١٠٥٤ ـ محمد كريم ابراهيم . **بنو المغربي ودورهم السياسي والاداري خلال القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين** . بغداد ، جامعة بغداد ـ كلية الاداب ، ح ، ٤٥٣ ص ، رونيو ، ببلوغرافيا : ص ٤٢٢ ـ ٤٥٠ ، يتضمن ملاحق ص ٣٩٢ ـ ٤٢١ (رسالة ماجستير في التاريخ الاسلامي) (٩٥٣٫٠٥٢ م ٦٥٨) .

MAGRIBILER

29 TEMMUZ 1992

معلمة المغربية, مج. 21 . 1426/2005 الرباط..iSAM KTP 169751

Maqribi ler

المغاربة ، هل يمكن أن نكتب بحثا متماسكا عن المغاربة عندما يكون أثبت ما نعلم عنهم أنهم كبني آدم قاطبة في كل زمان وفي كل مكان لا سبيل إلى أن يشبه أحدهم الآخر، وأنهم معرضون كالبشر أجمعين لتقلب الأمزجة والأهواء بحسب الظروف، وأنه يجري عليهم ما يجري على الناس منذ النشأة الأولى من الطوارئ والأحداث فمحال فيهم استرسال نفس الأحوال ؟ ولقائل أن يقول : يا أيها المؤرخ نحن لا نسألك عن الطباع والوجدانيات التي لا جدال في أنها مثل الرياح لا تستقر على قرار، ولكننا نسألك عن الشخصية المغربية التي هي لباب كل ذلك عندما يزال النخال، وعن تلك الثوابت التي تجعل المغربي يدرك عن وعي أو غير وعي بأنه يختلف عن باقي الأقوام فيترتب على ذلك قدرة الأجانب على تمييزه هم أيضا عن كل شبيه به. أليس دور المؤرخ استخراج الثوابت من المتغيرات مع العلم أن الثوابت في التاريخ ضرب من السراب، وأن التغيير هو السر الذي لا يتغير ؟ ولما كان التاريخ حكاية لم تنته بعد، فكيف السبيل إلى الحكم على شخصية البطل مهما كان ؟ وأقصى ما بوسع المؤرخ أن يحاول الإلمام بمعالم الشخصية المغربية وأن يستقصي الظروف الطبيعية التي نشأت فيها وما إلى ذلك من الأسباب الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والثقافية والسياسية التي تولد منها هذا الذي هو معروف في المعمور بأنه مغربي.

أول ما يثير الانتباه أن المغربي وليد أرض شاسعة رحبة تبلغ مساحتها اليوم أزيد من 700.000 كلم مربع. وقد أتى عليها حين من الدهر كانت أوسع من ذلك بكثير يوم امتد حكم ملوكه إلى باقي إفريقيا الشمالية وإلى إسبانيا وفي السودان. ولذلك لم يتردد الأوربيون في وصفها بالإمبراطورية مما لا نذكره من باب الفخر، ولكن من باب ما ينتج من التفاوت بين من نشأ في مجال محصور ضيق وبين من نشأ على العكس وهو يعلم أن الأرض الموكولة به واسعة، وأنه إن ضاق الأمر به في سوس فما عليه إلا أن ينتقل إلى الهبط، أو ضاقت به عيون سيدي ملوك في الشرق فما عليه إلا بعيون الساقية الحمراء في الصحراء الساحلية. ولعل هذه الظاهرة هي التي جعلت المغربي إنسانا متحركا بالسليقة في الآفاق، فلا بد لصاحب المنزل أن يلم بكل جوانبه ولا يمتد المنزل إلا ويمتد معه حب الاطلاع وروح المسؤولية.

ثم إن هذه الأرض متنوعة متفاوتة، فيها الجبل وفيها البسيط، فيها الوعر وفيها السهل، فيها النجد وفيها الوهد. ففيها أعلى ما يكون من قمم القارة الإفريقية، وكثير من جبالها لا يفصلها عن مستوى الصفر الذي هو سطح البحر سوى بضع مئات من الأمتار مثلما هو الحال في سلسلة الريف المشرفة على البحر الأبيض المتوسط إشراف الجدار الضارب في الشموخ. ولا جبل في هذه الأرض يشبه الجبل الآخر كما أن بسائطها وسهولها متميز بعضها عن البعض، فلا نسبة لجبل باني مثلا بجبل بوبلان، كما أن حوز مراكش مختلف كل الاختلاف عن سهل التريفة، ونجود ولماس متميزة عن نجود دبدو.

وغني عن البيان أن علة تنوع التضاريس ناجمة عن تنوع الأرض المغربية، فإنها مركبة من كل أنواع التربة من جيدها الذي لا يوجد أجود منه على وجه الدنيا إلى أسوئها الذي ليس دونه ما هو أسوأ. فإنك تجد "الترس" الذي هو عنوان الخصوبة إلى جانب "الحمري" الذي لا يصلح إلا لبعض الزراعات، وبحذائه الرملي الأحرش الصالح ببعض الجهد، وبعد ذلك لا وجود إلا للرمال المجدبة التي مثلها كمثل مياه البحر أحسن ما يرتجى منها أن تكون مسلوكة. مما يوحي بتنوع المنظر الزراعي في هذه الأرض، ففيها الحقول والجنان الخضراء الزاهية، وفيها الخلاء الأغبر الأجرد المطوي على المفاجأة، وفيها الواحة التي تحكي جنات عدن، وفيها أعتى ما يعرف من القفر والبيداء. وتمتد حقول الغرب وسايس ودكالة حتى يكاد البصر فيها لا ينحصر بحد، ويتخيل الغريب الذي يقف عليها لأول وهلة أن أصحابها يستحيل أن يصابوا بالفاقة، وتتقلص تلك السهول في بعض أودية الجبال أو في واحات الواجهة الصحراوية حتى يتساءل نفس الغريب كيف يمكن أن يعيش من تلك الشحة كل ذلك الجمهور. وأرض المغرب باختصار أرض ممتدة الأرجاء، لكنها واقعة بين الصحراء والبحار، فهي بين ذينك الخلاءين أقرب إلى الجزيرة منها إلى الأرض المتصلة بباقي المعمور.

وتوجد هذه الجزيرة في الزاوية الشمالية الغربية من القارة الإفريقية فيما بين الخط 21 والخط 36 من حيث العرض شمالا والخط 2 والخط 17 من حيث الطول غربا ، فهي مطلة على بحرين من أخطر بحار الدنيا شأناً البحر الأبيض المتوسط من جهة الشمال والمحيط الأطلسي من جهة الغرب، فهي جزء لا يتجزأ من إفريقيا وآسيا أصلا بالرغم مما يفصلها عنهما من البراري والفيافي، وهي لا تتصل بجيرانها الأوربيين إلا على الاستثناء وإن لم يفصل بينهما وبينهم سوى بضع كيلومترات من البحر. وهي مطلة على البحر الأبيض المتوسط الغربي ولكن من أعلى جدران سلسلة الريف السميكة التي تمنع الطارئ من الدخول مثلما تمنع صاحب الدار من الخروج، كما أن سواحل المحيط الأطلسي تمتد إلى السودان ولكنها خالية من المرافئ الطبيعية، فلا بد فيها من الكد والمعاناة لإقامة المراسي شأنها في ذلك شأن الواجهة الصحراوية، إن نشطت التجارة عبر الصحراء نشط العمران هنالك وكانت سجلماسة، وإن تأزمت الأحوال وانقطع السبيل فلا حركة ولا وجود لما غبر من سجلماسة وما شاكلها إلا في الذاكرة. وكأن الأرض المغربية لا تتصل بغيرها سوى عن طريق الخلاء برا وبحرا فيزداد تمسك أهلها بها بقدر ما تشتد حاجة إطالة المقام بها لمن يهاجر إليها حتى إنها كانت لبعدها وانعزالها محسوبة في الأساطير اليونانية من جنات الفردوس ودارا للبقاء. وجاء العرب وجعلوها أقصى ما في الغرب، حتى إذا ما أزيح الستار نهائيا عن أسرار المعمور اتضح أنها مفترق طرق بين القارات وبين الحضارات، وبين

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and educated there, he migrated to Khattū, near Nāgawr, in Rādjasthān at the instance of his spiritual director, the Maghribī master, Bābā Isḥāḳ. In 776/1375, Bābā Isḥāḳ died, and Aḥmad set out on an extended pilgrimage, visiting Arabia, Iran and ʿIrāḳ before returning to Dihlī, where he survived the wrath of Tīmūr in 800/1398 (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntaḵhab al-tawārīḵh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 270-1; Eng. tr. G. Ranking, i, 357-8). He subsequently proceeded to Sarkhēdj, near Aḥmadābād, and there attained enduring fame. According to Mughal historians (Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 97; ʿAlī Muḥammad Ḵhān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, suppl., Baroda 1930, 78-9), Sultan Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadābād in 813/1411 on the advice, and with the blessing, of Aḥmad Khattū.

In addition to being well versed in traditional Islamic sciences and theoretical Ṣūfism, Aḥmad was a poet whose Persian verses are cited in the same extant *malfūẓāt* which provide the primary source material for his biography, viz., the *Tuḥfat al-madjālis* by Maḥmūd Irdjī and another *malfūẓ* by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim. At his death on 10 Shawwāl 849/9 January 1446, the saint was buried in a towering marble mausoleum which, with adjacent structures built by later Gudjarāt sultans, elicited praise from the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on a visit to Sarkhēdj in 1027/1618 (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 212).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Aḵhbār al-aḵhyār*, Dihlī 1309/1891, 153-8; Ḥādjdj al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa-ālihi*, ed. E. Denison Ross, London 1901, Eng. tr. M. H. Lokhandwala, Baroda 1970, 1-2; Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī, *Ḵhazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1290/1873, ii, 314-20; K. A. Nizami, *Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a great historical personality of medieval Gujarat*, in *Medieval India—a miscellany*, iii, Aligarh 1975, 234-59. (B. LAWRENCE)

AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ, a family of Persian origin who performed in the course of two succeeding centuries (the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries) the influential functions of *wazīr*, *kātib* or intendant (*mudabbir*) at several princely courts throughout the Middle East, in Baghdād, Aleppo, Cairo, Mawṣil, and Mayyāfāriḳīn.

In the collections of *aḵhbār* concerning the vicissitudes of this family, the respective representatives of four succeeding generations are mentioned in particular. The first three of these are described in the *aḵhbār* concerning the family and also in this article, as seen from the point of view of the representative of the youngest generation, the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The life of the latter is otherwise better known owing to the historical sources available. Sāmī al-Dahhān, the editor of the *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa* (Damascus 1948) written by the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, has given in his Preface an account of events which affected the family's rather adventurous history, which may be supplemented by the information given by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the historian of Aleppo (see IBN AL-ʿADĪM, and *Bibl.*). The four members of the Banu 'l-Maghribī family mentioned above will here be discussed from the point of view of the youngest, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim:

(1) His great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.
(2) His grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.
(3) His father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.
(4) Finally, he himself, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

1. The great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan filled a post in the so-called *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, an administrative division specially established for the collecting of the *ḵharādj* or land-tax of provinces in the regions west of Baghdād. See for this aspect of the ʿAbbāsīd administration, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 591. In spite of its Persian descent, the family acquired the name Banu 'l-Maghribī from its responsibility for the proper functioning of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*.

2. The grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, discharged *inter alia* the function of *mudabbir* at Baghdād in the service of Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, a high dignitary at the ʿAbbāsid court (cf. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 484-5). At Baghdād, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī became related to a certain Abu ʿAlī Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Awāridjī by having married his sister. Abū ʿAlī Hārūn is known to us as the subject of two eulogies composed by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see R. Blachère, *Abou 't-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 90-2, and as the author of a pamphlet against the famous Baghdādī mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], see L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥusayn ibn Manṣûr Ḥallâj*, Paris 1975, i, 533-4. As a *kātib*, Abū ʿAlī Hārūn was employed in an administrative department under supervision of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*].

In consequence of the overthrow of the latter in 330/942, Abū ʿAlī and also his brother-in-law al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī had to flee from ʿIrāḳ in order to find employment elsewhere. After some time, the grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was able to find a new job in the service of the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*] of Egypt and Syria. The family was to stay in Egypt for some years till there was a change in the Egyptian government; in the words of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Bughya*, ms. fol. 16b), "Until the power of the one who made himself master of Egypt was renewed"—probably thereby referring to the decease of the Ikhshīdid prince Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] in 334/946, and his being succeeded by his two sons, while real power of government was entrusted to his Nubian slave Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Thus it was probably under the influence of this governmental change that the Banu 'l-Maghribī departed from Egypt in order to settle in Syria. There, they are found holding office at the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] court in Aleppo. For most of the rest of his life, the grandfather al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was to remain there as a *kātib*, except that his stay at Aleppo was, at the end of his life, to be interrupted by a sojourn in Byzantine territory as a guarantee or hostage for the Byzantines, who had been requested to release a number of Muslim prisoners of war. Also comprised in this act of redemption (*fidāʾ*) was the deliverance of a second security, a very valuable piece of armour studded with jewels, a *badana* of Sayf al-Dawla himself. This affair of the *fidāʾ* occurred in 354/965 and is an indication of the importance attached to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as a political personality.

When the last remnants of the ransom had been handed over, the Byzantine authorities gave permission for him to return to his home country. However, soon after his arrival in Aleppo—or, according to some other sources, even before his return—al-Ḥusayn died. In his palmy days, he had been a subject of praise, in the poetry of Abū Naṣr b. Nubāta al-Saʿdī (327-405/939-1015, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 504-5).

3. The father Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in his function as a *kātib* in the service of Sayf al-Dawla and his son

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM (New Edition), vol. 5, 1979 Leiden, pp.

BSOAS, 44.c, s. 375-376, 1981 (HERTFORD)
Maghrib (Term catalog)

'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1972). The present contribution breaks entirely fresh ground in pointing out that not only is the section of the work on *firāsa* 'physiognomy' a borrowing from the *Kitāb al-kharāj* of Abū 'l-Faraj Qadāma, but that parts of Lesson 8 and Lesson 9 are a translation from a Classical Greek work, the *Tactica* of Aelian, and, unlike the sections on ambushes, represent a purely literary tradition, rather than contemporary practice. This discovery will greatly assist future work on the difficult military texts, and the time will soon be ripe for a full, commentated, edition of the *Nihāyat al-su'l*, and in due course, a synthesis of studies on the development of the Islamic military literature as a whole. W. Ivanov writes on a group of thirteen fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Persian and related daggers, and gives readings of the typical verse inscriptions, including examples of the widespread 'goodwill' formulae in *mutaqārib* metre, e.g., *ba-kām-i tu bādā hamakār-i tu/khudāvand-i gītī nigahdār-i tu*—useful for comparison with other specimens. On p. 75, however, one may doubt if in this context *jawhar* is correctly translated 'stones', rather than 'watering' (of steel). This purely personal selection of highlights can give no more than a general notion of the outstanding quality of the contents as a whole. One's only criticism is that sometimes cross-referencing between text and plates in the captions could be clearer, where a group of generally similar objects is being discussed, and strict serial numbering of the objects would have assisted reference. This is, however, a very trifling point in a work that represents a most substantial achievement of scholarship.

A. D. H. BIVAR

MICHAEL BRETT: *The Moors: Islam in the West. Photographs by Werner Forman.* (Echoes of the Ancient World.) 128 pages, map [on end-papers]. London: Orbis Publishing, 1980, £7.95.

'When the world was once again inhabited after the Flood, the inhabited area was in the shape of a bird whose head was in the east, its wings to the north and south, its body in the middle and its tail in the west ... Andalus became so fair that those who saw it said: The bird in whose likeness the inhabited world was formed was no ordinary bird, but a peacock whose beauty is in the tail'.

At a time when the civilization of the Muslim East relapses into a new age of barbarism, it is comforting to contemplate the surviving monuments of the civilization of the Muslim West. One is reassured by the sight of the Alhambra in Granada, the Mezquita in Cordoba and the architectural glories of Fez and Kairouan that here at least are to be found evidence of a truly magnificent civilization of the Middle Ages which is still cherished by, and has a meaning for, the peoples of the present day Maghreb, 'The Moors'.

Moorish civilization here, as defined by Michael Brett, is the whole way of life of the Islamic West up to 1492, the year when Granada fell to Ferdinand and Isabella, marking a distinct end to a chapter in the history of Spain and North Africa. The 'Moors' are all the *Maghāriba*, not only the Moroccans, and their world is deemed to lie between Tripoli and the Tagus and between Rabat and Ghadames. The book is a combined effort between a specialist on the history of this region and a photographer who has, in previous publications, shown himself an expert in portraying the art of great civilizations of the past.

There is little doubt that the illustrations will be an irresistible magnet which will tempt many to purchase this book. Page after page of colour plates which illustrate Islamic architecture, carving, pottery, illuminated manuscripts, astrolabes, maps and landscapes—some like the High Atlas (pp. 18 and 19) and an approaching sand-storm in the Mzab (p. 68) are truly breathtaking—furnish a grand spectacle of most of the Maghreb's most famous artistic masterpieces. My only regret is that photographs which show the Moors in their richness of attire are so few. Their presence, even if it only be to convey an impression of scale, would have been welcome at times. The monuments are sadly empty of humanity, the courts are silent. Perhaps the fear of humans in modern dress deterred the photographer. Instead, we see ivory inlays with scenes of hawking and Norman knights slaughtering paynims on the battlements of Majorca.

It is in the text of Dr. Brett that the personality of the Moor is presented. Here he explains the whole course of Maghrebi history and the evolution of Moorish culture between the seventh century and 1492. After a brief prologue, 'The waxing' traces the history of the Arab Conquest of Spain, the Umayyad Caliphate there, and the kingdoms of the Idrisids in Morocco and the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiya. 'The waning' surveys the achievements of both the Almoravids and the Almohads in delaying the *Reconquista*, concluding with the final phases of Moorish civilization under the Marinids and the Nasrids. In the succeeding chapters, which are devoted to the framework of Moorish society, the richness of Muslim thought and the legacy of the Arabs in all branches of Arabic literature, including verse, especially in al-Andalus, Brett turns his attention to geography, astronomy, astrology, philosophy and the magic arts; he concludes his survey by a reflection on medieval *Jihād* and the increasing attractions of Ṣūfism among the Moors where the *murābiṭ* was more and more a recluse in his *Zāwiya*, contemplating the divinity in his innermost self, and less and less like the *Murābiṭ* whose sword was unsheathed in Spain or used against a fellow Moor whose religious loyalties differed from his own.

The text is brilliantly written and presented. Its wealth of detail is astonishing and it encompasses every aspect of Islamic life in the Maghreb, in Spain and in the islands of the western Mediterranean. So concentrated is the argument that it repays repeated study and