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The Integrity of the Marinid Kingdom's Administrative System

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Abstract: Being an Islamic kingdom in the medieval period, the Marinids (1215-1465M) is regarded as a good and strong one when it was able to rule the entire al-Maghrib during its days of glory. This study aims to review the governance system of the Kingdom of Marinid which includes its administration and personnel recruitment. In addition, this study seeks to identify the duty and role that each government departments played during the era of the Marinids. This study used the method of qualitative study which involves both historical study and content analysis methods. The finding showed that the long life span of the Marinids and its ruling power in al-Maghrib was due to the kingdom's effective governance system which has clearly defined and documented authorities for all roles in each government departments.

Key words: Marinid kingdom, administrative system, al-Maghrib and al-Andalus, granada, Fez, governance system, integrity

INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Marinid (Ar. Al-Dawlah Al-Mariniyyah; Banu Marin) was a Muslim Kingdom which emerged in North Africa after the downfall of the Almohads (Ar. Al-Muwahhidun). The other kingdoms contemporary to it were the Kingdom of Hafsid (Ar. Al-Dawlah al-Hafsiyyah; Banu Hafs) in Al-Maghrib Al-Adna and the Kingdom of Zayyanid (Ar. Al-Dawlah Al-Zayyaniyyah; Banu Zayyan) or Abdalwadid (Ar. Banu Abd Al-Wad) which ruled Al-Maghrib Al-Awsat. The Marinids ruled Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa which covered the territories of present day Morocco. They faced many challenges during the period of its establishment and stabilization as well as during the period of weakness and decline. Nevertheless, this kingdom which lasted from 1215-1465 AD did savor a period of glory during the reign of the great Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali (1331-1351 AD). Major achievements in a variety of areas such as politics, economics, social and arts are seen as the yardstick of the success and excellence of the Marinid Kingdom.

In addition, the Marinids had expanded its control over territories of North Africa and Al-Andalus. It did once subjugate the other two contemporary kingdoms that is Banu Hafs and Banu Zayyan in North Africa. It was also involved in the political affairs of Al-Andalus in Granada when the Nasrid kingdom (Ar. Al-Dawlah al-Nasriyyah; Banu al-Ahmar; Banu Nasr) was attacked by the Christian army. In fact, the Marinids had at one time gained a foothold and controlled Gibraltar in the South of al-Andalus.

However, defeat in the hands of the Christians in a war forced them to leave Al-Andalus soil in 1340 AD. The glory of this kingdom continued with the development and achievements in various aspects of social life such as administrative management, education, literature, vigour of economic activity and preservation of an intact culture. However, the demise of Sultan Abu Inan Faris (1348-1358 AD) was seen as the moment the Marinids commenced to decline. The various problems which cropped up whether internal or external had become a factor for its weakness. Political and administrative chaos was deemed as an important factor which led to its downfall and finally caused it to lose control over Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa to another power in 1465 AD. Nevertheless, history states that the Marinids was a Muslim kingdom in Al-Maghrib which contributed to the development of the Islamic civilization.

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A CURSORY GLANCE AT THE MARINID KINGDOM

The Marinids was a Muslim Berber kingdom which once existed and controlled Al-Maghrib. The kingdom which originated from the Banu Zanatah appeared and lasted for a period of two and half centuries from 1215-1465 AD. According to Ibn Khaldun (1968) Banu Marin was a branch of the Banu Zanatah from the Banu Wasin. This can be observed from their nasab (ancestry) that is Banu Marin b. Wartajin b. Mahukh b. Judayi b. Fatin b.Yaddar b. Yakhfit b. Abd Allah b. Wartanbis b. Al-Muizz b. Ibrahim b. Sahik b. Wasin. They had family relations with Banu Yalumi and Madyunah.

It was ascertained that the political involvement of the Marinids began in 1195 AD when they aided Almohads in the Battle of Alarcos in al-Andalus (Shatzmiller, 1991). The Marinids' involvement became more apparent when they opposed Almohads from 1213 until 1215 AD. Led by Abd Al-Haqq b. Mahyu, they frequently waged war against the Almohads. The outcome was the weakening of Almohads and several lands of Al-Maghribi were conquered by the Marinids, among them, Meknes (1244 AD), Fez (1248 AD) and Sijilmasah (1255 AD). The opposition of the Marinids to Almohads finally succeeded when Marrakesh, the capital city of the kingdom was captured in the year 1269 AD (Shatzmiller, 1991). The conquest had wiped out the Almohads and at once established the Marinids as the new ruler of Al-Maghrib.

The Marinids had 26 sultans from the same lineage of descent. Their competency and powerful deliberation had made the Marinids a strong kingdom in North Africa even though there was stiff competition from the kingdoms of Zayyanid centred in Tilimsan and the Hafsid in Tunis, respectively. The process of strengthening and consolidation continued until it reached its era of glory under the rule of Sultan Abu al-Hasan Ali (1331-1351 AD) (Le Tourneau, 1970; Julien, 1970; Oliver, 1977). His reign witnessed the excellence of the Marinids in various fields including politics, economics and social field. During this time, the Marinids also succeeded in controlling part of Al-Andalus when they helped the Nasrids fend off an attack of a Muslim army from the North of the Iberian Peninsula. The Marinids also extended their control over the Zayyanids and Hafsids when they occupied Tilimsan (1337 AD) and Tunis (1347 AD) (Shatzmiller, 1991). There was also rapid development of economic, social and intellectual activity during this period. Cultural activity in arts and architecture was so vibrant resulting in the construction of many mosques, madrasah and Al-zawaya (corners) (Harakat, 1984).

The Marinids began to decline after the demise of Sultan Abu Inan Faris (1351-1358 AD). Nevertheless, the Marinid Kingdom survived for another hundred years until its downfall in the year 1465 AD. Various conflicts, both external and internal, amongst which disputes and differences in the administration, fights for positions, external threats, particularly from the Christian Castile and Portugal was a factor for the deterioration of the Marinids. Finally, the Marinids' power was wiped out from Al-Maghrib and replaced by the power of the Wattasids (Ar. Banu Wattas) who was previously the wazir of the Marinids (Garcia-Arenal, 1978). Nevertheless, the Marinids will always be remembered as one of the greater Muslim kingdoms in Al-Mahgrib. Its great contribution in the development of the Islamic civilization becomes important information in historical works and the Islamic civilization. In fact, North Africa is the birthplace of many prominent Muslim intellectual figures or scientists, among whom were Ibn Battutah, Ibn Marzuq and Ibn Khaldun during the reign of the Marinids.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARINID KINGDOM

The Marinids emerged in Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa through a revolt against the Almohad Caliphate. This was not the case with the two other kingdoms contemporary to the Marinids that is the Hafsids and the Zayyanids. The Hafsid Kingdom declared its freedom from the grip of the Almohads in the year 1236 AD and controlled the Ifriqiyyah territories whereas the Zayyanid Kingdom did the same in the year 1235 AD and controlled the territory of Al-Maghrib Al-Awsat. Only the Marinids rose up in rebellion against the Almohads from the year 1216-1269 AD (Al-Hariri, 1987). In the year 1269 A.D., Almohad Caliphate was successfully overthrown by the Marinids who captured Marrakesh, the Almohads administrative centre. This had a great impact on the Marinids as they had then become the sole kingdom of the Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa territory.

Even though the Marinids inherited Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa from the Almohads, this does not mean that they followed the model system of governance of the Almohads entirely. Unlike the Marinids, the Hafsids followed the model system of governance of the Almohads, for example, the title of the ruler used was Amir Al-Mu'minin. This title means a ruler who is not only the head of the political and administrative system of the kingdom but is also leader of the faithful. This was not the case of the Marinids system of governance. From the beginning of its formation until the reign of Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali (1331-1351 A.D.), the title of the ruler used was Amir Al-Muslimin. After this, Sultan Abu Inan Faris for the first time used the title Amir Al-Mu'minin because

of his success in uniting all the provinces of Al-Maghrib under the rule of the Marinids, a second time achievement after it was pioneered by Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali (Julien, 1970).

Most of the literature that is relevant to the Marinids is written in either Arabic or English. As far as the Malay language is concerned, the numbers of sources that discuss the Marinids are very limited and among the first few persons who highlight and then analyze the subject matter are Mahayudin (1987), Hamka Hamka Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (1994), Ezad Azraai (2004, 2006), Ezad Azraai *et al*. (2011), Ezad Azraai and Mohamad Zulfazdlee (2010) and lastly, Mohamad Zulfazdlee and Ezad Azraai (2009, 2010) and Mohamad Zulfazdlee *et al*. (2010).

ADMINISTRATION AT THE CENTRAL LEVEL

The administration of the Marinid Kingdom was divided into two, the central level and the provincial level. This form of governance is similar to the form of administration in Malaysia which is divided into the central or federal level and the state level. These administrations have separate jurisdictions and institutions for effective governance. The Marinids central administration was situated in Fez. Fez was the official administration centre and capital city of the Marinid kingdom in the year 1271 AD after Sultan Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (1258-1286 AD) replaced Marrakesh with Fez as the administrative centre of Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub also launched the development of Fez, known as Fas Al-Jadid (Abun-Nasr, 1987), to suit its status as the new capital city. Development was undertaken to promote Fez as an important Muslim city in the West, comparable to Cairo, Tunis and Granada.

During the Marinid era, Fez was not just an administrative centre; it also functioned as an economic, intellectual and social centre as well as a military city and Islamic development centre (Le Tourneau, 1961). Based on these roles, Fez had various infrastructure and important buildings such as the sultan's palace, government offices, mosques, schools, prisons, courts, hospital, bazaars, public baths and military camps. Among the institutions of governance at the central level were the sultanate, wali Al-'ahd, Al-wuzara', Al-kitabah and Al-hijabah.

Ra'is al-Dawlah (Sultan): The Marinid Kingdom was led by a head of state known as the Sultan. The title Sultan was first used by Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Abd Al-Haqq (1258-1286 AD). The previous leaders from Abd Al-Haqq b. Mahyu (1213-1215 AD) until Umar b. Abi Yahya (1244-1258 AD) used the title Amir as the Marinids stood as an imarah (emirate) or state. However, the Marinids became a dawlah (sovereignty) after it successfully captured Marrakesh and overthrew the Almohads in the year 1269 AD. Since then, the Marinids replaced the title Amir with the title Sultan or Amir Al-Muslimin (Harakat, 1984).

The Marinid Sultan was merely a symbol of the political strength, unlike that in the era of the Almohads. The ruler of the Almohads was regarded as the Khalifah and became the symbol of both religious and political strength, unlike the ruler of the Marinids who was not the head of religion. Because of that the Marinids gave its subjects freedom to choose whichever madhhab or Muslim school of law they believed in. This matter was explained by Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali in Musnad Al-Sahih Al-Hasan fi Mathir Mawlana Abi Al-Hasan, a work of Ibn Marzuq which stated that there were three groups of governors not bound by the subjects that is the Sahib Al-Qasbah, Sahib Al-Shurtah and Al-Wali and that there were three other groups who would always be followed and consulted by the subjects that is Al-Imam, Al-Qadi and Al-Muhtasib. This statement explains that the Marinids had replaced the Khalifah system practised during the Almohads era with the Al-Sultanah system in its governance (Al-Hariri , 1987).

The leaders of the Marinids had from the beginning of their emergence used the title Amir from the year 1215-1269 AD. The title was changed after they successfully overthrew the Almohads in the year 1269 AD. Their leader then, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub was the first to use the title of Sultan and replaced the Khilafah system of the Almohads with a new system of governance that is Al-Sultanah. It is obvious that this new system under the patronage of the Marinid kingdom was introduced to the society by giving them full liberty to practise their religious faith without being restricted to any particular madhhab (school of law) or faith. Besides that, this new system placed each sultan of the Marinids in the highest political position as well as head of administration but not as a symbol of religious status. This is because religious affairs were left to the fuqaha' (jurists) and ulama (scholars). The Marinid sultans used the title Amir Al-Muslimin. However, there were sultans who used the title Amir Al-Mu'minin but did not add the word Al-Khalifah to the title (Al-Hariri, 1987). This differed slightly from the era of the Almohads during which the rulers used the kalimah Al-Khalifah and Amir Al-Mu'minin in the title to their names.

Bay'ah (pledge of allegiance) to the sultan was categorized to two levels that is special bay'ah (khas) and general bay'ah. The former was participated by ahl al-hall

wa al-'aqd comprising of the sultan's family members, wazir and nobles of the kingdom. This group is similar in function to the Majlis Pemangku Raja (Council to deputise or act for the King) in Malaysia and was responsible for safeguarding the power of the Marinid Kingdom until the coronation of the new sultan. In the case where there was no wali al-'ahd, the council would have to choose from among the princes of the Marinids for the special pledge and appoint him as sultan. The appointment would then be brought before the subjects for the general pledge. Such a case occurred with the demise of Sultan Abu Al-Rabi Sulayman who did not have any wali Al-'ahd. Hence, the ahl Al-hall wa Al-'aqd invoked their powers by selecting Abu Sa'id Uthman b. Abd Al-Haqq as sultan (Al-Hariri, 1987). The general bay'ah was afterwards held after the special bay'ah, participated by all of the subjects including the Berber Zanatah and Arab tribes, other kabilah (tribes), military, workers, scholars, heads of groups and slaves. The Marinids system was a dynasty. The heir to the throne was selected from the family of the previous sultan such as the son, grandson or male relative to be the new sultan.

Wali Al-'Ahd (crown prince): The position of wali Al-'ahd was important in the Marinid kingdom. The bearer of this position stood to inherit the throne on the death or dismissal of the previous sultan. Wali Al-'ahd had the responsibility to safeguard the institution of the king or sultan and secure the powers of the sultan as the highest authority.

The first person to be appointed as wali Al-'ahd was Amir Abu Malik Abd Al-Wahid b. Sultan Ya'qub b. Abd Al-Haqq. The appointment of wali Al-'ahd was begun by Sultan Abu Yusuf Ya'qub and became a precedent for subsequent sultans. It is therefore to be expected that the Marinids sultans would select the wali Al-'ahd from their family, namely, the princes. The reigning sultan would choose one of his princes to be the wali Al-'ahd and subject to no objections, he would order all his office bearers and subjecs to pledge allegiance and loyalty to wali Al-'ahd as his heir and successor. Wali Al-'ahd played the role of deputy sultan and always acted on the sultan's behalf in his absence from Fez palace or when he was engaged in external matters. This occurred during the reign of Sultan Abu Al-Hasan 'Ali when he appointed wali Al-'ahd, Abu 'Inan Faris as his crown prince in Tilimsan during his absence to lead an expedition to conquer Ifriqqiyah (Al-Hariri, 1987).

In addition, wali Al-'ahd frequently represented the sultan in heading military expeditions to control and eliminate trouble and turmoil in al-Maghrib. Wali Al-'ahd also played a role in jihad (holy war) expeditions in Al-Andalus. For example, Sultan Abu Yusuf Ya'qub had sent wali Al-'ahd Amir Yusuf to capture Sabtah from Banu Al-Azfa' in 1273 AD. During the rule of Sultan Abu Al-Hassan Ali, an expedition led by wali Al-'ahd Amir Abdul Malik was sent to fight the Christian army in Al-Andalus in the year 1339 AD. However, Amir Abdul Malik had met his fate in that war. Most of the Marinid sultans had made the battlefield, governance and administration as an educational and training ground for the wali Al-'ahd in preparation to succeed them for the throne (Al-Hariri, 1987; Harakat, 1984).

At the same time however, the position of wali al-'ahd can be said to be one of the sources of the problems threatening the stability of the Marinid Kingdom. This problem arises when the sultan died without having appointed wali Al-'ahd as his heir causing discord and disputes among ahl Al-hall wa Al-'aqd in the choice of new sultan. This had happened on the demise of Sultan Abu Ya'qub Yusuf b. 'Abd Al-Haqq in the year 1286 AD. Ahl Al-hall wa Al-'aqd then were divided into two groups over who should be the new sultan. The first group comprised of the royal family and Arab tribal leaders who were inclined to choose Abu Thabit 'Amir, grandson of the Sultan Abu Ya'qub Yusuf whereas the wuzara' group and heads of the military who were in favour of a monarchy, supported Amir Abu Salim b. Sultan Yusuf as sultan (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Besides, the position of wali al-'ahd became problematic when the sultan could not make a comparison to choose one of his princes. For example, Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali could not make his choice between two of his princes whether Amir Abd Al-Rahman or Amir Abu Malik, as wali Al-'ahd. So he appointed both for the same position. The rivalry and conflict between them carried on until the demise of Abd Al-Rahman (Al-Hariri, 1987). During a time when Al-Wuzara' was very influential in the Marinid administration, the position of wali Al-'ahd was not deemed as very important. This was because most of the sultans then did not really have full powers in the appointment of wali Al-'ahd as all affairs of administration were in the hands of the wazir.

al-Wuzara': Ibn Khaldun stated that the institution of Al-Wuzara' was the essence of the government framework and the term means absolute aid or support. Al-Wuzara' is taken from the word, Al-wizr which means sharing the bearing the burden and responsibility with the sultan.

The Marinid sultan did not follow the Almohad practice of appointing the wazir from among the princes or their family members. Instead they appointed the wazir from the warrior class and not also from the learned class.

Al-Mawardi stated in his book, Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyyah that the system of Al-Wizarah can be divided into two types that is wizarat tafwid and wizarat tanfidh. According to the statement, the Marinid institution of Al-Wizarah from the years 1269-1357 AD was characterized as wizarat tanfidh. This system means the wazir assumed the role of intermediary between the sultan and the people. During that period, the wazir functioned in executing all orders and commands of the sultan as well as making reports to the sultan on the course of every government affair such as military distribution or provincial administration. This proved that the sultan's rule during that period was absolute and sufficiently powerful in all administration affairs (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Among the renowned Marinid wazir was Abu Ma'ruf Mohamad b. Yahya who served Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman (1310-1331 AD). Besides him, there were a number of office bearers who discharged the duties of a wazir without being officially appointed as wazir. One of them was Abu Imran Musa b. Abd Allah who served Sultan Abu Al-Hasan Ali (1331-1351 AD) by carrying out the duties of wazir without the title of wazir to his name. The number of wazir increased depending on the needs of Al-Wizarah institution itself. In the establishment stage of the Marinid Kingdom, six wazir were appointed, they were Yahya b. Hazim al-'Aluwi, Yahya b. Abi Mandil al-'Askari, Fath Allah b. 'Umar b. Mohamad Al-Sidrati, 'Isa b. Masa Al-Fawdudi, 'Umar b. Al-Su'ud b. Kharbash Al-Hashmi and Mohamad b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Atwi Al-Janati (Al-Hariri, 1987). The number of wazir fluctuated depending on the will of the sultan and his appointment.

The years 1357 until 1465 AD the era of weakness and downfall of the Marinid Kingdom was the period when Al-Wuzara' was influential and this institution was known as wizarat tafwid that is a system whereby wazir had full powers. This happened because the sultans of that period were weak and entirely surrendered matters of governance and administration to the Al-Wuzara'. Thus, Al-Wuzara' exercised all its powers in administration at once strengthening its influence and support which finally caused the status of the sultan to weaken leading to his downfall. Ibn Khaldun stated that during this period, the wazir had acted arbitrarily like a dictator and his power exceeded the sultan's power. Among some of the wazir of this period were Al-Hasan al-Fawdudi, 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah, Abu Bakr b. Ghazi and Mohamad b. 'Uthman. These wazir had managed to place all matters of administration directly under their control. The supremacy of the sultan then did not last or prevail as in the formal hierarchy as all administrative matters were under the control of Al-Wuzara' (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Al-Kitabah: The position of Al-Katib was important in supporting the sultan to govern the kingdom. The Marinid sultans had allocated a diwan or department specifically for this institution of Al-Kitabah, named Diwan Al-Insha' wa Al-'Allamah. The Diwan had a large number of Al-Kuttab who carried out the duty of writing letters for the kingdom. Individuals who head the diwan during the Marinid era comprised of those who were articulate and specialized in languages. Among those who had served as Al-Katib in the Marinid Kingdom were Abd Al-Rahman b. Khaldun and 'Abd Al-Muhaymin b. Muhammad Al-Hadrami. The achievement of the latter in his position as Al-Katib was very impressive and contributed to the credibility of Al-Kitabah as one of the important institutions of the kingdom. Prior to this, Al-Katib was not sufficiently eloquent in their style of writing of letters. Ibn Khaldun stated another prominent Al-Katib during the era of Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman Al-Marini by the name of Abu al-Qasim b. Abi Madyan. Another Al-Katib Al-Magharibah who used to head Diwan Al-Insha' wa Al-'Allamah was Abu Al-Hasan 'Alla Al-Khuza'i Al- Tilimsani (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Within this institution was a position known as Katib Al-Sirr which can be said to be the equivalent of Confidential Secretary today. The bearer of this office often accompanied the Sultan, especially in the Majlis al-Mazalim to hear reports, petitions and complaints from the general public. Katib Al-Sirr played the role of reporting to the Sultan regarding the affairs of the public prior to the Sultan himself hearing their complaints. The role of Katib Al-Sirr was similar to al-Amin Al-'Am, to keep and maintain orderly reports on public affairs which were presented to the Sultan (Al-Qalqashandi, 1998).

al-Hijabah: Al-Hajib was an important position in the Marinid system of administration. The office-bearer was closely involved with the organizational arrangement and hierarchy of official positions in the administration. Its situation at the palace gates of the Marinid palace rendered Al-Hajib as the link between the Sultan and the public. Ibn Khaldun stated that Al-Hajib possessed knowledge of the palace situation and the protocols of councils. Al-Hajib headed the troop of palace guards at the palace gates known as Al-Janadirah. In addition, Al-Hajib also supervised the prisons by monitoring the public to observe regulations in public areas (Al-Hariri, 1987). This was done solely to secure safety for the Sultan in case he visited public areas to observe the people in public areas.

Most of Al-Hajib were appointed from the good and competent of the slave class of the Sultan. There were even Al-Hajib who were appointed from the ahl Al-

dhimmah group such as Khalifah b. Hayyun Al-Zumami, who was of Jewish descent. Besides that there were also appointed as Al-Hajib, trustworthy men who had been castrated who were given the duty of securing the palace compound for women of the royal family. However, Ibn Khaldun stated that this institution during the Marinid era was not called Al-Hijabah but was better known as Al-Muzawwar. Nevertheless, Al-Salawi (1954) and Ibn Al-Ahmar (1991) maintained they were called Al-Hijabah.

Al-Hijabah during the Marinid Kingdom was different from that in the Almohad period. The Al-Hijabah was regarded as considerably important for the stability of the Marinid Kingdom because Al-hajib constantly accompanied the Sultan to guard his safety. In fact, whosoever holding the position of Al-hajib to the sultan had a close rapport with him and sometimes could act as his wazir (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Al-Jaysh wa Al-Astul: The military was one of the prime aspects in the Marinid administration. It was given special attention by the ruler because it was one of the sources or elements of stability for the kingdom. The Marinid military functioned to resolve all internal problems such as rebellion by Arab tribes. Aside from that the armies played a role in jihad activities in Al-Andalus to oppose the Christian armies who were intense in their reconquest campaign.

Generally, the military system of the Marinids can be divided into two components that is the ground and the naval forces. The Marinids comprised of various tribes including the Berber Zanatah, Arab tribes, the society of Al-Andalus, Slavs or Saqalibah and slave class (Harakat, 1984). The Berber Zanatah were great horsemen. They were from several branches of descent that is Banu Marin, Maghrawah, Yaafran, Tujin and Zawawah who were selected to join the cavalry for their horse-riding skill. Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa tribe also joined the military, among them were Banu Jabir, Banu Zaghbah, Banu Sufyan, Banu Salim, Banu ‘Amir, Banu Riyah, Banu Hilal and Banu Ma‘qal.

The military was reformed during the era of the last Marinid sultan, Sultan ‘Abd Al-Haqq II (1420-1464 AD). The kingdom had increased the number of military training centres and training camps outside of Fez city throughout the whole of the territory ruled by the Marinids. The military comprised of various tribes and groups who were trusted to take sides with the Marinids. However, this policy had backfired as recruitment of new fighters was opened only to the Berber and Arab tribes close to the Marinids. Other groups such as Berber Sanhaja and Masmuda were not allowed to join the military. As a result of being marginalized, these groups began to revolt and threaten the stability of the Marinid Kingdom (Mohyeddin, 2002).

The Marinids also recruited mercenaries from the Christian groups to join the cavalry. In fact, a few of them were appointed to be the personal bodyguards of the Sultan. In addition, Christians were also recruited as archers. High rewards and payment were given to the military before battle as motivation and support in order that they fought their utmost to win. A leader would be selected to lead a military battalion or platoon and he would act to give orders and plan a strategy to confront the enemy (Harakat, 1984). Apart from this, the platoon also played the role of gathering the booty or spoils of war after victory. The ground forces of the Marinids had used various war weapons such as manjaniq (granite catapult), arches, swords, spears and shields. Ground forces comprised of the cavalry, infantry for one to one combat, archers and personnel for handling heavy weapons such as manjaniq. The motto squad of the military used musical instruments such as trumpets, drums and lutes (Harakat, 1984).

The Marinid Kingdom placed equal attention on the strength of the naval forces. The naval forces functioned to secure the peace in Al-Maghrib from enemy threat from the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, the naval force was utilized by the ground forces to cross the Straits of Gibraltar into Al-Andalus. Several naval bases and shipyards for warships were installed along the coast. Among them were Tanjah, Sala and Sabtah (Al-Abbadi and Salim, 1982). These bases or shipyards were better known as Dar Al-Sina‘ah.

These bases were built by specialist engineers during the Marinid era. For example, Sultan Abu Yusuf Ya‘qub (1258-1286 AD) had engaged a specialist engineer from Al-Andalus, Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad Al-Haj Al-Ishbili (died in 714H) to build Dar Al-Sina‘ah in Sala. This was not just a naval base but also a shipyard for building battleships. The ships were built for war at sea and as transport for ground forces to cross over to Al-Andalus.

The Marinid naval reached its height and strength during the time of Sultan Abu Al-Hasan ‘Ali (1331-1351 AD). Ibn Khaldun stated that this sultan had expanded its naval force to 600 units matching the naval power of Aragon and Castile (Al-Abbadi and Salim, 1982). In addition, Abu Al-Hasan had also built control towers throughout the length of Al-Maghrib coastline to guard the border from enemy threat. He also took part in the war at sea against Aragon and Castile. In all these wars at sea, some were won by the Marinids and the rest by the Christian army (Al-Abbadi and Salim, 1982).

Shaykh Al-Ghuzah: Shaykh Al-Ghuzah was a unique position as the office-bearer was appointed to oversee the military affairs of the Marinids in Al-Andalus. This position was created as the outcome of an understanding between the Marinid and the Nasrid Kingdom which was centred in Granada. This understanding resulted in the appointment of a Marinid officer as Shaykh Al-Ghuzah for the purpose of arranging and organizing matters pertaining to the Muslim military who took part in jihad in Al-Andalus as well as for making plans to defend Al-Andalus from the attacks of the Christian army (Al-Hijji, 1983). Shaykh Al-Ghuzah was the head of the council or board responsible for military administration in Al-Andalus. The council was known as Mashyikhah Al-Ghuzzah.

The Marinid Kingdom had appointed Banu ‘Ala who had close relations with the Marinids, to form the Mashyikhah Al-Ghuzah. The first person to be appointed as Shaykh Al-Ghuzah was ‘Abd Allah b. Abi Al-‘Ala. He held the position until he was martyred in 693H. He was succeeded by his brother, Abu Sa‘id ‘Uthman b. Abi Al-‘Ala (Al-Hijji, 1983).

Al-Maqqari (1968) in his research, Nafh Al-Tib, described the creation of the position by the Marinids as solely to assist the kingdom and the society of Al-Andalus to oppose the enemy threat that is the Christian armies. However, the position was taken away by Sultan Muhammad Al-Ghazi bi Allah (1361-1390 AD) when he ascended to the throne of Nasrid Kingdom. His own sons were given the leadership of the army (Al-Hariri, 1987). This action was taken to eliminate all Marinid influence in Al-Andalus. After the defeat in the Battle of Rio Salado and the capture of Algeciras by the Christian army in 1344 AD the Marinids did not send any more reinforcement to fight the Christian army in al-Andalus. For this reason, the position of Shaykh Al-Ghuzah was taken away to eliminate the influence of the Marinids in Al-Andalus. This was especially so at a time when the Marinids was in a state of weakness.

Administration at the provincial level: The administration of the Marinid kingdom operated at two levels at the same time, at the central level and the provincial level. This is similar to the present federal system of Malaysia with the centre of administration at Putrajaya city and separate 14 state administrations including the federal state of Wilayah Persekutuan. The Marinid Kingdom was divided into 10 provinces and the capital city was centred at Fez (Al-Hariri, 1987):

- Fez: Fez was made an important and invaluable province. The first wali of Fez was ‘Abd Allah al-Hawdudi who was appointed by Sultan Abu Yusuf Ya‘qub (1258-1286 AD)
- Marrakesh and al-Suways
- Aghmat and Tinmalal
- Sala
- Miknasah
- Rabat and Taza
- Sijilmasah
- Dar‘ah
- A large part of southern al-Andalus

The division into nine provinces in the Marinid era differed from Al-Muwahhidun era. During the rule of Al-Muwahhidun era over Al-Maghrib and Al-Andalus, there were six provinces. When the Marinids ruled over Al-Maghrib, they had added three more provinces to make nine. The division was so done to allow some provinces such as Sala and Dar‘ah, to be autonomous in administration in order to secure stability of the kingdom and to smoothen the governance of provinces. Nevertheless, there were some areas which were given special priveleges and administered by a certain group. This occurred when the kingdom had allowed the administration of Sabtah city (Ceuta) to the Banu Al-‘Azfa for a long period. Sabtah was a centre for the Marinids to gather in strength before crossing over to Al-Andalus. Among the important officers who were placed in each province were sahib Al-qasbah, sahib Al-shurtah, Al-wali, Al-qadi and Al-muhtasib (Al-Hariri, 1987). The roles they played were important for the smooth running of the administration at the provincial level and they were directly responsible for reporting to the sultan.

Al-Dawawin: The Marinid Kingdom had government departments, known as Al-Dawawin. These departments existed in both central and provincial administration. Among Al-dawawin created during the Marinid era were (Al-Hariri, 1987):

Diwan Al-Insha’ wa Al-‘Allamah: This Diwan was known as Diwan Al-Insha’ during the Almohad era. This diwan was responsible for writing and forwarding official letters of the sultan and kingdom to all the office-bearers and the public. Sahib Al-‘Allamah or head of the diwan was the person who wrote in his own style and was deemed representative of the sultan in every correspondence. The sultan had full faith in the Sahib Al-‘Allamah to write whatever was said and decreed by the sultan by using his own uslub or style.

Diwan Al-‘Askar: This diwan was also known as Diwan Al-Jund. The person who headed this diwan was from the warrior class and his role was very important in all military matters. The head of this diwan was known as Katib Diwan Al-Jund.

Diwan Al-Kharaj: This diwan was very important in the management of matters relating to tax, revenue and expenditure of the kingdom. The person who was responsible for monitoring the administration this diwan was known as Katib Al-Jibayah Al-'Askar or Sahib Al-Ashghal. This person was appointed to ensure the smooth administration of revenue and expenditure matters and was responsible to report all financial details of the kingdom to the sultan and the wazir.

Al-Qada' (Judiciary): Al-Qada' or judiciary was among the important institutions of the Marinid Kingdom at the central level. It played the role of keeping the peace and tranquility of the pubic, upholding justice, eradicating tyranny as well as implementing the legal provisions relating to administration. Among the positions which were under the jurisdiction of the judiciary were Al-Qudat, Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim, Al-Shurtah and Al-Hisbah (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Al-Qudat (Judiciary): The position of the qadi was one of the most important in the structure of the Marinid administration. Al-Nubahi (1979) portrays the picture of the importance of the qadi in his Tarikh Qudat Al-Andalus. Al-Hariri (1987) cites the opinion of Ibn Khaldun who characterised the qadi as next in importance after the khalifah because the qadi makes a decision on a matter based on the syariah which is guided by the Al-Qur'an and Al-Sunnah. Due to the status and importance of this position, the Marinid sultan chose to do his own selection of the individuals qualified to be appointed without consulting the wazir for his advice.

During the Marinid era, the qadi were categorized into two types that is Qadi Al-'Askari and Qadi Al-Hurriyyah. The former adjudicated cases in the military such as military offences. Among the persons who had been appointed Qadi Al-'Askari was Muhammad b. 'Abd Al-Nur, Ibrahim b. Abi Yahya, Abu Al-Qasim al-Burji, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Al-Maghribi and Muhammad b. Muhammad Al-Nadrumi (Harakat, 1984; Al-Hariri, 1987).

Qadi Al-Hurriyyah adjudicated cases involving the public, especially persons who breached the syariah such as drinking alcohol. The highest position in the judiciary hierarchy in the Marinid administration was the Qadi Al-Jama'ah. Qadi Al-Jama'ah had the same role as Qadi Al-Khalifah in the eastern Muslim world. Qadi Al-Jama'ah was also known as Qadi Al-Qudat. It was responsible for all judiciary matters and monitoring the performance of qadi subordinate to it (Al-Hariri, 1987). Qadi Al-Jama'ah also became the point of reference for other qadi in presiding over difficult cases. The status of Qadi al-Jama'ah regarded as the head of the other qadi made it important to place him in Fez (Harakat, 1984). This was because Fez was the capital city of the Marinid Kingdom and therefore, to avoid inconveniences in judiciary matters, the office of Qadi Al-Jama'ah should not be situated far from the sultan's palace.

The Marinid Kingdom did not only appoint qadi from al-Maghrib province but from Al-Andalus as well. Among the qadi from Al-Andalus, appointed by the sultan himself were Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. 'Isa Al-Ghafiqi al-Ishbili. He had moved to Al-Maghrib after Seville was invaded by the Christian army. He was appointed as qadi in Sabtah and served until his death in the year 716H/1316 AD (Al-Hariri, 1987). There were also a number of qadi whom the sultan appointed to represent the kingdom as ambassador. This was due to the exceptional ability and competence of the qadi in international relations and diplomacy. Among those so appointed were Al-Qadi Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Tasuli Al-Tazi and Al-Qadi Abu Al-Hasan Al-Saghir (Al-Hariri, 1987).

The Marinid sultan selected and appointed the qadi by himself. Hence, the selection took into account prerequisite qualities such as salih (virtue), taqwa (awe or fear) of Allah (SWT), loyalty to Rasulullah (PBUH), love for upholding justice and commitment to eradicate evil. In addition, the qadi appointed must master the field of fiqh and Islamic Syariah. For this reason, most of the Marinid qadi were from the faqih group. Among them were Al-Qadi Al-Faqih Abu 'Abd Allah b. Abi Al-Sabr (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim: The institution of Al-Nazr Al-Mazalim was part of Al-Qada' administration in the Marinid Kingdom. The officials of this institution were handpicked by the sultan himself to assist in the duties of the qadi in resolving public complaints. The function of Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim was to receive and investigate public complaints and resolve all problems according to justice and laws of the kingdom (Al-Hariri, 1987). At a cursory glance, the function of Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim seems to be similar to the function of the Public Complaints Bureau of the Prime Minister's Department in Malaysia.

Most of the Marinid sultans emphasised on the institution of Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim. In fact, some of the sultans personally attended hearing of complaints at a place known as Qubbat Al-'Adl. The sultan would come with his officers including the crown prince, to hear and decide at once on the action to be taken to resolve the complaints. For example, Sultan Abu Hasan Al-'Ali fixed Mondays and Thursdays weekly to personally attend to complaints. On other days, complaints were made to Al-Mazalim officers who had been appointed by the sultans.

Among the persons who have been so appointed were Al-Faqih Abu 'Abd Allah Al-Rundi, Al-Faqih Abu

'Abd Allah Al-Sutti, 'Amir b. Fath Allah Al-Sidrati, Ghari b. Al-Kas and Ibn Marzuq. The Marinid sultan gave attention to this institution by directing the construction of several places for the council of Al-Nazr fi al-Mazalim. These places, known as Qubbat Al-'Adl would be the equivalent of courthouses today. Qubbat Al-'Adl was the official bureau for Al-Mazalim to receive public complaints. During the Marinid rule, this place was not only built in Fez but also in several other cities at Al-Mansurah, Tilimsan and Sabtah (Al-Hariri, 1987).

The institution of Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim was to resolve all problems of public interest. When the sultan personally presided over the hearing of the public complaints in the council of Al-Nazr fi Al-Mazalim, all the officers, qadi, wazir and wali would attend with him to assist on the line of action to be taken. Usually, a number of the Marinid sultans would attend such hearings after the Friday prayers. The Sultan would go to every corner of the provinces to directly hear the grievances of the public (Al-Hariri, 1987). This step was very important, practical and effective for the kingdom to resolve public issues in the best possible manner. This was due to the complaints being directly made to the ruler and officers concerned, at once facilitating identification of public grievances and execution of action needed to overcome all problems.

Al-Shurtah: The Marinid kingdom also set up the system of Al-Shurtah or police under the jurisdiction of the judiciary. The police system during the Marinids was similar to that under the Almohad rule. Among the objectives of the police was to guard public safety and protect their property. This system was very much emphasized by the Marinid Kingdom as its function was also to protect the sultan and the royal family, keep the peace within the kingdom and put convicted criminals in prison. Al-Shurtah officers regularly conducted night patrols to prevent crimes and maintain the peace as best as possible. Every province had a designated head of police known as Sahib Al-Shurtah. He was responsible for every Al-Shurtah officer under his command and assisted the governor to keep the peace in his province. In a big city, there was more than one Sahib Al-Shurtah. For example in Fez alone, there were four. Sahib Al-Shurtah directly reported matters of internal peace to the sultan. At every meeting between the sultan and office-bearers, Sahib Al-Shurtah must give a report to the sultan on issues of peace and security as well as crimes committed in their respective provinces (Al-Hariri, 1987).

al-Hisbah: Al-Hisbah was an important institution in the Marinid administration and constantly assisted the judiciary and police. The officers were called al-Muhtasib, Sahib Al-Hisbah, Mutawalli Al-Hisbah, Nazir Al-Hisbah and Wali Al-Hisbah (Al-Hariri, 1987). Among the functions of this institution was the prevention of crime and exploitation in all transactions as well as safeguarding the public interest such as preventing disturbances in the streets, deterring coolies and shipowners from overloading, determining the limits of punishment of children by teachers as well as monitoring matters of weights and measure.

The Marinid Kingdom viewed this institution as essential in controlling matters of public interest. Thus, officers of Al-Hisbah were appointed from those who were fair, firm and determined to eradicate evil. These qualities were necessary for Al-Hisbah to function effectively as well as safeguarding public interest. In fact, the administration designated an officer for every city. Hence, there were four important administrative positions in every city that is wali (governor), qadi, Sahib Al-Shurtah and Al-Hisbah officer. All four positions were essential to the smooth administration of the province and public convenience as desired by the Marinid Kingdom (Al-Hariri, 1987).

Al-Muhtasib conducted their activities in public areas frequented by the public such as bazaars and public baths. They ensured trading transactions abided by rules of weights and measure, goods for sale were of good quality and public baths were clean. Al-Muhtasib also played the role of settling disputes between vendor and buyer and within groups in the industrial sector. They also imposed fines and penalties on dishonest traders who sold defective goods (Al-Hariri, 1987). Among individuals who had headed this institution was Abu Faris 'Abd Al-'Aziz Al-Malzuzi (Harakat, 1984). The role of Al-Muhtasib showed that the existence of this institution was very important for the economic and social development of the provinces of Al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa during the Marinid Kingdom.

CONCLUSION

The Marinid Kingdom had its own system of administration throughout its rule in Al-Maghrib. This system which worked smoothly had ensured its integrity and stability in dealing with all threats from within and outside. It had two forms of administration, at the central level and at the provincial level. A similar system of administration was also used by other Muslim Kingdoms in the mid-centuries and is used till today as in the case of Malaysia. The administration at the central level was headed by the sultan assisted by the wazir, katib and hajib who were responsible and competent in discharging their duties. While the wali (governor) as representative of the sultan, assisted by

the qadi, sahib Al-Shurtah, Al-Muhtasib and Al-Nazr fi-Al-Mazalim officer was head at the provincial level.

The military system was among the branches of administration given special attention to by the Marinid Kingdom. The strength of the military was one of the prime sources of political and administrative stability. The Marinid rulers had put in their best efforts in introducing various mechanisms to ensure the smooth running of the administration for the benefit of and development of the people and kingdom. In this context, the Marinid administration system has many similarities with the system in Malaysia which adopts constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy and a federal system comprising of the federal or central administration and the state administrations with institutions such as the sultan, ministers, secretary-general, police, military and judiciary. The government of Malaysia could take as a good example several aspects of the Marinid administration and adopt them as part of the system here, for example, the creation of Al-Hisbah to ensure that the welfare of the people, economic stability and integrity of the nation can be achieved and maintained.

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