

Rihla, iii, 155, tr. M. Husain, Baroda 1953, 110; Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Firuzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 491; 'Afif, *Ta'rikh-i Firuzshāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 372; 'Abd Allāh, *Ta'rikh-i Dāwūdī*, Aligarh 1954, 38; 'Abd al-Rahmān Cishṭī, *Mir'āt-i Mas'ūdī*, Storey no. 1329(7), extracts tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 513-49; *Dja'far Sharīf*, tr. G. A. Herklots, ed. W. Crooke, *Islam in India*, London 1921, 67, 141; R. C. Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, Bombay-London (1884), i, 98-120; J. A. Subhan, *Sufism: its saints and shrines*, Lucknow 1969, 123-6; M. Gaborieau, *Légende et culte du saint musulman Ghāzī Miya au Népal occidental et en Inde du nord*, in *Objets et Mondes*, xv/3 (Autumn 1975) 289-318, with further bibl. (S. DIOBY)

AL-MAS'UDĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ B. AL-HUSAYN, Arab writer whose activity, in the words of Brockelmann (in *ET*, s.v.) "has been undertaken outside the well-trodden paths of professional scholarship", with the result that he has been rather neglected by biographers and copyists and that a normally well-informed writer like Ibn al-Nadīm, who has obviously not read his works, takes him (*Fihrist*, 154) for a Maghribī and devotes to him only a short, moreover probably truncated, article. In fact, the only reliable account which is available concerning the biography of this eminent individual must be drawn from his two surviving works, the *Murūdj al-dhahab* (abbreviated here as *M*, referring to Pellat's edition-translation) and the *Tanbih* (ed. De Goeje = *T*).

Al-Mas'ūdī was born in Baghdād (*M*, 987; *T*, 19, 42) into a Kūfan family which traced back its generalogy and connected its *nisba* to the Companion Ibn Mas'ūd [q.v.]. He himself does not record his ancestry in entirety, but it could well be as follows (see Ibn Hāzīm, *Djāmharaṭ ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. Cairo 1962, 197; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii, 319): 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh (*M*, § 522) b. Zayd b. 'Utba b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (for the rest of the genealogy, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djāmhara*, Tab. 58: Hudhayl, who does not however allot to 'Abd al-Rahmān a son named 'Utba). The date of his birth is unknown; however, if we are to take literally the expression (*haddatha-nā*) preceding the reference (*T*, 254) to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kashshī (d. 292/904) or that (*shāhadnā*) which is used (*T*, 396) to introduce a series of authorities which includes al-Nāshī (d. 293/906 [q.v.]), he must have been born no later than some years before 280/893, and not ca. 283/896, as is suggested by A. Shboul (*Al-Mas'ūdī and his world*, London 1979, p. xv).

His youth was spent in Baghdād, but he gives no information regarding the development of his studies. From a reading of the *M* and *T*, it may however be deduced that he had the opportunity, during the period of his religious, judicial and literary education, to attend classes given by a number of eminent teachers who died in the early years of the 4th century, notably (*T*, 296) Wakī' (d. 306/918 [q.v.]), (*M*, § 2242) al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubāb (d. 305/917 [q.v. in Suppl.]), (*M*, §§ 159, 2282) al-Nawbakhtī (d. at the beginning of the 4th century [q.v.]), (*T*, 396) Abū 'Alī al-Djubbā'ī (d. 303/915, see AL-DJUBBĀ'Ī), (*M*, § 3382) al-Anbārī (d. 304/916 [q.v.]); he may also have been acquainted at this time with: (*T*, 267) al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [q.v.]), (*M*, *passim*) al-Zadjīdjādī (d. 311/924 [q.v.]), (*T*, 396) Abū 'I-Kāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931, see AL-BALKHĪ), (*M*, § 764) Ibn Durayd (d. 321/934 [q.v.]), (*T*, 396) al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935 [q.v.]), (*M*, *passim*) Niṭawayh (d. 323/934 [q.v.]), and others besides; it is also known that in 306/918 (al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 307) he was present at the

death bed of Ibn Suraydj [q.v.]. It would be tedious to list the personalities with whom he associated in the course of his career, but a further exception is to be made in the case of (*M*, § 3382) *Dja'far* b. Muḥammad b. Hamdān al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/934; see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 625) and of (*M*, *passim*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 336/946, see AL-ṢULĪ), who seem to have played a particularly important role in his life. The scholars and men of letters cited above represent, at the highest level, the principal disciplines cultivated in this period (see, in this context, A. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 29-44; T. Khalidī, *Islamic historiography*, Albany 1975, 148-50; in the encyclopaedic index which follows the new edition of the *Murūdj*, brief biographies of the contemporary personalities mentioned in this work are to be found).

Whatever may have been the interest and the value of the knowledge thus acquired through direct transmission, an echo of which is also to be found in his work, al-Mas'ūdī would never have attained his eminence had he not been endowed with an extraordinary intellectual curiosity which impelled him, on the one hand, to educate himself with books, and, on the other, to enrich his human experience by undertaking long journeys both within and outside the Muslim world. For the composition of his principal surviving work, the *Murūdj*, he had recourse to no fewer than one hundred and sixty-five written sources, including, in addition to Arabic texts, translations of Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, as well as Arabic versions of monuments of Pahlavi literature. In one paragraph of the *Tanbih* (154), he mentions Christian authors with whom he was in the majority of cases personally acquainted, and passes judgment on their works; he seems to have had them make translations of or to explain passages which provided documentation for chapters of his own works (e.g. *M*, §§ 523 ff.), and the transcription into Greek characters of the name Helen (*M*, § 735) is proof of his breath of interest and his curiosity.

The latter are also exhibited in the accounts, unfortunately dispersed, of his travels, a topic which raises the question of his profession, which he does not reveal, and thereby of the resources which enabled him not only to live but furthermore to undertake expensive foreign expeditions. By all appearances, he had no connection with regular commerce and he was neither an official representative nor a religious authority who could depend on hospitality from Muslim communities visited. The hypothesis of A. Miquel (*Géographie humaine*, i, 205-6) according to which he could have been an emissary of the Ismā'īlīs seems hard to sustain, and ultimately it has to be assumed that this traveller possessed a personal fortune out of which he met the costs of his travels and that he perhaps drew some profits from the occasional commercial venture.

In 300/912, al-Mas'ūdī was still in Baghdād (*M*, § 2161); three years later (303/915), he is found visiting Persia (*T*, 106, 224), then India (*M*, §§ 269, 417-8; *T*, 224); it is hardly probable that he travelled as far as Ceylon and China (*M*, §§ 175, 342) since, when he speaks of these lands, he copies from Abū Zayd or the *Akhbār al-Sin wa 'l-Hind* [q.v. in Suppl.]. In 304/916, he returned to his own country by way of 'Umān and the island of Kanbalū (*M*, § 246). From 306 to 316/918-26 he was travelling around 'Irāk and Syria (*M*, § 3326) and it was perhaps during this time that he made his way to Arabia (cf. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 8, 12-13). In 320/932 or a little later he visited the provinces of the Caspian and Armenia (*M*, § 494), then, from 330/941 or 331 onward, he resided in Egypt, where, in 332/943, he composed the *Murūdj* (*M*, § 874

and *passim*), also returning to Syria in the same year (*M*, § 220) and visiting Damascus (*T*, 194) and Antioch (*M*, §§ 704-5) in 334/946. Naturally he visited Alexandria (*M*, §§ 679, 841) and Upper Egypt (*M*, §§ 811-18, 822, 893 ff.). It is in Fustāt that he seems to have spent his last years, reviewing his works and writing some new ones, in particular the *Tanbih*, completed in 345/956 (*T*, 401), shortly before his death, which came about in Djumādā II 345/September 956. On his travels, see especially Maqbul Ahmad, *Travels of... al-Mas'ūdī*, in *IC*, xxviii (1954), 509-21; A. Shboul, *op. laud.*, 1-28.

It is not known exactly at what period al-Mas'ūdī began the composition of his work and committed himself fully to his vocation as a writer, but the titles that he quotes in the *Murūdj* suggest that he began with relatively short treatises before embarking on his major works and before turning to account the notes which he must have accumulated in the course of his travels. The first point that commands attention is the care which he devoted to the correction and enrichment of the original versions of his writings, in particular the *Murūdj*, of which the first "edition" dates from 332/943 and the last, from 345/956 (*T*, 154). The second point is the fact that this abundant and diverse corpus of work has, in total, been curiously neglected by posterity, with the exceptions, specifically, of the *Murūdj*, the success of which has never ceased but of which only the "edition" of 332, revised in 336, has been preserved, and of the *Tanbih*, which, owing to its conciseness, responds to the Muslim taste for abstracts; a third text that has been attributed to him, the *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya*, has survived for obvious reasons (see below) but it is of doubtful authenticity.

The content of the surviving works, which are presented in a historico-geographical framework, shows that this prolific writer has a close interest in various disciplines which are not to be arbitrarily classified as history or geography; since he displays in addition an active sympathy for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and Twelver Imāmī Shī'ism, it is, to say the least, surprising that the Imāmis, who mention al-Mas'ūdī as one of their partisans, but are principally familiar with the *Murūdj* (and subordinately with the *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya*), have not devoted their efforts to the preservation of his works, beginning with the most "committed"; in fact, even if it can be understood that his major work, the *Akhbār al-zamān*, might not have tempted the copyists on account of its volume, it is hard to see the reason for a general indifference with regard to the majority of his other writings which ought to have been interesting and more easily manageable. While Ibn al-Nadīm and later biographers have conscientiously enumerated the works, now lost, of so many less prestigious writers, not one of them has apparently entertained the idea of going through the *Murūdj* and the *Tanbih*, in which thirty-four titles are mentioned, enabling us to establish thirty-six as the total number of al-Mas'ūdī's writings. It must be supposed that the article in the *Fihrist* has been truncated by a few lines, because it contains only five titles, whereas Yākūt, who revised it and therefore must have known it well, refers to eleven (*Udabā'*, xiii, 90-4) and the same number recurs in the work of al-Kutubī (*Fawāt*, ii, 94-5); the Shī'ī al-Nadījāshī (*Rid'āl*, 178) increases the number to fourteen, and Hādīdjī Khālifa (*passim*) to sixteen. Ibn Hādjar al-ʿAskalānī (*Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 224-5) confirms the general impression when he asserts that with the exception of the *Murūdj*, copies of the work of al-Mas'ūdī are rare. In the West, a number of authors have attempted to

compile inventories of his work: De Goeje in the Introduction to his edition of the *Tanbih* (vi-vii), Carra de Vaux in his translation of the latter (569-70), Sartori in his *Introduction to the history of science* (Baltimore 1927, i, 637-9), Brockelmann (I, 150-2, S I, 220-1), Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 333-4), but more recently, Khalidi (*op. laud.*, 154-64) and Shboul (*op. laud.*, 55-77) have made strenuous efforts, working on the basis of the titles mentioned in *M* and *T* and especially of such references to their content as are available, to identify the subjects of the lost works. When the researcher is confronted by such a discursive writer as al-Mas'ūdī, this method is often dangerous, but there is no reason why it should not be used in order to gain an impression of at least some of the questions examined and to establish an approximative classification.

I. A first category comprises works of general culture set in a framework of geography and history or of the latter alone:

1.—*K. Akhbār al-zamān wa-man abādahu 'l-hidhān min al-umam al-mādiya wa 'l-ādīyāl al-khālīya wa 'l-mamālīk al-dāthira* (before 332/943); the author draws attention in *M* (§§ 1-2) to its general content and refers to it frequently in *M* and *T*, thus giving the impression that it contained a great deal more detail than the two surviving works; history was presented here in the form of annals (*M*, §§ 1498, 3240). The *K. Akhbār al-zamān* published in Cairo, in 1938, by Ṣāwī, has nothing in common with that of al-Mas'ūdī; it had been translated as early as 1898, under the title *Abrégé des merveilles*, by Carra de Vaux, who considered it a popular work (*JA*, 9th series, vii [1896], 133-44; cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Arab civilization to AD 1500*, London-Beirut 1971, 110 ff.).

2.—*K. Rāḥat al-arwāḥ* (before 332/943); despite the title, it is a supplement to the above-mentioned work and it concerns expeditions and wars (especially those of the mythical kings of Egypt) which did not figure in the preceding (*M*, § 819).

3.—*al-Kitāb al-awsaf* (before 332/943); this "Middle book" must have followed the same format as the *Akhbār al-zamān*, since it was both an abridgement and a supplement on points of detail. The Oxford and Istanbul mss. mentioned by Brockelmann (in *EP*, s.v. AL-MAS'UDĪ) and Sezgin (*GAS*, i, 334) do not correspond with *al-Kitāb al-awsaf* (see Shboul, *op. laud.*, 89, n. 127, who has examined them).

4.—*K. Murūdj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-djawhar (fi tuḥaf al-aṣhrāf min al-mulūk wa-ahl al-dirāyāt)*, *T*, 1: it is to this work, written in 332/943, revised in 336/947, again in 345/956 (*T*, 97, 110-1, 155-6, 175-6) that al-Mas'ūdī owes his reputation. The text of 332-6, the only version that has survived, was published at Bulāq in 1283 and in Cairo in 1313, in the margins of the *Nafḥ al-tib* of al-Makḥārī in Cairo in 1302 and of the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr at Bulāq in 1303; Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Hāmid has made from it an annotated edition which has enjoyed a degree of success (2nd ed. Cairo 1368/1948, 3rd ed. 1377/1958, further ed. by Yūsuf Dāghīr, Beirut 1973). As early as 1841, the first volume of an English translation, the work of A. Sprenger, appeared in London, and later Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille edited and translated the entire text into French (Paris 1861-77, 2nd ed. 1913-30); this work has been extensively exploited by orientalists, notably by Marquart (*Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903) and A. Seippel (*Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928), who amended it on points of detail; finally, Ch. Pellat has revised the edition-translation by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (5 vols. of text, Beirut 1966-74 and 2 vols. of index in Arabic, Beirut 1979; 3 vols. of

translation, Paris 1962-71, have so far appeared, but the last two and the French index have been complete for some years); this revision has been based on secondary sources rather than on new mss. (which are listed in Brockelmann, I, 151, S I, 220 and Sezgin, i, 334).

Brockelmann (in *ET*, s.v.) and other authors have accepted without reservation the interpretation by Gildemeister, who (in *WZKM*, v [1894], 202) asserted that *Murūḍī al-dhahab* should be rendered as "gold-washings" rather than "meadows" of gold; taking as a basis the fact that the earth "makes gold to grow" (*tunbit al-dhahab*: *M*, § 796); the author of the present article regards this suggestion as nonsensical, and in this respect is followed by Khalidi (*op. laud.*, 2, n. 2) and Shboul (*op. laud.*, 71).

The *Murūḍī* comprise two essential parts. The first (§§ 34-663) contains "sacred" history up to the time of the Prophet, a survey of India, geographical data concerning seas and rivers, China, the tribes of Turkey, a list of the kings of ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Egypt, and chapters on Negroes, Slavs, Gaul and Galicia. Next come the ancient history of Arabia and articles on the beliefs, the various calendars, the religious monuments of India, of Persia, of the Sabaeans, etc., and a summary of universal chronology. In this first part, which takes up roughly two-fifths of the work, al-Mas'ūdī has set down, so as not to have to return to them, generalities regarding the universe and information of a historical nature on non-Muslim peoples (including the pre-Islamic Arabs). In the second part (§§ 664-3661), by contrast, there are only exceptional references to the peoples of countries outside the Islamic world, and it is the history of Islam, from the Prophet up to the caliphate of al-Muṭṭī, which is recounted; the *khulafā' rāshidūn*, the Umayyad "kings" (only 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz has a right to the title of caliph, while al-Ḥadīdjadī enjoys special treatment) and the 'Abbāsīd caliphs each form the subject of a chapter in which a brief biographical article is followed by accounts (*akhbār*), anecdotes and digressions on various subjects. In view of the fact that the author declares (§ 3) that this work contains a summary of studies which had been more fully developed in the *Akhbār al-zamān* and *al-Kitāb al-awsat*, as well as supplementary notices on certain points, the table of contents of the *Murūḍī* allows an impression to be formed of the general format of these two works, where the points are perhaps presented with greater rigour.

5.—The *K. Waṣl al-madǧālīs bi-ḡawāmi' al-akhbār wa-mukhtalif mukhallaf al-adāb al-āthār*, foreshadowed in *M* (§§ 3014, 3428, 3608) and mentioned in *T* (333), was a collection of various traditions, especially concerning al-Andalus (the history of which is neglected in the *Murūḍī*); it was probably composed in an unsystematic way and would certainly have appeared in a form closer to *adab* than to methodical history.

6.—The *K. al-Akhbār al-mas'ūdiyyā*, also composed after *M*, dealt (*T*, 259, 333) with the history of pre-Islamic Arabia and of al-Andalus.

7.—The *K. Maḡātil fursān al-'Adǧam* (332/943) was no doubt a collection of traditions concerning Persian heroes, which was some sort of a counterpart of the *K. Maḡātil fursān al-'Arab* by Abū 'Ubayda (*T*, 102).

8.—The *K. Funūn al-ma'ārif wa-mā ḡarā fi 'l-duḡūr al-sawālif* (after 332/943), which is mentioned several times in *T* (121, 144, 151, 153, 158, 160, 174, 182, 261), seems to have dealt especially with the Greeks, the Byzantines and North Africa and to have filled in the gaps left in preceding works.

9.—The *K. Dhakhā'ir al-'ulūm wa-mā kāna fi sālif al-*

duḡūr (after 332/943) seems to have been more detailed than the *Tanbih* (*T*, 97, 175, 400) on certain questions, particularly on the history of Byzantium.

10.—The *K. al-Istidhār li-mā ḡarā fi sālif al-a'sār*, mentioned in *T* (1, 53-4, 102, 137, 144, 176, 271, 279, 401) was perhaps a kind of aide-mémoire.

11.—The *K. Takallub al-duwal wa-tagḡayyur al-ārā' wa 'l-milal* (*T*, 334) must have been a reflecting upon history with regard to the events which culminated in the seizure of power by the Fāṭimids in North Africa. This suggestive title makes one regret the loss of a work which Ibn Khaldūn, who had a high regard for al-Mas'ūdī (see below), probably did not have the leisure to consult.

12.—Finally, the *K. al-Tanbih wa 'l-ishrāf*, composed in 344-5/955-6, is probably the last work of al-Mas'ūdī. It is not exactly an abridgement of the major historico-geographical works which came before it, although it does return to and express, with greater rigour and precision, their essential points of information concerning astronomical and meteorological phenomena, the divisions of the earth, the seas, ancient nations, universal chronology, and then the history of Islam until the caliphate of al-Muṭṭī. As its title indicates, it is basically a combination of overall review and a setting in temporal perspective. The *Tanbih* has been edited by De Goeje, in the *BGA*, viii, 1893-4, and by Šāwī, in Cairo, in 1357/1938; Carra de Vaux has translated it under the title *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, Paris 1897.

II. A second category is also of historical nature, but it is devoted especially to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelver Imāms.

13.—The *K. al-Zāhī* (before 332/943) concerned 'Alī and the controversies to which he gave rise (*M*, § 1463).

14.—The *K. Ḥadā'ik al-adhḡān fi akhbār Ahl/Āl Bayt al-Nabī wa-tafarruḡ-him fi 'l-buldān* (before 332/943) was apparently the history of the twelve Imāms and of the partisans of 'Alī (*M*, §§ 1013, 1943, 2506, 2742, 3023).

15.—The *K. Mazāhir al-akhbār wa-tarā'if al-āthār fi akhbār Āl al-Nabī [al-akhbār?]*, also prior to *M*, must have been, like the preceding, a history, or, doubtless, a "sacred history" of 'Alī and of his partisans (*M*, §§ 1677, 1755, 3032).

16.—The *Risālat al-Bayān fī asmā' al-a'imma al-ḡiṭṭiyya min al-Šī'a*, written before 332/943, contained (*M*, §§ 2532, 2798; *T*, 297) detailed biographies of the Twelve Imāms who, unlike the Wāḡifiyya, maintained that Mūsā al-Kāẓim [q.v.] was dead and had designated as his successor their eighth Imām, 'Alī al-Ridā [q.v.].

III. His Imāmī Shī'ī beliefs inspired al-Mas'ūdī to write two works on the question of the Imāmate from the point of view of different sects and schools, as well as on other points of doctrine, such as temporary marriage, the religion of the ancestors of Muḡammad, the beliefs of 'Alī before his conversion, etc.:

17.—*K. al-Istibṣār fī waṣf akāwīl al-nās fi 'l-imāma* (*M*, §§ 6, 1138, 1463, 1952, 2190), and

18.—*K. al-Šafwa fi 'l-imāma* (*M*, §§ 6, 1138, 1463, 1952).

IV. These writings border upon heresiography and comparativism, subjects to which the author devoted numerous articles of a more or less polemical nature:

19.—The *K. al-Maḡālāt fi uṣūl al-diyānāt*, prior to 332/943, was a survey, probably polemical, of the beliefs of Islamic sects and schools (Shī'īs, Khāridjīs, Mu'tazilīs, Khurramīs, etc.) and of non-Islamic

religions (Sabaism, Mazdaism, Judaism and Christianity). Judging by the number of passages where it is cited (*M*, §§ 783, 1138, 1205, 1715, 1945, 1994, 2078, 2225, 2291, 2359, 2420, 2741, 2800, 3156; *T*, 154, 161-2), this work must have been regarded as quite important by its author.

20.—The *K. al-Ibāna 'an uṣūl al-diyāna*, also prior to 332/943, dealt with the differences between Imāmism and Mu'tazilism (from which al-Mas'udī admits having borrowed some doctrines, *M*, § 2256) and attacked Mazdaism, Manichaeism, Dayṣānism, etc. (*M*, §§ 212, 2256; *T*, 354).

21.—The *K. al-Intisār* was a refutation of *Kharijism* (*M*, § 2190); this must be the text which Yākūt (*Udabā'*, xiii, 94) mentions under the title *Akhbār al-Khawāridj*.

22.—The *K. al-Istirdjā' fi 'l-kalām* must also have been a refutation, but of certain beliefs of the Mazdaeans, the Manichaeans, the Christians, etc. (*M*, § 1223).

23.—The *K. al-Da'awīl al-Da'awā al-ḡanī'a*, mentioned only once (*M*, § 1195, where the translation needs correction) was directed against "abominable" beliefs such as the transmigration of souls.

24.—The *K. Khazā'in al-dīn wa-sirr al-'ālamīn*, written after 332/943, dealt with the opinion of various sects, especially the Carmathians, and revealed the differences between Manichaeism, Mazdaism and Mazdakism (*T*, 101, 161-3, 385).

V. Various passages of the *Murūdj* show that al-Mas'udī was interested in general philosophy, to which he devoted a number of treatises, and that he was by no means indifferent to political philosophy. Since the question of the transmigration of souls has been raised in no. 23 above, the first to be cited is:

25.—The *K. Sirr al-hayāt*, which took up the same subject, but dealt more generally with the soul and also touched on themes such as the Trinity, the *ghayba*, the *mahdī*, etc. (*M*, §§ 533, 988, 1195, 1248, 2800, 3156; *T*, 155, 353).

26.—The *K. al-Zulaf* also dealt with the soul, but a number of other subjects were also discussed: the qualities of sovereigns, cosmology, diseases, music, animals, etc. (*M*, §§ 533, 630, 743, 928, 1325, 1335).

27.—The *K. Ṭibb al-nufūs* was also devoted to the soul (*M*, §§ 988, 1247), as was:

28.—The *K. al-Nuhā wa 'l-kamāl* (*M*, § 1247).

29.—The *K. al-Ru'ūs al-sab'iyya* (?) *min al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya* al-madaniyya wa-'ilālī-hā wa-milālī-hā al-ṭab'iyya seems to have been a treatise of political philosophy (*M*, §§ 928, 1222-3, 1232, 1336), as was

30.—The *K. Naẓm al-djawāhir fi tadbīr al-mamālik wa 'l-'asākīr*, which is mentioned only in *T* (400-1), whereas the preceding were prior to the *Murūdj*.

VI. Two major works of scientific nature may legitimately be classed separately:

31.—The *K. al-Mabādī' wa 'l-tarākīb*, where there is a discussion of the influence of the two luminaries (*M* § 1325) and

32.—The *K. al-Kadāyā wa 'l-tadājirib*, in which al-Mas'udī gives an account of observations made in the course of his travels of various phenomena, the three domains of Nature, etc. (*M*, §§ 369, 705, 815, 817, 846, 1208, 2247).

VII. Finally, although he can hardly be described *a priori* as a *fakīh*, he did take an interest in the *Sharī'a* and its principles, as is shown by four treatises:

33.—The *K. al-Wādīb fi 'l-furūd al-lawāzim*, on points of *fikh* on which Sunnīs and *Shrī'tis* were in disagreement (*M*, § 1952) and

34.—The *K. Naẓm al-adilla fi uṣūl al-milla*, both of them prior to 332/943 (*M*, § 5; *T*, 4);

35.—The *K. Naẓm al-a'ḡlām fi uṣūl al-aḡkām*, mentioned only in *T* (4), but probably composed much earlier; it is not impossible, in fact, that this text was known to al-Subkī, who had in his possession (*Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 307) a treatise by al-Mas'udī completing the notes that he had taken in 306/918 when Ibn Suraydj recited his *Risālat al-Bayān 'an uṣūl al-aḡkām*; this was a survey of the principles of the law according to al-Shāfi'ī, Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Hanīfa and Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī. Lastly,

36.—The *K. al-Masā'il wa 'l-'ilal fi 'l-madhāhib wa 'l-milal*, mentioned in *T* (4, 155).

It will be noted that, in the introduction to the *Tanbih*, al-Mas'udī lists in chronological order nos. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, then the three last (nos. 34, 35, 36) and considers the *Tanbih* to be the seventh of the first series.

It is appropriate to note in addition that the *Fihrist* (154) and Yākūt (*Udabā'*, xiii, 94) mention a *K. al-Rasā'il*, while al-Kutubī (*Fawāt*, ii, 94) refers to a *K. al-Rasā'il wa 'l-istidhār bi-mā marra fi sāliḡ al-a'ḡār* (cf. above, no. 10). Similarly, the *K. al-Ta'rīkh fi akhbār al-umam min al-'Arab wa 'l-'Adjam* (*Fihrist*, *Udabā'*, *Fawāt*) must be the *K. Akhbār al-zamān*. Finally, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*Uyun al-anbā'*, i, 56, 82) credits al-Mas'udī, as a result of a confusion, with a *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*.

However, there remains one little book, the *K. Iḥbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, published at Najaf (n.d.; ca. 1955 for the 1st ed.), which poses a problem difficult to solve. Omissions excepted, this title is not mentioned by any Sunnī author, although the *Shrī'tis* unreservedly attribute it to al-Mas'udī, and the anonymous editor identifies it with the *Bayān fi asmā' al-a'imma* (no. 16 above). In spite of elements which militate in favour of this identification, it is doubtful whether the *Iḥbāt al-waṣiyya* comes from the pen of the author of the *Murūdj*; but the question remains open, and is unlikely ever to be settled definitively (see Ch. Pellat, *Mas'udī et l'Imāmisme*, in *Le Shi'isme imāmīte*, Paris 1970, 69-80).

Even if it is decided that this "anti-history" or this "sacred history" of the twelve *Imāms* is apocryphal, and speculation on the titles of the works catalogued above under the nos. 13-18 is abandoned, it is impossible to deny the *Shrī'tism* or, more accurately the Imāmism, of al-Mas'udī. *Shrī'ti* authors are unanimous in considering him one of their number, and a reading of the *Murūdj* largely confirms this opinion. Among the Sunnīs it is quite curious that al-Subkī (*loc. cit.*) and Ibn Taghribardi (*Nuḡūm*, iii, 315-6) follow al-Dhahabī in seeing him only as a Mu'tazilī, while Ibn Taymiyya (*Minhāḡ al-sunna*, ii, 129-31) is one of the few who recognises his *Shrī'tism*, and Ibn Ḥaḡḡar al-'Asḡalānī reconciles all points of view in pointing out, quite rightly (*Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 224-5), that his writings "abound with signs showing that he was *Shrī'ti* and Mu'tazilī". Al-Mas'udī in fact acknowledges this dual allegiance when he declares *M*, § 2256 that he has chosen some Mu'tazilī doctrines for his own use (cf. above, no. 20), and such an eclecticism was by no means astonishing in the 4th/10th century. As for his *madhhab*, it would seem to be largely *Shāfi'ī*, but nothing can be definitely asserted and it is possible that, in his treatises of *fikh*, he confined himself to dealing with comparative law.

Although J. D. Pearson, in his *Index islamicus*, reserves for al-Mas'udī a special mention under the rubric "Muslim geographers", it is in the ranks of the historians that he is normally counted, because he is characterised and classified on the basis of the *Murūdj* and the *Tanbih* and because the opinion of the Arab authors who qualify him as *muṣannif li-kutub al-tawārīkh*

wa-akhbar al-mulūk (Ibn al-Nadīm), *mu'arrikh kabīr* (al-Kutubī), *imām* (= model) *li'l-mu'arrikhīn* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, i, 52; tr. Slane, i, 67; tr. Rosenthal, i, 64) is accepted. The esteem in which he was held by Ibn Khaldūn (who mentions him frequently but does not hesitate to criticise him) seems to have been inspired by his historical method, his interest in nations foreign to Islam, whether ancient or contemporary, and in the religions practised there, by his open-mindedness and his universal vision of history (on the links between the two authors, see in particular M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history*, London 1957, 152-3, 164 ff., 255 ff.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī*, in *al-Mas'ūdī Millenary commemoration volume*, Aligarh 1960, 51-9).

To be sure, the *Tanbih* is presented in the form of a universal history from Adam to al-Mu'ti, preceded by a survey of general geography; to be sure also, the table of contents of the *Murūdj* given the same impression. But this voluminous work does not contain only history and geography; in addition, it has been observed that, in the list of works of al-Mas'ūdī, at least twenty are generally of a heresiographical, doctrinal, philosophical or legal nature. Even if it is considered that disciplines thus cultivated belong to global history, the qualification of "historian" in the normal sense of the term is only partially appropriate to this polygraph. A. Shboul has not hesitated to describe him, in the subtitle of his treatise, as *A Muslim humanist*, and A. Miquel (*Géographie humaine*, i, 202) confers on him the title of "imām of encyclopaedism", thus justifying the quality of *adīb* of the Djāhizian type which the author of these present lines has been led to acknowledge in him (in *Jnal of the Pakistan Historical Soc.*, ix [1961], 231-4). Eager to acquire all available types of knowledge, of whatever origin, and anxious to present them in a form responding to the exigencies of *adab* which seeks to instruct without burdening the reader, al-Mas'ūdī writes for a public which seeks to educate itself, to escape from the narrow confines of traditional instruction and to extend the field of Arab-Islamic culture, while not regarding as negligible everything that happens outside the Muslim world. On the subject of Gaul, B. Lewis recalls (in *Mas. Mill. commem. vol.*, 10) that, from the first millenium of Islam, there have survived only three works dealing with the "history" of Western Europe, and that the oldest of these is by al-Mas'ūdī, the *Murūdj*. This author established no school, and in this there is no cause for surprise, in the sense that the last-named work was in itself adequate to satisfy the curiosity of readers for many years, to say nothing of the encyclopaedists of later times who continued to exploit it without reservation (e.g. al-Kāshānī cites him forty-two times in the *Subhī*, the editor of which finds no other reference to the Persian calendar (ii, 385) than that contained in the *Murūdj*); these authors give the impression that nothing of equal substance has been written in the course of the intervening centuries on questions which nevertheless appear to have been broadly set forth.

In a period when rhymed prose was beginning to invade literature, it is remarkable that al-Mas'ūdī did not seek to elaborate his style, and only a few rhymed sentences are to be found in his writings. It will be observed, however, that he himself gave rhymed titles to around fifteen of his works, and that in only three of them is the first unit artificial. To the extent that it is possible to verify his quotations, he has sometimes introduced modifications in them, but he seldom voluntarily embellishes the form. The general arrangement of his works is not exempt from defects,

and attention should be drawn to his numerous digressions, without however reproaching him for them, since they constitute one of the characteristics of *adab*. On his style, see Khalidī, *op. laud.*, 19-23.

Finally, even if it may be reckoned that the *Akhbār al-zamān* and *al-Kitāb al-awsaṭ*, in spite of their documentary worth, were too voluminous to be preserved, the fact remains that the loss of thirty-four works out of thirty-six is hard to explain, especially considering the enduring success of the *Murūdj*. Essentially, it is perhaps this very success which has contributed most to the casting of a shadow over the major historico-geographical works and has driven the *Shī'is* to take no further interest in the other writings of an Imāmi author who was sufficiently independent to play into the hands of the Sunnīs by giving pride of place, not to the *Imāms* (as in the *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya*) but to the caliphs, and by preferring, as he emphasises on numerous occasion, objective accounts (*khbar*) to speculation (*naẓar*). It can easily be understood how the Sunnīs, for their part, should have concentrated their attention on the *Murūdj*, and it may be supposed that al-Mas'ūdī has been a victim of the suspicion which was attached to both the *Shī'is* and the *Mu'tazilis*, since he was regarded as belonging to this school.

Bibliography: The Arabic biographical sources are not particularly detailed: see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 154 (ed. Cairo, 219-20); Nadjāshī, *Riḍāl*, Bombay 1317, 178; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xiii, 90-4; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, Cairo 1951, ii, 94-5; Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 307; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 224-5; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 315-6; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, index; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadhārāt*, ii, 371; Khwānsārī, *Rawdāt al-djannāt*, 379-82; Nūrī, *Mustadrak*, iii, 310; 'Amilī, *Aṣṣān al-Shī'a*, xli, 198-213; Ziriklī, v, 87; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 80.

Studies: The many orientalist who have exploited the *Murūdj* and, to a lesser extent, the *Tanbih*, have been led to review certain passages and, where appropriate, to amend them; this is especially the case with V. Minorsky, in the commentary on the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, London 1937. Different aspects of the work of al-Mas'ūdī have been the object of independent studies: particularly worthy of mention are: the writings of T. Lewicki (in Polish) on the Slavs and other peoples; A. Czapkiewicz, *Al-Mas'ūdī on balneology and balneotherapeutics*, in *Fol. Or.*, iii (1962), 271-5; Ch. Pellat, *La España musulmana en las obras de al-Mas'ūdī*, in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 257-64; and especially, S. Maqbul Ahmad and A. Rahman (eds.), *al-Mas'ūdī Millenary commemoration volume*, Aligarh 1960, which contains some twenty contributions on particular subjects. J. de Guignes appears to have been the first to draw attention to the *Murūdj*, in *Notices et extraits*, i, 1787, 27, but the earliest monograph is the work of E. Quatremère, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Masoudi*, in *JA*, 3rd series, vii (1839), 1-31; see also Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 119; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Brockelmann, I, 141-3, S I, 220-1, I², 150-2; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 332-6; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim historiography*, index. The works of S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Al-Mas'ūdī's contribution to medieval Arab geography*, in *IC*, xxvii (1953), 61-77, xxviii (1954), 275-86, and *The travels*, in *ibid.*, xxviii, 509-25, in fact mark the beginning of a resurgence of interest in the author of the *Murūdj*, illustrated by A. Miquel, *Le géographie humaine du monde musulman*

jusqu'au milieu du II^e siècle, Paris, i, 1967, 202-12, and index, ii, 1975, index; then by two successive works based on dissertations: T. Khalidī, *Islamic historiography. The histories of Mas'ūdī*, Albany 1975 (an important study of the historical method of this author) and A. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī and his world. A Muslim humanist and his interest in non-Muslims*, London 1979 (fundamental monograph, with comprehensive bibliography). (CH. PELLAT)

MASŪNIYYA [see FARĀMUSH-KHĀNA and FAR-MĀSŪNIYYA in Suppl.].

MAŞYAD, a town of central Syria on the eastern side of the *Djabal al-Nuṣayriyya* situated at 33 miles/54 km to the east of Bāniyās [q.v.] and 28 miles/45 km to the east of Hamāt [q.v.], in long. 36° 35' E. and lat. 35° N., in the massif of the *Djabal Anṣāriyya* at the foot of the eastern slopes of the *Djabal Baḥrā'*, at an altitude of 1,591 ft./485 m. and to the west of the great trench of the fault of the *Ghāb* [q.v.]. The pronunciation and orthography of the name varies between the forms *Maşyād*, *Maşyāf* (in official documents and on the inscriptions mentioned below of the years 646 and 870 A.H.), *Maşyāt* and *Maşyāth* (on the interchange of *f* and *th*, see O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv, 465; Praetorius, in *ibid.*, lxxv, 292; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, 143, n. 4, 209, 395, n. 3). The variants *Maşyāb* (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 556), *Maşyāh* (Khalīl al-Zāhiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 49), *Messiat* in tr. Venture, 73 and *Maşyāt* (al-Nābulusī, in Von Kremer, in *SB Ak. Wien*, 1850, ii, 331) are no doubt due to mistakes in copying (Van Berchem, in *JA*, Ser. 9, ix [1897], 457, n. 2). At a later period, the pronunciation *Misyāf*, *Misyād*, became usual (al-Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, 208; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā'*, iv, 113; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Beirut, 265; cf. *Mesyāf* on von Oppenheim's map in *Petermans Mitteilungen*, lvii [1911], ii, Taf. 11). The name is perhaps a corruption of a Greek *Μαρούα* (= *Μαρούα*) or *Μαρούα* *ῥώμη*, which presumably lay on the *Marsyas amnis*, the boundary river of the Nazerini (ancestors of the Nuṣayris? Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, v. 81) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyklopädie*, xiv, cols. 1985-6, s.v. *Marsyas*, no. 3).

Maşyād is an important settlement which has developed under the protection of a powerful citadel whose traces are visible on a limestone outcrop. The region gets an average of 31.5 inches/800 mm of rain, and the climate is good. Various small watercourses have allowed not only the cultivation in the region of barley and wheat but also the existence of gardens and orchards (*basātīn*). In her travel account, Gertrude L. Bell noted the abundance of flowers—anemones, iris, narcissus, and white and red orchids (*Syria: the desert and the sown*, 217).

The main communication routes between northern and southern Syria do not pass through the Orontes valley, but more to the east on the fringes of the desert steppes. In order to travel from Maşyād to northern Syria, one has to reach the Orontes valley by a road passing through Lakba and Dayr al-Shāmil, where a road coming from Hamāt is crossed, leaving to the west, on the mountain flank, the fortresses of *Khārība* and Abū Ḳubays [q.v.]. The *Ghāb* is descended into, and then the Orontes is crossed at the bridge of 'Ashārna, a bridge from the Roman period 8 miles/15 km below *Shayzar* [q.v.]. Beyond the bridge, the route passes by *Ḳal'at al-Mudik* and then reaches the plateau and goes through *Afāmiya* [q.v.] to reach *Antākiya* [q.v.] in northern Syria. There also exists a route linking Maşyād with *Shayzar* via Tell al-Salhab. Finally, at the beginning of the 20th century the traces of the paved way (*raṣīf*) of a Roman road which linked

Hamāt with the Mediterranean (Bell, *op.cit.*, 232) could still be seen; it then crossed the *Nahr Sarūt* by a bridge before passing through the settlement of Maşyād in the direction of the sea. The coast could also be reached after Maşyād by going through *Rafāniyya*, where there was a bifurcation of the ways either towards *Ḳal'at Yaḥmūr* in the direction of *Tartūs* [q.v.] or towards Tell *Kalakḥ* if the journey to *Tarābulus* [q.v.] or Tripoli was intended. At the present day, asphalted roads allow access to Maşyād without any difficulty.

Maşyād is not mentioned in the early Middle Ages; the first mention of the fortress is probably in a Frankish account of the advance of the Crusaders in 1099: *pervenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam Arabum castrum* (*Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 1890, 418 with n. 29; Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairis*, Paris 1900, 21 n. 4). In the course of the campaign which he conducted in Syria during the autumn of 389/99 to regain Antioch, threatened by the Fātimids, the Byzantine Emperor Basil II occupied the *Djabal Baḥrā'*, at the limits of his empire, and dismantled the defences of *Hiṣn Maşyād* and *Rafāniyya*, which at this time formed part of the province (*djund*) of *Ḳinnasrīn* [q.v.]. When, after the capture of Tripoli on 11 *Dhu 'l-Hijidja* 502/12 July 1109, the Franks advanced on *Rafāniyya*, *Tuḡhtakīn* set out to relieve it; by the terms of the peace concluded between them, the Franks bound themselves to abandon all designs on *Maşyāth* and *Hiṣn al-Akrād* and in compensation, these two places and *Hiṣn Tūfān* were to pay them tribute (*Sibt Ibn al-Djawzī*, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii, 537). This agreement did not last long. Around this time, the frontiers between the Latin states began to be precisely delimited; on the other hand, one may note the presence of *Ismā'īlis*, who profited from the anarchy of the years following the arrival of the First Crusade and tried to find places of refuge in the mountainous region to the west of the middle Orontes.

Before 521/1127 the fortress was in possession of a branch of the *Mirdāsids* [q.v.], who sold it to the Banū *Munkidh* [q.v.]. The *Ismā'īlis*, having in 524/1130 ceded to the Franks the stronghold of Bāniyās in the *Wādī al-Tayim*, which the *Burīd Tuḡhtakīn* had given to them, now tried to establish themselves in the *Djabal Baḥrā'* around Maşyād. In 527/1132-3, *Sayf al-Mulk Ibn 'Amrūn*, the lord of al-*Ḳahf*, sold to them *Ḳadmūs*, seized from the Franks in the previous year, after which they soon occupied al-*Ḳahf* and *Ḳharība*. In *Ramaḍān* 535/April-May 1141, they also seized the fortress of *Maşyāf* by outwitting the commandant *Sunkur*, a *mamlūk* in the service of the Banū *Munkidh* of *Shayzar*, who was surprised and slain (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-baḥar*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i, 25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in *ibid.*, i, 438; al-Nuwayrī, *Cod. Leiden* 2^m, fol. 222b, in Van Berchem, *JA* [1897], 464, n. 1). Maşyād now became the residence of the Syrian "Master" of the sect, as we may call him, with Van Berchem, to distinguish him from the Grand Master in *Alamūt* [q.v.], known as *Shaykh al-Djabal*. The *Ismā'īlis* now proceeded to make themselves independent there for a century-and-a-half. In 543/1148, after the check to the Second Crusade, the *Ismā'īlis* of Maşyād made common cause with the Franks against *Nūr al-Dīn*, but in 552/1157 these same *Ismā'īlis* joined in the defence of the fortress of *Shayzar*, besieged by the Crusaders. Whilst the *Ismā'īlis* had just been regrouped in the mountainous region of *Ḳadmūs* by the Master (*mukaddam*) Abū Muḥammad, there appeared in Syria around