. He was treacherously killed in the battle of Uhud; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-‘Istāyāb fi Ma’ rif al-‘Aṣbāb, 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 alṣāḥāba, vol.1, p.253

273 Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh ibn Riʿāb al-ʿAsdī (d.3/624) was one of the earlier Muslims who migrated to al-Habasha to escape from the harassment of Quraysh. He was first leader of Muslim force in Nakha; see ibn Hīshām, al-Sīra al-Nabawaya, vol.3, p.146; Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-‘Istāyāb fi Ma’ rif al-‘Aṣbāb, 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 (ʼ*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 ʻArays, located to the west of the Prophet’s Mosque, where the Prophet’s ring fell from ʻUthmān’s finger. In search of the ring, ʻUthmān drained all of its water but he did not find it. It is claimed by al-Muṭarī that every bad incident that happened to ʻUthmān afterwards was attributed to the missing ring. However, it is clear that he was exaggerating the matter. This well was altered by ʻSāfī 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 ʻṬalḥa al-ʻAnṣārī275 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 ʻUthmān ibn ʻAffān buying Rūma well from a Jewish man who lived

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274 ʻSāfī al-Dīn ibn ʻAhmad al-Sulāmī (d.715/1315) was attributed to al-Sulāmaya in Iraq and he resided at Medina where he built two Ribāts for its poor people; one for men and another for women; see Ibn Farḥūn, *Nāṣiḥat 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 ʻAnṣār tribe; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-ʻIstāy’āb fi Ma’rīf al-ʻAṣḥāb*, vol.1, p.530; al-ʻAsqalānī, *al-ʻIṣāba fi tamayyaz alṣahāba*, 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-Ḥakam whose water came from Qubā’. This chapter concludes with the mention of some other unknown wells located in Medina such as Jaml, al-ʿAihn, Abī ʿAnaba 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-ʿAqīq, Wadī Raḥūnā, Wadī Jaftāf, 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-Fath Mosque and Rāṭīj Mountain.

Because of the important position that Wadī al-ʿAqīq 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

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276 Marūān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn ʿUmayya (d.65/685) was the Governor of Medina during Mūʿāwiyah’s reign, then he became the fourth Umayyad caliph in 64/684; see Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-ʾIstayʿāb fi Maʿrifat al-ʾAṣḥāb, vol.3, p.405; al-ʿAsqalāni, al-ʾIsāba fi tamayyaz alṣahāba, vol.3, p.455
Wadi al-‘Aqiq. 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 Gīrd (6/627). In this battle, ‘Auayyna 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-Rūḥāʾ Mosque and al-Ghazāla Mosque. Moreover, he identifies and describes the locations of some

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277 Al-Qāṣim ibn Salām ibn Abd Allāh al-Baḥḍādī was born in (157/791). He was an eminent expert in different disciplines of knowledge, particularly in Syntax, Jurisprudence and Hadith. He wrote a number of books among them are al-ʻAmūāl and al-Nasikh wa al-Mansūkh; see al-Buḳāhārī, al-Tārikh al-Kabāyīr, vol.7, p.172; Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkīrāt al-Huffāz, vol.2, p.5; al-ʻAsqalānī, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, 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-Muʻālim bi Fawāid Sharḥ Muslim; see Al-Dhahabī, al-ʻIbar fi Khabar man Ghabar, vol.4, p.100; al-Baḥḍādī, Ḥadiyyat al-ʻĀrifīn, vol.2, p.88


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 ʿAḍīd 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. ʿAṣr, al-Ṣahbā, Badr and al-Ṭāʾīf. 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 Șulḥ (Treaty) of al-Ḥudaybiyya (6/628). He also describes all refurbishments made to al-Ṭāʾīf Mosque by the ʿAbbasīd caliph al-Nāṣir Aḥmad. Then he describes his trip to al-Ṭāʾīf 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-Mutařī 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-ʾAkhīr 654/1256) in Medina and refers to ‘Alm al-Dīn Sunjur al-ʾIzzī 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 Yaʿqūb ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aūḥad\(^{281}\) 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 ʿAbd al-Šamad Ibn ʿAsākīr (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 ʿAsākīr’s speech about the wells of Medina.

2- ʿAfif al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad Al- Başraī (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-Baṣī cemetery.

He also narrates some information from him related to the Mosque of Qubā’ 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 ʿUmrān 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 ’Ismāʾīl 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.

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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, Muʿjam 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-ʾAshʿath 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-Muwaṭṭā’ by Mālik ibn Anas (d.179/795). The author referred to this source with regards to the superiority of Medina.

6- Akhbār 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-Baqī’ graveyard and the wells of Medina.

7- *Akhbār al-Madīna* by Zubayr ibn Bakār (d.256/869). More than twenty quotations are cited by Al-Muṭārī from this book, some of which are related to the names of Medina, Banū Ẓafr Mosque and Eid Mosque.

8- *Al-Durah al-thamayna fi tārīkh 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- *Akhbār al-Madīna* by Razayn ibn Muʿāwiya (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-Muṭārī 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 Saʿd al-Zahrī (d.230/844). Al-Muṭārī referred to this work in the context of carrying sand to the Prophet’s Mosque from al-ʿAqīq valley during ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s reign.

12- *ʾIḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d.505/1111). Al-Muṭārī conveyed from this work the exact location where the Prophet (PBWH) used to pray in *al-Rawḍa*.

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285 He was a muḥadīth and historian who wrote a number of books, such as *Nasab Quraysh, al-ʿaqiq* and al-ʿAws wa al-Khazraj; see Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira al-Huffāẓ*, vol.2, p.85; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vol.3, p.312; ʿUsaylān, *Dirāsāt ḥawal al-Medīna al-Munawwara*, p.348

286 He was the Imām of al-Mālīkayah in Mecca who wrote *akhbār Mecca, akhbār al-Medīna* and *Tajrayīd al-Sihāḥ al-Sītah*; see Al-Dhahabī, *Ibar fi Khabar man Ghabar*, vol.4, p.95; al-Fasī, *Iqd al-Thamayn*, vol.4, p.96
13- *Wafiyyāt al-'A'yan* 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- *Istāyāb fi ma‘rīf al-‘Aṣḥāb* by Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr (d.436/1044). Al-Muṭarī quoted from this work the story of purchasing Rūma’s well by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān.

15- *Shīfāʾ bi taʿrīf al-muṣṭafā* by al-Qaḍī Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr (d.436/1044). The author refers to al-Yaḥṣūbī’s view regarding the distance between Medina and Qubā’.

16- *Muʿjam mā Ī斯塔ʿjam* by Abū ʿUbayd 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-Rūḥāʾ.

17- *Jāmīʿ al-ʾuṣūl* by Mubārk ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d.606/1209). Al-Muṭarī referred to this work regarding al-ʿAqīq valley.


In addition to the above books, the author of *al-Taʿrīf bimā anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra* referred to other sources. For example, he referred

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287 He was described as a trustworthy *muḥadīth* who left beyond him a number of books, such as *al-Durar fi Akhtīsār al-Maqāzī wa al-Siyyr and Bahjat al-Majālis*; see Al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fi Khabar mn Ghabar*, vol.3, p.255; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, 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. *Jāmīʿ al-Ṭārīkh* and *Mashārīq al-ʿArḍ*; see *al-Shīfāʾ*, reviewed by Haṭham al-Ṭuʿaymī and Najīb Majīdī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿĀṣriyyah,2006), p.7; ibn Taqrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhīra*, vol.5, p.287; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol.1, p.805

to Abū ‘Ubayda Mu‘amar al-Taymī when he discussed the definition of Yathrib and to Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-‘Ṣhbayyālī and al-Qāsim ibn Salām with respect to Qubāʾ 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-Taʿrif 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 Farḥūn al-Yaʿmurī (d.769/1367):

As already mentioned, al-Yaʿmurī was one of al-Muṭarī’s students who wrote a book under the title of Naṣīḥat al-mushāwir wa taʿziat al-mujāwir. In this work, he referred to a great deal of themes from al-Muṭarī’s book.


3- Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūz’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 Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir, p.63,74,100,176,177,184
291 For examples see Taḥqīaq al-Nūṣrah, p.23,67,70,84,109,132,138,143,144,149,153
al-muṭābah fī maʿālim ṭābah, for which he referred to al-Muṭarī’s book in the context of thirty themes\textsuperscript{292}.

4- Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī 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, Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ biʾAkhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā and al-Wafāʾ bima yajīb liḥaḍrat al-Muṣṭafā\textsuperscript{293}.

5- Aḥmad ibn Abd al-Ḥamād al-ʿAbbasī (died in the 10\textsuperscript{th}/16\textsuperscript{th}), who was the author of ʿUmdat al-ʾakhbār fi madīnat al-mūkhtār in which he cited about thirty themes related to historical events and locations from al-Muṭarī’s book\textsuperscript{294}.

6- Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAayāshī who referred in his work, al-Medina bayn al-māḍī wa al-ḥādir, to a number of themes cited from al-Muṭarī’s al-Taʿrīf bimā anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra\textsuperscript{295}.

7- Aḥmad Ibn Yāsīn al-Khiyarī who benefited from al-Muṭarī’s book for different themes of his work Tārīkh al-Madina al-Munawwarah qadīmn wa ḥadīthn\textsuperscript{296}.

8- Abd al-Qaddūs al-ʿAnṣāri who extensively referred in his work, ʿAthār al-Madina al-Munawwarah, to al-Muṭarī’s book\textsuperscript{297}.

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.

\textsuperscript{292} For examples see al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah fī Maʿālim ṭābah (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāmah,1969), p.27,30,38,45,47,77,96,98,115,145,149,172,180,182,196,212,227
\textsuperscript{293} For examples see Hamad al-Jāsīr, Rasāʾil fi Tārīkh al-Medīna, pp.97,99,103,128,147
\textsuperscript{294} For examples see ʿUmdat al-ʾAkhbār, pp.124,128,145,172,175,177,184,204
\textsuperscript{295} For examples see al-Medīna bayn al-Māḍī wa al-Ḥādir (Medīna al-Munawwara: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa,1994), pp.62,94,182,183,521
\textsuperscript{296} For examples see Tārīkh al-Medīna al-Munawwaraq Qadīmn wa Ḥadīthn (Jeddah: Dār al-ʿIlm,1993), pp.183,188,189,205
\textsuperscript{297} For examples see ʿAthār al-Medīna al-Munawwaraq (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‘rif 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 Abbāsid 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 Medina\textsuperscript{298}. With reference to this regard Mortel says:’ the amirate of Medina was founded early in the last third of the 4\textsuperscript{th}/10\textsuperscript{th} century by the Ḥusaynid sharif, Ṭāhir ibn Muslim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh\textsuperscript{299}.

From that date onwards Medina was ruled by the Ḥusaynid family through ‘Abbāsid, 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 Yahyā ibn Ḥusayn ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālib\textsuperscript{300}.


\textsuperscript{299} The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, \textit{Studia Islamica}, 1994, no.80, p.97

Sālim succeeded his father as ruler of Medina and followed in his father steps in dealing with the ‘Abbāsid and Ayyūbid states in a diplomatic way. He was very close to Ayyūbid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb and was his consultant on different issues. Due to this strong relationship Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn supported Sālim ibn Qāsim during his war against Mecca’s amirs. His rule ended with his death in 612/1251.

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

He inherited the office of Amir of Medina from his uncle Sālim ibn Qāsim. However, he did not maintain the mutually-cooperative relationship with the Ayyūbid state. 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 624/1226.

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

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

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

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302 Ḥusayn, al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen, p.80
303 Ibid
regained rule from him easily and quickly\textsuperscript{308}. In 647/1249 Shi'ha ibn Hāshim was assassinated by some of his enemies from the tribe of Lām on his way to Baghdad\textsuperscript{309}.

- \textbf{‘Isā ibn Shīha (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 Medina\textsuperscript{310}. 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 /1251\textsuperscript{311}. Nevertheless, he spent the rest of his life in Medina as a member of the ハウスaynid family. Mortel states that: “He remained in Medina until his death in 683/1284 and refrained from any intervention in political life”\textsuperscript{312}.

- \textbf{Munīf ibn Shīha (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 654/1256\textsuperscript{313}. He was assisted in most amirate matters by his brother Jammāz. Munīf’s reign ended with his death in 657/1259\textsuperscript{314}.

\textsuperscript{308} Mortel, The origins and early history of the ハウスaynid amirate of Madīna, \textit{Studia Islamica}, No.74, p. 72
\textsuperscript{309} Ibn Farhūn, \textit{Naṣahat al-Mushāwir}, p.228 ; al-Fāsī, \textit{al-‘Iqd al-Thamin}, vol.4, p.268
\textsuperscript{312} The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, \textit{Studia Islamica}, No.80, p.99
\textsuperscript{314} Ibn Farhūn, \textit{Naṣahat al-Mushāwir}, p.228; al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa}, 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-Ẓāhir 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 Syria. 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 voluntarily. 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.”

In 666/1276 Jammāz ibn Shiḥa return to the amirate and continued to rule Medina until he handed it over to his son in 700/1300.

• **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

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315 Mortel, The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100
317 The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100
and Wadī started fighting with Maṣūr\textsuperscript{319}. Despite all the problems and conflicts with them Maṣūr remained ruler of Medina. In 710/1310 Maṣūr 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 him\textsuperscript{320}. In 725/1324 the reign of Maṣūr ibn Jammāz ended with his assassination by his nephew Ḫudaytha ibn Qāsim ibn Jammāz while they were outside Medina\textsuperscript{321}.

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

Maṣūr was succeeded by his son Kubaysh who had deputised for him on many occasions\textsuperscript{322}. However, the conflict over the Medina amirate between Kubaysh and his uncles had not ceased, in particular with Wadī ibn Jammāz. Kubaysh ibn Maṣūr 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 soldiers\textsuperscript{323}.

In 728/1327 Kubaysh was assassinated by one of the sons of Muqbil ibn Jammāz\textsuperscript{324}.

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

Ṭufayl ibn Maṣūr 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


\footnotesize{320} Al-Maqrizi, *al-Sulūk*, vol.2, p.94; Mortel, The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.103


\footnotesize{322} al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.391

\footnotesize{323} Mortel, The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.105

\footnotesize{324} Ibn Farhūn, *Naṣāḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.233; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa*, vol.2, p.391; however, al-Maqrizi in his work al-Sulūk li Ma’rif Dūwal al-Mulūk cited that the assassinator was one of the sons of Wadī ibn Jammāz. vol.2, p.304

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army. However, Wadī, in turn, was also granted another decree from Mamlûk Sultan confirming that Medina amirate was to be shared between him and his nephew, Ţufayl. 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 decree. Ţufayl’s reign continued for eight years before it was ended by another royal decree issued by Mamlûk Sultan to transfer all rights of amirate from him to Wadī ibn Jammāz in 736/1335.

- **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, Ţufayl and his followers took advantage of his absence and entered Medina and Wadī’s deputies were imprisoned. Consequently, Medina came under Ţufayl’s control and Wadī ibn Jammāz remained without power until he died in 745/1344.

- **Ţufayl ibn Manṣūr (743-1342/750-1349):**

Ţufayl 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 Ţufayl’s orders, a sign that he would henceforth deal harshly with any opposition to the rule of Āl Manṣūr.

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

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325 Mortel, The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.106  
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 army.\textsuperscript{331}

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 Saʿd ibn Thābit ibn Jammāz instead of Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr.\textsuperscript{332}

\textbf{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 923/1517.\textsuperscript{333} Muslim dynasties followed each other, such as the ʿAbbāsids, 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 another.\textsuperscript{334} 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 Caliphs.\textsuperscript{335} 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.”\textsuperscript{336}

In addition to these reasons the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was afraid of the domination of the Persians who reached important positions in this era.\textsuperscript{337} It is evident that the ʿAbbāsid Caliph endeavoured to balance the power between all sections of the population.

\textsuperscript{331} Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir}, p.236
\textsuperscript{332} Ibid, pp.236,237; Mortel, The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, \textit{Studia Islamica}, No.80, p.107
\textsuperscript{334} Al-Fayrūzabādī, \textit{al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt}, p.954
\textsuperscript{335} Ahmad Ḥādūn, \textit{al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alaqātuḥm al-Khārījīah} (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣahrah,1985), p.11
\textsuperscript{336} William Muir, \textit{The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt} (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1896), p.3
\textsuperscript{337} Ḥādūn, \textit{al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alaqātuḥm al-Khārījīah}, p.11
According to various sources, the phenomenon of importing Mamlūks began in the ‘Abbāsid period during the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim 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‘taṣim realized the importance of separating them he established a new town called Sāmirrā’ and all Mamlūks were sent there. 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 army. 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 command. 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 Cairo.

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

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 Caucasus.

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 648/1250, then his father’s widow, Shajarat al-Durr, led the Mamlūks for only eighty days before she was removed by Aybak. In order to benefit from this situation the leaders of the Mamlūks put great pressure on her to marry their commander, ʿIzz 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 female. 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 state.

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 status. 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 cities. 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 ʿĀshūr, Miṣr wa al-Shām, p.126
344 Ibid, p.175
345 ʿĀshūr, Miṣr wa al-Shām, pp.172,175; ʿAdūān, al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīah , p.37
346 ʿAdūān, al-Mamālīk wa ‘Alāqātuhm al-Khārījīah, p.35; Muir, the Mameluke, p.8
348 Netton, Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilization and Religion , p.406
control of Medina\textsuperscript{349}. 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 ʿAlī ibn Aybak (655-1257/657-1259):**

Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 state\textsuperscript{350}, two years later, while Mamlūk faced some serious threats on its border from Mongol Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī was removed from the throne by Qūṭuz al-Muʿīzī. The pretext behind this was that the situation at the time needed a strong sultan and so Qūṭaz appointed himself as sultan of the Mamlūk state\textsuperscript{351}.

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

His full name was al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-faṭḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī\textsuperscript{352}. 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 CE\textsuperscript{353}. 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 Bodyguards\textsuperscript{354}.

\textsuperscript{350} Saʿeed ʿĀshūr, Miṣr wa al-Shām fi ʿAṣr al-Ayyūbayyn wa al-Mamālik (Beirut: Dār al-Nahda), p.182; ʿĀdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqāṭuhm al-Khārījiah , p.41
\textsuperscript{351} Ibn taqrībardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāḥīra vol.7, p.41; ʿĀshūr, Miṣr wa al-Shām, p.182; ʿĀdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqāṭuhm al-Khārījiah, p.43
\textsuperscript{352} P.M. Holt, Early Mamluk Diplomacy(Leiden: Brill,1995),33
\textsuperscript{353} Encyclopedia Britannica online, http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9356781
\textsuperscript{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 IX. Ten years later, Baybars achieved the most important Mamlūk victory against Mongol troops in ‘Ayn Jālūt battle.

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 658/1260. As sultan he introduced a number of reforms both internally and externally. He established good relations with the surrounding amirs and provided them with Iqṭāʿāt to guarantee their allegiance. He also rescinded all levies on the public which had been implemented by the former sultan, Quṭuz. 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-Jāmīʿ al-Ẓāhirī, and a number of schools, the key amongst which was al-Ẓāhiriyah school with its library. The postal service was also greatly improved in his era.

With regards to external reforms Baybars’ era was distinguished by a number of diplomatic and commercial treaties which were signed with various countries. Baybars died in Damascus in 675/1277.
• 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-ʿAlī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī. Like former sultans, Qalāwūn imported thousands of slaves to support him and to build a number of citadels. 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 Sunqur. In terms of external threats, Mongol troops attempted to invade Syria, however, they were defeated by Qalāwūn’s army at the battle of Ḥimṣ. 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.”

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 Egypt. His rule ended with his death in 689/1290.

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363 ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārījah, p.57
365 ʿĀshūr, Miṣr wa al-Shām, p.182; ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārījah, p.213; Northrup, From Slave to Sultan, p.108
366 From Slave to Sultan , p.113
367 Ibid, pp.118,119
• 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 periods\(^{369}\). 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-ʾAshraf 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-maker\(^{370}\). 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 age\(^{371}\). 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 food\(^{372}\). 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-Karak\(^{373}\). 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 taqrībardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhīra, vol.8, p.41
\(^{370}\) Ibn taqrībardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhīra, vol.8, p.41
\(^{371}\) Ibid, p.49
\(^{373}\) Ibn taqrībardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhīra, vol.8, p.292; Saʾeed 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 years. 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 death. 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 public. Additionally, he built al-Nāṣiria school which comprised a rich library, as well as a large mosque bearing his name in 735/1334 and many palaces and fortresses. As ʿAdūān 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.

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.”

Al-Nāṣir’s era ended with his death in 741/1340.

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

His full name was Abū al-Maʿālī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣaliḥī and he was born in 735/1334. He began his rule of the Mamlūk state when he...
was only eleven years old; therefore he was easily controlled by other powerful amirs. 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 place. 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 become 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 rule. 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 death.

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 ‘Abbāsid Caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim 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 Mosque. At that time Medina was ruled by Munīf ibn Shīḥa who basically sought help in rebuilding the Prophet’s Mosque from the ‘Abbāsid 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 ‘Abbāsid Caliphate was dying.

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382 ʿĀshūr, Mīr wa al-Shām, p.236; ‘Adūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijiyah, p.75
383 ‘Adūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijiyah, pp.76-77
384 al-ʿAsqālānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina, vol. 2, p.23; ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijiyah, p.77; Muir, the Mameluke or slaveor slave, p.97
According to al-Maqrīzi, three years later Baybars send equipment and money to be spent on refurbishing the Prophet’s Mosque\(^{386}\); with this aid they built the area between al-Raḥma door and the north of the mosque up to al-Nīsāʾ door and replaced the ceilings of some parts of the mosque\(^{387}\). In 662/1263 Sultan Baybars provided the Kaʿba 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-Ẓāhir confirming that he went with the cover for the Kaʿba and hung it in the Grand Mosque in Mecca\(^{388}\). 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, ʿIzz 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 money\(^{389}\).

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 amirate\(^{390}\). 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 decree\(^{391}\).

\(^{386}\) *Al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.445


\(^{388}\) Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.512


\(^{390}\) Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol.1, p.560

\(^{391}\) The Ḥusaynid amirate of Madina, *Studia Islamica*, No.80, p.100
It seems that the Amir of Medina, Jammāz ibn Shiḥa was keen to maintain strong relations with the Mamlūk sultan. Therefore, in 666/1267 he collected zakāt (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 sultan. 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-Muẓafar.

However, the good relations with the Mamlūk state no longer existed. Therefore, in 667/1268 when al-Ẓāhir 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 Shiha, avoided meeting him which may have been a reflection of the tense relations between them. 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 Egypt.

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 Qalāwūn. 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 686/1287.

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

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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-ʿAbbasī, Ṭumdat al-ʾAkhbār, p.126
distinguished by mutual respect. For instance, when Jammāz ibn Shiha visited al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalil 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 Medina\(^{399}\).

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 Qalāwūn\(^{400}\).

Over the next two years al-Nāṣr ibn Qalāwūn refurbished the Prophet’s Mosque and its western and eastern roofs\(^{401}\).

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 Medina\(^{402}\).

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

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\(^{400}\) Al-Sulaymān, al-ʿAlāqāt al-Ḥijāzay al-Miṣrayy, p.36; ʿAdūān, *al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijjah*, 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 Muqbil. 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 Saʿd al-Dīn al-Zāhīrī and in his place he appointed Ţahayr al-Dīn al-Ashrafi as Master of the Prophet Mosque’s attendants.

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

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 month. The same happened eight years later when Wadī brought a royal decree signed by the Mamlūk sultan supporting his rule against Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr.

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 741/1340.

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 tomb. In that year...
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 Medina. Ṭufayl ibn Manṣūr remained in power until 750/1349, when a new decree naming his cousin, Saʿd 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 752/1351.

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 amirate.

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

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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 Medina.\textsuperscript{412}

2- The internal conflicts in the Ḥijāz region between Mecca and Medina amirs which will be looked at in more detail in the following section.\textsuperscript{413} 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 amirate.\textsuperscript{414}

\textsuperscript{412} Al-Sulaymān, al-ʿAlāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.25; ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijjah, p.144

\textsuperscript{413} Al-Sulaymān, al-ʿAlāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-Miṣrayy, p.26; ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijjah, p.144

\textsuperscript{414} ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhm al-Khārijjah, 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-Ḥusaynayn attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālib. 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 617/1220.

The key battle between them took place in 637/1239 when Shīḥa ibn Hāshim was supported by the sultan of the Ayyūbid state, al-Malīk al-Ṣaliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, with one thousand horsemen to wrest Mecca from Rājiḥ ibn Qatāda andoust the Rasūlid garrison from Mecca. Shīḥa ibn Hāshim’s army retook Mecca and controlled it for a while after Rājiḥ 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 them.

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.

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and cooperation in the face of common danger”\(^{418}\). An example of these good relations is the cooperation between Medina’s amir, Jammāz ibn Shiḥa, and Mecca’s amirs, Abū Numayy Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Qatāda and his uncle Idrīs ibn Qatāda, when Mecca amirs sought military support of Jammāz ibn Shiḥa to face the Rasuīld army led by ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Batḥās to control Mecca in 652/1254. The response of the Medina amir was quick and he led his army to support them and prevent Rasuīld’s army from taking over Mecca. However, Rasuīld’s army defeated them and occupied Mecca, and Jammāz returned with his army to Medina\(^{419}\).

This kind of mutual affection continued between the amirs of the two holy cities for about two decades. In 666/1267 when Jammāz ibn Shiḥa 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 Shiḥa. However, they failed in their mission and returned to Mecca\(^{420}\).

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’\(^{421}\) and sought help from Medina’s amir, Jammāz ibn Shiḥa, 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 Numayy\(^{421}\).

\(^{418}\) The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, *Studia Islamica*, 1994, no.80, p.97


In the subsequent year Jammāz raided Mecca again, however no more details are available regarding this raid to the researcher’s knowledge\textsuperscript{422}. In 673/1274 Jammāz ibn Shīṭa 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 Numayy\textsuperscript{423}.

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. Shīṭa 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-Zahrān on the outskirt of Mecca, they were met by the force of the Sharif Abū Numayy who, despite their inferior numbers-100 horsemen and 80 foot soldiers- managed to defeat the Medina-Yanbu‘ alliance in battle\textsuperscript{424}.

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 Shīṭa, 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 Shīṭa, 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

\textsuperscript{422} Badr, Al-Ḥayāt al-Thaqāfiyya fi Medina, \textit{al-Medina al-Munawwara Research and Studies Centre Journal}, 2003, no.5, p.51

\textsuperscript{423} Mortel, The Husaynīd amirate of Madina, \textit{Studia Islamica}, 1994, no.80, p.101

\textsuperscript{424} Ibid, pp.101-102
confirming that there was a conspiracy against him led by Abū Numayy and the sultan’s garrison.\textsuperscript{425}

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 year.\textsuperscript{426}

The cordial relations continued until the death of Abū Numayy in 701/1301, and the beginning of the contest between his sons. His sons, Ḥumayda 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, Manṣūr ibn Jammāz, to restore Abū al-Ghayth and they succeeded in their task in 714/1314.\textsuperscript{427} 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 enemy.\textsuperscript{428}

However, in the beginning of the second half of the century the relationship

\textsuperscript{428} For more regarding these internal conditions see Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn, vol.5, pp.189-191; al-Sulaymān, al-ʿAlāqāt al-Ḥijāzaya al-鲔rayy, pp.34-35
became cordial again, as proven by the visit made by Mecca’s amir, ʿAjlān ibn Rumaytha, to Medina in 752/1351.429

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 Zuʿb, 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.

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429 Al-Fāṣi, al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn, vol.5, p.191
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 raiders\textsuperscript{431}.

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 Jāmmāz’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 tribe\textsuperscript{432}.

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-Maṣārīʿ against Qatāda ibn Idrīs’s army\textsuperscript{433}.

During the conflicts between the Ḫusaynid 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 easily\textsuperscript{434}.

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

\textsuperscript{432} See al-Kāmīl fi al-Tārīkh, vol.9, p.231
\textsuperscript{433} Ibn Khaldūn, Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn, vol.1, p.1128
\textsuperscript{434} Al-Ṣakhāwī, al-Tuhfa al-Latīfā, vol.1, p.447; Mortel, The origins and early history of the Ḫusaynid amirate of Madīna, Studia Islamica, no.74, p.72; Jamīl Ḥarb, al-Ḥijāz wa al-Yemen fī al-‘Asr 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 Khālid 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 Maṇṣūr 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 Maṇṣūr 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 Khālid and the Lām were not good⁴³⁸.

In 729/1328 some of tribes supported Ṭufayl ibn Maṇṣūr 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’d 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

⁴³⁷ ʿAdūān, al-Mamālik wa ʿAlāqātuhim al-Khārijjah, p.147
⁴³⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, Nasahat 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 Mamlük 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.

442 Mortel, The Husaynid amirate of Madīna, Studia Islamica, No.80, p.118; Salāmah, Medina in the Ayyūbid period, p.198
443 The Husaynid 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-Muţarî’s era; among these were rainwater, wells and springs. In addition, there were a number of valleys in Medina: al-‘Aqīq, Ranūnā, Jafāf, Mudhinayb 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 history. The Mamlûk 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 people. Al-Muţarî 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 well. 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 Şafī al-Dîn al-Sulāmî 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 Medina.

With reference to agriculture areas in Medina, Salāmaḥ says:

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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, Taḥqiq al-Nūṣrah, p.44
448 See volume II, pp.99,100
Cultivated areas in the Medina region were distributed amongst many locations, such as Qubāʾ and Al-ʿAwālī, situated south of Medina, and al-Sāfiilah, situated north of Medina on the Syria Road, which contained many gardens\textsuperscript{449}.

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 there\textsuperscript{450}. 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 baskets\textsuperscript{451}. 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 figs\textsuperscript{452}.

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 work\textsuperscript{453}.

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

\textsuperscript{449} Medina in the Ayyūbid period, p.198
\textsuperscript{451} Salāmah, Medina in the Ayyūbid period, p.199; al-Anazi, The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba, p.21
\textsuperscript{452} al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ, vol.4, p.1231,1238; Salāmah, Medina in the Ayyūbid period, p.199; al-Anazi, The Role of the Wealthy Ṣahāba, pp.21,22
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 export 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, Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ, vol.2, pp.725,736,765
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-Shaklayūn. There was a special market for them in Medina called the market of al-‘Aṭṭārīn.

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 ‘Īyād.

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 it. Also there was famous carpenter named Adam al-Maqrībī who originally came from Morocco to reside in Medina and worked as a

458 Ibn Farhūn, Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir, pp.170-171
461 Ibn Farhūn, Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir, p.154
There was a painter called Abū Abd Allāh al-Qarnāṭī who participated in painting the walls of the Prophet’s Mosque. Some tailors in Medina worked for both men and women, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Salāwī was one of them. Many other occupations existed in Medina, such as construction, butchery and blacksmithing.

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 events.

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

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462 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa al-Latifa*, vol.1, p.59
463 Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir*, p.144
464 Ibid, p.166
466 *Medina in the Ayyūbid period*, p.154
between them and the ruler. 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 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib 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-Qawāṣīm, al-Madāʿībah, al-Budūr, al-Waḥāḥidah and al-Manāīfah.

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), the Anṣār comprises the al-Aws and al-Khazraj tribes. In addition to the Muhājīrūn who emigrated as groups from Mecca to Medina according to the Prophet’s order after they faced different types of persecution from the Quraysh. However, after the death of the Prophet and Muslim conquests which ensued,

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many families from the Anşār and the Muhājirūn moved out of Medina to the new Islamic cities, while a small number of families remained in Medina. Among the al-Anşār families who stayed in Medina were the family of Abd Allāh al-Ḥadhā who lived in their own quarters there.\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir}, p.172}

As for the al-Muhājirūn, there were two families, al-Bakrīāūn and al-ʻUmarīūn. 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 family.\footnote{Ibid, p.171} The latter were descended from the second Muslim Caliph ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and called al-ʻUmaraya 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 ʻAlī ibn Muṭrīf al-ʻUmarī.\footnote{Al-ʻAsqālānī; \textit{al-Durar al-Kāmina}, vol.3, p.76; al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa}, vol.2, p.301}

\subsection*{4.7.3. Al-\textit{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 places.\footnote{Ibn Manẓūr, \textit{Līsān al-ʻArab}, vol.4, 156; \textit{Majamʿ al-Lugha al-ʻArabīyah}, al-Mu’jam al-Wasīṭ, vol.1, p.146} They originally came from different places such as Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, Yemen, Andalucía and other different Islamic countries.\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{Naṣaḥat al-Mushāwir}, pp.60,104,117; al-Sakhāwī, \textit{al-Tuhfa al-Latīfa}, vol.1, p.59; al-Mudayris, \textit{al-Medina al-Munawwarā}, p.134} 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 Iraq.\footnote{Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{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-Nāṣīr 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
⁴⁷⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, Nasīḥat al-Mushāwīr, p.230
Mamlûk 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 again.\(^{480}\)

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 dispute.\(^{481}\)

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 etc.\(^{482}\)

### 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

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\(^{480}\) Ibid, pp.230,231


\(^{482}\) Ibn Farḥūn, *Naṣīḥat 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 sajʿ (ryhme) style in the introduction of his work, 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 ʿAmrū* (p.67): again, one would expect the author to say: Salmā bint ʿAmrū, which literary means Salmā (is) the daughter of ʿAmrū.

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483 See Volume II, pp.1,2
The author has done the same with Rayṭa bint Abī al-ʿAbbās (p.60) and Asmāʾ bint al-Ḥusayn (p.61).

3. Wa fīhā al-ʾAn qiblat masjidah wa fīhā Athār al-Miḥrāayb (p.68): the author uses al-Miḥrāayb 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 Ṭakhfīf 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:

     Jāʾ became Jā (p.31)

     Al-Jazāʾ became al-Jazāʾ (p.120)

  2. Changing the hamzah to yāʾ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāyḥa</td>
<td>Rāʾḥa</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣāaygh</td>
<td>Ṣāʾgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Mashāaykh</td>
<td>al-Mashāʾkh</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Hāayṭ</td>
<td>al-Ḥāʾṭ</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Māayah</td>
<td>māʾah</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Qāayym</td>
<td>Al-Qāʾim</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Dāayr</td>
<td>Al-Dāʾir</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Wasāayd</td>
<td>Al-Wasāʾid</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Used form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Manjā</em></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jarā</em></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-Muṣalā</em></td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scribe has not distinguished between *yāʾ* at the end of the word and *alif maqṣūrah*, so he has sometimes opted to use *yāʾ* instead of *alif maqṣūrah*, as shown in the following examples:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Used form</th>
<th>Correct form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Maḥalī</em></td>
<td><em>maḥalā</em></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-aʿlī</em></td>
<td><em>al-aʿlā</em></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-wathqī</em></td>
<td><em>Al-wathqā</em></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the edited text, all of these words have been written with *alif maqṣūrah*.

Some words ending with *tāʾ marbūtah* are written with *tāʾ maftūḥah*, as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used form</th>
<th>Page</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Sarawāt</em></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Muthanāt</em></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
nouns. However, in some cases the scribe has not followed this pattern, as shown in the following examples:

- Used form | Correct form | Page
---|---|---
Arbaʿ Adhruʿ | Arbaʿat Adhruʿ | 32
Thalāth Aṣābīʿ | Thalāthat Aṣābīʿ | 39
Arbaʿ Aṣābīʿ | Arbaʿat Aṣābīʿ | 39
Thalāth wa Khamsūn dhrāʿ | Thalāthat wa Khamsūn dhrāʿ | 42
Khams wa ʿAshrūn dhrāʿ | Khamsat wa ʿAshrūn dhrāʿ | 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:

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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 *ṣaḥīḥ*.

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-Madrasa al-Mustanṣīrayya, located in Baghdad. The school was founded by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Mustanṣīr 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 ʿĀmer and ʿĀmer and

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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 helpers\(^\text{486}\).

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 era\(^\text{487}\).

7. 74: Dawalat al-ʿUbaydīah (Fatimid state): this state was founded in 297/909 by ʿUbayd 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-Qāhīra (Cairo) was established by Jūhar al-Ṣiqelī in 358/969 and became the capital of the Fatimid state. The state survived for more than two hundred and sixty years\(^\text{488}\).

\(^{486}\) For more information see Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʾārīf*, p.49; Al-Wakayl, *Yathrib qabl al-Islām*, pp.73-75

\(^{487}\) For more see ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol.2, p.231

\(^{488}\) For more see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.1, p.935; Michael Brett, *The rise of the Fatimids* (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 fare.\(^{489}\)

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 Medina.\(^{490}\)

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 4/626.\(^{491}\)

11. 85: Banū Qurayṣa is a Jewish tribe who lived in the northern part of Medina. They breached their treaty with the Muslims when they cooperated


\(^{491}\) Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawaya*, vol.4, p.143; Ahmad, *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 dam 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 too 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-Qaṣṭālānī, 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).

⁴⁹³ See Volume II, p.109
⁴⁹⁴ al-Samḥūḍī, 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 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar 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 Andalucía. 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 order.495

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-ʿAbbāsī497, al-Samhūdī498 and Salāmah499. However, this event was an issue of doubt for some others like al-ʿAayāshi500 and al-Muzaynī.501 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 Taḥqiqaq al-Nusrah, p.146
497 ‘Umdat al-ʾAkhbār, p.129
499 Medina in the Ayyūbid period, p.68
500 Al-ʿAayashi, Medina bayn al-Mādī wa al-Ḥādīr, p.154
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 event. 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-ʿAayāshī, it is impossible to believe that two men came to Medina to carry the body from Medina to their region in Spain, passing al-Hijāz, 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 distance. 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-Maūṣilī according to al-Samhūdī and Mūfaq al-Dīn al-Qaysarānī according to al-Marāqi. 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 ʿumrah, 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 ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān to clarify the real reason behind their visit. When ʿUthmān 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, ʿUthmān 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

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502 Ibid, p.105
503 Medina bayn al-Māḍī wa al-Hāḍīr, p.155
504 Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ, vol.2, p.648
505 Taḥqīq al-ʿUṣrah, 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 year\textsuperscript{506}.

17. 143: The valley of Ḥunayn between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾf 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-Ṭāʾf 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 places\textsuperscript{507}.

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.

\textit{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

\textsuperscript{506} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.3, p.126; Aḥmad, al-Sīra al-Nabawaya, pp.484-490

\textsuperscript{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.

**ādhān:** the call to prayer, informing Muslims that the time of prayer has begun.

**al-ʾadīm:** tanned leather⁵⁰⁸.

**al-ʾarāk:** “*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.

**ʿajam:** 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.

**ʿarq:** cooked animal bones covered with some meat⁵¹¹.

**athāfī:** stones around a wood fire which prevent the pot from falling during cooking⁵¹².

**al-Samayṯ:** baked bricks used in the construction of old buildings.

**al-Khabr:** the account or the story.

**amīr al-Mūʾ minīn:** the Commander of the Faithful; the term is used to refer to Muslim Caliphs particularly in the ‘Rightly-Guided’ era.

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⁵⁰⁸ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.1074
⁵¹⁰ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.798
⁵¹¹ Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.908
⁵¹² Al-Fayrūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, p.791
baraka: blessings.

barakt: to sit on the ground, mainly used for animals\textsuperscript{513}.

bay’a: a pledge given by the Muslims to their ruler.

bazaq: spit\textsuperscript{514}.

bid‘a: ‘innovation’, i.e. inventing a new way of worshipping God, which was neither mentioned in the Holy Qur’an nor practiced by the Prophet. \textit{Bid‘a} can refer either to utterances or religious actions.

burma: an old pot made of stone\textsuperscript{515}.

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 chat\textsuperscript{516}.

dayym: continuous rain; it is usually used if the rain does not stop for more than a day\textsuperscript{517}.

darābzīn: balustrade.

dhīrā‘: Cubit (an old measurement which extends from the elbow to the end of the middle finger\textsuperscript{518}).

farsakh: a unit of length, equal to three miles\textsuperscript{519}.

fiqh: Jurisprudence.

\textit{al-fusayfisā’}: Mosaic. Small pieces of marble stones or glass mixed in plaster to decorate walls or ceilings\textsuperscript{520}.

\textsuperscript{513} Majam‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah, \textit{al-Mu’jam al-Wasii‘}, vol.1, p.51
\textsuperscript{514} Al-Fayruzabadi, \textit{al-Qamusi al-Muhiit}, p.867
\textsuperscript{515} Al-Fayruzabadi, \textit{al-Qamusi al-Muhiit}, p.1079
\textsuperscript{516} See: Majam‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah, \textit{al-Mu’jam al-Wasii‘}, vol.1, p.292
\textsuperscript{517} See: Majam‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah, \textit{al-Mu’jam al-Wasii‘}, vol.1, p.305
\textsuperscript{518} See al-Fayruzabadi, \textit{al-Qamusi al-Muhiit}, p.716
\textsuperscript{519} See al-Fayruzabadi, \textit{al-Qamusi al-Muhiit}, p.257
**ghalah:** the highest level of being thirsty\(^{521}\).

**hāʾṭ:** 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-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit (80/699-150/767).

**ḥāṣil al-ḥaram:** a storage place belonging to al-Ḥaram where surplus materials are kept\(^{522}\).

**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 ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the beginning of the Muslim calendar.

**ḥish:** orchard.

**al-jabāna:** cemetery, in Başran Arabic\(^{523}\).

**jāmiʿ:** a large mosque; it is usually big enough to accommodate Muslims for Friday prayer.

**jidʿ al-shajara:** the tree trunk.

**isnād:** the chain of oral narrators of a Tradition.

**kaʿba:** described by Martin as:

The name of the sacred, cube-shaped building located in the Haram in Mecca. The Black Stone is set in a silver frame in one

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\(^{521}\) Al-Fayrūzabādī, al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt, p.1039

\(^{522}\) Al-Fayrūzabādī, al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt, p.984

\(^{523}\) Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam 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‘īl.⁵²⁴

*Kayir:* a tool used by blacksmith to fan the fire.⁵²⁵

*Khutba:* a sermon delivered by the preacher on religious occasions.

*Khūkha:* a small door within a bigger door.⁵²⁶

*Laqaha:* a she-camel which always produces a lot of milk.⁵²⁷

*Madrasa:* a school.

*Maḥfaṣ  al-qaṭāḥ:* Maḥfaṣ is “a nest”; al-Qtāḥ is a particular type of birds.⁵²⁸

*Mashhad:* the mausoleum.⁵²⁹

*Masjid:* place of prayer; a mosque.

*Marbad:* place where dates are left to dry.⁵³⁰

*Mīhrāb:* an arched niche in a mosque used to show direction of the prayer.

*Al-muhājrūn:* the Muslim migrants who left Mecca.

*Muzāhra:* support and assistance.⁵³¹

*Musham:* pieces of cloth dipped in melted wax to make a building water-resistant.⁵³²

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⁵²⁵ Al-FayruzabäDi, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhit*, p.473
⁵²⁸ Al-FayruzabäDi, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhit*, pp.625,1325
⁵³¹ Al-FayruzabäDi, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhit*, p.434
⁵³² Al-FayruzabäDi, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhit*, p.735
nāḍḥ: An animal used to carry water from a well.

naqq: a narrow pass between mountains.

naqar: to make a hole in a solid barrier.

Naṣārā: An Arabic title referring to Christians.

jarayd: long plum leafs.

qandayt: torch.

qāḍī: an Islamic title meaning “Judge”.

qibla: the direction of prayer.

rajf: earthquake.

rasūl: a messenger.

razm: the sound produced by a she-camel when missing her baby.

ribāt: a building used as a shelter or hospice for poor people.

saḥar: the time just before dawn.

sāj: the teak tree; it is black and originally came from India.

samra: a big tree.

ṣandal: a particular type of quality wood which is usually red or white.
ṣā`: an old weight measurement\textsuperscript{545}.

*shafayr*: an edge/a side of a river or a valley\textsuperscript{546}.

*shāh*: the female of a sheep\textsuperscript{547}.

*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 ancestry\textsuperscript{548}.

*thāman*: to value something\textsuperscript{549}.

*al-ʿudāh*: a very big tree with thorns\textsuperscript{550}.

*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 Mecca\textsuperscript{551}.

*wākīf* rain: heavy rain\textsuperscript{552}.

*waqf*: An endowment such as a building, a well, a hospital, etc. whose revenue is used to help poor people.

*wuḍūʾ*: Ablution performed before prayer by Muslims.

*wazīr*: a vizier or a minister.

\textsuperscript{544} Al-Fayruzabadi, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ*, p.1023


\textsuperscript{546} Majmʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah, *al-Muʾjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.478

\textsuperscript{547} Al-Fayruzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ*, p.1143

\textsuperscript{548} Majmʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah, *al-Muʾjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.428

\textsuperscript{549} Majmʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah, *al-Muʾjam al-Wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.101

\textsuperscript{550} Al-Fayruzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ*, p.1249

\textsuperscript{551} Netton, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Civilisation and Religion*, p.669

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.

‘Adhkhr: 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, Muʾjam al-Buldān, vol.1, p.109
554 Al-Ḥamwī, Muʾjam al-Buldān, vol.6, p.327
555 Al-Ḥamwī, Muʾjam al-Buldān, vol.6, p.331
556 Al-Fayrūzabādī, al-Maghānīm al-Muṭābah, p.57
557 Al-Ḥamwī, Muʾjam al-Buldān, vol.4, p.283
558 al-ʿAbbāsī, ʿUmdat al-ʾAkhbār, p.388
559 Al-Ḥarbī, al-Manāsīk wa Amākin al-Hajj, p.441
Harāt: one of the key cities of Afghanistan\textsuperscript{560}.

Ḥalab: the Arabic name of Aleppo in Syria\textsuperscript{561}.

Jalayl: a valley in Mecca\textsuperscript{562}.

Al-Khaḍamāt: a valley in the Ḥijāz region\textsuperscript{563}.

Kawākib: some mountains located on the road between Medina and Tabūk\textsuperscript{564}.

Al-Khalayqa: a place about twelve miles from Medina\textsuperscript{565}.

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 7/628\textsuperscript{566}.

Madrān: a place between Medina and Tabūk, forty five miles from Tabūk\textsuperscript{567}.

Majana: an old Arab market, which existed prior to the Islamic era\textsuperscript{568}.

Mur al-Ẓahrān: a valley in the Ḥijāz region\textsuperscript{569}.

Najd: literally "highland"; this area is considered to be the central region of the Arabian Peninsula\textsuperscript{570}.

Al-Raūḥāʾ: a small village located nearly forty miles from Medina\textsuperscript{571}.

\textsuperscript{560} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.8, p.471
\textsuperscript{561} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.3, p.166
\textsuperscript{562} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.3, p.72
\textsuperscript{563} Al-Fayruzābādī, \textit{al-Maghāni̇m al-Mutābah}, p.415
\textsuperscript{564} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.7, p.157
\textsuperscript{565} Al-Fayruzābādī, \textit{al-Maghāni̇m al-Mutābah}, p.133
\textsuperscript{566} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.3, p.263
\textsuperscript{567} al-ʿAtawī, Masʿad, \textit{Tabūk Qadīm wa Ḥadīthn} (Riyadh, Maktabat al-Tūba, 1993), p.62
\textsuperscript{568} al-ʿAzraqī, Muḥammad, \textit{ʾAkbār Mecca wa mā jāʾ fīhā min al-ʿAṯār} (Mecca: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Mājidayya, 1932), vol.1, p.124
\textsuperscript{569} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.8, p.247
\textsuperscript{570} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.8, p.369-370
\textsuperscript{571} Al-Ḥamwī, \textit{Muʾjam al-Buldān}, vol.4, p.426
Salʿ: a mountain in the north of Medina, whose stones are black\textsuperscript{572}.

Sarf: a place six or seven miles from Mecca\textsuperscript{573}.

Al-Suqayāʾ: a well in Medina which belonged to the companion Saʿd ibn Abī Waqāṣ; it is also where the Prophet (PBWH) inspected his troops at the battle of Badr\textsuperscript{574}.

Al-Sayḥ: a place in Medina, located towards the west of Masjid al-Fath\textsuperscript{575}.

Al-Saūārqīay: a village between Mecca and Medina\textsuperscript{576}.

Al-Ṣafrāʾ: a valley located near Medina with a number of palm trees\textsuperscript{577}.

Al-Ṣahbāʾ: a place between Medina and Khaybar\textsuperscript{578}.

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 Quraysh who were following them during their migration to Medina\textsuperscript{579}.

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-Muṭārī under the title of ‘al-Taʿrif bīmā anasat al-hijra min maʿālim dār al-hijra’. A critical and analytical study is applied to this work. The researcher has referenced all Qurʾānic verses and sayings of the Prophet

\textsuperscript{572} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.5, p.58
\textsuperscript{573} Al-Ḥarbī, al-Manāṣik wa Amākin al-Hajj, p.465
\textsuperscript{575} Al-ʿAbbāsī, Umdat al-ʿAkhbār, p.345
\textsuperscript{576} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.5, p.88
\textsuperscript{577} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.5, p.193
\textsuperscript{578} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol.5, p.211
\textsuperscript{579} Al-Ḥamwī, Muʿjam 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 thought. 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”.

2- He exaggerated the incidents that happened to the third Rightly-Guided Caliph, ʿUthmān ibn ‘Affān, claimed to be resulting from the loss of the Prophet’s (PBWH) ring in the ʿArays well.

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580 Muhammad al-Musnid, Fatāwa īslāmayh, 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 ʿAlī 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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