

Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukḥbat al-ʿuṣra, in Houtsma, *Recueil*, 290-2; Husaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Salḡūkiyya*, ed. M. Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 154, 167; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xi, 169-70, 195, 211-2, 216-7, 219, 229-30, 236-8; Ibn al-Azraq, *Taʾrīkh Maṣyāfārikīn*, ms. BL. Or. 5803, ff. 182b, 183a, 186a, 189a-b, 191a, 193b, 194a; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, Ḥaydarābād, 1940, 192-4, 232-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 258, 267, 270; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 91-2, 163-4, 301; iv, 119; Ibn Radjab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalā Tabakāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1952, i, 258. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, viii/1, Ḥaydarābād 1951, 233-5, 251, 255, 260, 262, 267-8, 271, 282, 284-5.

2. Studies. *EP* art. *al-Mustandjīd*; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of medieval Islam*, The Hague 1972, 69-76. (CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

AL-MUSTANDJID (II) BI ʿLLĀH, ABU ʿL-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF b. al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (? 798-884/? 1396-1479), thirteenth ʿAbbāsīd ʿʿshadowʼ caliph of Egypt.

He was the last of five brothers (the others being al-Mustaʿīn, al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Mustakfī and al-Ḳāʿim) to be caliph (since 859/1455) and served six Mamlūk sultans (Ināl, al-Muʿayyad Aḥmad b. Ināl, Khushḡadam, Yīlbāy, Timurbughā and Kāyitbāy). When Khushḡadam seized power in 865/1461, facing the fierce opposition of the Syrian viceroy Djānim al-Ashrafī (died ignominiously in 867/1462, a victim of one of his own mamlūks, as a refugee in Uzun Ḥasanʼs realm in the city of Edessa, cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi ʿalā ʿl-Manhal al-sāfi*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shalūt, i, Mecca-Cairo n.d., 235, no. 812), he placed the caliph, the supreme judges and the leading generals under custody on the Cairo citadel in order to deprive his foe of potential supporters and legitimators (cf. the remark by Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr*, ed. Popper, iii, Berkeley 1932, 399, 2-10). Whereas the other high-ranking prisoners were allowed to return to the city after the threat posed by Djānim was averted (see also al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo 1371/1952, 513-14), the caliph al-Mustandjīd was forced to remain on the Citadel until the time of his death. There he lodged in the house of the former (short-lived) sultan al-Manṣūr ʿUṭmān b. Djaḡmaḡ (cf. al-Djawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-ḥayr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿasr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, Cairo 1970, i, 115, 183, 317) enjoying sufficient livelihood yet no political power whatsoever, less even than his predecessors. This transfer of the caliph to the Citadel was, to his contemporaries, his main contribution to history. Thereafter, —till the end of the Mamlūk sultanate (see Ibn Taghribirdīʼs far-sighted remark in *al-Nuḍjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Cairo, xvi, 259, 10-11)—the caliphs thus remained under the immediate tutelage of the sultan, lest they be used in the inner-Mamlūk struggles for power. Not untypically for an ʿAbbāsīd shadow caliph, al-Mustandjīd seems to have been well-versed in the Ḳurʾān (al-Sakhāwī, *Dawʿ*, x, 329 f., no. 1247) and is otherwise commended as thoroughly content with his restricted power and position (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iii, 151, 1-12).

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AL-MUSTANŞIR (I) BI ʿLLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-MANŞŪR, ʿAbbāsīd caliph (623-40/1226-42). He was born in Ṣafar 588/February-March 1192, the eldest son of al-Zāhir [q.v.]; his mother was a Turkish slave. He was proclaimed caliph after his fatherʼs death on 13 Raddjāb 623/11 July 1226 (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xii, 298). It is difficult to interpret from surviving sources the extent to which the caliph himself played

a significant role in political events. It is especially regrettable that two works which dealt with his caliphate have not survived: a monograph by Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1276 [q.v.]) entitled *ʿItibār al-mustabşīr fī akhbār al-Mustanşīr* which is quoted by later authors such as Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, xiii, 139) and al-Irbilī (*Khulāṣat*, 287-8); and the history of Baghdād by Ibn al-Nadīdjār (d. 643/1245 [q.v.]) which was used by al-Dhahabī and al-Suyūṭī.

The sources present a confused picture of the chronology and names of al-Mustanşīrʼs viziers and other prominent officials. The exact balance of power between these men is not clear. At least two major figures at the caliphal court were Shīʿīs: Muḥammad al-Ḳummī who had served under al-Nāşir and al-Zāhir and who is described as *kātib al-inṣhāʾ* (Ibn al-Dubaythī, i, 134) and as *wazīr* (Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, 523, 533; Ibn al-Ṭīḡṭakā, 568); and Muʿayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlkamī [q.v.] who became deputy *wazīr* (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 289) or *ustadh al-dār* and later served as *wazīr* of al-Mustaʿīm [q.v.], the last ʿAbbāsīd caliph of Baghdād (Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, i, 139); it was he who was to be blamed later for treacherous complicity with the Mongols. According to Ibn al-Ṭīḡṭakā (*loc. cit.*), al-Ḳummī was later replaced as *wazīr* by Naşir al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḡīd, who remained in power until al-Mustanşīrʼs death. Ibn Wāşil reports that the most powerful officials in al-Mustanşīrʼs reign were the military commander Iḳbāl al-Sharābī and the *ustadh al-dār* Ibn al-ʿAlkamī, who were responsible for installing al-Mustaʿīm as caliph after al-Mustanşīrʼs death, an event which was briefly concealed to allow the succession to be arranged (*op. cit.*, i, 318).

Information on al-Mustanşīrʼs reign remains lacunary: random in its occurrence and of very unequal importance. Entire areas of his life and activities are simply not recorded. His caliphate spans an uneasy lull between Mongol onslaughts. The first years of his reign were dominated by the flamboyant career of Djālāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh [q.v.], who was seen by contemporaries as a buffer between the Mongols and the Muslim world (Ibn Wāşil, iv, 323). The sources devote much more attention to him than to al-Mustanşīr; at this stage of his career he was campaigning principally in ʿIrāk, the Djazīra and western Persia. Djālāl al-Dīn seems to have harboured bellicose intentions towards the caliph (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xii, 276-8). Moreover, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī mentions a letter from al-Mustanşīr to Djālāl al-Dīn, reproaching him for his treatment of his fellow Muslims (*op. cit.*, i, 668).

The other political events of al-Mustanşīrʼs reign mentioned in the sources reveal the caliph as a petty territorial ruler and arbitrator. The ruler of Irbil, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī, the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), being without male issue, had bequeathed the city to al-Mustanşīr. However, on Kökbürīʼs death, the caliph had to send an army under his military commander, the eunuch Iḳbāl al-Sharābī (Ibn Taghribirdī, vi, 346), to besiege Irbil before it finally surrendered on 17 Shawwāl 630/27 July 1233 (Sibṭ, 568; Ibn Kathīr, 135). Al-Mustanşīr seems also to have mediated between various political factions. Thus he arbitrated in disputes in ʿIrāk between Kökbürī and Badr al-Dīn Luʿluʾ [q.v.] (Sibṭ, 680-1) and between the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Nāşir Dāwūd and al-Malik al-Kāmil (Ibn Wāşil, 100-2).

Like his grandfather al-Nāşir, al-Mustanşīr stands out as a great patron of architecture. Indeed, the most significant event of the second half of his reign was undoubtedly the establishment of the Mustanşiriyya madrasa in Baghdād. The building and inaugural

ceremony of this monument are described in some detail in the sources, notably the *Hawādith al-ḡāmi'a*, wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṣīl [q.v.]; (cf. Rosenthal's discussion of the authorship of this work) and were analysed by 'Awwād in a pioneering article written in 1945 (cf. *Bibliography*). On instructions from the caliph, the foundations of the *madrasa* were laid in 625/1227 (*Hawādith*, 53) and the building was completed in 631/1234. The official opening of the Mustanşiriyya was held on 5 Raddajab 631/7 April 1234 while the caliph watched the proceedings from a belvedere in the centre of one of the *iwāns* (*ibid.*; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 149). The Mustanşiriyya housed all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, (cf. the inscription over the door of the *madrasa*, published by Herzfeld, ii, 164), each of which were represented by their leading 'ulamā' at the inaugural ceremony. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, each *madhhab* had its own *iwān* (*op. cit.*, 109). The building also included a *dār al-ḥadīth*, a *dār al-Ḳur'ān*, hospital, kitchen, bath and library. The caliph was involved personally in building up the magnificent library of the Mustanşiriyya (cf. Eche, 172-7). To this library the caliph brought valuable models of calligraphy, such as examples of the "well-proportioned scripts" (*al-khuṭūṭ al-mansūba*) of the famous Būyid calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb [q.v.] and his illustrious predecessor Ibn Mukla [q.v.] (Sibt, 739). The caliph also endowed the library with the best books on *fikh*, literature and science (*Hawādith*, 54). At the invitation of al-Mustanşir, desirous no doubt to eclipse the fame of the 5th/11th century Nizāmiyya *madrasa* in the same city, prestigious scholars were brought to work in the Mustanşiriyya. They included the historians Ibn al-Sā'ī, who served as librarian for a while (Ibn al-Imād, v, 343) and Ibn al-Nadīdjār, who was the principal Shāfi'ī *mudarris* there (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 522).

Although much scholarly attention has been focussed on the Mustanşiriyya (cf. *Bibliography*), there remains much to be said about its function within its own historical context. In particular, it is noteworthy that the Mustanşiriyya was the first *madrasa* to be founded by a caliph. It was also (even more importantly) the first universal Sunnī *madrasa*: the patrons of earlier *madrasas* had been *amīrs*, high officials such as *wazīrs*, and occasionally sultans. It built boldly upon the already existing practice of founding *madrasas* designed for more than one *madhhab*, and took the decisive further step of catering for all four *madhhabs*. Moreover, al-Mustanşir chose to build a *madrasa*, not a mosque or a mausoleum, which were traditionally the preferred buildings for a ruler wishing to perpetuate his name. Why choose a *madrasa*? The key reason may be that by building the Mustanşiriyya the caliph established a teaching institution for all Muslims, not just for the people of Baghdad alone. There is other telling evidence which clearly points to wider and more grandiose aims on the part of the caliph. Firstly, certain features of this particular *madrasa* are unusual or suggestive. One of the crowning glories of the Mustanşiriyya was its magnificent riparian inscription of historical content which specifically names the caliph himself. This gigantic inscription, although following local architectural traditions in certain respects, nevertheless decisively flouted convention by its sheer size and lavish rendering. It appears to have been (at least so far as surviving evidence indicates) the largest and longest cursive inscription known in the Islamic world up to that time, and like some vast hoarding it proclaimed its presence to anyone approaching the *madrasa* by river. Thus the privileged and unusual location of the *madrasa* was manipulated for propagandist purposes.

Secondly, the Mustanşiriyya also boasted a highly sophisticated and lavishly adorned zodiacal clepsydra which was similar to those described by al-Djazarī [q.v.] and which bore unmistakable royal and cosmological connotations (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 287-8 (quoting Ibn al-Sā'ī)). In addition to its scholarly functions, the Mustanşiriyya was used by the caliph in his role as arbitrator to receive visiting potentates, such as Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mawṣil and Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāwūd of Damascus in 633/1235 (Ibn Wāṣil, v, 100-2) and Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of Shāhrazūr the following year (*Hawādith*, 89).

It is perhaps not too fanciful to argue that al-Mustanşir intended the Mustanşiriyya to serve as a symbol of Islamic unity under the auspices of a revitalised 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Al-Mustanşir may well have been attempting to continue and elaborate the grandiose universalist policies of his grandfather al-Nāṣir [q.v.]. In one sense, the decision to house all Sunnī *madhhabs* under one roof was no abrupt innovation; it was merely a logical extension of al-Nāṣir's decision to limit the appointment of *kādīs* to the four *madhhabs*, a confirmation of the *status quo* which had prevailed since the demise of the Zāhirī *madhhab* around 475/1082 (cf. Makdisi, 6). Al-Mustanşir is described by Sibt Ibn al-Djawzī as having "no fanaticism for one particular *madhhab*" and is shown as behaving in a conciliatory way towards the Shī'īs whose shrines he visited (*op. cit.*, 739-41). Moreover, a major figure in al-Nāṣir's revitalised caliphate had been Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (died 632/1234 [q.v.]). As the most prominent Sūfī of his time at Baghdad, it is quite conceivable that he had been influential in the education of al-Mustanşir and that he continued to influence him whilst he was caliph.

Most of the extant historical sources date from the period after the Mongol capture of Baghdad. Over-shadowed by this cataclysmic event, they may well have distorted the perspective of al-Mustanşir's reign as seen by his contemporaries. The historical evidence of the Mustanşiriyya, unaffected as it is by *ex post facto* commentary is thus even more important.

It may well be that al-Mustanşir intended this building to be an instrument for continuing the policies initiated by al-Nāṣir, and to create under the caliphal banner some kind of unity amongst the Muslims whose territories bordered his own. Such a task was given added urgency by the recent Mongol onslaught on the eastern Islamic world. A political regrouping of the remaining Muslim powers in that area was therefore imperative. Al-Nāṣir had tried to encourage Muslim cooperation through establishing equal status for all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, through promoting Sūfism and through a pan-Islamic *futuwwa* [q.v.]. Whilst there is little positive evidence for al-Mustanşir's involvement in the *futuwwa*, it is unlikely that he discontinued this aspect of al-Nāṣir's policies. Djalāl al-Dīn had lacked the acumen or the political stability to effect an eastern Islamic coalition against any future Mongol attacks. It may well be that by the building of the Mustanşiriyya al-Mustanşir was proclaiming (ironically, far too late in the day) the paramount need for unity in the Islamic world.

Al-Mustanşir also erected other buildings. These included the *Khān* of Sābūs near Wāṣīṭ (Ibn al-Ṭīkṭākā, 567-8) and the *Khān* of Kharnīna between Takrīt and al-Balālīk (*ibid.*; G. Bell, *Amurath*, 219). Moreover, inscriptions on the Harbā bridge over the Dudjayla canal between Baghdad and Sāmarrā testify that it was built by al-Mustanşir in 629/1231 (Ibn al-Ṭīkṭākā, 567; Janabi, Plates 12 and 13). Al-Mustanşir

also restored the *Djāmi*^c al-*Qaṣr* in *Baghdād* which had been founded by al-Muktafi [q.v.] and he placed in it benches on which students could sit and hold discussions after prayers had been performed (Ibn Wāṣil, 317).

Al-Mustanṣir is accorded the usual high-flown panegyrics in the sources. More specifically, he is described as pale-skinned, red-haired, corpulent and short (Ibn Taghribirdī, vi, 345). As already mentioned, he was a great bibliophile. He is reported to have been copious in alms-giving, especially when plague hit *Baghdād* in the last year of his reign. He died on 10 *Djuma*^d II 640/12 December 1242 and was buried in the *Ruṣāfa* cemetery.

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AL-MUSTANŠIR (II) BI'LLĀH, Abū 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad b. al-Zāhir Muḥammad, the first 'Abbāsīd "shadow" caliph in Cairo.

When the Mongols captured *Baghdād* (656/1258), he and a number of other 'Abbāsīds were released from confinement, and he took refuge among the Arab tribesmen of 'Irāk. A group of Arabs brought him to Cairo, where he was given a ceremonious welcome by the sultan, al-Zāhir Baybars, on 9 *Rajab* 659/9 June 1261. Four days later, his genealogy was formally attested by the chief judge, who performed the *bay'a* to him followed by the sultan, the dignitaries and the Mamlūks generally. He assumed the throne-name of al-Mustanṣir, which had been borne by his brother as caliph in *Baghdād* (623-40/1226-42). The speed with which al-Mustanṣir was installed as caliph shows his importance to Baybars's political strategy at that juncture. Baybars had newly obtained the sultanate by usurpation on the murder of his predecessor, Kūṭuz (657-8/1259-60), and caliphal legitimation would secure his position. This was duly accorded. On Friday, 17 *Rajab*/17 June, al-Mustanṣir pronounced the *khutba* to a congregation of Mamlūks in the mosque of the Citadel at the sultan's instigation, and on 4 *Shā'bān*/4 July at a solemn ceremony the caliph invested Baybars with the black

livery of the 'Abbāsīds. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Luḡmān, the head of the sultan's chancery, read the diploma (which he himself had composed in the caliph's name) conferring the universal sultanate with plenary powers on Baybars. The provisions of the diploma, which purported to lay down Baybars's duties as sultan, were in fact his political manifesto. Al-Mustanṣir was rewarded with the establishment of a military and civil household. On 6 *Shawwāl*/3 September, the caliph accompanied Baybars to Damascus, where the two joined in public prayer at the Umayyad mosque on 10 *Dhu 'l-Qa'da*/5 October. From Damascus, al-Mustanṣir and the sons of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', the late ruler of Mawṣil (631-57/1233-59) [see Lu'lu'] were sent out on separate expeditions to 'Irāk, to regain their ancestral dominions from the Mongols. Setting out on 23 *Dhu 'l-Qa'da*/19 October, al-Mustanṣir proceeded to 'Ana, where he encountered a kinsman and rival, a descendant in the fourth generation of the caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35 [q.v.]), who had been proclaimed as the caliph al-Hākim by Āḳūsh al-Barlī, the Mamlūk warlord of Aleppo and at this time Baybars's most dangerous opponent. The two caliphal pretenders, however, joined forces and advanced down the Euphrates to Hīt. The Mongol authorities in *Baghdād* sent out troops to halt the Muslims, and a battle took place opposite al-Anbār. The Muslims were at first successful, but then fell into a Mongol ambush. Al-Mustanṣir was almost certainly killed in the fighting (3 *Muharram* 660/28 November 1261), while al-Hākim escaped and made his way to Cairo, where he was installed as caliph on 2 *Muharram* 661/16 November 1262. His descendants continued the titular caliphate until it lapsed after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 922/1517.

Bibliography: The succinct account by Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, vii, 384-6, is based on Abū Shāmā, *Tarāḡim riḡāl al-karnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābi'*, Beirut 1974, 213-15; and Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān*, Haydarābād 1374/1954, i, 441-57, and cf. ii, 94-112. The official account is by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 99-112; it is summarised with a critical comment by Shāfi' b. 'Alī al-ʿAsḳalānī, *K. Husn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntaza'a min al-sira al-zāhiriyya*, ed. Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 37-46. See also D. Ayalon, *Studies on the transfer of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate from Bagdad to Cairo*, in *Arabica*, vii, 1960, 41-59, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, London 1977; P.M. Holt, *Some observations on the 'Abbāsīd caliphate of Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1984), 501-7; S. Heidemann, *Al-Hākim bi-amri 'llāh und Āḳūsh al-Burlī. Der Aufstieg des syrischen Kalifats bis 659h./1261 A.D.*, diss. Free Univ., Berlin 1988, unpubl. (P.M. Holt)

AL-MUSTANŠIR BI'LLĀH, Abū TAMĪM Ma'ADD B. 'ALĪ AL-ZĀHIR, eighth Fātimid caliph, born on 16 *Djuma*^d II 420/2 July 1029 (according to Idrīs, on 16 *Ramaḍān*/29 September), succeeded his father al-Zāhir [q.v.] on 15 *Shā'bān* 427/13 June 1036 and died on 18 *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 487/10 January 1094, after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fātimid Ismā'īlī movement.

Internal history. During the childhood of al-Mustanṣir, the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's *wazīr* Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Djardjārā'ī [q.v.]. On his death (7 *Ramaḍān* 436/28 March 1045), it was seized by the evil genius of al-