

912–3). The philosophical significance of this work is thoroughly explored in a monographic study by Fenton, who also there expresses his intention to publish an edition and Modern Hebrew translation of the work (Fenton, 51).

Of a third extant prose work by Ibn Ezra, *Mawliḍ al-sayyid al-rasūl Mūsā b. Imrān 'alayhi l-salām min al-shar' wa-l-naṣṣ wa-min 'ilm al-aflāk* (“[Treatise of] the nativity of the prophet Moses b. Amram according to the Torah, traditional literature, and astrology”), only the opening survives, in a single leaf published by Wilhelm Bacher (see also Fenton, 27–9).

Two lost works by Ibn Ezra are *Maqāla fī faḍl ahl al-adab wa-l-aḥsāb* (“Treatise on the virtues of the men of culture and noble descent”), mentioned by him in the *Muḥāḍara* (fol. 43r), apparently focusing on certain Iberian Jewish intellectuals; and *Maqālat naṣiḥat al-abrār lil-muḥtārīn min al-aḡhmār* (“Treatise of the sincere advice of devout men to those who are perplexed among the inexperienced”), mentioned in the *Hadīqa*, apparently of an ethical and/or exegetical nature. An old Karaite manuscript from Damascus also refers to Ibn Ezra having composed a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Pentateuch, though this may refer to a compilation of extracts from his prose works mentioned above (Fenton, 27–9).

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al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī

Al-Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn Abū Naṣr Hibatallāh b. Abī Imrān Mūsā b. Dāʿūd **al-Shīrāzī** (d. 470/1078), was chief *dāʿī* (agent of the religious, educational, and political mission, the *daʿwa*) under the

Fāṭimid *imām*-caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 427–87/1036–94), and he held the rank directly below the *imām* in the spiritual hierarchy. He was a renowned scholar and poet—his magnum opus is *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, a compendium of eight hundred lectures on symbolic interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and *sharī'a*.

1. LIFE

The foremost sources for al-Mu'ayyad's life are two in his own voice, *Sīra* ("Autobiography") and his *Dāwān* ("Collection of poetry"). They are supplemented by contemporary and mediaeval sources, of which the fullest is the *Uyūn al-akhbār* ("Select reports") by the Fāṭimid-Ṭayyibī *dā'ī* Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468) (6:451–515, 7:45–155); extensive quotations from all sources are provided in Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad* (15–100). (The Fāṭimids were an Ismā'īlī-Shī'ī Muslim dynasty that ruled much of the Islamic world for about two hundred fifty years, from the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth centuries, from North Africa and then from Egypt. The Ṭayyibīs of Yemen and India trace their religious and literary heritage to them and belong to their Musta'li denomination.)

Al-Mu'ayyad was born in 386/996 or 387/997, probably in Shiraz. His ancestors had proselytised for the Fāṭimids in the southern Iranian region of Fars for generations. Their service stretched back to the pre-Fāṭimid *da'wa* directed from Salamiyya, in Syria, by forebears of the *imām*-caliph al-Mahdī (r. 297–322/909–34), who founded the Fāṭimid empire in North Africa. Al-Mu'ayyad's father, Mūsā b. Dā'ūd (fl. early fifth/elev-enth century), was *dā'ī* of Fars under the Cairene *imām*-caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 386–411/996–1021), and it was probably

from him that al-Mu'ayyad acquired his formidable learning and training in the *da'wa*. Al-Mu'ayyad became the Fars *dā'ī* upon his father's death, during the reign of al-Zāhir (r. 411–27/1021–36), and he retained that post during the reign of al-Mustanṣir.

In addition to guiding his flock of Daylamī Shī'a in Shiraz (and Ahwaz), al-Mu'ayyad cultivated the political establishment of Fars, where, notwithstanding the hostility of certain Sunnī groups for his promotion of the Fāṭimids, his prestige increased steadily. In about 430/1039, the Būyid ruler Abū Kālījār (r. 415–40/1024–48) ordered him to engage in a series of written debates. (The Būyid dynasty were Shī'īs, perhaps of the Zaydī denomination, who ruled under the caliphal mantle of the Sunnī 'Abbāsids.) Convinced by al-Mu'ayyad's arguments, Abū Kālījār converted to the Fāṭimid doctrine, inducted him as teacher, and contemplated switching his political allegiance from the 'Abbāsids to the Fāṭimids. In 433/1042, the ruler gave in to pressure from his courtiers and withdrew his support. Al-Mu'ayyad repaired to Ahwaz, where he owned a house and had a considerable following. Over the next year, he rebuilt a derelict mosque, inscribed in it the names of the Fāṭimid *imāms*, and openly recited Shī'ī formulae in the Friday prayers. The town's Sunnī judge wrote to the 'Abbāsids for help, and they sent Ibn al-Muslima (d. 450/1058), who later became their *wazīr* and was given the title *ra'īs al-ru'asā'* (chief of chiefs), to induce Abū Kālījār to retain 'Abbāsīd vassal-ship and to give them custody of al-Mu'ayyad. Al-Mu'ayyad returned to Shiraz to plead his case with the Būyid ruler but was placed under house arrest. After seven months, he fled again to Ahwaz, then

to Hilla, and then—visiting, enroute, the shrines of 'Alī and al-Ḥusayn in Najaf and Karbalā'—to Mosul. From Mosul he proceeded to the Fāṭimid capital, Cairo, where he arrived almost three years after leaving Shiraz. Abū Kālījār soon wrote to al-Mu'ayyad in Cairo inviting him back, but the Būyid ruler died in 440/1048 and his successors barred al-Mu'ayyad from ever returning home to Fars.

Al-Mu'ayyad arrived in Cairo in 436/1045 or 437/1046, at about fifty years of age. He writes in his autobiography that he had expected a warm welcome in appreciation for his services and learning, but that the charged political situation in al-Mustanşir's court made the next three decades in Cairo even harder than the difficult last years he had faced in Persia. In 439/1048, with the help of the *wazīr* al-Falāḥī (d. 439/1048), he obtained his first audience with al-Mustanşir, and, although blocked intermittently by adversarial courtiers, he continued, for the most part, to have direct access to the *imām*. In 440/1048, the *wazīr* Abū l-Barakāt al-Jarjarā'ī (d. c.468/1076) enlisted him to write the text of the weekly *da'wa* lectures that al-Yāzūrī (d. 450/1058), then chief *dā'ī*, read out to the Fāṭimid following. In 443/1051, al-Yāzūrī, now *wazīr*, appointed al-Mu'ayyad head of the *dūwān al-inshā'* (royal chancery). In 446/1054, al-Mu'ayyad performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 448/1056, al-Mustanşir entrusted him with carrying supplies to and negotiating an alliance with the Turkmen general Abū l-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī (d. 451/1060) in Syria, and with Syrian and Iraqi rulers, against the 'Abbāsids. Empowered by al-Mu'ayyad's skilled mediation, al-Basāsīrī took the 'Abbāsīd capital Baghdad under the Fāṭimid banner in 450/1058 (the Saljūk Tuğhril Beg,

d. 455/1063, retook it for the 'Abbāsids the following year). Al-Mu'ayyad had returned to Cairo a few months earlier, contrary to the express instructions of the *wazīr* Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Maghribī (d. 478/1085) that he remain in Syria; this probably explains why he initially faced a cool reception.

Some months later, al-Mu'ayyad sent al-Mustanşir a poem in which he pleaded for an audience, and the *imām* answered with his own poem, expressing his deep regard and calling al-Mu'ayyad a "mighty peak of knowledge" (Idrīs, 7:90). Soon thereafter, towards the end of 450/1058, al-Mustanşir met al-Mu'ayyad in private audience, appointing him to the spiritual rank just below him, *bāb al-abwāb* (chief gate), and placing him in charge of the *da'wa* administration as *dā'ī l-du'āt* (chief *dā'ī*) (appointment decree in Idrīs, 7:93–8, trans. Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, 372–81; for the distinction between the two titles, see Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, 81–3). Holding this post for the next twenty years, al-Mu'ayyad turned his focus to the internal *da'wa*, supervising *dā'īs* in the provinces, teaching, and writing. Every Thursday, he addressed Fāṭimid initiates with theological lectures called *majālis al-ḥikma* (assemblies of wisdom), which were later collected as *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* ("Al-Mu'ayyad's lectures"). The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. between 465/1072 and 471/1078), who studied with al-Mu'ayyad when he visited Cairo from 439/1047 to 441/1050, praises his immense stature and teaching in his poems (Nāṣir, 265–74, 432–5, trans. Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, 87–9), and echoes al-Mu'ayyad's lectures in his prose works. During this time, too, al-Mu'ayyad engaged in a correspondence with the Syrian poet and scholar Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1058), ostensibly

debating his veganism but presumably attempting to win him to Fāṭimid beliefs. Although not budging from his practice, al-Ma'arrī saluted al-Mu'ayyad's powerful logic in his response: "Had you debated Aristotle, you would have vanquished him; had you debated Plato, you would have shredded his proofs" (*Rasā'il*, 1:134).

Al-Mu'ayyad had received the highest appointment in the *imām's da'wa*, but in 453/1061, as he laments in two of his poems (*Dīwān*, 251, 253), the *wazīr* Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 455/1063) succeeded in exiling him to Jerusalem, presumably because he considered him a competitor; the official grounds for the exile are not noted in the sources. Al-Mustanṣir recalled him the next year, expressing both regret and esteem in a formal decree of reinstatement (Idrīs, 7:91–93, trans. Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, 382–5).

After returning to Cairo in 454/1062, al-Mu'ayyad resumed supervision of the *da'wa* with a focus on Yemen and India (al-Mustanṣir, *siyill* §55, §61; Idrīs, 7:99–100; Khawj, 2:1:1). Soon thereafter, from 456/1064 to 461/1151—which, incidentally, was also the time of the Turkish uprising and the Great Famine in Cairo (Idrīs, 7:100–2)—he trained the Yemeni *qāḍī* Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī (d. c.491/1098). Lamak had arrived in Cairo as an emissary of the Ṣulayhids (r. c.439–532/1047–1138), who were political vassals and spiritual followers of the Fāṭimids. Al-Mustanṣir entrusted al-Mu'ayyad with teaching Lamak and housing him, and directed him to keep him by his side. After five years, Lamak returned to Yemen, where he trained his son Qāḍī Yaḥyā (d. 520/1126), who, in turn, trained the first post-Fāṭimid Ṭayyibī *dā'ī* Dhu'ayb b. Mūsa (d. 546/1151, Ḥātim, *Tuhfat*, 104–7; Idrīs, 7:151–5). In

this capacity, al-Mu'ayyad is credited with transferring the *imām's* profound tradition of learning to the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*. Lamak also carried with him al-Mu'ayyad's writings, which have been preserved, revered, and studied in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yemen and India over the centuries.

Al-Mu'ayyad died in the first ten days of Shawwāl 470/1078, at eighty-three or eighty-four years of age. Al-Mustanṣir honoured him by personally leading his funeral prayers. He was buried (unusually) in his residence, the Dār al-ʿIlm (Idrīs, 7:181).

2. SCHOLARLY WORKS

A prolific author with a strong individual style, al-Mu'ayyad wrote eleven works in several fields: symbolic exegesis (*ta'wīl*, the second highest of the ascending levels of knowledge in Fāṭimid doctrine), metaphysics or the "supreme truths" (*ḥaqā'iq*, the highest level), supplications, autobiography, poetry, and translation. Additional works have been incorrectly ascribed to him by some modern scholars (for details of all works, see Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, 358–68).

Al-Mu'ayyad's masterwork is (1) *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, a collection of written discourses in eloquent Arabic probably compiled in their present form by Qāḍī Lamak. It is divided into eight volumes of a hundred lectures each, titled *al-Mi'at al-ūlā* ("The first hundred"), *al-Mi'at al-thāniya* ("The second hundred"), and so on. The work presents a rich hermeneutics of Fāṭimid doctrine with symbolic *ta'wīl* interpretations of Qur'ān verses, Prophetic *ḥadīth*, and precepts of *sharī'a*. It emphasises rationality, harmonising revelation with reason, and it refutes doctrines of non-Fāṭimid denominations, including literalist Ash'arī Sunnīs, rationalist Mu'tazilīs, *imām*-deifier (*ghulāt*)

Shī'īs, athiests (*mulhids*), and certain free thinkers (*ẓindīqs*) such as Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. middle of the fourth/tenth century). The work is prized in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*: their *dā'ī* Ḥātim Muḥyī l-Dīn (d. 596/1199) wrote a two-volume abridgement of the *Majālis Mu'ayyadīyya* titled *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq* ("Encyclopaedia of the supreme truths"), and the *Majālis* have continued to be cited frequently in their texts and assemblies. Al-Mu'ayyad is also revered by the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs (who trace their legacy to the Fāṭimids), but their Persian focus has prevented extensive study of his Arabic works; al-Mu'ayyad influences the Nizārīs indirectly through the Persian works of his student Nāṣir-i Khusraw. (2) The five *Rasā'il* ("Letters") exchanged by al-Mu'ayyad and al-Ma'arrī debating veganism are also cited in the *Majālis* (vol. 6, *majlis* §13–16).

Two further treatises on symbolic exegesis are (3) *al-Mas'ala wa-l-jawāb* ("Question and answer"), and (4) *al-Masā'il al-sab'ūn fī l-ta'wīl* ("Seventy questions on symbolic exegesis"). Two treatises on metaphysics are (5) *Sharḥ al-ma'ād* ("Explaining the return [to God]"), and (6) *al-Ibtidā' wa-l-intihā'* ("The beginning and the end"). Prose supplications with themes grounded in Fāṭimid esoterics are (7) *al-Ad'ya al-Mu'ayyadīyya* ("Al-Mu'ayyad's supplications"), containing twenty-nine supplications to God varying between one and twenty-three pages in the facsimile edition, and (8) *al-Masābiḥ al-sab'* ("Seven liturgies"), supplications for each day of the week. Al-Mu'ayyad's only Persian work is (9) *Bunyād-i ta'wīl* ("Foundations of symbolic exegesis"), a translation of *Asās al-ta'wīl* ("Foundations of symbolic exegesis") by al-Qāḍī l-Nu'mān (d. 363/974).

The historical work (10) *al-Sūra al-Mu'ayyadīyya* ("Al-Mu'ayyad's autobiogra-

phy") encompasses a significant period of his career as Fāṭimid *dā'ī*. Detailing twenty years of his life, from 429/1038 to 450/1058, it spans the last five to six years of his life in Shiraz, the two years of his sojourn to Cairo, the first ten to eleven years of his life in the Fāṭimid capital, and the two years spent in Syria during the al-Basāsīrī episode, ending with his return to Cairo. Reflecting his erudition and astute diplomacy, its flowing narrative includes the texts of al-Mu'ayyad's debates and correspondence during these years.

Probably also compiled by Lamak, al-Mu'ayyad's poetry collection, (11) *Dīwān*, contains sixty-two poems varying between four and one hundred fifty-three verses devoted to the Fāṭimid ideology. Underpinned by his political struggles and set against Cairene court machinations, they highlight his continuing devotion to the Fāṭimid *imām* in the face of these tribulations and contain a strong personal expression of his beliefs and emotions. Praise of the *imām*, supplications addressed to God, elegies, ideological and personal declarations, and two didactic poems in the *rajaz* metre, all centred on symbolic exegesis, come together in a new aesthetic of Fāṭimid *da'wa* poetry, initiating a poetic tradition followed to the present day in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*.

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TAHERA QUTBUDDIN

Mudanya Armistice

The **Mudanya Armistice** (Mudanya Mütarekesi) was signed by the victorious Allied powers of the First World War and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on 11 October 1922, in the Turkish town of Mudanya (on the Sea of Marmara, approximately 25 kilometres northwest of Bursa). The first treaty between Turkey and the Allies after the Turkish War of Independence (1919–22), it primarily aimed at stopping military operations between Greek and Turkish forces and was signed after discussions that lasted from 3 to 11 October. The Greek delegation included General Konstantinos Mazarakis (d. 1949) and Colonel Ptolemaios

Sarıyannis (d. 1958), though they did not attend the meetings. The Allied delegation comprised the commanders of the occupation forces in Istanbul: General Charles Harington (d. 1940), Great Britain; General C. Antoine Charpy (d. 1941), France; and General Ernesto Mombelli (d. 1932), Italy. General Mustafa İsmet İnönü (d. 1973) served as chairman of the Turkish delegation, which also included General Asım Gündüz (d. 1970), Lieutenant Colonel Tevfik Bıyıkhoğlu (d. 1932), and the vice president of the Turkish Red Crescent, Hamit Hasancan (d. 1943). The French politician Henry Franklin-Bouillon (d. 1937) attended the meetings as an observer.

The Turkish War of Independence ceased temporarily after Turkey's decisive offensive against the Greek army between 26 August and 9 September 1922. Although the Greek occupation of Anatolia ended with this campaign, Allied and Greek forces remained in eastern Thrace, the Turkish Straits, Istanbul, and Gallipoli (Gelibolu). On 7 September, during the offensive, the Greeks asked the British to propose a ceasefire to the Turks. On the same day, the Turkish commander-in-chief, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (d. 1938), replied that Turkey had already liberated Anatolia and a truce would only apply to eastern Thrace. On 13 September (after several fruitless debates in Izmir), the Turkish First and Second Armies advanced on Gallipoli and Istanbul, which prompted the French and Italians to pull back across the Dardanelles on 20 September, from the Asian to the European side, leaving British forces isolated in Anatolia. Subsequently, the Allies met in Paris (20–3 September) and proposed an armistice conference to the Turks on 23 September. Mustafa Kemal halted Turkish military operations on

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